

THE MANIFESTA DECADE

Debates on

Contemporary Art Exhibitions and Biennials

in Post-Wall Europe

Edited by Barbara Vanderlinden and Elena Filipovic

The MIT Press

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To Igor Zabel

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FOREWORD

Since the mid-1990s, Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, hand-in-hand with mounting itinerant exhibitions, has made critical reflection on its own principles and practices an important concern. This was the case shortly after it was launched in 1995, when the curatorial team of the first edition organized what were called Open House debates. During these gatherings, curators and artists in cities around Europe were asked to determine some of the issues explored in the exhibition based on what they deemed important with regard to local artistic production. This was also the case in the years that followed, when four subsequent editions of Manifesta, like seeds sprouting shoots, both renewed its quest for transparency and reinvention, all the while extending and strengthening it.

After a decade, however, it seems only appropriate to ask how well the European biennial has achieved its original aims. This is especially relevant now that Manifesta has begun to ask itself how it might provide broader access to the knowledge it has accumulated over the years. In 1999, after two successful biennial editions, the former Foundation European Art Manifestation was restructured into the current International Foundation Manifesta (IFM) in order to oversee the overall organization of the successive biennial editions as well as its related theoretical programs. In addition, the IFM serves as the catalyst for the broader Manifesta platform, which includes maintaining a permanent archive. Making this archive more widely accessible brings with it a host of questions. Should, for example, the archives, which comprise all digital, photographic, and documentary material pertaining to previous Manifesta editions, travel from host city to host city as the exhibitions do or remain grounded in one place and available for public consultation? How can the archival and research material that constitutes one part of Manifesta's memory serve its future? To answer these and other larger questions, we felt the need to review and critique the course we have pursued until now, in part because along the way Manifesta grew, perhaps unavoidably, ever more institutionalized. Its original structures and parameters were there to be reinvented; rather than de-institutionalizing Manifesta, we opted instead to refashion its role. Now, in place of a largely open-ended body, it has become a more substantial instigator and mediator, offering new methods to connect curators, art practitioners, and the wider public.

In effect, this repositioning of Manifesta turned a large-scale art event into a more diverse project with a theoretical

substructure that could support the research derived from exhibitions and, in the process, open new and unexplored avenues for contemporary art. In its more protean form, Manifesta will be better equipped, we hope, to address not only the rapid-fire changes of the last ten years, but also those still to come. Already Manifesta has enabled the IFM, since 2001, to cooperate with more than four hundred young professionals, both known and up-and-coming, as well as twenty organizations, including the Curatorial Training Program at the De Appel Center for Contemporary Art in Amsterdam, the Center for Contemporary Arts in Vilnius, the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Sofia, the Center of Contemporary Art in Tallinn, the Moscow Biennial of Contemporary Art, and the National Center of Contemporary Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Formalizing this practice of exchange and partnership, the IFM created a series of initiatives in 2002 co-funded by the European Commission's Culture 2000 program and known as the New European Contemporary Art Network (2002–05), which grew out of the multifaceted theoretical framework I developed. These initiatives were intended to further critical analysis of the larger Manifesta project as well as establish the IFM as a formal platform for information and exchange. To advance the latter objective, the IFM archives and know-how, amassed over years of activity and experimentation, were harnessed in order to assist the public in gaining a stronger foothold in the Manifesta topography. This ongoing project incorporates publicly accessible databases, including digital and analogue archives, organized in conjunction with Basis Wien; seminars and meetings, such as the Coffee Breaks organized in conjunction with the Liverpool Biennial; *Decoding Europe*, a series of discussions, presentations, and screenings that have taken place at the Manifesta at Home space in Amsterdam; roundtable discussions organized in conjunction with the International Association of Art Critics (AICA); and *MJ – Manifesta Journal*, the first periodical for young curators and writers devoted to curatorial reflection and published in conjunction with the Moderna galerija Ljubljana. All these activities could only have been realized in close collaboration with partner organizations throughout Europe, for whose invaluable assistance and support I want to express my warmest gratitude.

The Manifesta Decade is one of the projects developed within the New European Contemporary Art Network and for which the IFM, in conjunction with the Brussels-based con-

temporary art organization Roomade, commissioned Barbara Vanderlinden and Elena Filipovic to conceive and edit a book, drawing from the IFM's archives and tracing Manifesta's development from the 1990s to the present. Vanderlinden and Filipovic approach this history in a way that has proven to be both distant enough from the subject to be objective and critical, yet close enough to understand Manifesta's specific objectives and parameters. They alone determined the book's focus, selected the contributors, and performed the editorial work. Desiring to ensure their independence and to facilitate their critical approach, the IFM confined its role to initiating and financing the publication as well as to making available unpublished visual material and assorted documents from its archives. The result is an invaluable research tool and resource, a repository of ideas from which we can draw as we work to chart a course for the future. What that future holds is, of course, largely unknown to us, but with the insight afforded by this study and other initiatives of the IFM, we hope to be able to approach its challenges with greater focus.

If the future of Manifesta remains to be written, its past is an open book. Recorded in its successive programs and recounted over the course of its exhibitions, its general history has achieved the status of a collective experience. Many of the factual details of this history are presented in this publication. But its true strength lies in its ability to situate Manifesta in its context, both cultural and political, and to enlarge our understanding of its history with the aid of previously unpublished information. This book, therefore, can be seen as a multifaceted guide that, among its other virtues, establishes how Manifesta developed against the backdrop of a changing Europe and assesses how successful it has been in achieving its original goals.

Given that the cultural topography at the end of the last century—out of which the European biennial emerged—has been irreversibly altered, *The Manifesta Decade* is all the more essential. Not only have important artistic events been created in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, but the discourse within which they circulate has shifted from a Euro-American orientation to a global one. Worldwide, growing numbers of biennials, triennials, and other perennial exhibitions, each representing specific perspectives, now play active roles in the contemporary art world, a phenomenon which contributes to what Iara Boubnova, in a board meeting in September 2004, called

"the globalization of the domestic and the domestication of the global." How Manifesta situates itself among such mega events is one of the many questions now being posed. Part of the answer, to be sure, will be based on a longstanding certainty: We do not want Manifesta's identity to be defined in terms of its representation and ranking among comparable events, all of which are secondary to our involvement with contemporary art and ideas. After all, Manifesta aims to question current structures and hierarchies of art—to foster transparency, in other words—and remains wary of fulfilling unexamined expectations. It strives to involve artists and audiences in every stage of its ongoing development. Manifesta looks to invent new means rather than focus on past approaches and has positioned itself outside of national contexts through its itinerant character and its economic autonomy. Whether it has succeeded in making the transition from its earlier avatar as a Pan-European contemporary art event to a more broadly transnational and mutable one, we cannot yet say, but it retains the willingness and openness of its earlier self to discard assumptions, ask questions, resist hide-bound practices, and take risks—and always will.

In answer to the question of what comes next for Manifesta, I would say that it will be an extension, more or less, of what has always been the case. Manifesta intends to continue to develop innovative strategies promoting interdisciplinary programs keyed to the notion of cultural diversity as well as other educational programs. These are part of an ongoing effort to understand the practices of a changing Europe and, as such, are keenly focused on the notion of Europe, both with and without its geographical borders. Manifesta relishes its ability to update and redirect its strategies and, because it wishes to remain self-critical, it is careful to ensure that its principles do not become dogmas. As a result, its next decade, like its first, so thoroughly documented in *The Manifesta Decade*, will be a veritable open book.

Hedwig Fijen
Executive director, International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam

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Even more than most books, this one emerged from the thoughts and suggestions of a group of individuals. The origin of *The Manifesta Decade* lay in many discussions, most notably that which took place during the International Foundation Manifesta (IFM) board meeting held in 2002 in Frankfurt at the opening of Manifesta 4. It was there that questions regarding the memory of Manifesta—how to archive a perennial exhibition as well as the relationship of such an ephemeral event to history—were first raised. In this, Hans-Ulrich Obrist's persistence in bringing these issues to the fore was an important catalyst for envisioning this book on the subject. His encouragement and ideas have accompanied us throughout.

The present collection was first formulated as a project to be carried out within the framework of the New European Contemporary Art Network, a program the IFM set up in 2002. We owe immense gratitude to Hedwig Fijen for having conceived such a program and for her relentless commitment to it. We thank her, the IFM board members, especially its chairman, Henry Meyric Hughes, not only for their active support of this project, but also for their belief in our independent approach, all of which ensured the book's broad reach and critical perspective.

Lengthy conversations with Rudi Laermans and Pascal Gielen at the Catholic University Leuven's Centrum voor Cultuursociologie research center followed and contributed to our thinking through the multiple approaches possible. The Coffee Break meeting in Liverpool in 2003, where Chris Dercon led one of the first formal discussions about how to critically reflect on Manifesta, further stimulated this process.

As the project developed, we became increasingly aware of the importance of enlarging our terrain of study to also include the wider context from which Manifesta emerged. The fact that so few publications grappled with the recent history of large-scale exhibitions and their imbrication in contemporary world events astonished us and fueled our determination to further develop the book in that direction. This would not have been possible without the generosity of the authors who contributed to the volume, enriching it along the way, all the readers and respondents who engaged in lively debate in its pages, or the many artists, curators, and other individuals involved in the various editions of Manifesta.

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and administrative bodies for the Department of Contemporary Art and Museums supported Roomade and encouraged it to take on a new role in order to be involved in publishing and overseeing the project. We thank the officials at the Ministry, particularly Bert Anciaux, Hans Feys, and Hans Martens. We also thank the members of the board of Roomade, who stood behind this project, especially its president, Wilfried Cooreman, who volunteered much of his time and energy to it.

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The traces of innumerable discussions, both recent and long past, can be found throughout the volume. For those we are especially grateful to Boris Belay, Okwui Enwezor, Louise Neri, and Vivian Rehberg, as well as Ariane Beyn, Sophie Berrebi, Bart Cassiman, Catherine David, Bart De Baere, Dorothea Dietrich, Paul Dujardin, Hal Foster, Frances Horn, Gabriel Kuri, Thomas Y. Levin, Molly Nesbit, Carrie Pilto, Dieter Roelstraete, Catherine Robbrechts, Dirk Snauwaert, and Rirkrit Tiravanija.

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As this project reached its final stages, Igor Zabel, one of its contributors and a model for us of sensitivity and intelligence in curating, tragically died. This book is dedicated to him.

Barbara Vanderlinden and Elena Filipovic

INTRODUCTION

At a moment when shifts in the global landscape have dramatically transformed contemporary artistic practices and the forums for their public presentation, the issues discussed in this anthology seem more urgent than ever. Certain events in 1989 inescapably precipitated such changes. In that year, the first blows to apartheid and the violence in Tiananmen Square coincided with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent redrawing of Europe's geographical and political maps. While the period that followed these epic events will be remembered for the global reconfiguration of power and empire that occurred, it will also be remembered for the vast cultural transformations that took place. 1989 also marked the opening of *Magiciens de la terre*. For all of its flaws (and most critics would tell you there were many), Jean-Hubert Martin's exhibition catalyzed vital discussions regarding the need for contemporary art exhibitions to reflect the true multiculturalism of the world. The cultural repercussions of *Magiciens de la terre* and, more broadly, the world events of 1989 were perhaps felt most deeply in the content of a very particular kind of event that began shortly thereafter to proliferate exponentially around the world. Often termed "biennials" or "large-scale international exhibitions" and bearing either names like Documenta or Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, or names mentioning the host city, such as the Venice Biennial, these recurrent events have increasingly become the locus for contemporary culture's most engaged debates and host to some of its most thought-provoking artworks, both reflecting the cultural diversity of global artistic practices and calling into question the inertia of institutions too slow or unwilling to respond to them. In the years since 1989, the number of such events has grown well into the hundreds, with many emerging in countries outside North America and Western Europe. Surprisingly, critical analysis of these "mega exhibitions," despite their sheer number and growing importance, has been scattered.¹ And while the "biennial phenomenon" has been the subject of much discussion and numerous recent symposia, few publications have brought together original, in-depth analyses of the specificities and implications of recurring mega exhibitions.

The Manifesta Decade takes as its subject the shifting paradigms and practices of such exhibitions over the course of the "long decade" between 1989 and the recent popular rejection of a European constitution, which arguably marked the end of an era of post-Wall optimism.² The impetus to

frame this study from a European perspective was a strategic one, especially at a moment when the question of what Europe is or hopes to be is altogether uncertain. As Etienne Balibar once claimed, "Europe" is "first of all the name of an unresolved political problem."³ Indeed, the rise of globalism paradoxically witnessed the concomitant proliferation of nationalism around the world, including a strident sense of regionalism exemplified in what can be called "Eurocentrism." Balibar often evokes the problems of a new "fortress Europe" in which seemingly fluid internal borders coexist with increasingly patrolled exterior borders that separate it from everything outside. The development of biennials and other large-scale exhibitions could be said to have alternately exemplified or questioned precisely the fortress that is Europe. While this book was broadly conceived and, in many ways, investigates artistic practices and platforms around the world, we felt the need to focus specifically on Europe, both as a way to examine the kinds of cultural structures, economies, and discourses that accompanied its reterritorialization after East and West were united and to better understand the terms by which its limiting identity can be judged. For all the openness and solidarity that accompanied the fervor of post-1989, racism, nationalism, imperialism, economic discrimination, and religious intolerance have continued to linger and, in some cases, resurge in an attempt to define the contours of that place we call "Europe." Thus, at a time of global expansiveness, what may appear to be an arbitrarily narrow perspective in the present volume, especially in relation to biennials—which purport to be global by definition—is in fact a deliberate effort to scrutinize more closely how European cultural institutions, in particular, responded to the rapid transformations of the world that globalism ignited.

The Manifesta Decade is organized in six parts, beginning with an extensive chronology of the period and followed by sections that address changes in exhibition practices and art making, divergent conceptions of Europe, responses of diverse institutions and exhibitions to transformations in Europe, and a case study looking closely at Manifesta. All of the texts were specially commissioned with the exception of four, reprinted here in revised forms. The international group of contributors includes both established figures and a new generation of thinkers, among them artists, curators, and art historians, as well as architects, sociologists, media theorists, anthropologists, and philosophers. While many of them

focus on paradigmatic exhibitions—their locations, forms, discursive armatures, reception, or ideological limits—these discussions also inevitably relate to the art practices featured in the exhibitions, or those that have evolved alongside them. We hope, therefore, that through the examination of presentation platforms, the intense dialogue between the development of art and exhibition making will become apparent. Moreover, any reading of biennials implicates a larger network of institutions, cultural policies, art markets, and practices, making these large-scale events useful optics through which to examine the consequences of contemporary history and culture at large.

Central to our project was the desire to construct a forum for dialogue and debate, in hopes of addressing the various possibilities—and problems—of so-called mega exhibitions. Even though books can catalyze such exchanges, the discussions, criticisms, and engagements that arise from the ideas expressed in their component parts usually emerge only *after* they have been published. In an attempt to rectify this situation, and to establish the present volume as a locus for debate, we sent out all the essays to readers who were asked to write short responses to them. This unusual practice enabled us to involve many more thinkers from diverse fields, whose perspectives we sought out in each case in order to juxtapose the reflections of contrasting generations, positions, backgrounds, or experiences. What began as an experiment proved incredibly revelatory, underscoring the complexity and intellectual stakes embodied in many of the essays. The resulting statements, printed in the margins of the book alongside the texts to which they refer, often offer alternate readings of the essays or pose questions about the issues discussed.

Equally important to the conception of this project was the desire to underscore the political, historical, and cultural events that marked the epoch. It was with some hesitation, however, that we first contemplated compiling a chronology. We were interested in questioning the historicist version of art history and exhibition making that too easily traces neat continuities and linear progressions without accounting for rupture, discontinuity, or alternate chronologies. Imagining a timeline with one entry following another seemed contradictory. Yet, since no existing source had previously documented the complex ways in which exhibitions, institutions, and other cultural events of the period emerged from, responded to, or may even have anticipated political,

historical, or other changes, we felt compelled to find a way to point to the imbrication of cultural events—including biennials—with other incidents that transformed the world. This seemed all the more necessary because the incredible global transformations that transpired during the period in question (1989–2005) arguably affected culture as much as politics. We collaborated closely with Rafal Niemojewski on this enormous undertaking; his contribution to the research and discussions, not to mention his perspective as a Polish critic and doctoral candidate studying the proliferation of biennials, were invaluable. “One Day Every Wall Will Fall: Select Chronology of Art and Politics after 1989” resulted and, for better or worse, adheres to a chronological structure, even if we hoped all along that in its layering, density, and cross-referencing, it would reveal itself to be a nervous topology of many of the events against which this book as a whole might be read.

In the section “Shifting Art and Exhibition Conditions,” we felt it important to reprint Bruce W. Ferguson, Reesa Greenberg, and Sandy Nairne’s early 1990s essay “Mapping International Exhibitions,” which explored international perennial exhibitions at the very moment these events had begun to proliferate. They discuss the notion of a “politics in the locality of an exhibition” and trace the ways in which such manifestations historically have perpetuated themselves as models of national self-presentation, as exemplified in nineteenth-century world’s fairs. From our present perspective, this text reminds us of how central such issues as national identity, with its accompanying inclusions and exclusions, remain to biennial practices today. Approaching the problem of a politics of “locality” from a different direction, Hou Hanru’s “Towards A New Locality: Biennials and ‘Global Art,’” written in 2000, examines how biennial host cities grapple with the twin impulses to represent their localities and to remain truly global in reach and influence. Also in this section, Elena Filipovic questions the persistent use of the white cube in biennials and other mega exhibitions around the world, despite the fact that the “neutrality” of this display frame has long been debunked. Her examination of several key examples reveals the ideological underpinnings of this most classical of Western exhibition formats. The recent exhibition of an ancient South Asian frieze in Paris triggered Raqs Media Collective’s juxtaposition of a vast series of seemingly disparate facts, places, and practices, drawing attention to the parallel expansion of

such things as the Internet and the increasing number of biennales and related art events. They argue that the shifts in global communication within contemporary art have transformed the roles of authorship, creativity, and intellectual property for artists and curators. Also addressing the question of authorship, Boris Groys contends that the artwork is no longer the result of any one individual practitioner; rather, it is the product of a multiple, shared authorship between artist, curator, and any number of other collaborators, its meaning contingent on its exhibition context. From the rise of the biennial to the dispersion of the author, the various themes explored in this section delineate the ways biennials and mega exhibitions more generally reflect upon and contribute to our increasingly global culture.

The notion of “Europe,” with all the myths and projections that accompany it, is ambiguous and contradictory, to say the least, and the section “Which Europe?” aims to examine this instability. In a volume largely preoccupied with very recent history, it seemed pertinent to interrogate the historical sediment from which today’s questions about Europe have emerged. In his interview with Hans-Ulrich Obrist, medieval historian Jacques Le Goff suggests how ancient history might determine the geopolitical outlines of that “thing” we call Europe. An excerpt from Obrist’s interview a month earlier with Jean-Pierre Vernant, a historian of antiquity, accompanies it. While not a response in the proper sense of the term, Vernant’s position offers an important counterpoint to Le Goff’s ideas. In another interview with Obrist, architect-theorist Rem Koolhaas looks at Europe through the lens of his 2004 *Image of Europe* exhibition and research project, disclosing what such an undertaking tells us about the complex construction that is Europe. In his essay, Boris Buden demonstrates how Plato’s myth about the origin of love and Freud’s theory of Eros can help us understand Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Extending Jürgen Habermas’s provocative claim that 1989 was more a “belated revolution” than an ultimate and thus revolutionary event, Buden points to the essentially conservative character of what many expected to be a victorious, transformative moment.

Buden’s discussion of the cultural impact of imagining 1989 differently sets the stage for the section “Negotiating Art in Europe, Cold War to Post-Wall” in which contributors discuss how the revolution, belated or not, affected exhibition practices. Given that the cultural opportunities and

practices following European unification were built on the embers of cold war policies, we decided to reprint the 1999 essay “When East Was East and West Was West: Art Attitudes in the Cold War” by Henry Meyric Hughes. In this text, Hughes documents the reception of a number of seminal exhibitions in the West featuring artists from Eastern Europe, and vice versa, in the period that led up to the fall of the Wall. In so doing, he outlines how political policy impacted exhibition practices following World War II. Moving forward in time, Mária Hlavajová discusses the reaction to and process of “normalization” that Western institutions advanced in the former East. She looks closely at three very different initiatives—the private foundation of an American industrialist-turned-philanthropist, an Internet-based artist network, and a biennial. In her contribution, Gilane Tawadros maintains that Europe, despite the political and economical expansion of its borders, remains unwilling to engage with what she describes as its “complex cultural and historical contingency.” Taking two contemporary art exhibitions from the last decade as examples, she confronts the refusal of European institutions to either respond to the current multicultural reality of Europe or to represent Europe as anything less than the central player in the development of global culture. Okwui Enwezor also focuses on European social and cultural policy, employing the metaphor of Lord Tebbit’s nationalist “cricket test” to question Europe’s persistent intolerance and exclusionary policies. Turning his attention to the institutional discourse and self-construction of Manifesta in relation to Europe, he contends that the biennial perpetuates some of the very same specious principles and limits.

Speaking of the disciplinary borders that have largely kept studies of Eastern Europe cordoned off from other studies, scholars have identified a “conceptual iron curtain that still divides the continent more than a decade after the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.”⁴ One could just as easily speak of the existence of a *cultural* iron curtain, which has continued to hang neatly in place since the fall of the Wall. An awareness of this situation was foundational to the conception of Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, a recurring, itinerant event aimed at constructing networks of exchange and platforms for presentation for a new generation of artists and curators that emerged in Europe in the face of the tumultuous changes of 1989. Opening in a

different European city every two years since its first edition in 1996, this biennial has attempted to respond to many of the recent shifts in exhibition practices, while initiating discussions regarding the impact of issues central to the 1990s—such as the network, collaboration, or center versus periphery—on art making in the period. The final section of the book, “For Example, Manifesta,” takes this biennial as a case study. More than providing an isolated history, the interview, essays, and collection of documents featured here raise questions about Manifesta that shed light on large-scale exhibitions in general. Furthermore, the implications of these queries extend far beyond the decade this biennial covers. In fact, the ten-year period cited in the book’s title is an elastic one. It refers to the long decade since the fall of the Berlin Wall as well as to the epoch since Manifesta’s founding in 1993 and its first edition in Rotterdam three years later. In choosing the title for this volume, we did not mean to evoke a ten-year stretch that “belongs” specifically to Manifesta, or even an era the biennial principally shaped. Rather, we intended the title to gesture toward a decade during which a number of ambitious projects and events, of which Manifesta is a notable example, were initiated and evolved.

The period under consideration was one of volatile transformation in many realms, and “For Example, Manifesta” addresses how the shifting ideologies of this landscape of transition and reconstruction shaped one institution in particular. This section comprises a group interview with several individuals involved with Manifesta in its earliest years. Their valuable, if sometimes conflicting, eyewitness accounts document the origin and evolution of the institution, exposing the remarkable idealism and inevitable challenges that underlay the initial conception of the project. In addition to the interview, several essays take Manifesta as their main subject. They evaluate the divergent perceptions and expectations of such a project and, in so doing, remain true to Manifesta’s own stated commitment to critical reflection. In envisioning this section, we felt that if the visible form and expressive potential of an exhibition lay in a mix of both conceptualized intentions and chance events (censure, oversight, failure, impossibility...), an exhibition’s discursive self-presentation is the ground on which an understanding of its purpose must also be founded. This is not to suggest that exhibitions are always, or even frequently, commensurate with the discourses that accompany them. Space, time,

and language necessarily separate them. But rhetoric is constructed in presenting an exhibition to a public, and it remains one measure of an exhibition’s objectives, however contradictory. In a volume taking Manifesta as its case study, it seemed more than necessary to encourage the examination of the rhetoric that the various founders, advisory board members, and curators forged to construct the public representation of the biennial as an institution and event. Camiel van Winkel’s essay takes Manifesta at its word, literally. The results reflect how one possible reading of Manifesta’s words might be understood in relation to what might otherwise have been said, what might have been done, and what might have been privileged instead of words. In his text, Thomas Boutoux investigates another kind of biennial rhetoric. He looks specifically at the promise of such events to have a lasting effect on their localities and reports his findings based on research in Rotterdam and Ljubljana, host cities of two editions of Manifesta. Informed by anthropology, his observations provide insight into a recurrent question regarding biennials and their responsibility to locality. While Manifesta is the ostensible subject of Van Winkel’s and Boutoux’s texts, the readings they offer of the history and this particular institution invoke criteria by which we can judge the accomplishments or failures of cultural projects more generally. Finally, the sixth section comprises an extensive textual and pictorial archive devoted to Manifesta. Compiled and narrated by Barbara Vanderlinden, it begins with her essay discussing the importance of exhibition documentation as a resource for curators, artists, and other art-world professionals. The archive brings together material related to curatorial research, exhibition venues, catalogues, scandals, symposia, as well as short texts describing some of the parallel projects that lent an individual character to each edition. Above all, the archive attempts to reconstruct the complex narratives at the heart of Manifesta’s five editions. Privileging the artists that contributed to them, it enables a more thorough analysis of how their objects, performative acts, or explicitly political gestures responded to many of the most vital issues of their day and presents the opportunity for new readings of Manifesta in general. Just as the various essays in this volume portray and examine a specific epoch, the diversity and originality of the artworks pictured and described here also contribute to reconstructing this historical moment. The archive thus testifies to how artists concretely grappled with the world

and how large-scale exhibitions responded to the maelstroms of their times.

With a vast chronology, over a dozen essays, several interviews, more than thirty responses, and a case study of a single biennial project, *The Manifesta Decade* is something of a hybrid publication. Such hybridity seemed indispensable. In a period of so many “posts” (post-history, postcolonialism, post-communism, etc.), which marked the end of some of the twentieth century’s most potent ideologies as well as the insistent rise of global capitalism—all of this reflected in the evolution of biennials toward greater cultural diversity but also, arguably, toward the marketplace—it felt imperative to bring together different reflections on the roles and responsibilities of large-scale international exhibitions in this landscape. Thus, while this book sketches the development of the critical languages of exhibition making that characterized the 1990s and the first years of the twenty-first century—that long decade from which we have only recently emerged—it also strives to look forward, inciting a continuing critical reflection on curatorial roles, exhibition practices, and cultural histories for the decades ahead.

Barbara Vanderlinden and Elena Filipovic

NOTES

1. The 1990s saw a surge of academic studies on the historical and ideological import of the museum and its exhibition forms, including such seminal publications as Douglas Crimp’s *On the Museum’s Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: MIT University Press, 1993); Tony Bennett’s *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne’s anthology *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996). These publications have in many ways been models and resources for us, but a serious study of the forms, goals, and influences of the biennial as a specific exhibition paradigm seems overdue in our present decade.

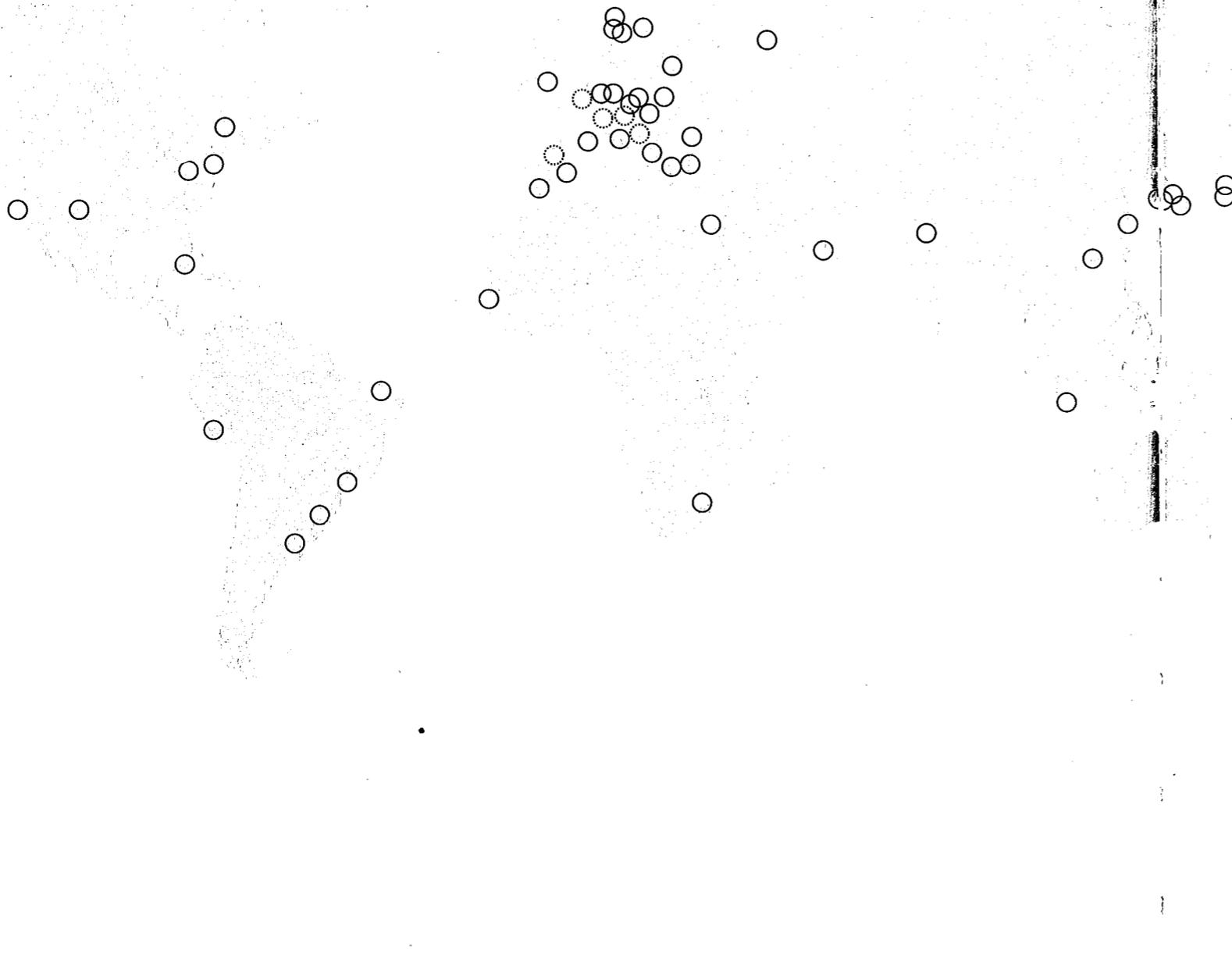
2. Our notion of the “long decade,” defined here as the period from 1989 to 2005, derives from Eric Hobsbawm’s conception of the “long nineteenth century” and the “short twentieth century” outlined in his historical writings. If locating the political contours of the “long decade” since 1989 seemed logi-

cal for the reasons outlined herein, in the artworld, 2005 was the year of another kind of symbolic end: the death of Harald Szeemann (1933–2005), experimental exhibition maker, the first “independent curator,” and a vital catalyst for the redefinition of curatorial practices.

3. Etienne Balibar, “World Borders, Political Borders,” trans. Erin M. Williams, *PMLA* 117 (2002): 71–78.

4. Charity Scribner, *Requiem for Communism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 15.

I HISTORIES



Global Positions of Biennials, 1989–2005
 The above map charts all the biennials, triennials, and other perennial large-scale international exhibitions listed in the select chronology.
 Map by Rafal Niemojewski.

ONE DAY EVERY WALL WILL FALL: SELECT CHRONOLOGY OF ART AND POLITICS AFTER 1989

Elena Filipovic, Rafal B. Niemojewski, and Barbara Vanderlinden

“Irgendwann fällt jede Mauer,” German for “One day every wall will fall,” was scribbled on the Berlin Wall before it fell. The poetic, premonitory announcement in the form of graffiti promised that with time all edifices, even the most seemingly imposing, would reach their end. In this chronology, we wanted to chart the passage from that “one day” forward, pointing to temporal and other connections between the falling of all sorts of walls—whether those of communism or apartheid, political regimes or national borders—and concurrent developments in thinking and culture, exhibitions and institutions.

As it was impossible to trace all the significant developments of the period, this chronology is highly select one. The result is not an encyclopaedic representation of the period so much as an admittedly arbitrary but deliberate effort to map out the development and repercussions of globalization alongside the evolution of biennials and international exhibitions. For the sake of coherence and space, it traces events around the world but concentrates its attention on Europe and those international events that most affected European policy and practices in that exciting, troubling time that began around 1989. It includes entries for biennials and large-scale perennial exhibitions, new cultural institutions and platforms, world political and cultural events, and landmark publications. Even within the scope of our limiting criteria, exclusions were necessary and stem from the desire to create greater focus for such a chronology, linking the events it charts more closely with themes explored throughout the book. For example, entries marking seminal publications were limited to those that did not emerge from within the artworld yet undoubtedly contributed to the debates and theorization of art and exhibition practices of the period. And, while a great effort has been made to trace the recent evolutions of even the oldest contemporary art

biennials, triennials, and mega exhibitions across the globe as well as the steadily increasing number of new ones that emerged in the 1990s, the chronology does not include small-scale or regional events nor those that were limited to showcasing art or artists of a single medium, age group, or nation. When we could find the information, we mention the dates, curators, venues, and themes of all editions of all qualifying recurrent exhibitions, reserving longer descriptive entries for those editions that marked the institution, otherwise transformed the exhibition’s form, or addressed post-Wall global transformations. Amongst the other exhibitions documented are those that specifically addressed the changing landscape of Europe or the impact of globalization. However, if an exhibition’s historical scope or focus strayed from these issues, even if the show happened to mark the epoch, it was excluded. This meant leaving out, among others, many exhibitions that were nonetheless influential for the issues they introduced or the zeitgeist they captured. One might think of *Traffic* (1996) at the CAPC, Musée d’art contemporain, Bordeaux, and *Laboratorium* (1999) organized by Roomade and Antwerp Open, or those that radically rethought existing exhibition models, including *Do It!* (ongoing since 1993), or any number of other curatorial experimentations. The chronology also excludes artists’ solo exhibitions. Furthermore, despite the incredible related development between 1989 and 2005 of many new art initiatives, galleries, art fairs (Art Basel Miami, Art Moscow, the Glasgow Art Fair, Frieze Art Fair, etc.), art prizes, and international art magazines (*Revue noire*, *NKA*, *Art Newspaper*, *Contemporary Art from the Islamic World*, *Art Asia Pacific*, *Frieze*, the short-lived Russian version of *Flash Art*, to name only a few), not to mention highly relevant films, literature, theater, and other arts projects, these are all beyond the scope of the present chronology. To have included them would have amounted to another, different document (and no doubt an even less wieldy one), a certainty that underscores that there is not *one* true or factual depiction of the period, but many, and ours makes no pretense of being an objective or exhaustive one. Rather, it is meant to be a tool, a resource, even while it is inevitably subjective, bridled by the particular and limited experiences, perspectives, locations, and histories of its three compilers. Surely we have overlooked many relevant texts, events, and exhibitions. Even with such lacunae and, one might say, precisely because of them, a complex narrative emerges from the information provided, one that evidences the temporal and geographic intersections between politics, culture, and exhibition-making across the globe, from 1989 to our present.

1989 — The EC launches the **Phare Program** to aid countries of Central and Eastern Europe, with economic restructuring and political changes that arise in their preparations to join the EU.

The French Institut géographique national (IGN) locates the geographic center of the European continent at 54°54' 24" N, 25°19'12" E, near Vilnius, Lithuania. The result is based on a new definition of the European continent, stretching from the Islands of Spitzbergen (north) to the Canary Islands (south), the Ural Mountains (east), and the Azores (west).

Tim Berners-Lee invents the **World Wide Web**, while working at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Switzerland. The massive project for a common information space allows millions of people to communicate globally and share information.

Jürgen Habermas's *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) is translated into English and published as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The translation revives interest in and broadens the impact among Anglophone readers of this influential book within a variety of disciplines. The timely publication—coinciding with radical changes in the public sphere in Europe—prompts intense discussions on liberal democracy, civil society, public life, and social change. In turn, this incites Habermas's own return in the 1990s to issues of the public sphere as the necessary condition for a genuine democracy, a central theme in *Between Facts and Norms* (1998).

David Harvey publishes *The Condition of Postmodernism*, an influential study from the field of geography that traces the rise of postmodernity and the economic, social, and political changes that accompanied it.

Julia Kristeva publishes *Étrangers à nous même* (translated in 1991 as *Strangers to Ourselves*), focusing on the status of the foreigner in historical and political conceptions of social identities, in particular in the context of the modern nation-state. The Bulgarian-born French psychoanalyst's pivotal work connecting the psychic to the social not only critiques and redefines the idea of national space, but also insists on a space where politics is entwined with ethics and where sociality is divorced from the xenophobia underlying national affiliations.

Slavoj Žižek publishes *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. In what is considered his most systematic book to date, the influential Slovenian philosopher characteristically combines a variety of disciplines—from film theory and political theory to psychoanalysis—to show how deeply ideology is embedded in objects. The timely publication of the book, coinciding as it does with the historic end of communism, makes Žižek's reading of Marx, commodity fetishism, and capitalism all the more pertinent.

5 – 19 FEBRUARY 1989 — National Arts Gallery, Beijing, China. *China /Avant-garde*. Chief curator: Gao Minglu. A groundbreaking exhibition of experimental art from mainland China organized by Gao Minglu in collaboration with 10 curators. Three years in preparation, the show brings together 186 artists and 293 avant-garde works that question tradition and examine Western ideas and art, while contesting local political and cultural oppression. It faces numerous difficulties, including government censorship, and is shut down on 2 occasions. The exhibition will be officially stigmatized as contributing to the dissent leading to student protests that begin a few months later and in which the artists and organizers participate. The show travels in 1993–94 to the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; Kunsthallen, Rotterdam; Museum of Modern Art Oxford, Oxford, England; Kunsthallen Brandts Klædefabrik, Odense, Denmark; Hildesheim Art Gallery, Hildesheim, Germany.

14 FEBRUARY 1989 — The U.S. sends the first of 24 satellites of the **Global Positioning System** (GPS) into orbit. Like its predecessor, the Russian GLONASS (first satellite launched in 1982), GPS is a military device made available to civil users and, in this case, entirely administered by the U.S. The EC and the European Space Agency vote to establish an alternative European program, Galileo, designed for civil and commercial purposes, which will become fully operational by 2008.

14 FEBRUARY 1989 — Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of Iran, announces a fatwa against Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988). Ten days later, he offers a bounty of 3 million U.S. dollars for the death of the author. The book caused immediate controversy in the Islamic world due to its allegedly irreverent depiction of the prophet Muhammad and was banned in India, South Africa, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Somalia, Bangladesh, Sudan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Qatar in the months preceding Khomeini's decree.

24 MARCH 1989 — The oil tanker **Exxon Valdez** spills 11 million gallons of oil on the shoreline of Alaska's Prince William Sound. The accident is the worst oil spill in history.

9 APRIL 1989 — During a peaceful rally led by Red Army soldiers, 20 Georgian civilians are killed (most of them young women) and many injured at the central square of **Tbilisi**.

26 APRIL – 16 JULY 1989 — Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, New York, U.S. **1989 Whitney Biennial**.

4 MAY 1989 — A pro-democracy student-led demonstration assembles 300,000 students in Beijing.

8 MAY 1989 — **Slobodan Milošević** is elected president of Serbia in the country's first multi-party election since WWII.

18 MAY 1989 — U.S. Senators Alphonse D'Amato and Jesse Helms denounce an exhibition of Andreas Serrano's work shown in North Carolina and cause the exhibition of Robert Mapplethorpe's work in Washington DC to be cancelled. Both exhibitions received funds from the **National Endowment for the Arts** (NEA). At Helms's instigation, the U.S. Congress considers censoring "obscene or indecent works" and votes on 7 October to reduce sponsorship to the NEA by a sum exactly matching the budget of the 2 exhibitions.

18 MAY – 14 AUGUST 1989 — Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou and the Grande Halle de la Villette, Paris, France. *Magiciens de la terre* [Magicians of the Earth]. Curator: Jean-Hubert Martin. A landmark exhibition signaling the beginning of the new internationalization of the contemporary art world that will mark the 1990s. The ambitious, panoramic project attempts to respond to the "Eurocentrism" of the controversial 1984 exhibition "*Primitivism*" in *Twentieth Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York City (juxtaposing occidental modern art with non-occidental pre-colonial artifacts). *Magiciens* shows the work of 100 artists from 5 continents, orchestrating a confrontation of contemporary visual production on a truly global scale. It includes works based on a pre-set artist quota: 50% from the Western centers of Europe and North America and 50% from the so-called peripheral regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The show sparks praise and controversy in equal measure, inciting a debate that will continue throughout the coming decade.

SUMMER 1989 — Francis Fukuyama publishes "**The End of History**," (expanded into the book *The End of History and the Last Man* in 1992) in the neoconservative journal *The National Interest*. Declaring that history ended with the victory of liberal democracy and Western values over communism, the controversial essay, the publication of which coincides with the major international transitions that will mark the year, incites world-wide debate.

4 JUNE 1989 — **Tiananmen Square** is the scene of the bloodiest day in the Chinese government's suppression of a series of demonstrations begun in May. Many leading participants are arrested and condemned to death.

4 JUNE 1989 — The Polish trade union federation **Solidarność** [Solidarity] wins the limited parliamentary elections. The victory of this broad, anti-communist social movement sparks a succession of democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

1 JULY – 1 AUGUST 1989 — Collegium Artisticum Gallery and Skenderija Olympic Center, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Jugoslovenska dokumenta '89* [Yugoslavian Documenta '89]. The 2nd and last edition of the Yugoslav answer to Documenta is the last large Yugoslav exhibition unifying artists from its different republics.

23 AUGUST 1989 — Approximately 2 million people from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia form a human chain nearly 600 kilometers long on the road from Vilnius to Tallinn. Christened the **Baltic Way**, this unprecedented display of freedom marks the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Ribbentrop–Molotov Pact by Hitler and Stalin, a non-aggression treaty between Germany and the USSR.

23 AUGUST 1989 — **Hungary eliminates border restrictions with Austria**. Soon after, the citizens of Czechoslovakia and Poland also gain access to all states implementing the Schengen Agreement (1985).

6 SEPTEMBER 1989 — F. W. de Klerk is elected president of South Africa and initiates reforms to end apartheid.

29 SEPTEMBER – 31 OCTOBER 1989 — Istanbul, Turkey. **2nd Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali** [International Istanbul Biennial] *Contemporary Art in Traditional Spaces*. Curator: Beral Madra. The organizer of the biennial, the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Art (founded in 1973, with the first visual arts biennial mounted in 1987) continues to reason that the unique position of the city as a bridge between Europe and Asia, between East and West, is an opportunity for true cross-cultural dialogue. The second edition displays the works of 110 contemporary artists set within the historical architecture of the Byzantine capital.

14 OCTOBER – 10 DECEMBER 1989 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. **20th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo** [São Paulo International Biennial].

27 OCTOBER – 31 DECEMBER 1989 — Havana, Cuba. **3rd Bienal de la Habana** [Havana Biennial]. Organizer: Centro de arte contemporáneo Wifredo Lam; director: Lillian Llanes. The Havana Biennial has (since its inception in 1984) not only become one of the world's most important events for contemporary art, but it has done so by offering what it sees as an antidote to the mainstream choices and growing commercialism of other biennials. Presenting itself as the "Third World Biennial," it consistently displays the work of artists who come from or have cultural roots in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or the Caribbean and explores issues of otherness, peripheries, and the developing world. The third edition inaugurates the use of a unifying theme and brings together 850 artworks by 300 artists from 41 countries under the rubrics of tradition and contemporaneity; for the first time in its history, no art awards are distributed. Cuba's economic situation will remain volatile in the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a fact reflected in the event's irregularly timed editions from 1991–2001.

NOVEMBER 1989 — **Haus der Kulturen der Welt** [House of World Cultures] is founded in Berlin to support and present non-European contemporary cultural production. The interdisciplinary forum for contemporary music, dance, theater, art, film, and literature focuses on current developments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America as well as on the artistic and cultural consequences of globalization and postcolonialism.

9 NOVEMBER 1989 — Border police of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) unexpectedly open the Berlin Wall. Germans from both East and West Berlin climb the structure, a symbol of the cold war in Europe since its construction in August 1961. In the immediate aftermath, over 1 million people a day traverse the barrier that once divided the city and its inhabitants, marking the "fall" of the Berlin Wall.

11 NOVEMBER 1989 — The **Central European Initiative** is established at a meeting in Budapest to create a platform for mutual political, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. Although initially begun as an agreement between Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, it

progressively expands to include 14 other member states: Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine. In the second half of the 1990s, the extension of its membership to southeastern and Eastern Europe refocuses its priorities to countries in special need.

12 NOVEMBER 1989 — **Brazil** holds its first democratic presidential elections since 1960.

17 NOVEMBER – 29 DECEMBER 1989 — The **Velvet Revolution**, also known as the November Revolution, a six-week period of demonstrations by half a million peaceful protesters, precipitates the bloodless overthrow of the Czechoslovak communist regime.

29 NOVEMBER – 4 FEBRUARY 1990 — Hayward Gallery, London, U.K. *The Other Story: Afro-Asian Artists in Post-War Britain*. Curator: Rasheed Araeen. The exhibition puts forth the idea that certain social conditions give rise to similar experiences among people of various diasporas. Bringing together contemporary production by Asian and black artists, the show addresses their unacknowledged presence in Britain and the development of an art that is both British and Asian or British and African.

DECEMBER 1989 — Pierre Bourdieu responds to the fall of the Berlin Wall by founding *Liber: The European Review of Books*. Published simultaneously in 9 European countries and in as many languages, *Liber* is intended to facilitate international dialogue and the cross-border circulation of innovative works in social science, the humanities, and literature. In 1996, Bourdieu establishes the leftist movement-cum-scholarly press *Liber/Raisons d'agir* to make engaging books inexpensive and available to a wider, nonacademic audience. Both projects extend the French philosopher and sociologist's more directly interventionist positions of the 1990s. In texts such as *La Misère du monde* (1993, translated in 1999 as *The Weight of the World*) and his *Contre-feux* (1998, translated in 1998 as *Acts of Resistance*), he made public his indictments of the human consequences of neoliberal globalization.

3 DECEMBER 1989 — During a meeting held off the coast of Malta, **U.S. President George H. W. Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev declare the cold war over**, signaling the end of more than 40 years of open yet restricted political and economic rivalry between capitalist Western powers and the Soviet Union and its allies, known as the Eastern bloc, that began after the Allied victory over the Axis powers in World War II. The cold war period is marked by the proliferation of nuclear weapons, economic competition, strained diplomatic relations, and military intimidation, but no direct, armed confrontations.

14 DECEMBER 1989 — **Chile** holds its first democratic presidential elections in 16 years, ending Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship.

22 DECEMBER 1989 — The Romanian dictator **Nicola Ceaușescu is deposed** during a popular revolt and coup d'état. The former leader and his wife are executed 3 days later. In Timisoara, Bucharest, and elsewhere, 1,104 people die and 3,351 people are wounded.

1990 — The first public application of the **World Wide Web** is developed.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the ruling communist parties in Benin, Yemen, Somalia, the Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Angola, and Afghanistan, one by one, from early 1990 until late 1992, abandon their Marxist-Leninist platforms, lose their monopoly of power, and dissolve.

Jürgen Habermas publishes *Die nachholende Revolution* arguing that the fall of the Berlin Wall offered little more than a "belated revolution" in which nothing new really happened. The impact of the German philosopher's disillusionment and his proposition that it is impossible to under-

stand the historical events in Eastern Europe (and elsewhere) as the definitive twilight of modernity are far reaching, countering the overwhelmingly utopian language of revolution that followed the events of 1989.

As a result of the post-Tiananmen crack down, experimental contemporary art activity in China declines drastically. Political censorship reigns. In January, authorities close the contemporary art space Fine Arts in China, which played a crucial role in the avant-garde movement. In September, the most popular art journal, *Art Monthly*, is re-staffed with conservative critics. Numerous avant-garde artists and their supporters leave China.

Giorgio Agamben publishes *La Comunità che viene* (translated in 1993 as *The Coming Community*). The most influential of the Italian philosopher's publications, it looks to medieval European philosophy, among other sources, to identify an ethical ground for community and sociality beyond national, ideology, or morality.

Judith Butler publishes *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, which quickly becomes a key work among feminist, gender, and queer theorists. It is eventually translated into 9 languages. Butler questions both traditional and feminist sex/gender distinctions, arguing that these basic concepts are themselves produced through relations of power. Her critique of the function of gender in the modern world contributes to the diverse debates regarding identity that characterize the 1990s.

Frederic Jameson publishes *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, a collection of essays arguing that the stylistic and ideological movements describing cultural artifacts—from realism to modernism and postmodernism—follow a sequence that parallels capitalism's successive mutations—from mercantilism and industrialism to global or speculative stages. Analyzing examples of contemporary art, architecture, and film, Jameson provocatively posits that postmodernism is inescapably the cultural representation of multinational or finance capitalism.

Anthony Giddens publishes *The Consequences of Modernity*, a discussion of how the new conditions of temporal acceleration and spatial interdependence have produced a kind of modernity discontinuous with its earlier forms. This modernity is distinguished not simply by the development of industrialism, capitalism, and bureaucracy, but by the reflexivity of knowledge, the development of increasingly abstract social relationships, and the ceaseless and global transformation of society and nature. According to the British sociologist, these new conditions "disembed" individuals from allegiances to given local contexts and traditions, which in turn encourages the development of ultimately depoliticized social relations. The publication becomes a landmark study of globalization.

Tadeusz Kantor, Polish stage designer, experimental theater director, and artist, dies in Kraków at the age of 75.

2 FEBRUARY 1990 — South African President F. W. de Klerk lifts a 30-year ban on the country's leading anti-apartheid group and makes the first public commitment to free Nelson Mandela. The dismantling of apartheid begins.

11 FEBRUARY 1990 — Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and condemned in 1964 for his anti-apartheid activities, is released from prison.

11 MARCH 1990 — Lithuania declares its independence from the Soviet Union.

APRIL 1990 — The European Space Agency (ESA) and the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) launch the Hubble Space Telescope to operate an ongoing space-based observatory.

11 APRIL–3 JUNE 1990 — Sydney, Australia. 8th Biennale of Sydney, *The Readymade Boomerang: Certain Relations in Contemporary Art*. Artistic director: René Block. The biennial (created in 1973) aims to

connect Asia and Australia, and both to a wider Western context. The eighth edition showcases patterns in the development of Western art, specifically the readymade, as seen in the work of Duchamp, Man Ray, and Picabia, and its distinctive influence on contemporary artistic practices.

12 MAY–19 AUGUST 1990 — Museum of Contemporary Hispanic Art, New Museum of Contemporary Art, and the Studio Museum in Harlem, New York, New York, U.S. *The Decade Show: Frameworks of Identity in the 1980s*. Curators: Marcia Tucker, Julia Herzberg, Sharon Patton, Gary Sangster, and Laura Trippi. *The Decade Show* is among the first exhibitions, along with *Magiciens de la terre* (see 18 MAY 1989), to show work from outside the Western mainstream, insisting that the notions of a "center" and a "margin" are no longer valid. The ambitious project involving over 100 artists is conceived and realized by 3 New York City institutions with distinct cultural interests and locations in different demographic enclaves of the city, thus mirroring the multiculturalism it champions.

20 MAY 1990 — Romania holds its first post-communist presidential and parliamentary elections.

27 MAY–30 SEPTEMBER 1990 — Venice, Italy. 44th Biennale di Venezia [Venice Biennial] *Dimensione futuro* [Future Dimension]. Artistic director: Giovanni Carandente. This first post-Wall edition of the oldest and most prestigious of biennials (founded in 1895) is organized in multiple sections, including "Ambiente Berlin" in the Italian pavilion, in which the newly unified city is taken as a symbol of a future, greater Europe.

12 JUNE 1990 — The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic formally declares its independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), known as the Soviet Union.

19 JUNE 1990 — Signing of the Schengen Convention by the EU member states (France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece), thus implementing and extending the scope of the Schengen Agreement (signed in 1985). The convention establishes a common area of security and justice in Europe, following the abolition of internal borders controls between the signatory countries.

2 AUGUST 1990 — The Persian Gulf War begins, when 100,000 Iraqi soldiers invade Kuwait. The UN immediately condemns the act and responds with economic sanctions. Days later, the U.S., under the direction of President George H. W. Bush, initiates a defensive mission, Operation Desert Shield, to protect Saudi Arabia, sending over 350,000 soldiers supported by a coalition of 33 other countries (Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Honduras, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, the Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Korea, Spain, Syria, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and the U.K.) and a mandate from the UN.

12 SEPTEMBER 1990 — The 2 German states and the 4 occupying powers (France, the U.S., the U.K., and the Soviet Union) meet in Moscow to sign the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, paving the way for German reunification.

12 SEPTEMBER–18 NOVEMBER 1990 — Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. *Passage de l'image* [Actuality of the Image]. Curators: Catherine David and Jean-François Chevrier. A landmark exhibition that traces the relationship between the image, media, and art in contemporary culture, underlying the impact of the former at a moment when the mass media is broadcasting vast historical shifts in Europe. The exhibition subsequently travels to the Fundació Caixa de pensiones, Barcelona; the Power Plant, Toronto; the Wexner Center for the Arts, Columbus, Ohio; and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

3 OCTOBER 1990 — German unification takes place, as the areas of the

former German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) are incorporated into The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany).

15 OCTOBER 1990 — The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for his efforts to reduce cold war tensions and open up the Soviet Union to democratic rule. His introduction of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) encouraged free speech and lessened state control of the media.

22 NOVEMBER 1990 — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fails to be reelected because of differences on EC policy. She announces her resignation, following 11 years in office as leader of the Conservative Party.

1991 — Immanuel Wallerstein publishes *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*. Written between 1982 and 1989, the essays form the background to the American sociologist's interpretation of the momentous events of 1989. Wallerstein argues that the collapse of the iron curtain and the process of perestroika confirm his basic analysis. According to him, the decline of U.S. hegemony is the central explanatory variable of change in the world, and the collapse of the communist empire as well as the emergence of European unity cannot be understood without reference to this decline, a critical stage in the capitalist world economy.

Saskia Sassen publishes *The Global City*, an influential analysis of migration, recent immigration, and the resultant dispersal of powers once belonging solely to the nation-state. Focusing on the city, which the Dutch sociologist posits as a site of the physical infrastructure that underpins the global economy, she takes New York City, London, and Tokyo as key examples. She describes a new "geography of centrality" and demonstrates that global cities have a major role to play servicing the expanding world economy, despite fears that globalization would render place, in general, and metropolises, in particular, irrelevant.

Bruno Latour publishes *Nous n'avons jamais été modernes: essai d'anthropologie symétrique* (translated in 1993 as *We Have Never Been Modern*). The philosopher of science argues that modernity is a paradox in which we moderns believe that the world has changed irrevocably, separating us forever from our pre-modern ancestors. A veritable anthropology of science, *We Have Never Been Modern* shows us how much "modernity" merely resides in the distinctions that our ancestors never made between nature and society, the human and the non-human. His path-breaking work suggests new ways to conceptualize modernity and offers an explanation of science that recognizes the connection between nature and culture.

Donna Haraway publishes *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, a collection of 10 essays by the historian of science written over the last decade. Employing a feminist perspective and presuming that nature is constructed rather than discovered and truth made not found, Haraway analyzes some of the popular and scientific struggles of postmodernity, the influence of which largely surpasses the world of science.

15 JANUARY 1991 — Iraq refuses to comply with a UN ultimatum and withdraw its troops from Kuwait.

17 JANUARY 1991 — The U.S. orders Allies to begin bombing Iraq, embarking on what they call Operation Desert Storm. The devastating and sustained aerial bombardment includes cruise missiles launched from U.S. warships as well as U.S., U.K., and Saudi Arabian fighter planes, bombers, and helicopters. A month of intensive air attacks follows and, on 24 February, the Allies launch a land offensive. One day later, the Iraqis begin retreating.

13 FEBRUARY–14 MARCH 1991 — Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, India. 7th Triennale India. Director: Anand Dev.

27 FEBRUARY 1991 — U.S. President George H. W. Bush declares victory

in the war on Iraq. Kuwait is liberated, but Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein remains in power in Baghdad.

3 MARCH 1991 — Latvia and Estonia vote to declare their independence from the Soviet Union.

2 APRIL–30 JUNE 1991 — Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, New York, U.S. 1991 Whitney Biennial.

20 APRIL–21 JULY 1991 — Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, Germany. *Metropolis: internationale Kunstausstellung Berlin 1991* [Metropolis: International Art Exhibition Berlin 1991]. Curators: Christo M. Joachimides and Norman Rosenthal. The exhibition shows the work of artists from cities all over the world and associates modern art with the metropolis, as a point of departure for presenting a global perspective.

22 MAY–30 JUNE 1991 — Pałac Sztuki, Kraków, Poland. *Europa nieznaną* [Europe Unknown]. Curator: Anda Rottenberg. The show brings together young artists from Central and Eastern Europe and opens on the occasion of the European Cultural Forum in Kraków.

JUNE–SEPTEMBER 1991 — Germany. *Kunst, Europa: 63 deutsche Kunstvereine zeigen Kunst aus 20 Ländern* [Art, Europe: 63 German Kunstvereine Exhibit Contemporary Art From 20 European Countries]. A collaborative effort between 63 Kunstvereine, the project encompasses a series of simultaneous exhibitions showcasing the work of 360 artists from 19 countries all over Europe and held in 63 towns across former Eastern and Western Germany.

12 JUNE 1991 — Boris Yeltsin wins 57% of the popular vote to become the first president of Russia and the first democratically elected leader in the country's history. Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the weakened but nevertheless officially intact USSR, turns power over to Yeltsin several months later (see 28 DECEMBER 1991).

20 JUNE 1991 — The German Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, votes to move the federal government back to a now newly unified Berlin. After 8 years of preparation, the parliament, chancellery, and 9 ministries move during the summer of 1999.

25 JUNE 1991 — Civil war in Yugoslavia ensues, when Croatia and Slovenia proclaim independence from Yugoslavia. (In September 1991 and March 1992 respectively, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina follow suit.) The Yugoslav government tries to maintain unity through force. Siding with the government, large Serb minorities in Croatia (580,000) and Bosnia (1.6 million) fight to have their sections of Bosnia and Croatia remain part of Yugoslavia, igniting highly nationalistic antagonisms. The presence of a large Muslim population in Bosnia complicates the Serb-Croat struggle, leading to a three-way conflict that is by far the bloodiest of the Yugoslav wars. The war ends with the military defeat of Serbia/Yugoslavia in Slovenia and Croatia and the signing of the Dayton Agreement in 1995 in Bosnia, following military intervention against the Serbian side by NATO (see 1–21 NOVEMBER 1995).

1 JULY 1991 — The Warsaw Pact is officially dissolved, acknowledging the formal end of the military alliance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland.

18 AUGUST 1991 — A coup d'état is attempted in the Soviet Union, when President Mikhail Gorbachev is arrested while on vacation. Public sympathy is against the coup. After 72 hours, it collapses, and Gorbachev returns to power. All the same, a fatal blow to the Soviet Union is struck.

20–24 AUGUST 1991 — Estonia, Latvia, and Ukraine declare independence from the Soviet Union. By the end of the month, Uzbekistan also declares its independence from the Soviet Union.

3 SEPTEMBER–13 OCTOBER 1991 — Halle Tony Garnier, Lyon, France. 1st Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary

Art] *L'Amour de l'art* [Love of Art]. Founder and artistic director: Thierry Raspail. The new event (begun as a replacement for the Paris Biennial, which ended in 1985) privileges the production of new works with the idea that they will be used to build the collection of the future Museum of Contemporary Art in Lyon, which will open in 1995.

21 SEPTEMBER – 10 DECEMBER 1991 – Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. 21st Bienal Internacional de São Paulo [São Paulo International Biennial].

19 OCTOBER 1991 – 16 FEBRUARY 1992 – Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S. 51st Carnegie International. Curators: Lynne Cooke and Mark Francis. The fifty-first edition of the second oldest large-scale perennial survey exhibition in the world (founded by American industrialist Andrew Carnegie in 1896, less than a year after the Venice Biennial) shows the work of 43 artists from 13 countries. It continues the Carnegie International's mission to bring art and the art world to Pittsburgh and also assists in the effort to build the Carnegie Museum's permanent collection of contemporary works. The edition marks the institution, being the first to leave the boundaries of the museum in order to address the multiple parts of the Carnegie Institute, including its natural history museum and libraries. The exhibition also features work in derelict houses, on billboards, and in other local institutions. The subsequent edition will open after an interval of 4 years to coincide with the centennial of the Carnegie Institute.

27 OCTOBER 1991 – Dzhokhar Dudayev is elected president of Chechnya and declares the region independent of Russia, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the declarations of independence by 14 other regions. Russian President Boris Yeltsin refuses to recognize Chechen independence and sends in troops who eventually withdraw when armed Chechens confront them.

16 NOVEMBER – 31 DECEMBER 1991 – Havana, Cuba. 4th Bienal de la Habana [Havana Biennial], *The Challenge of Colonization*. Organizer: Centro de arte contemporáneo Wifredo Lam; director: Lillian Llanes Godoy.

26 NOVEMBER 1991 – 19 JANUARY 1992 – Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, The Netherlands. *Rhizome: A European Art Exhibition*. Curators: Franz W. Kaiser and Paul Donker Duyvis. An exhibition examining the work of artists who have immigrated to Europe.

8 DECEMBER 1991 – The heads of state of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine sign a treaty establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), signaling the dissolution of the USSR. As the successor to the USSR, the CIS coordinates the foreign and economic policies of its member nations. The treaty recognizes current borders and each republic's independence, sovereignty, and equality. It also comprises a joint defense force for participating republics. By 1993, the CIS grows to include 12 of the 15 former Soviet republics (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan). Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are the 3 non-members.

25 DECEMBER 1991 – Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, resigns. This event marks the final collapse of the USSR, which officially ceases to exist.

1992 – A postgraduate curatorial program is established at the Royal College of Art in London. It is the second European program of its kind after the École du Magasin (inaugurated in 1987 in Grenoble) and marks an important step toward the professionalization of curating.

Chantal Mouffe edits *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*. In this collection of essays, the Belgian political theorist introduces the process of "inclusion-exclusion," which becomes one of the central questions of political philosophy in the 1990s. The issue is taken up in the arts as well.

11 JANUARY 1992 – Algeria faces civil war, after the country's military-backed government cancels parliamentary elections that the Front islamique du salut (FIS) [Islamic Salvation Front] is slated to win. The FIS splits into a moderate wing and a number of armed extremist factions, the most notorious being the Groupe islamique armée (GIA) [Armed Islamic Group], which is believed to be mainly responsible for the massacres that will characterize the war. Western governments, including France, Algeria's colonial ruler until 1962, remain mostly silent during the first few years of the conflict. France's fear of terrorism spreading to its shores proves to be well founded when Paris is bombed (see 25 JUNE 1995). In the initial 10 years of the conflict, an estimated 100,000 civilians are killed. The Algerian government proves largely ineffectual in curbing the violence, until early 2004.

2 FEBRUARY 1992 – The Treaty of the European Union (TEU), also known as the Maastricht Treaty, is signed by the 12 members of the European Economic Community (EEC) and constitutes a turning point in the process of European integration. The reunification of Germany and the fall of the Soviet bloc, however, demand a rethinking of the European project; the treaty amends previous treaties (Paris, Rome, and the Single European Act), changing the denomination of the EEC to establish the European Union (EU). This project of intergovernmental cooperation for social and economic cohesion institutes common citizenship, common foreign and security policy, a more effective European parliament, a common labor policy, and serves as a blueprint for what was to be Europe's biggest project for the years to come—economic and monetary union, including the introduction of a single European currency, the Euro.

29 FEBRUARY 1992 – Félix Guattari, French psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, and philosopher, dies at the age of 62.

MARCH–OCTOBER 1992 – Saatchi Gallery, London, U.K. *Young British Art I*. A series of 7 exhibitions celebrating advertising mogul Charles Saatchi's art collection. At a moment when the art world is beginning to look beyond the European capitals for emerging artists and art forms, the exhibitions confirm Young British Art (YBA) as a name-brand phenomenon. Like the Saatchi collection itself, the term and exhibition are inspired by the legendary exhibition *Freeze*, organized by Damien Hirst in 1988.

5 APRIL 1992 – The siege of Sarajevo begins. The fight between the Bosnia government and Serbian paramilitaries who blockade the city begins the longest siege in modern warfare, with an estimated 12,000 killed and 50,000 wounded. It lasts until 29 February 1996.

28 APRIL 1992 – Francis Bacon, English painter, dies at the age of 82.

12 AUGUST 1992 – John Cage, American artist, pioneering musician, and composer, dies in New York City at the age of 79.

13 JUNE–20 SEPTEMBER 1992 – Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. *Documenta 9*. Artistic director: Jan Hoet; curators: Bart De Baere, Pier Luigi Tazzi, and Denys Zacharopoulos. The ninth edition of the esteemed quintennial exhibition (founded in 1955 as a quadriennial event, extending the time between editions beginning with the sixth edition in 1977) is the first to take place in a reunited Germany and proves to be the largest, the costliest, and the most frequented since the event first began. The spectacular mega edition is popular with the public but is overwhelmingly criticized in the international art world for its poor representation of women artists and its limited, Euro-American focus.

17 OCTOBER – 30 NOVEMBER 1992 – Istanbul, Turkey. 3rd Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali [International Istanbul Biennial], *Production of Cultural Difference*. Artistic director: Vasif Kortun. A pivotal edition of the biennial that brings together 65 artists from 15 countries, demonstrating that the "peripheral" city is an ideally-sited place from which to foreground cultural diversity. The show explicitly aims to extend the efforts begun by such exhibitions as *Magiciens de la Terre* and *The Decade Show* to showcase work from outside West (see 18 MAY–14 AUGUST 1989 and 12 MAY–19 AUGUST 1990).

9 DECEMBER 1992 – Battle of Twyford Down. Road protesters clash with the police at the construction site of the M3 motorway from London to Southampton, challenging the U.K. government's £23 billion road-building program. The event marks the rise of direct-action movements advocating global and local social-ecological change such those of the groups Dongas and Reclaim the Streets.

14–20 DECEMBER 1992 – Dakar, Senegal. 1st Dak'Art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art. Secretary general of the biennial: Amadou Lamine Sall; president of selection committee and International Jury: Samir Sobhy. An initiative of the Senegalese state, Dak'Art expresses the political will to place culture at the heart of development strategies in the country. This first edition is conceived to be broadly international but financial, infrastructural, and practical considerations prompt it to shift focus with subsequent editions to become a forum for art of the African continent. It adopts the highly criticized committee and jury selection process, which is abandoned in the 1996 edition and then reinstated in 1998.

15 DECEMBER 1992 – 14 MARCH 1993 – Sydney, Australia. 9th Biennale of Sydney, *The Boundary Rider*. Artistic director: Anthony Bond.

19 DECEMBER 1992 – 19 MARCH 1993 – Cairo, Egypt. 4th Cairo Biennial. Chief curator: Mohamed Taha Hussein. The fourth edition of this biennial (begun in 1984 and open to participants from outside the Arab world since 1986) opens after a 4-year interval. The 1990 edition was cancelled in solidarity with Kuwait, which had been invaded by Iraq.

1993 – Use of the Internet grows exponentially as a result of the invention of the first graphic, point-and-click browser for the Web. The number of users surpasses 1 million and will double within a year.

Apartheid ends in South Africa. Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Res Artis, the worldwide network of artist-residencies and residential art centers, begins within the framework of the EC. More than 200 organizations in 50 countries participate.

Founding of the Open Society Institute, a network of foundations supported by the Hungarian-born American philanthropist George Soros. Named after Karl Popper's seminal book, it sponsors cultural and scientific sectors in Central and Eastern Europe, including the initiation of Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts (SSCA) in 17 countries.

Jacques Derrida publishes *Spectres de Marx* (translated in 1994 as *Specters of Marx*), critiquing Francis Fukuyama's concept of "the end of history" (see 1989) and its broader undercurrent of "endist" thought. In an ideological climate dominated by the collapse of communism and the triumph of liberal capitalism, Derrida refutes claims of the death of the spirit of marxism and points to unemployment, social injustice, Third World debt, ethnic wars, and capital's domination of international institutions as the dark side of liberal capital's "triumph." The French philosopher calls for a "New International" and inspires both renewed social resistance and widespread debate. The engagement and thinking of *Specters* continues in his subsequent publications, including the *Cosmopolites de tous les pays, encore un effort* (1997), which addresses questions of citizenship and sovereignty, and *Voyous* (2003), translated in 2005 as *Rogues*, which responds to the post-9/11 world and investigates the foundations of the nation-state as well as what he calls "democracy to come."

Samuel Huntington publishes *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. The influential analysis of world politics after communism claims that "civilizations" have replaced economics or ideologies as the driving force of nations.

Paul Gilroy publishes *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, proposing reconsiderations of major literary works against the background of a much broader transatlantic context. It opposes "ethnic absolutism," articulating the concept of the "Black Atlantic" to underscore the significance of the European and African travels of many "African American" writers. The exemplary study offers a model for examining cultural production in ways that go beyond national borders.

1 JANUARY 1993 – Division of Czechoslovakia into Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Shortly after (8 February), monetary independence seals this amicable split, known as the Velvet Divorce.

30 JANUARY – 28 FEBRUARY 1993 – Hanart T Z Gallery, Hong Kong, China. *China's New Art, Post-1989*. Curators: Tsong-zung Chang and Li Xianting. The exhibition involves some 50 artists and more than 200 works made in the wake of the Tiananmen Square riots of 4 June. The show boosts the international cachet of Chinese avant-gardism, and several months later, 13 artists from the show are invited to participate in the forty-fifth Venice Biennial. Over the course of 5 years, it travels to Sydney, Oxford, and various U.S. cities as the first major collection of experimental art to be exhibited outside the country.

FEBRUARY 24 – 13 JUNE 1993 – Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, New York, U.S. 1993 Whitney Biennial. Curators: Elisabeth Sussman, Thelma Golden, John Hanhardt, and Lisa Phillips. More than a mere modern-day version of the surveys of contemporary American art that the Whitney Biennial began in 1932 (although regular editions devoted to all artistic mediums only truly began in 1973), the 1993 edition marks the American institution more than any other in its recent history. The audacious exhibition thematizes such issues as violence, race, AIDS, gender, and identity. As a result, it incites widespread discussion regarding the relationship between art and politics. The exhibition travels to the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Seoul.

5 JUNE – 5 DECEMBER 1993 – Arnhem, The Netherlands. Sonsbeek 1993. Curator: Valerie Smith. The eighth edition of the occasional exhibition (established in 1949 as Europe's first open-air contemporary sculpture festival and mounted at irregular intervals since then) experiments with new modes for public art and in-situ projects in the 1990s. Dozens of sites host the work of 40 artists or collectives from 12 nations.

13 JUNE – 10 OCTOBER 1993 – Venice, Italy. 45th Biennale di Venezia [Venice Biennial], *The Cardinal Points of Art*. Artistic director: Achille Bonito Oliva. The forty-fifth edition, which should have opened in 1992, is postponed a year in response to the previous edition's financial excesses and in order that the subsequent edition will coincide with the biennial's centennial. Movement and space across the cardinal points of the world are the themes. The edition will host the last "Aperto" section open to emerging artists (begun by Achille Bonito Oliva and Harald Szeemann in 1980 as part of the thirty-ninth edition).

3 SEPTEMBER – 13 OCTOBER 1993 – Lyon, France. 2nd Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *Et tous ils changent le monde* [And They All Change the World]. Artistic directors: Marc Dachy, Thierry Raspail, and Thierry Prat.

17 SEPTEMBER – 5 DECEMBER 1993 – Brisbane, Australia. 1st Asia-Pacific Triennial. Curators: Queensland Art Gallery team. Featuring nearly 200 works, the triennial is the first of its kind, a large-scale exhibition focusing on the contemporary art of Asia and the Pacific.

4 OCTOBER 1993 – A coup d'état is attempted in Moscow against Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

1 NOVEMBER 1993 – Official ratification of the Maastricht Treaty (see 2 FEBRUARY 1992).

1994 — 25,000 websites are on the Internet.

The Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA) is founded in London as the institutional prolongation of the efforts of the individuals involved in the journal *Third Text* (established in 1987). The institute initiates an ambitious program of exhibitions, publications, symposia, and research projects supporting art and artists from diverse backgrounds and underscoring the multicultural reality of contemporary artistic production.

Homi K. Bhabha publishes *The Location of Culture*. Advancing the concepts of "in-betweenness" and "hybridity" as strategies of selfhood and contestation, Bhabha's theorization quickly becomes a much-cited reference for thinking about the workings of colonialism, modernity, and culture.

Edward Said, author of *Orientalism* (1979), publishes *Culture and Imperialism*, a seminal work of literary criticism. Expanding on his earlier landmark study's arguments about how the idea of the "oriental" is constructed by the West, *Culture and Imperialism* explores the connections between the Western imperial endeavor and the culture that reflected and reinforced it, demonstrating that the most effective tools for dominating colonies have been literary in nature as much as political and economic.

Michel Foucault's writings and interviews are posthumously published as *Dits et écrits*. The 4 volumes of over 3,000 pages consist of 364 texts (articles, prefaces, interview, lectures, etc.) by the French philosopher who had died 10 years earlier. A veritable intellectual biography, the collection allows for a reassessment of the work of one of the most influential thinkers of the twentieth century.

Giovanni Arrighi publishes *The Long Twentieth Century*, a theoretical analysis of the origins of capitalism as a historical social system as well as its political and economic contradictions, including the impact of military power and capitalist accumulation across the century and on current, new forms of global rule.

1 JANUARY 1994 — Canada, the United States, and Mexico implement the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), forming the world's largest free trade area.

1 JANUARY 1994 — The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN or Zapatista Army of National Liberation) seizes control of 7 towns in Chiapas, Mexico. This first vast public uprising of the country's indigenous population since the movement came into existence in 1983 is timed to coincide with the beginning of NAFTA, a pact that condemns millions of indigenous people, peasants, farmers, and workers across North America to poverty in favor of corporate ascendance. Within 24 hours, the government brutally puts down the uprising and 150 are killed. While the event is short-lived, news of the EZLN inspires grassroots activism and support worldwide in resistance to neoliberalism.

1 JANUARY 1994 — The EC inaugurates the initial 5-year phase of the Socrates Program aimed at strengthening European education at all levels. The program involves 31 countries, including Turkey; its components focus on school education, student mobility, adult education, European languages, information and communication technologies in education, and educational systems and policies.

17 FEBRUARY — 15 MARCH 1994 — Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, India. 8th Triennale India. Curator: Anis Farooq.

7 APRIL 1994 — The shooting down of a plane carrying Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, and Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira sparks genocide in Rwanda. A campaign of violence ensues and an estimated 800,000 Rwandans are massacred between April and June, during which time militias of the Hutu ethnic majority, with the connivance of the Hutu-dominated government, attempt to carry out an ethnic cleansing of the minority Tutsis and the opposing Hutu moderates. Political elites also have a hand in mobilizing and arming supporters. Despite prior warnings and intelligence gathered during the

genocide regarding the scale of the violence and despite Belgium's historic role in fostering racial tensions between Hutus and Tutsis during colonization, Belgium peacekeeping troops are withdrawn after 10 of their soldiers are murdered. The UN declines to take action to protect the Rwandans.

26–29 APRIL 1994 — South Africa's first nonracial, democratic elections inaugurate the country's most far-reaching political and constitutional transformations in nearly a decade.

9 MAY 1994 — Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa.

6 MAY 1994 — Channel Tunnel opens, connecting the U.K. and France. Facilitating transportation between the U.K. and the Continent, it and the introduction of low-cost airlines contribute to a new Pan-European interconnectedness.

6 MAY — 30 JUNE 1994 — Havana, Cuba. 5th Bienal de la Habana [Havana Biennial] *Art, Society, Reflection*. Organizer: Centro de arte contemporáneo Wifredo Lam; Director: Lillian Llanes. About 240 artists from more than 40 countries participate. A selection of works from the biennial travels to the Ludwig Forum for International Art in Aachen, Germany, in September.

7 MAY 1994 — Clement Greenberg, eminent American art critic, dies at the age of 85.

19 MAY 1994 — Silvio Berlusconi, media mogul and leader of his own Forza Italia party, is elected prime minister of Italy.

28 MAY — 16 OCTOBER 1994 — Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, Germany. *Europa, Europa: das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa* [Europe, Europe: The Century of the Avant-Garde in Central and Eastern Europe]. Curators: Ryszard Stanisławski and Christoph Brockhaus. The ambitious retrospective exhibition explores Central European and Eastern (Russian) culture, bringing together an unprecedented number of avant-garde works from the "other" Europe.

SEPTEMBER 1994 — De Appel Foundation in Amsterdam starts a curatorial training program open to aspiring curators worldwide.

8 SEPTEMBER 1994 — The Allied forces leave Berlin after nearly 50 years of postwar occupation.

17 SEPTEMBER 1994 — Karl Popper, Austrian-born British philosopher of science, staunch critic of totalitarianism, and defender of the "open society," dies at the age of 92.

23 SEPTEMBER — 6 NOVEMBER 1994 — Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego, California, U.S. inSITE 1994. Curator: Lynda Forsha. With its second edition, inSITE expands its scope and scale significantly, thematizing its role as a binational exhibition situated on the border of Mexico and the U.S. Privileging work in public spaces, and spreading them across nearly 40 sites in the 2 cities, the exhibition uses its unique transnational context to explore related issues in the work of local and international artists.

12 OCTOBER — 11 DECEMBER 1994 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil 22nd Bienal internacional de São Paulo (São Paulo International Biennial).

30 NOVEMBER 1994 — Guy Debord, French writer, filmmaker, founder of the Situationist International, and theorist of the "society of the spectacle," takes his life at the age of 62.

3 DECEMBER 1994 — Indian police arrest thousands of people on their way to demonstrate in Bhopal, India, on the tenth anniversary of the chemical leak from the Union Carbide plant that caused 7,000 deaths. The protesters claimed to want to bring attention to accident not as an isolated

and long-past incident, but an outcome symptomatic of the continuing and ever more voracious logic of global capitalism.

5 DECEMBER 1994 — 15 MARCH 1995 — Cairo, Egypt. 5th Cairo Biennial, (*Between*) *the East, the West: Cultural Aspects of the Contemporary Egyptian Plastic Movement*. Chief curator: Saleh Reda.

11 DECEMBER 1994 — Russian President Boris Yeltsin orders an invasion of the secessionist republic of Chechnya, hoping to force it to renounce its bid for independence and sovereignty (see 27 OCTOBER 1991). A bloody 20-month war between Chechen rebels and Russian forces ensues, killing an estimated 100,000 people and destroying numerous Chechen towns and villages. The invasion triggers widespread domestic opposition, even within the higher levels of the Ministry of Defense, and creates profound and troubling consequences for the stability of the Russian government, Russian democracy, and the relationship between the government and the armed forces. Peace accords are signed in 1996, which give Chechnya substantial autonomy but not full independence and no economic assistance for reconstruction.

14 DECEMBER — 6 MARCH 1994 — Museo nacional centro de arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, Spain. *Cocido y crudo* [The Cooked and the Raw]. Curator: Dan Cameron. Bringing together recent works by 54 artists from 26 different countries, the exhibition highlights multiple cultural positions that offer an alternative to what Dan Cameron argues is the West's dichotomy of the "raw" versus the "cooked."

1 JANUARY 1995 — Austria, Finland, and Sweden become members of the EU.

28 FEBRUARY — 30 APRIL 1995 — Johannesburg, South Africa. 1st Johannesburg Biennial, *Africanus*. Organizers: Christopher Till and Lorna Ferguson. The plans for a biennial were announced 4 months before the historic April 1994 South African elections, and the timing of the event overlaps with their 1-year anniversary. Attempting to mark the post-apartheid moment, the inaugural edition of what will be a short-lived biennial, ending with the second edition in 1997, nevertheless reproduces the classical schema of the biennials in Venice or São Paulo, namely a mega exhibition of national representation conceived by European or North American curators. It features the work of 300 artists in several venues.

26 MARCH 1995 — The Schengen Convention (see 19 JUNE 1990) takes effect. The parties to the original 1985 Schengen Agreement (Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) as well as Spain and Portugal abolish identity checks at their common borders. Since 1995, Italy, Greece, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and 2 non-EU members of the Nordic Passport Union (Norway and Iceland) have acceded to the Convention. The U.K. and Ireland stay out of the agreement, due to fear of terrorism and illegal immigration.

19 APRIL 1995 — The armed Basque separatist movement Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) [Basque Country and Liberty] attempts to assassinate the opposition Partido Popular mayoral candidate in Donostia-San Sebastián and Jose Maria Aznar, the leading candidate for prime minister. This precipitates other ETA attacks on Spanish rail lines, train stations, banks, police officers, and political figures.

JUNE 1995 — The creation of Trieste contemporanea: dialoghi con l'arte dell'Europa centro orientale [Trieste Contemporary: Dialogues with Central Eastern European Art]. The recurrent festival aims to turn Trieste into a hinge, uniting former Western European, Eastern European, and Mediterranean countries in initiatives for the visual arts, music, cinema, literature, multimedia, theater, architecture, and design.

11 JUNE — 4 SEPTEMBER 1995 — Venice, Italy. 46th Biennale di Venezia [Venice Biennial], *Identità e alterità: figure del corpo, 1895–1995*

[Identity and Alterity: Figure of the Body, 1895–1995]. Artistic director: Jean Clair. In its centenary year, the biennale is entrusted to a non-Italian director for the first time. Frenchman Jean Clair cancels the "Aperto," the section of the exhibition dedicated to new art, and underscores the values of classical painting by mounting an homage to the masters of the twentieth century, with works from some of the most prestigious museums in the world.

24 JUNE 1995 — Artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude wrap the Reichstag in Berlin, while preparations are underway for the building to become the Bundestag's official residence, since Berlin is once again the seat of Germany's federal government.

14 JULY — 8 OCTOBER 1995 — Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. 1st SITE Santa Fe, International Biennial, *Longing and Belonging: From the Faraway Nearby*. Curator: Bruce W. Ferguson. Newly created SITE Santa Fe, a non-collecting institution dedicated to presenting international contemporary art in a region with little exposure to it, initiates the biennial. Housed in a former warehouse, SITE Santa Fe hosts regular exhibitions and, with its first edition, a new biennial that brings global art and the international art world to New Mexico.

25 JULY 1995 — A bombing in a Paris metro station is the first in a series of 8 such attacks staged in French train stations, markets, and other public venues, killing 8 and wounding 160. Various groups take responsibility for the blasts, but Muslim extremists, displeased with the French government's supposed support for its Algerian counterpart (see 11 JANUARY 1992), are the suspected culprits.

26 JULY 1995 — The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a court-like body, is assembled in South Africa to bear witness to, record, and investigate abuses that took place under apartheid between 1960 and 1994 and, in some cases, to grant amnesty to the perpetrators of violence. The TRC forces forth many testimonies regarding acts committed by the African National Congress, the apartheid government, and others that may not have been made public otherwise. Despite its flaws, the work of the commission is generally recognized as an exemplary, positive process toward South Africa reconciling its highly fraught history and is seen a crucial component of its transition to full democracy.

2 SEPTEMBER — 27 NOVEMBER 1995 — Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, Illinois, U.S. *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art From East Central Europe*. Curators: Laura J. Hoptman and Richard Francis. The exhibition presents 13 emerging artists from Central Europe whose work explores a disbelief in the viability of doctrines in the post-communist period. It travels to the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; the Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia; and the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha.

20 SEPTEMBER — 20 OCTOBER 1995 — Gwangju, South Korea. 1st Gwangju Biennial, *Beyond the Borders*. Artistic director: Yongwoo Lee. Gwangju became infamous when, on 18 May 1980, a demonstration against the military regime was suppressed, killing nearly 2,000. The victims of the city and their role in the democratic movement are given as the reasons why Gwangju has been honored with such a prestigious (and costly) event. This historical background plays a crucial role in the biennial's identity. It is the first such art event in East Asia, and its first edition attempts to describe the age of post-communism, post-ideology, and postcolonialism.

27 SEPTEMBER — 26 NOVEMBER 1995 — Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, U.K. *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa*. Chief curator: Clementine Deliss; curators: Chika Okeke, El Hadji Sy, Salah Hassan, David Koloane, and Wanjiku Nyachae. The exhibition forms part of a larger multimedia event called Africa '95. Anthropologist and curator Clementine Deliss initiates the exhibition, which responds to shows such *Magiciens de la terre*, *Africa Explores*, and *Africa Hoy/Africa Now* by underscoring the negotiation between African artists, critics, and curators in the production of African art. She invites 5 Africans (themselves

artists, scholars, or curators) to curate the 7 "stories" of 7 African countries, showing work from Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, and Senegal. The multiple voices and their insistence on the historical context for African modernism underscores that the cultural exchange between Africa and Europe is a two-way process.

24 OCTOBER 1995 — The Federal Networking Council, a U.S. governmental agency, unanimously passes a resolution defining the term "Internet," the largest network in the world.

1–21 NOVEMBER 1995 — The Dayton Agreement is the name given to the accords negotiated at a conference at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio, to end the war in the former Yugoslavia. Here, the main participants—Serbian President Slobodan Milošević, Croatian President Franjo Tudman, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović, U.S. General Wesley Clark, and the U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke—decide upon the present political divisions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its structure of government. The accords mandate international organizations to monitor and implement the agreement, including the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR). For the first time in history, 3-D satellite image technology and digital cartography are used to determine the borders in an official treaty.

4 NOVEMBER 1995 — A Jewish extremist assassinates Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin.

4 NOVEMBER 1995 — Gilles Deleuze, French philosopher, takes his life at the age of 70.

4 NOVEMBER 1995–18 FEBRUARY 1996 — Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S. 52nd Carnegie International. Curator: Richard Armstrong.

10 NOVEMBER–10 DECEMBER 1995 — Istanbul, Turkey. 4th Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali [International Istanbul Biennial], *ORIENTATION: The Vision of Art in a Paradoxical World*. Curators: René Block and Lara Boubnova.

14 DECEMBER 1995 — The Dayton Peace Agreement for the Former Yugoslavia is formally signed in Paris.

20 DECEMBER 1995–18 FEBRUARY 1996 — Lyon, France. 3rd Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art] *Interactivité* [Interactivity]. Curator: Georges Rey.

1996 — The European Culture Foundation initiates *Art for Social Change* (AFSC). The program aims to explore the potential for personal transformation and social change through the creative process of making art. It operates in close organizational and financial collaboration with the network of Soros institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Since its creation, 300 projects have been initiated, involving over 1,000 artists and more than 6,000 young people in 13 countries.

Manuel Castells publishes *The Rise of the Network Society*. The first in a trilogy, the influential book is an extensive account of the economic and social dynamics in the information age, tracing the effects of information technology on the contemporary world.

Arjun Appadurai publishes *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. The book explores the connections between electronic mediums and transnational diasporas and their effects on collective imagination and action. Appadurai suggests that imagination and nostalgia can create alternatives to the modern nation-state.

6 JANUARY 1996 — Felix Gonzalez-Torres, Cuban-born American artist, dies from AIDS in Miami at the age of 38.

4 FEBRUARY–17 MARCH 1996 — Färgfabriken Center for Contemporary

Art and Architecture, Stockholm, Sweden. *Interpol*. Curators: Viktor Misiano and Jan Åman. The objective of the 3-year Swedish-Russian collaborative project is to bridge East and West. Two major exhibitions are planned. The first, held in Stockholm, includes controversial performances by Russians Aleksandr Brener and Oleg Kulik, which incite many of the "Western" participants to write an open letter protesting the conduct of the "Easterners." Controversy ensues and the project is remembered for the way it divided rather than bridged the art worlds of East and West. The pendant exhibition planned for Moscow never happens.

9–15 MAY 1996 — Dakar, Senegal. 2nd Dak'Art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art. General secretary of the biennial: Remi Sagna; President of the scientific commission: Ousmane Sow Huchard. With the 1996 edition, this event, intended to alternate between a focus on literature or the visual arts every 2 years, becomes a biennial visual arts exhibition.

9 JUNE–19 AUGUST 1996 — Rotterdam, The Netherlands. *Manifesta 1, Foundation European Art Manifestation*. Curators: Rosa Martínez, Viktor Misiano, Katalin Néray, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, and Andrew Renton. The inaugural edition of a European biennial of contemporary art that proposes to mount each new edition in a different peripheral European city. Emphasizing the work of young artists and curators from East and West, the biennial aims to respond to the new political and social realities of Europe in the hope of establishing greater dialogue between its constituent parts. Rotterdam hosts the first edition, which focuses on issues of migration and cultural nomads and includes more than 70 artists in over 10 venues.

10 JUNE 1996 — Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić are indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for crimes committed in connection with the 1992–95 war, including the mass murders in Srebrenica.

27 JULY–22 SEPTEMBER 1996 — Sydney, Australia. 10th Biennale of Sydney, *Jurassic Technologies Revenant*. Artistic director: Lynne Cooke.

7 SEPTEMBER–30 NOVEMBER 1996 — Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Denmark. *Art and Video in Europe: Electronic Undercurrents*. Curators: Torben Christensen and Lars Movin. Exhibition and a screening program that surveys 135 video works made in Europe between 1990 and 1996.

22 SEPTEMBER–26 OCTOBER 1996 — Steirischer Herbst, Graz, Germany. *Inklusion/Exklusion: Kunst im Zeitalter von Postcolonialismus und globaler Migrations* [Inclusion/Exclusion: An Attempt at a New Cartography of Art in the Era of Postcolonialism and Global Migrations]. Exhibition and symposium curators: Peter Weibel with Slavoj Žižek. This exhibition departs from the premise that Western culture is still based on a policy of exclusion. It includes artists who come from the so-called Third World, have lived in Western countries, and whose work reflects the phenomena of post- and neocolonialism.

27 SEPTEMBER 1996–17 JANUARY 1997 — Brisbane, Australia. 2nd Asia-Pacific Triennial.

5 OCTOBER–8 DECEMBER 1996 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. 23rd Bienal internacional de São Paulo [São Paulo International Biennial].

5 OCTOBER 1996–5 JANUARY 1997 — Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, France. *Life/Live*. Curators: Laurence Bossé and Hans-Ulrich Obrist. The exhibition paints a broad picture of contemporary art emanating from the U.K., featuring the work of various artist-run spaces and independent artistic initiatives. It suggests that non-institutional ventures are among the most innovative sites for contemporary artistic production.

23 OCTOBER 1996–5 JANUARY 1997 — Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S. *New Histories*. Curator: Milena Kalinovska. The international group show examines how personal and cultural histories inform the language of visual artists at a moment of new global trans-

formations, especially in relation to representations of race, ethnicity, and gender.

16 DECEMBER–24 FEBRUARY 1996 — Cairo, Egypt. 6th Cairo Biennial. *Universality Between Past and Present*. Chief curator: Farhaly Abdel Hafeez.

19 DECEMBER 1996–7 APRIL 1997 — Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. *Face à l'histoire: l'artiste moderne devant l'événement historique* [Confronting History: The Modern Artist Facing the Historical Event]. Chief curator: Jean-Paul Ameline; curators: Brigitte Léal, Marc Bormand, Chris Dercon, Michel Frizot, Jacqueline Boyer-Stanic, Blandine Benoît, Yves Bergeret, and Laurent Gervereau. An ambitious exhibition spread over 3 venues, spanning the period 1933–96, and attesting to the impact of political and social history on artistic production. The traumas of European history, from Nazism to the dissolution of former communist republics, are charted in the exhibition. A 600-page tome with essays by over 50 historians, curators, and thinkers from around the world accompanies the show.

1997 — Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr. edit *The Dictionary of Global Culture*, providing a vast survey of cultural subjects from the world over.

FEBRUARY 1997 — *Universes in Universe: Worlds of Art* (www.universes-in-universe.de) is launched at the initiative of its editors, Dr. Gerhard Haupt and Pat Binder, as a noncommercial online information platform for the visual arts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia in the context of international developments in contemporary art. It reports on the evolution of international large-scale exhibitions and biennials and makes information about the opening dates, curatorial teams, and themes of all major upcoming biennials centrally available.

7 MARCH 1997 — Martin Kippenberger, German artist, dies in Vienna at the age of 43.

3 MAY–8 JUNE 1997 — Havana, Cuba. 6th Bienal de la Habana [Havana Biennial] *Individual and Memory*.

12 JUNE–9 NOVEMBER 1997 — Venice, Italy. 47th Biennale di Venezia [Venice Biennial]. Curator: Germano Celant.

12 JUNE 1997 — After its initial selection for the Venice Biennial, Yugoslav officials refuse to show Marina Abramović's work *Balkan Baroque* in the Yugoslav pavilion. The video installation is eventually shown in one of the international exhibition spaces and wins the biennial's Leone d'oro (Golden Lion) for "best work." This event highlights the biennial's struggle with its anachronistic structure of national pavilions commissioned by ministries of culture.

21 JUNE–28 SEPTEMBER 1997 — The political campaign *No One Is Illegal* is launched at Documenta 10 in Kassel and grows to become a European network of antiracist groups that work together against the exclusion and criminalization of immigrants. In 1999, the network is relaunched and renamed *Noborder*.

21 JUNE–28 SEPTEMBER 1997 — Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. *Documenta X*. Artistic Director: Catherine David. Directed for the first time by a woman and a non-German speaker, the tenth edition emphasizes art's political context. Combining a survey of contemporary art with "retro-perspectives" of certain historical practices of the 1940s through the 1970s, the work of 115 mostly Western artists fills several venues. Integral to the edition is David's mammoth lecture series *100 Days–100 Guests*, based on the premise that the cultural production of some non-Western countries has most evolved in areas outside the visual arts. The series features filmmakers, theater people, architects, writers, and other intellectuals from around the world. *Poetics–Politics: Documenta X: The Book*, the 830-page publication by

David and Jean-François Chevrier that accompanies the exhibition, eschews cataloguing the show and instead lays out a critical context for the interpretation of art at the close of the twentieth century.

22 JUNE–28 SEPTEMBER 1997 — Westfälische Landesmuseum, Münster, Germany. *Skulptur: Projekte in Münster 1997*. Curators: Kasper König and Klaus Bussman. The third edition of this international sculpture and installation show (begun in 1977 and taking place every 10 years since then) shows in situ pieces by 65 established and younger artists. It prevails as one of Europe's preeminent events for art in public spaces.

JULY 1997 — The stock markets plunge in Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and South Korea, causing a major financial crisis in the region. Its consequences are soon experienced in Europe, especially in the former Eastern bloc countries where Asian companies hold very large investments.

1 JULY 1997 — The U.K. surrenders sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China.

8 JULY 1997 — The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland are invited to join NATO in 1999.

8 JULY–24 SEPTEMBER 1997 — Lyon, France. 4th Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *L'Autre* [The Other]. Curator: Harald Szeemann.

18 JULY–12 OCTOBER 1997 — Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. 2nd SITE Santa Fe, International Biennial, *TRUCE: Echoes of Art in an Age of Endless Conclusions*. Curator: Francesco Bonami.

24 JULY–12 SEPTEMBER 1997 — Soros Center for Contemporary Arts (SCCA), Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Meeting Point*. The first edition of the annual exhibition of the SCCA in Sarajevo. The 20 video works presented give voice to the first generation of artists who survived the siege of Sarajevo (see 5 APRIL 1992).

25 JULY 1997 — Pol Pot (né Saloth Sar), leader of the Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces responsible for some of the bloodiest national reforms in world history, is tried for murder and imprisoned for life by fellow Khmer Rouge members, themselves in the midst of factional fighting. The group continues to disintegrate and, by 1999, most members will have defected, surrendered, or been captured.

1 SEPTEMBER–27 OCTOBER 1997 — Gwangju, South Korea. 2nd Gwangju Biennial.

17 SEPTEMBER–28 DECEMBER 1997 — Royal Academy of Art, London, U.K. *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*. The culminating moment of the YBA phenomenon and the campaign led by British collector and dealer Charles Saatchi to promote artists from his collection. After causing controversy in London, the exhibition travels to New York's Brooklyn Museum of Art (2000), where it is the object of attack by discontented American religious groups and conservative politicians.

26 SEPTEMBER–30 NOVEMBER 1997 — Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego, California, U.S. inSITE 1997, *Private Time in Public Space*. Curators: Jessica Bradley, Olivier Debroise, Ivo Mesquita, and Sally Yard.

2 OCTOBER–20 NOVEMBER 1997 — Porto Alegre, Brazil. 1st Bienal de artes visuais do Mercosul [Mercosur Biennial of Visual Arts]. Curator: Frederico Morais. The first edition brings together 275 artists and aims to show Latin America from the perspective of Europe and the U.S.

2 OCTOBER 1997 — Signing of the Amsterdam Treaty, which puts greater emphasis on European citizenship and the rights of individuals. It increases the powers of the European parliament, incorporates the

Schengen Agreement into the EU's legal system, and marks the beginning of common foreign and security policies (CFSP) as well as the reform of the institutions in preparation for EU expansion.

4 OCTOBER – 9 NOVEMBER 1997 — Istanbul, Turkey. **5th Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali** [International Istanbul Biennial], *On Life, Beauty, Translations, and Other Difficulties*. Curator: Rosa Martínez.

10 OCTOBER – 7 DECEMBER 1997 — Lima, Peru. **1st Biennial Iberoamericana** [Ibero American Biennial].

12 OCTOBER – 12 DECEMBER 1997 — Johannesburg, Africa. **Africus Institute for Contemporary Art. 2nd Johannesburg Biennale, Trade Routes: History and Geography**. Artistic director: Okwui Enwezor; curators: Hou Hanru, Kelly Jones, Yu Yeon Kim, Gerardo Mosquera, Collin Richards, and Octavio Zaya. For this second edition, Okwui Enwezor brings together 6 collaborators from the U.S., China, Korea, Cuba, and South Africa to curate 6 thematic exhibitions that break with the classical biennial model of its predecessor. Nearly 300 participating artists, most from the southern hemisphere, are shown in 6 venues, 4 in Johannesburg and 2 in Cape Town. The theme of the show is the idea of exchange—historical, economic, and personal—transmitted via the trade routes that developed after Vasco da Gama discovered South Africa. Issues of mobility, change, and the problems of the postcolonial world in a country itself mired in the process of transformation are also treated in a conference, film program, and works outside institutional spaces. This second edition of the biennial—well received internationally but highly criticized in South Africa—closes a month ahead of schedule, due to the unfavorable policies of the city of Johannesburg. Shortly after, the organizing institution, Africus Institute for Contemporary Art, is dissolved.

17 OCTOBER 1997 — **Guggenheim Bilbao** opens its doors to the public and quickly transforms this Basque industrial town into a major tourist destination. With a spectacular 24,000-square-meter building designed by architect Frank Gehry, the new museum joins the international family of Guggenheim museum-enterprises (in New York City, Venice, Berlin, and soon Las Vegas) and hosts its touring exhibitions. It becomes the much-debated symbol of the decade's new museum boom.

26 NOVEMBER 1997 – 18 JANUARY 1998 — Wiener Secession, Vienna, Austria. **Cities on the Move**. Curators: Hou Hanru and Hans-Ulrich Obrist. The exhibition includes the work of over 100 artists, architects, and filmmakers exploring the recent, radical transformations in Asian contemporary art, architecture, and metropolises. Remarkable for its changed form for each venue and for instigating collaborations between artists and architects on the exhibition design, the exhibition travels to Bordeaux, New York City, Humlebæk, London, Bangkok, and Helsinki.

3 – 31 DECEMBER 1997 — Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, India. **9th Triennale India**. Curator: Vijay Kaushik.

12–13 DECEMBER 1997 — Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Sweden. **Talking on the Wall: The East-West Divide in Contemporary European Culture**. A conference exploring, as its title suggests, the cultural repercussions of the "East-West divide" in Europe.

1998 — The Council of Europe launches **Managing an Open and Strategic Approach in Culture (MOSAIC)** to foster exchange and cooperation between countries in the south and east of Europe and to assist them in their cultural policies.

Zygmunt Bauman publishes **Globalization: The Human Consequences**, a detailed history of globalization. The Polish sociologist argues that, while human affairs now take place on a global scale, we are less able to direct events; we can only watch as boundaries, institutions, and loyalties shift in rapid and unpredictable ways, like the advent of the computer which precipitated the decline of truly public space. He counters the euphoria of many globalization theorists, arguing that globalization creates a more

homogenous world rather than the hybrid culture it promised.

6 FEBRUARY 1998 — The French prefect **Claude Erignac** is assassinated in Corsica as part of the ongoing fight for Corsican political autonomy.

7 FEBRUARY – 10 MAY 1998 — Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, France. **Nuit blanche: scènes nordiques: les années 90** [White Night: Nordic Scenes: The 1990s]. Curators: Laurence Bossé and Hans-Ulrich Obrist. This exhibition of 30 young Scandinavian artists, filmmakers, and musicians testifies to the vitality of the art scenes in the 1990s at the apparent periphery of the art world (Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, Reykjavik, Stockholm, Bergen, Malmö, etc.). The show both capitalizes upon and reinforces the idea of a "Nordic miracle."

10 MARCH 1998 — **Augusto Pinochet** steps down as commander in chief of the Chilean army and is named senator for life and commander in chief emeritus of the Chilean army, thus remaining immune from prosecution for his role in the human rights abuses of his regime.

15 APRIL 1998 — **Pol Pot** dies in prison at the age of 73, apparently of natural causes (see 25 JULY 1997).

20 APRIL 1998 — The **Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) [Red Army Faction]** declares itself disbanded in a fax to the Reuters news agency. Founded in 1970 and active until the early 1990s (although most first-generation members had died or been jailed by that point), post-war Europe's most active leftist revolutionary group, which waged terrorist actions intended to paralyze and topple the democratic order in West Germany, was dealt a serious blow by the falls of communism and the Soviet Union. German authorities continue to actively pursue and prosecute former members.

21 APRIL 1998 — **Jean-François Lyotard**, French philosopher, postmodernism theorist, and curator of the pioneering exhibition *Les Immatériaux* (1985), dies in Paris at the age of 74.

23 MAY – 21 JUNE 1998 — Moss, Norway. **Momentum 1998, Nordic Festival of Contemporary Art**. Curators: Daniel Birnbaum, Atle Gerhardsen, and Lars Bang Larsen. From the start, Momentum aims to establish itself as one of the most important recurrent exhibitions of contemporary art and culture in the Nordic region. The Pan-Nordic exhibition brings together emergent and established artists from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Norway, capitalizing on art world interest in peripheries, particularly art from the Nordic region.

24–30 APRIL 1998 — Dakar, Senegal. **3rd Dak'Art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art**. President of the selection committee and jury: Achille Bonito Oliva. The biennial assumes greater significance in an attempt to lend credibility to arts on the African continent, after the ill-fated Johannesburg Biennial is cancelled in 1998 amid much controversy.

13 JUNE – 6 SEPTEMBER 1998 — Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Taipei, Taiwan. **1st Taipei Biennial, Sites of Desire**. Curator: Fumio Nanjo. This first edition inaugurates Taiwan's only biennial, with a focus on contemporary Asian artists. 36 artists from China, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan are selected. The biennial signals a new economic situation and rising international profile for Taipei.

24 JUNE – 30 AUGUST 1998 — European Academy of Arts, London, U.K. **Sensitivities: Contemporary Art from Central Europe**. Curator: Lóránd Hegyi. An exhibition of contemporary paintings, sculpture, and photography by artists from Central Europe.

28 JUNE – 11 OCTOBER 1998 — Luxembourg City, Luxembourg. **Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art**. Curators: Robert Fleck, Maria Lind, and Barbara Vanderlinden. The second edition of the only itinerant and the only European biennial of contemporary art takes place in Luxembourg City. The exhibition includes the work of 60 young artists from Eastern and Western Europe. The curators' 2-year research preparation for the event plays a vital role in the conceptualization of the edition

and takes public form in an Info Lab that includes a library of catalogues, dossiers, and research material from artists and institutions all over Europe. A series of workshops intended to facilitate discussion between art professionals from across the continent are held in the Info Lab.

7 AUGUST 1998 — Bombs destroy the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

27 AUGUST – 18 OCTOBER 1998 — Montreal, Canada. **Biennale de Montréal 1998** [Montreal Biennial]. Director: Claude Gosselin. The first edition of the Montreal Biennial gathers works from over 50 artists in 3 thematic shows and 20 architects in the architecture exhibition.

18 SEPTEMBER – 8 NOVEMBER 1998 — Sydney, Australia. **11th Biennale of Sydney, Everyday**. Artistic Director: Jonathan Watkins.

28 SEPTEMBER 1998 – 3 JANUARY 1999 — Berlin, Germany. **1st Berlin Biennale für zeitgenössische Kunst** [Berlin Biennial for Contemporary Art], *Berlin/Berlin*. Curators: Klaus Biesenbach, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, and Nancy Spector. The first edition of this biennial marks the growing importance of the post-Wall German capital on the international art scene. Central to the biennial (made up of 4 exhibitions spread across various city venues) is the exhibition *Berlin/Berlin*, which features work by more than 70 artists, architects, and performers. Focusing on Berlin as a city in transition, the show takes stock of the most important trends and movements of the 1990s.

2 OCTOBER – 3 DECEMBER 1998 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. **24th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo** [São Paulo International Biennial], *Roteiros, roteiros, roteiros, roteiros, roteiros, roteiros* [Routes...]. Artistic director: Paulo Herkenhoff; adjunct curator: Adriano Pedrosa; curators: Bart De Baere, Maaretta Jaukkuri, Lorna Ferguson, Awa Meite, Rina Carvajal, Apinan Poshyananda, Ivo Mesquita, Louise Neri, Vasif Kortun, and Ami Steinitz. South America's largest city hosts the world's second oldest biennial (begun in 1951), which is modeled on the Venice Biennial, with an international section as well as national pavilions curated and financed by individual countries. In addition to the main international exhibition *Roteiros...* there is a historic exhibition, a Brazilian art show, and the national shows, engaging some 80 curators overall to make the ensemble the largest contemporary art event of recent history. For the twenty-fourth edition, Herkenhoff introduces an evocative theme, anthropophagy (cannibalism)—inspired by the Brazilian avant-garde who championed it as a symbol of resistance to colonialism—to unite the disparate parts and curatorial contributions to the biennial, making the edition a hallmark for its audacity and thematic density. However, the mega event causes financial distress, prompts a controversial reorganization, and, eventually, the cancellation of the 2000 edition.

16 OCTOBER 1998 — The **British police arrest former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet** in his hospital bed, while he is in the U.K. for surgery. The police act on a warrant issued by a Spanish judge who deemed that his court has jurisdiction in the case of international terrorism, genocide, and crimes against humanity brought against the former Chilean leader by the families of some of the victims of his regime. A famous and lengthy court case follows, during which Pinochet is held under house arrest. The British High Court initially rules in his favor, but a month later the House of Lords upholds the Spanish extradition request. Pinochet's legal team appeals. As of 2005, Pinochet remains untried, as he is deemed unfit to defend himself against the charges of tax evasion, murder, and kidnapping brought against him.

NOVEMBER 1998 — The **Apollonia** program is formed to foster art exchange between Central and peripheral Eastern European countries. The Strasbourg-based initiative links art centers all over Europe, organizes workshops, develops exhibition policy, and develops a database of artists and art workers.

1–30 NOVEMBER 1998 — Pusan, South Korea. **1st Pusan International Art Festival (PICAF), Light on the New Millennium: Wind from Extreme**

Orient. The inaugural edition of the Pusan International Art Festival, composed of a contemporary art exhibition, seminars, sculpture project, and performance festival, will be rechristened the Busan Biennial in 2002, following changes in the transliteration of Korean instituted in December 1999.

26 NOVEMBER – 28 FEBRUARY 1998 — Mexico City, Mexico. **Five Continents and a City: Painting from Africa, America, Asia/Oceania, Europe, and Mexico**. Curators: Rita Eder, Okwui Enwezor, Yu Yeon Kim, Gerardo Mosquera, Rosa Oliveres, and Silvia Pandolfi. A project bringing together a curatorial team from around the world to reflect on the current state of painting internationally. It is the first of what was to be a yearly event. However, there are no follow-up editions.

1 DECEMBER 1998 — **A second armed conflict in Chechnya erupts**. Following months of clashes and tension in the border area separating the semi-independent state of Chechnya and the Russian Republic of Dagestan, Chechen rebels seize control of several villages. Russian forces attack Grozny, razing the Chechen capital. The Chechen resistance pursues an ongoing bloody campaign in Moscow and other Russian cities, targeting subways, concerts, commercial aircraft, theaters, and a middle school (see 23 OCTOBER 2002 and 3 SEPTEMBER 2004). Russian President Vladimir Putin and his government assert that their conflict with the Chechens is part of the war on terror first defined by U.S. President George W. Bush.

11–12 DECEMBER 1998 — **ATTAC**, an international movement for the democratic control of financial markets and their institutions, is created at a meeting in Paris. Promoting civic activism, the movement opposes the economic insecurity and social inequalities in the world resulting from global capitalism.

15 DECEMBER 1998 – 15 FEBRUARY 1999 — Cairo, Egypt. **7th Cairo Biennial, Rapprochement in Art**. Chief curator: Ahmed Fouad Selim.

1999 — Students at the Applied Arts and Design Academy in Belgrade undertake a series of exhibitions during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. The exhibitions, which are entitled **Art Rat** [Art War], include posters and other works designed to promote antiwar activism.

Various archives and databases devoted to recent and contemporary art join forces as **Vektor, European Contemporary Art Archives** and establish a long-term project to link decentralized archives on contemporary art throughout Europe via a central Internet interface.

The International Association of Art Critics (AICA) publishes a compendium of 20 essays from a selection of texts written by members of its 76 national sections. Entitled **Art Planet: Global View of Art Criticism**, the collection attempts to provide a representative sample of art practices, regions, and styles throughout the world. It is published in the same spirit as the AICA practice of holding some of its annual congresses in venues outside the established art circuit (the Caribbean in 1993, Hong Kong and Macau in 1995, Tokyo in 1998, and Taiwan in 2004).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak publishes **A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present**, a collection of several of her seminal essays on the discourses of imperialism. She examines the shift from colonial discourse to transnational culture through various cultural practices—philosophy, history, and literature—and in light of the recent shifts of globalization, calling for a more responsible role for the post-colonial critic.

Following the restructuring of the Soros Foundations, all **Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts (SSCA)** become independent and eventually are transformed into nongovernmental organizations under the membership of the International Contemporary Art Network (ICAN), a new association based in Amsterdam.

1 JANUARY 1999 — Introduction of the euro, the European single currency, for electronic transactions in 12 EU member states.

MARCH 1999 — Crisis at the EC. The EU faces scandal when the entire commission resigns amid revelations of fraud, nepotism, and mismanagement.

6 MARCH – 6 JUNE 1999 — Fukuoka Art Museum, Fukuoka, Japan. 1st Fukuoka Asian Art Triennial, *Communication: Channels for Hope*. The event aims to continue and expand the role of its predecessor, the large-scale exhibition of Asian contemporary art held every 5 years since 1980 at the Fukuoka Art Museum. Although the triennial limits itself to recent developments in Asian art, it contributes to the current boom in perennial exhibitions across Asia and continues the lineage of biennials and triennials responding to the decentralization of the West.

8 APRIL – 18 JUNE 1999 — P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, New York, New York, U.S. *Generation Z*. Curators: Klaus Biesenbach, Alanna Heiss, and Barbara Vanderlinden. An international survey show that introduces the work of a new post-Wall generation of artists from Europe to a New York City audience.

28 APRIL – 29 AUGUST 1999 — Queens Museum of Art, Queens, New York, U.S. *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s*. Project directors: Jane Farver, Luis Camnitzer, and Rachel Weiss; curators: Lázlo Beke, Chiba Shiego, Reiko Tomii, Okwui Enwezor, Gao Minglu, Claude Gintz, Mari Carmen Ramírez, Margarita Tupitsyn, Terry Smith, Sung Wan-kyung, and Peter Wollen. The exhibition is the most thorough survey of conceptual art ever undertaken, assembling the work of over 100 artists from 30 countries. Decidedly international in scope, it explores idea-based art from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, and Russia, in addition to sections on conceptual tendencies in North America as well as Western and Eastern Europe.

10–13 JUNE 1999 — International Cultural Center, Kraków. *Beyond Cultural Diplomacy International Cultural Cooperation Policies: Whose Agenda Is It Anyway?* This European roundtable meeting co-organized by the Cultural Information and Research Centers Liaison in Europe (CIR-CLE) and Institute for Culture Warsaw is a direct response to the European Task Force, which produced a report on culture and development for the Council of Europe. This report examined cultural policies and contemporary arts practices in the new political environment of Europe, including the fundamental shifts in the political ideologies in Central and Eastern European countries and the enlargement of the EU.

12 JUNE – 7 NOVEMBER 1999 — Venice, Italy. 48th Biennale di Venezia [Venice Biennial] *d'APERTutto* [APERTO over ALL]. Artistic director: Harald Szeemann. In order to better configure the main international exhibition (previously confined to the limited spaces of the Italian pavilion), biennial officials realize a large-scale renovation project and transform the historic naval buildings of the Arsenale into exhibition spaces. Inaugurating the Arsenale, the forty-eighth edition's title refers to the "Aperto" section of the biennial (begun in 1980 by Szeemann and discontinued with the 1995 edition), which first opened the doors of the august institution to younger and emerging artists. With *d'APERTutto*, Szeemann confirms once more the abolition of the separation between young and established artists.

10 JULY – 31 DECEMBER 1999 — Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. 3rd Site Santa Fe, *International Biennial, Looking for a Place*. Curator: Rosa Martínez. The artists in the exhibition hail from many generations and many nations, exploring the multiple meanings of place, from the way we relate to displacements and cultural clashes linked with migration to the defense of identities.

1 SEPTEMBER 1999 — Berlin becomes the capital of unified Germany. The city is again made the seat of Germany's federal government, with the Reichstag building as the Bundestag's official residence. The historic building is newly renovated by architect Norman Foster and several pub-

licly commissioned artworks by the likes of Gerhard Richter, Sigmar Polke, Jenny Holzer, and, later, Hans Haacke, with his controversial *Der Bevölkerung* [To the Population], are installed.

15 SEPTEMBER 1998 – 3 JANUARY 1999 — Asia Society Galleries and P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, New York, New York, U.S. *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*. Curators: Gao Minglu, Gary Garrels, and Colin Mackenzie. The large-scale exhibition charts China's avant-garde since the mid-1980s, both at home and in exile. The 62 artists or artist groups shown represent not only mainland China, but also Hong Kong and Taiwan. The show addresses issues of Chinese identity and traditions in the pre- and post-Tiananmen years and offers a view on how modernism and postmodernism developed outside the West among artists who faced the same global changes as their Western counterparts. The exhibition travels to the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; the Museo de arte contemporaneo, Monterrey, Mexico; the Tacoma Art Museum and the Henry Art Gallery, Seattle.

17 SEPTEMBER – 30 OCTOBER 1999 — Istanbul, Turkey. 6th Uluslararası Istanbul Bienali [International Istanbul Biennial] *The Passion and the Wave*. Curator: Paolo Colombo.

24 SEPTEMBER – 7 NOVEMBER 1999 — Liverpool, U.K. 1st Liverpool Biennial, *International Festival of Contemporary Art, Trace*. Curator: Anthony Bond. The first edition of this biennial is designed to revitalize Liverpool, which is mired in an economic and social crisis. Exploring the theme of the trace, the inaugural event brings together 60 artists from 24 countries in venues across the city. It quickly becomes the largest contemporary visual art event in the U.K. and will test different curatorial methods with each edition.

15 OCTOBER – 31 DECEMBER 1999 — Lima, Peru. 2nd Bienal Iberoamericana [Ibero-American Biennial].

16 OCTOBER 1999 – 16 JANUARY 2000 — Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Sweden. *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe*. Curators: David Elliot and Bojana Pejić. The panoramic exhibition is concentrated on the post-communist period and presents work from the entire former Soviet bloc. It focuses on young artists and is organized according to themes, going against the predominant tendency of recent surveys to be organized according to nationality. It deals with social critique, recent history, artistic subjectivity identity, the body, and gender, all from a post-communist perspective. The exhibition travels to Budapest.

6 NOVEMBER 1999 – 9 JANUARY 2000 — Porto Alegre, Brazil. 2nd Bienal de artes visuais do Mercosul [Mercosul Biennial of Visual Arts]. General curator: Fábio Magalhães; co-curator: Leonor Amarante.

6 NOVEMBER 1999 – 26 MARCH 2000 — Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S. 53rd Carnegie International. Curator: Madeleine Grynsztejn.

DECEMBER 1999 — The Initial Conference on Reconstructing the Cultural Production in the Balkans, held in Sarajevo, results in creation of the Balkan Art Network (BAN).

DECEMBER 1999 — The Network Interface for Cultural Exchange (NICE) is formed, creating a platform of exchange between Nordic, Baltic, northern and Eastern European small-scale initiatives in new media culture.

18 DECEMBER 1999 – 27 FEBRUARY 2000 — Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, Vienna, Austria. *Aspekte/Positionen: 50 Jahre Kunst aus Mitteleuropa 1949–1999* [Aspects/Positions: Fifty Years of Art in Central Europe 1949–1999]. Curator: Lóránd Hegyi. The exhibition shows the work of 150 artists from Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and the former Yugoslavia, providing an overview of the development of contemporary art in Central Europe during and after the imposition of communism. The exhibition travels to Budapest, Barcelona, and Southampton.

2000 — The EC starts the 7-year program *Culture 2000*. Its aim is to encourage the creativity and mobility of artists, the dissemination and public access to art and culture, intercultural dialogue, and awareness of the history and cultural heritage of Europe.

Krzysztof Jasiewicz edits *Europa NIEprovincialna* [NON-Provincial Europe], a vast 1,400-page anthology of 116 texts in Polish with English summaries by 124 authors from 10 countries. These essays explore the history (during the period 1772–1999) and cultural identity in Eastern Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Michael Hardt and Toni Negri publish *Empire*. The manifesto, calling for a movement against globalization, suggests that a new form of what the authors term "Empire"—driven by the globalization of the world markets and the logic of capital—has replaced the nation-state. It sells over 40,000 copies in its first year, attracts interest from academic and artistic circles around the world, and triggers heated debate within leftist arenas around Europe.

Dipesh Chakrabarty publishes *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. The study addresses the mythical idea of Europe that is often taken to be the original site of the "modern" in many histories of capitalist transition in non-Western countries. This imaginary Europe, the Indian historian argues, is built into the social sciences, carrying with it particularly European assumptions. Using modern India as an example, *Provincializing Europe* thus proposes how other histories—with their own intellectual models—might be written today and how history might be renewed both for and from the margins.

3 FEBRUARY 2000 — The far-right Austrian Freedom Party, led by Jörg Haider, enters government. The 14 member states of the EU cease diplomatic collaboration with the country, a sanction against right-wing extremism.

8 FEBRUARY – 21 JUNE 2000 — Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume, Paris, France. *L'Autre moitié de l'Europe* [The Other Half of Europe]. Curators: Lóránd Hegyi, Viktor Mísiano, and Anda Rottenberg. Three curators adopt a thematic approach and present the work of over 40 artists from 12 Central and Eastern European countries. In 4 parts, the exhibition is organized around the concepts of memory, history, biography, existence, and utopia.

26 FEBRUARY 2000 — EU member states sign the Treaty of Nice, which details how an enlarged EU will function.

29 MARCH – 7 JUNE 2000 — Gwangju, South Korea. 3rd Gwangju Biennial.

5 MAY – 5 JUNE 2000 — Dakar, Senegal. 4th Dak'Art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art. General secretary of the biennial: Remi Sagna; president of the selection committee and international jury: David Elliott.

21 MAY – 10 SEPTEMBER 2000 — Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, The Netherlands. *Continental Shift: Artists from the African Continent in Europe*. A collaborative project between museums of contemporary art in Aachen, Heerlen, Liège, and Maastricht, the exhibition brings together artists from the African continent, criticizing the hegemony of Western art centers and Western-oriented modern art history.

23 MAY – 9 JULY 2000 — Moss, Norway. *Momentum 2000, Nordic Festival of Contemporary Art*. Curators: Jonas Ekeberg, Ina Blom, Jacob Fabricius, and Paula Toppila.

26 MAY – 30 JULY 2000 — Sydney, Australia. 12th Biennale of Sydney. Chair of the selection committee: Nick Waterlow; Selection committee: Fumio Nanjo, Louise Neri, Hetti Perkins, Sir Nicholas Serota, Robert Storr, and Harald Szeemann. Unlike previous editions, no overarching theme unites the works. Instead, an international selection committee, comprised of its chairman and 6 distinguished museum directors and

curators, brings together the work of 48 artists from 23 countries for this city-wide event held in 6 venues. It also includes affiliated exhibitions and satellite events throughout the greater Sydney area.

10 JUNE – 10 SEPTEMBER 2000 — Uppsala, Sweden. *EVENTA 5, International Art Exhibition. Paradise Zero*. Curators: Orlando Britto Jinorio, Katya García-Antón, and Ernesto Muñoz. The fifth edition marks a change for this previously small-scale, regional event (founded in 1994) built around such themes as wind, water, and humankind, seeking to combine ancient Nordic culture, nature, and contemporary art. With its millennial edition, several international curators are invited to collaborate and broaden the scope and breadth of the exhibition.

10 JUNE – 3 OCTOBER 2000 — Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. *Das Lied von der Erde/The Songs of the Earth: Biennials in Dialogue*. Curator: René Block. An exhibition focusing on the world's 8 most important biennials represented by a selection of artists from their respective countries (Australia, Brazil, France, Korea, Cuba, South Africa, Turkey, and the U.S.). A related conference, *Biennials in Dialogue*, brings together over 30 speakers, many former biennial curators, from 3–6 August.

23 JUNE – 24 SEPTEMBER 2000 — Ljubljana, Slovenia. *Manifesta 3, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence*. Curators: Francesco Bonami, Ole Bouman, Mária Hlavajová, and Katherine Rhomberg. The first of the Manifesta editions to be explicitly thematic, the exhibition views Europe through the prism of the "borderline syndrome," a term borrowed from the field of psychology. Playing on the notion of borderlines, both geographic and psychic, the exhibition connects art, politics, geography, social reality, and the ways in which individual positions relate to current transformations in Europe. The work of 59 artists or collectives is shown in several outdoor venues, 4 institutional spaces, and a fifth venue—the airwaves of RTV Slovenia.

24 JUNE – 30 AUGUST 2000 — Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia. *ArtEast 2000+ International Collection: The Art of Eastern Europe in Dialogue with the West*. Curator: Zdenka Badovinac. The exhibition shows international works with a particular focus on conceptual art from the Eastern Europe, from 1960s to the present. The undertaking first begun in the 1990s, takes the form of an exhibition but is also, as its title implies, a project to constitute a museum collection.

27 JUNE – 24 SEPTEMBER 2000 — Lyon, France. 5th Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *Partages d'exotismes* [Sharing Exoticisms]. Curator: Jean-Hubert Martin. This edition of the biennial, curated by Jean-Hubert Martin, mastermind behind *Magiciens de la terre*, extends the premise of the former exhibition, questioning Western aesthetic hegemonies and juxtaposing culturally diverse objects. The biennial brings together objects from around the world fashioned for religious, ritual, and related functions.

1 JULY 2000 — Romania introduces visas for Belarusians.

20 JULY – 10 SEPTEMBER 2000 — Echigo-Tsumari, Japan. 1st Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennial. General director: Fram Kitagawa; art advisors: Jean de Loisy, Okwui Enwezor, Apinan Poshyananda, Alrich Schneider, and Yusuke Nakahara. The triennial takes place in a remote, rural region of 762 square kilometers. Participants include international artists from around the world as well as numerous Japanese artists. In cooperation with the local population, participants create site-specific works in rice paddies, on riversides, along streets, in plazas, forests, and abandoned houses.

9 SEPTEMBER 2000 – 7 JANUARY 2001 — Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Taipei, Taiwan. 2nd Taipei Biennial, *The Sky is the Limit*. Curators: Manray Hsu and Jérôme Sans. Shifting from the Asian focus of the inaugural exhibition, this edition is a broadly international event showing 31 artists from 16 countries, as the result of the collaboration between a Taiwanese and French curator.

28 SEPTEMBER – 29 OCTOBER 2000 — Palais du commerce, Montreal, Canada. **2nd Biennale de Montréal** [Montreal Biennial], *Tout le temps/Every Time*. Director: Claude Gosselin.

2 OCTOBER – 27 NOVEMBER 2000 — Busan (formerly Pusan), South Korea. **2nd Pusan International Contemporary Art Festival (PICAF)**. Pa: *Togetherness in Life*.

4 OCTOBER 2000 — **Slobodan Milošević resigns as president of Serbia**, after widespread demonstrations throughout the country and the withdrawal of Russian support.

13 OCTOBER 2000 – 25 FEBRUARY 2001 — Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego, California, U.S. **inSITE 2000–2001**. Curators: Susan Buck-Morss, Ivo Mesquita, Osvaldo Sánchez, and Sally Yard.

6 NOVEMBER 2000 – 6 JANUARY 2001 — Shanghai, China. **3rd Shanghai Biennial**. Curators: Hou Hanru, Toshio Shimizu, Li Xu, and Zhang Qing. The third edition of the Shanghai Biennial (founded in 1996) is open to international participants and curators, after 2 editions reserved exclusively for Chinese artists and traditional techniques (oil, ink, and watercolor painting). The transformation signals the realization of Shanghai's potential as a gateway between Asia and the West as well as the growing importance of biennials in defining such roles. While the third edition remain relatively conservative in character, its newfound internationalism announces changes that will open subsequent editions to more and newer mediums and experimentation.

6 NOVEMBER – 4 DECEMBER 2000 — Zachęta Gallery, Warsaw, Poland. **Inside/Outside**. Curators: Jelena Vesic and Karolina Ziebinska. This exhibition of new Yugoslav art includes the artists associated with the resurgence of an avant-garde art scene in Kosovo following the war.

17 NOVEMBER 2000 – 6 JANUARY 2001 — Havana, Cuba. **7th Bienal de la Habana** [Havana Biennial], *One Closer to Another*.

6 DECEMBER 2000 – 31 JANUARY 2001 — Museo nacional de bellas artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. **1st Bienal internacional de arte de Buenos Aires** [International Art Biennial of Buenos Aires], *The Globalization of Urban Culture*. Director: Jorge Glusberg. Claiming that the biennials in Venice and São do not serve as models, Argentina's objective with its inaugural event is closer to that of the Whitney Museum of American Art's biennial: to educate artists and help them become known to art critics and those interested in the visual arts from Latin America. Jorge Glusberg and a team of curators from abroad select the work of 160 artists from 18 countries in exhibitions divided between Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Neuquén.

12 DECEMBER 2000 – 26 MAY 2001 — Museo nacional centro de arte Reina Sofía, Cristal and Velázquez Palaces, Parque del Retiro, Madrid, Spain. **Versiones del sur** [Versions of the South]. General coordinators: Octavio Zaya and Marta González; co-curators: Gerardo Mosquera, Mari Carmen Ramírez, Héctor Olea, Elena Vozmediano, Ivo Mesquita, Adriano Pedrosa, Carlos Basualdo, and Octavio Zaya. Over 700 works by some 100 artists are exhibited in 5 exhibitions focused on Latin American art, in one of the most ambitious ventures ever organized by the Centro de arte Reina Sofía. The 5 thematic exhibitions provide distinct panoramas of the modern and contemporary aesthetic production of a continent.

2001 — The online archive and exhibition project **East Art Map (EAM): (Re)Construction of the History of Art in Eastern Europe** (www.eastartmap.org) is launched by the Slovenian artist collective IRWIN, leading visitors through 50 years of the history of the visual arts in Eastern Europe. The EAM proposes to construct "history" in the form of an archive of 250 artists, projects, or events initially selected by 24 invited art critics, curators, and artists from different former socialist Central, Eastern, and southeastern European countries. Website visitors are expected to expand and modify the archive.

Etienne Balibar publishes *Nous, citoyens d'Europe? les frontières, l'état, le peuple* (translated in 2004 as *We the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*). In his ongoing questioning of Europe, the French philosopher laments the beginnings of what he calls a "European apartheid," or the reduplication of external borders in the form of internal borders founded on questionable notions of national and racial identity. In imagining the possibility of "transnational citizenship," Balibar calls for the reinvention of what it means to be a citizen in an increasingly multicultural world.

22 JANUARY – 21 FEBRUARY 2001 — Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, India. **10th Triennale India**. Curator: Nand Katya. The tenth edition of the largest international art event in the region (founded in 1968) claims to continue into the new millennium its founding mission and remain a platform for Asian, African, and Latin America art to be exhibited alongside the work of artists from the West. The conservative institution, however, largely goes on replicating Western biennial models of national representation and juried prizes, while leaving curating largely in the hands of governmental bodies with their nationalistic and official concerns, all of which keep the event from gaining serious international attention.

25–30 JANUARY 2001 — **The World Social Forum (WSF)** holds its first meeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, coinciding with the meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland. Aimed to counterbalance the WEF and its neoliberal perpetuation of global inequality, the WSF proposes to be an open platform for the democratic debate of ideas opposed to globalization and various forms of imperialism. The annual event brings together civil organizations and movements from numerous countries.

15 FEBRUARY – 22 APRIL 2001 — Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, Germany. **The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994**. Curator: Okwui Enwezor. The exhibition presents a history of African art, from the post-WWII period, which prompted movements of liberation from colonial rule, to the date of the first democratic elections in South Africa definitively ending apartheid. The interdisciplinary approach of the exhibition links historical documents with modernist and contemporary artistic projects. Taking decolonialization as one of the principle phenomena of the twentieth century, the exhibition offers a publication including commissioned texts, an anthology of original source material, and a chronology of the "short century" in question. The exhibition travels to Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, and P.S.1, New York City.

15 MARCH – 15 MAY 2001 — Cairo, Egypt. **8th Cairo Biennial**. Curator: Ahmed Fouad Selim.

14–21 APRIL 2001 — University of Arts, Belgrade, Serbia. **Professional Standards in Curatorial Practice**. A program of curatorial seminars striving to professionalize young curators from Central and Eastern Europe and fostering regional cooperation in the visual arts. Lecturers include: Marianne Brouwer, Milena Dragicevic, and Armaly Fareed.

20 APRIL – 20 JUNE 2001 — Berlin, Germany. **2nd Berlin Biennale für zeitgenössische Kunst** [Berlin Biennial for Contemporary Art]. Curator: Saskia Bos.

1 JUNE – 30 SEPTEMBER 2001 — Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, France. **Da adversidade vivemos** [Adversity, We Live It]. Curator: Carlos Basualdo. An exhibition exploring artistic production from South America over the last 3 decades. Brazilian artist Hélio Oiticica's declaration "Da adversidade vivemos!" inspires the gathering together of works from diverse, unstable socioeconomic contexts united by way of a shared experience of precariousness and modernity.

3 JUNE – 23 SEPTEMBER 2001 — Arnhem, The Netherlands. **Sonsbeek 9, Locus Focus**. Curator: Jan Hoet.

9 JUNE – 26 AUGUST 2001 — Göteborg, Sweden. **Ideologica I: Nordic Biennial of Contemporary Art**. Artistic director: Jonas Stampe.

9 JUNE – 16 SEPTEMBER 2001 — Göteborg, Sweden. **1st Göteborgs Internationella Konstbiennial** [Göteborg International Biennial for Contemporary Art], *Experience-Dissolution*. Curators: Ewa Brodin, Britt Ignell, and Lasse Lindkvist. One of two new biennials in Sweden's second-largest city, the modest event complements its counterpart, both contributing to the relatively high number of recurrent contemporary art exhibitions recently initiated in the Nordic region (Momentum, EVENTA, and the UKS Biennial).

10 JUNE – 4 NOVEMBER 2001 — Venice, Italy. **49th Biennale di Venezia** [Venice Biennial]. Curator: Harald Szeemann.

10 JUNE – 20 OCTOBER 2001 — Valencia, Spain. **1st Valencia Biennial, The Passions**. Director: Luigi Settembrini; artistic director: Franco Laera. The first edition of this event devoted to visual and performing arts is organized to open biennially around the same period as the Venice Biennial and commits an impressive budget to the event, making Spain's third-largest municipality the host to a new biennial that prides itself on its seriousness. New media, theater, performance, and site-specific projects are privileged.

23 JUNE – 23 SEPTEMBER 2001 — Lyon, France. **6th Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon** [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *Connivence* [Complicity]. Artistic directors: Thierry Prat and Thierry Raspail.

14 JULY 2001 – 6 JANUARY 2002 — Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. **4th SITE Santa Fe, International Biennial, Beau Monde: Toward a Redeemed Cosmopolitanism**. Curator: Dave Hickey.

20–22 JULY 2001 — At the **G8 summit** in Genoa, 1 person is killed and several others injured, when Italian police violently intervene in demonstrations organized by antiglobalization groups. This 27th annual reunion of the Group of Eight (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the U.K., the U.S., and Russia) hosts the most violent of the confrontations between that unofficial "world government" and protesters demanding more parity in the distribution of global resources; future summits will be met with continued protests.

23 JULY 2001 — Under pressure from the West, reformist ministers in the Yugoslav government agree to transfer **Slobodan Milošević to the UN administered International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** in The Hague. Ten days later, Milošević appears before the court as the first head of state ever to be tried for war crimes. In a trial that continues to the present, the former Yugoslav president refuses to accept the legitimacy of the court and insists on defending himself.

1–31 SEPTEMBER 2001 — Oslo, Norway. **3rd UKS Biennial**. Curators: Kjersti Myrehagen, Tiril Schrøder, Elin T. Sørensen, and Per Gunnar Tverbakk. After its first 2 editions arranged as museum exhibitions, the UKS (Unge Kunstneres Samfund, or Young Artist's Association of Norway) Biennial takes on a new dimension, showing work in various venues in Norway and abroad and including more experimental works not considered for the previous editions. The work of 47 Norwegian and foreign artists is shown in 14 venues in and around Oslo.

2 SEPTEMBER – 11 NOVEMBER 2001 — Yokohama, Japan. **1st Yokohama Triennial of Contemporary Art. Mega Wave: Towards a New Synthesis**. Curators: Tatehata Akira, Nanjo Fumio, Nakamura Nobuo, and Kohmoto Shinji. The curators bring together artists and experts from other fields and from around the world to explore creativity from a broad perspective, transcending national or disciplinary boundaries. The work of 109 artists and artist groups is shown in this inaugural edition of Japan's second contemporary art triennial.

11 SEPTEMBER 2001 — **Hijacked airliners hit the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City**. A third hijacked plane hits the Pentagon building outside Washington, DC and a fourth crashes into a field in Pennsylvania. Several thousand are killed in this, the first attack on U.S. soil since WWII. Trading on Wall Street is stopped. The Federal Aviation

Administration halts all flight operations at the nation's airports for the first time in history. U.S. President George W. Bush declares a "war on terror," the considerable consequences of which will be felt for years to come. A U.S. led war in Afghanistan and then Iraq follows.

15 SEPTEMBER – 15 NOVEMBER 2001 — National Gallery and National Fair Center Tirana, Albania. **1st Tirana Biennial, Escape**. Director: Giancarlo Politi; artistic coordinator: Edi Muka. The first large-scale contemporary art exhibition in Albania's capital, the impetus of which comes from the city's artist-major, Edi Muka. The show is imagined as a challenge—to itself and to other biennials—to create an innovative platform for contemporary art with the incredibly modest budget of 30,000 U.S. dollars. Showing the work of over 200 emerging artists selected by a group of some 30 international curators and artists, the exhibition avoids a single curatorial voice and is structured to be a gathering of cultures and practices from around the world.

21 SEPTEMBER 2001 — **The Platform Garanti Contemporary Art Center** in Istanbul is inaugurated. Initiated by Vasif Kortun and supported by the Garanti Bank, the site includes an ambitious program of exhibitions, lectures, and workshops, bringing Turkish artists in contact with artists from all corners of Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.

22 SEPTEMBER – 17 NOVEMBER 2001 — Istanbul, Turkey. **7th Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali** [International Istanbul Biennial], *Egofugal: Fugue from Ego for the Next Emergence*. Curator: Yuko Hasegawa.

13 OCTOBER – 16 DECEMBER 2001 — Porto Alegre, Brazil. **3rd Bienal de artes visuais do Mercosul** [Mercosur Biennial of Visual Arts]. General curator: Fábio Magalhães; co-curator: Leonor Amarante.

13 DECEMBER 2001 – 24 FEBRUARY 2002 — Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. **Unpacking Europe**. Curators: Salah Hassan and İftikhar Dadi. An exhibition of 18 Africa and Asia artists who primarily live in Europe, each delivering a commentary on the Western norms of art from his or her perspective. The exhibition reveals an image of Europe at the crossroad of cultures.

1 JANUARY 2002 — **Euro banknotes and coins are released into public circulation** in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain.

23 JANUARY 2002 — The cabinet of the German Government approves the setting-up of the **Kulturstiftung des Bundes** [Federal Cultural Foundation], the first nationwide agency in Germany conceived to further art and culture in the new millennium.

23 JANUARY 2002 — **Pierre Bourdieu**, French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher, dies in Paris at the age of 71.

24–25 JANUARY 2002 — **The first Simposio internacional de teoría sobre arte contemporáneo (SITAC)** is held in Mexico City, bringing together international curators and scholars to address issues facing contemporary art in what will become one of the most important annual symposia on contemporary art.

21 MARCH – 23 JUNE 2002 — Fukuoka, Japan. **2nd Fukuoka Asian Art Triennial, Imagined Workshop**.

23 MARCH – 2 JUNE 2002 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. **25th Bienal Internacional de São Paulo** [São Paulo International Biennial]. Artistic director: Alfons Hug. The event, which opens a year too late to celebrate the biennial's 50th anniversary, is overshadowed by the effects of the greatest crisis it has faced since its inception in 1951. The twenty-fifth edition was originally scheduled to open in April 2001 but was postponed twice; its initial artistic director walked out, and 6 council members resigned.

29 MARCH – 29 JUNE 2002 — Gwangju, South Korea. **4th Gwangju Biennial, P.A.U.S.E.** Artistic director: Wan-kyung Sung; curators: Hou Hanru, Charles Esche, Yong Soon Min, and Guyong Chung. The fourth edition of the most active of South Korea's 3 biennials divides the event into 4 projects, each with its own curatorial team. Dealing with such issues as the Korean diaspora and political insurrection and showing works in former military prisons and along reconstructed railroad tracks, the edition distinguishes itself from its predecessors. The largest section of the biennial, Project 1: Pause, curated by Hou Hanru, Charles Esche, and Wan-kyung and from which the edition takes its name, fills the permanent biennial complex (built in 2000). Here, about 25 artist collectives and alternative art organizations from places lacking strong contemporary art support structures (museum, galleries, a patron class) curate their own exhibitions, reconstructing the floor plans of the sites in which they typically show work. The ambitious project aims to subvert the Eurocentrism of biennials and the institutions connected with them.

17 APRIL – 31 MAY 2002 — Lima, Peru. **3rd Bienal Iberoamericana** [Ibero American Biennial]. The third edition of Peru's only biennial (founded in 1997) was postponed a year—the edition should have opened in 2001—on account of the country's political instability. Unlike the broad internationalism of other South American biennials, like those in Havana and São Paulo, the Ibero American Biennial, as its name implies, limits its focus to work emerging from the American territories (Brazil, the Spanish-speaking republics, and Puerto Rico) conquered and settled by the Iberians between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries and from 1821 to the present.

19–26 APRIL 2002 — Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA), Belgrade, Serbia. **Professional Standards in Curatorial Practice II.** Participating curators: Iara Boubnova, Lóránd Hegyi, Henry Meyric Hughes, Bojana Pejić, and Igor Zabel. The second edition in a series of curatorial seminars that bring together young curators from 17 Eastern European countries. Presentations and discussions are held, and they develop an exhibition project that opens a year later.

22 APRIL 2002 — Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the extreme right-wing Front nationale obtains enough votes to qualify for the second round of French presidential elections. He is the first extreme-right candidate ever to do so in France, sparking widespread protest. More than 1 million French people take to the streets on 1 May in opposition to his nationalistic, racist, anti-immigration, and anti-EU positions. Incumbent President Jacques Chirac subsequently defeats Le Pen in the second round.

10 MAY – 10 JUNE 2002 — Dakar, Senegal. **5th Dak'Art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art.** General secretary of the biennial: Ousseynou Wade; President of the selection committee and international jury: Ery Camara. The fifth edition of this biennial, emphatically focused on African art for a decade, attempts to examine its new global condition. The main exhibition is made up of the work of more than 30 artists from 15 African countries selected by an international committee, while individual exhibitions are opened for the first time to artists not from Africa or its diaspora. An extensive "off program," with more than 100 large and small art projects and presentations throughout the city, accompanies the ensemble.

15 MAY – 14 JUNE 2002 — Sydney, Australia. **13th Biennale of Sydney, (The World May Be) Fantastic.** Artistic director: Richard Grayson; Advisory panel: Susan Hiller, Ralph Rugoff, and János Sugár.

25 MAY – 25 AUGUST 2002 — Frankfurt, Germany. **Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art.** Curators: Iara Boubnova, Nuria Enguita Mayo, and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley. The edition eschews a specific theme or topic of investigation. Its curators partake in extensive international research and make the mobility, process, and interaction precipitated by such research the focus of the exhibition. Over 90 artists or collectives from across Europe, including a radio station, numerous Internet practitioners, and a series of cultural organizations, participate in the largest edition of Manifesta to date. As part of the show, the cura-

tors make public the dossiers of all the artists who were considered for the exhibition, including those not selected.

8 JUNE – 15 SEPTEMBER 2002 — Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. **Documenta 11, Platform 5.** Artistic director: Okwui Enwezor; curators: Carlos Basualdo, Ute Meta Bauer, Susanne Ghez, Sarat Maharaj, Mark Nash, and Octavio Zaya. This edition of what is considered the art world's most serious mega exhibition is the first to be directed by a non-white, non-European. Enwezor and his 6 co-curators conceived it as 5 global "platforms," thus temporally, geographically, and conceptually extending Documenta. Following discussions in Vienna, New Delhi, Saint Lucia, and Lagos entitled Democracy Unrealized, Experiments with Truth, Créolité and Creolization, and Under Siege, the 100-day exhibition in Kassel is the last of the platforms. It includes 415 works by 180 artists from 5 continents. Each of the platforms generates its own tome, and the fifth—effectively the exhibition catalogue—aims to define the role of art in a postcolonial, globally interconnected world.

26 AUGUST – 4 SEPTEMBER 2002 — The **World Summit on Sustainable Development** is held in Johannesburg, South Africa.

12 SEPTEMBER 2002 – 27 JANUARY 2003 — Brisbane, Australia. **4th Asia-Pacific Triennial.** Curators: Doug Hall, Suhanya Raffel, Rhana Devenport, Anne Kirker, and Julie Ewington.

13 SEPTEMBER – 11 NOVEMBER 2002 — Vilnius, Lithuania. **8th Baltic Triennial of International Art. Center of Attraction.** Artistic director: Tobias Berger. Organizing institution: Contemporary Art Center (CAC), Vilnius. The eighth edition of this event (founded in 1979 as the Baltic Triennial of Young Contemporary Art in Lithuania and eventually changed to Triennial of the Baltic States) takes on yet another name and expands the work of the last edition to forge a major perennial international contemporary art event in Eastern Europe, where there are few such regular happenings. Tying the biennial edition's theme to the fact that Vilnius is just 24 kilometers away from the geographical center of Europe, the exhibition, accompanying lectures, and a seminar explore real and metaphorical relationships among different centers (political, economic, cultural, social, geographic, etc.). The show brings together around 60 international artists (mostly from Europe) with a majority of the artworks newly produced.

14 SEPTEMBER – 24 NOVEMBER 2002 — Liverpool, U.K. **2nd Liverpool Biennial.**

15 SEPTEMBER – 17 NOVEMBER 2002 — Busan (Pusan), South Korea, **3rd Busan Biennial.** The third edition of the Pusan International Contemporary Art Festival is officially renamed the Busan Biennial.

26 SEPTEMBER – 3 NOVEMBER 2002 — Espacio Mexico, Montreal, Canada. **3rd Biennale de Montréal** [Montreal Biennial], *La Vie, c'est la vie! plaisirs, passions, émotions.* Director: Claude Gosselin.

4 OCTOBER – 3 NOVEMBER 2002 — Museum of Contemporary Art and 5 additional venues, Zagreb, Croatia. **Here Tomorrow.** Curator: Roxana Marococi. The exhibition traces the period of democratic transitions in Croatia by presenting several generations of local artistic practices. Showing the work of 35 artists and collectives, ranging from eminent historical figures to emerging artists, the show draws on the country's avant-garde past to posit its possible (artistic) future.

5 OCTOBER – 1 DECEMBER 2002 — Neue Galerie, Graz, Austria. **In Search of Balkania.** Curators: Roger Conover, Eda Čufer, and Peter Weibel. An exhibition and accompanying publication series (*In Search of Balkania: A User's Manual, Balkania: A Non-Standard Cultural Dictionary, and Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*) exploring the various implications of the term "Balkans" as well as the region's heterogeneous artistic production. The exhibition includes over 60 artists and artist collectives from southeastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania,

Slovenia, Turkey, and Yugoslavia) and eschews the white cube in favor of an installation format informed by diverse local display strategies.

20–23 OCTOBER 2002 — Kraków, Poland. Bunkier Sztuki Contemporary Art Gallery. **Polyphony of Voices: Contemporary Curatorial Strategies and Practices.** Conference organizer: Adam Budak.

23 OCTOBER 2002 — **Armed Chechen rebels seize a theater in the center of Moscow** and hold some 800 people hostage, demanding that Russian troops withdraw from Chechnya within a week. After 2 days, Russian President Vladimir Putin orders Russian forces to storm the building with a mysterious lethal gas that kills nearly 130 hostages and 41 of the 50 hostage takers. Dozens of survivors suffer serious, permanent health problems.

26 OCTOBER 2002 — Russian President Vladimir Putine decides to put an end to the **Chechen siege of the Moscow theater.** Over 160 people die, poisoned by the lethal gas used during the government operation, while dozens of survivors suffer serious, permanent health problems.

7 NOVEMBER – 8 DECEMBER 2002 — Museo nacional de bellas artes, Buenos Aires, Argentina. **2nd Bienal internacional de arte de Buenos Aires** [International Art Biennial of Buenos Aires].

13 NOVEMBER 2002 — The oil tanker **Prestige sinks** off Spain's northwestern coast, spilling over 2 million gallons of crude oil and causing Western Europe's largest environmental disaster. The sunken ship will likely continue leaking into 2006.

18 NOVEMBER 2002 – 19 JANUARY 2003 — Guangzhou, China. **1st Guangzhou Triennial. Reinterpretation: A Decade of Experimental Chinese Art (1990–2000).** The first edition of the triennial held in the capital of the Guangdong Province shows the work of about 130 Chinese artists. Unlike the usual tendency of such events to produce new work and show the very latest art, this inaugural edition offered a retrospective of the triennial's previous 10 years.

21 NOVEMBER 2002 — Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia are invited to join the **NATO** in 2002.

22 NOVEMBER 2002 – 20 JANUARY 2003 — Shanghai Art Museum, Shanghai, China. **4th Shanghai Biennial.** Curators: Fan Di'an, Wu Jiang, Li Xu, Alanna Heiss, Klaus Biesenbach, and Yuko Hasegawa.

29 NOVEMBER 2002 – 3 FEBRUARY 2003 — Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Taipei, Taiwan. **3rd Taipei Biennial, Great Theater of the World.** Curators: Bartheleo Mari and Chia Chi Jason Wang.

30 DECEMBER 2002 — British government persuades French authorities to close the controversial center for asylum seekers run by the Red Cross at **Sangatte.** Since opening in September 1999, the center, situated close to the entry of the Channel Tunnel, has provided shelter to over 60,000 people.

13 DECEMBER 2002 – 28 FEBRUARY 2003 — Fortaleza, Brazil. **1st Biennial Ceará América. De Ponta-cabeça** [Upside Down]. Curators: Jan Hoet and Philippe Van Cauteren. The title of the first edition of a new Brazilian biennial comes from a drawing by Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García in which he turned the map of South America upside down. The organizers allude to the same issues suggested by the artwork in this event, which examines current demographic and cultural changes in North American cities, where the percentage of the population with Latin American roots continues to increase.

2003 — **RADAR**, a project involving artists and inhabitants from 6 European cities is founded with a grant from the Culture 2000 program. It includes artists' residencies and the exhibition *Connecting Europe* held in Venice during the biennial.

3–27 JANUARY 2003 — The annual meeting of the **World Economic Forum (WEF)** brings together chief executives of the world's richest corporations, political leaders, select intellectuals, and journalists for discussions in the Swiss city of Davos. Under pressure following heavy critiques of previous meetings and increasing protests against globalization, 300 members of the public are invited to participate for the first time in a parallel event named Open Forum.

30 JANUARY 2003 — The leaders of the U.K., Spain, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and the Czech Republic sign a letter of intent to support **U.S. plans for an invasion of Iraq.** Simultaneously, France and Germany strongly oppose the military intervention. This creates tension between the different European states, which only increases when U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld distinguishes what her terms "old" Europe from "new" Europe.

9 FEBRUARY – 4 MAY 2003 — Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S. **How Latitudes Become Forms: Art in a Global Age.** Curators: Philippe Vergne with Douglas Fogle, Olukemi Ilesanmi. The exhibition's premise is to examine the ways that the globalization of cultural contexts impacts current artistic forms and practices. Exploring notions such as civic responsibility, cultural translation, collective production, and process over form, the works demonstrate an aesthetics influenced by recent global shifts. The curators and 7-member international advisory committee select artists from Brazil, China, India, Japan, South Africa, Turkey, and the United States. The exhibition travels to Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, Turin; Contemporary Arts Museum Houston, Houston, Texas; Museo de arte contemporáneo internacional Rufino Tamayo, Mexico City, Mexico; Museo de arte contemporáneo de Monterrey, Monterrey, Mexico.

12 MARCH 2003 — World Health Organization issues a global alert on **Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS).** This atypical, lethal form of pneumonia first appeared in November 2002 in China. Governments of many Western countries discourage their citizens from traveling to Asia.

23 MARCH 2003 — Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, New York, U.S. **East of Art: Transformations in Eastern Europe.** A symposium on the occasion of the publication of *Primary Documents: A Sourcebook for Eastern and Central European Art since the 1950s*, edited by Laura Hoptman and Tomas Pospiszył.

8 APRIL – 8 MAY 2003 — Sharjah Expo Center, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates. **6th Sharjah International Art Biennial.** Director: Hoor Al-Qasimi; curator: Peter Lewis. This small-scale biennial (established in 1993) is transformed into a large-scale international event, at the impetus of its new director, Al-Qasimi, an art student of the Slade School of Art, London. The exhibition shows about 100 artists from more than 20 countries, questioning the global sphere of art.

15 MAY – 28 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Sammlung Essl, Klosterneuburg, Austria. **Blut und Honig: Zukunft ist am Balkan** [Blood and Honey: Future in the Balkans]. Curator: Harald Szeemann. A presentation of a wide variety of contemporary artworks from southeastern European countries.

17 MAY – 15 JUNE 2003 — Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, Serbia. **The Last East European Show.** Organizers: Zoran Eric and Stevan Vuković. The exhibition is the end result of Professional Standards in Curatorial Practice II, a series of seminars and workshops. It explores the heritage of the communist era and the process of political, economic, cultural, and identity transition. 57 artists from 17 countries exhibit works. The exhibition involves 21 curators from all over Eastern Europe.

24 MAY – 24 AUGUST 2003 — Göteborg, Sweden. **2nd Göteborgs Internationella Konstbiennal** [Göteborg International Biennial for Contemporary Art], *Welcome to Reality: Against All Evens*. Curator: Carl Michael von Hausswolff.

30 MAY – 14 JUNE 2003 — Iași, Romania. **6th Periferic Biennial, Prophetic Corners**. Organizer: The Vector Foundation. Curator: Anders Kreuger. With its sixth edition, the biennial (begun in 1997) is transformed from a regional to an international platform and thus becomes the most extensive contemporary art initiative in Romania after the fall of communism.

29 MAY 2003 — Pierre Restany, French critic, curator, and founder of nouveau réalisme, dies in Paris at the age of 72.

31 MAY – 24 AUGUST 2003 — Göteborg, Sweden. **Ideological II: Nordic Biennial of Contemporary Art**. Artistic director: Jonas Stampe; curators: Lars Bent Petersen, Erkki Pirtola, Finnur Arnarson, Unni Askeland, Ingrid Falk, and Gustavo Aguerre.

4 JUNE – 15 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki, Greece. **© EUROPE EXISTS**. Curator: Rosa Martínez with Harald Szeemann. Before the future enlargement of the EU and in the context of Greek presidency of it, the exhibition presents the work of 30 artists from each of the 15 member countries of the EU. The works selected trace a panorama of the aesthetic diversity and the ideological concerns, particularly enlightenment ideals, seen from the new perspectives of postcolonial, class, and gender analysis.

5 JUNE 2003 — The EU sends a memorandum to the Cuban government (after 75 Cuban social and cultural activists are sentenced to long prison terms and 3 ferry hijackers are sentenced to immediate execution in March) condemning the country's violations of human rights and demanding the release of the prisoners. President Fidel Castro in turn repeatedly and fiercely attacks the EU.

8 JUNE – 30 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Valencia, Spain. **2nd Bienal de Valencia** [Valencia Biennial], *Ideal City*. Director: Luigi Settembrini; curators: Will Alsop, Mike Figgis, Lóránd Hegyi, Francisco Jaraúta, and Bruce McLean.

15 JUNE – 2 NOVEMBER 2003 — Venice, Italy. **50th Biennale di Venezia** [Venice Biennial] *Dreams and Conflicts: The Dictatorship of the Viewer*. Artistic director: Francesco Bonami; curators: Carlos Basualdo, Daniel Birnbaum, Catherine David, Massimiliano Gioni, Hou Hanru, Molly Nesbit, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Gabriel Orozco, Gilane Tawadros, Rirkrit Tiravanija, and Igor Zabel. Marking the 50th edition of the oldest of biennials, its director opts to create what he calls an "archipelago" of exhibitions within an exhibition, spreading the curatorial role between himself and 11 other curators. The curatorial teams fill the Arsenale, the Italian pavilion, and part of the Giardini with 9 distinct exhibitions.

26 JUNE – 24 AUGUST 2003 — Prague, Czech Republic. **1st Prague Biennial, Peripheries Become the Center**. Director: Giancarlo Politi; artistic director: Helena Kontova. The exhibition, made up of over 25 independent projects, claims to represent the plurality of art practices that emerge from the dissolution of the binary between center and periphery in the contemporary art world.

20 JULY – 7 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Echigo-Tsumari, Japan. **2nd Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennial**. General director: Fram Kitagawa; art advisors: Hou Hanru, Rosa Martínez, Tom Finkelpearl, and Yusuke Nakahara.

10 AUGUST 2003 — Cedric Price, visionary English architect, dies in London at the age of 68.

22 AUGUST 2003 — As a consequence of Cuba's suppression of cultural expression and recent persecutions, the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development, the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with

Developing Countries (HIVOS), and Association française d'action artistique (AFAA)—all major sponsors of the Havana Biennial—announce their withdrawal of support for the eighth edition, to open in November.

30 AUGUST – 23 NOVEMBER 2003 — Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. **In den Schluchten des Balkans: eine Reportage** [In the Gorges of the Balkans: A Report]. Curator: René Block. The exhibition is a part of larger project called Balkan Trilogy, including several other exhibitions, publications, and discussions organized in Belgrade, Bucharest, Cetinje, Istanbul, Ljubljana, Prishtina, Sarajevo, Skopje, Sofia, Tirana, and Zagreb.

4 SEPTEMBER – 3 OCTOBER 2003 — National Gallery, Jakarta, Indonesia. **1st CP Open Biennial**. Chief curator: Jim Supangkat; curator: Rizki A. Zaelani. The initiative to create a new biennial in Indonesia was the result of a paradoxical situation. Over the preceding few years, the world's largest Muslim nation battled terrorism, political upheaval, and economic crisis, while an energetic art scene emerged after decades of official censorship ended in 1998. The CP Foundation privately initiated, funded, and organized the event, bringing together the work of over 125 Indonesian and international artists (although Indonesians account for a large part of the artworks on display). Many of the works are made using mediums often thought of as "traditional" or "craft," thus the new biennial prominently features pieces usually excluded from such perennial international exhibitions. The exhibition, like its accompanying symposium, questions the idea of "international contemporary art" and the role of exhibitions in promoting art that does not emerge from dominant Western traditions.

10 SEPTEMBER 2003 — A fanatic in a Stockholm department store assassinates the Swedish Foreign Minister Anna Lindh. At the time she is actively engaged in the referendum to have Sweden join other EU countries in adopting the euro. 4 days later, Sweden rejects the measure.

12 SEPTEMBER – 25 OCTOBER 2003 — Tirana, Albania. **2nd Tirana Biennial, U-Topos**. Artistic directors: Edi Muka and Gezim Qendro.

18 SEPTEMBER 2003 – 4 JANUARY 2004 — Lyon, France. **7th Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon** [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *C'est arrivé demain* [It Happened Tomorrow]. Curators: Le Consortium (Xavier Douroux, Franck Gautherot, and Eric Troncy), Robert Nickas, and Anne Pontégnie.

18–20 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Istanbul, Turkey. **Art Criticism and Curatorial Practices, East of the EU**. AICA Turkey and the International Bureau of AICA organize an international workshop, roundtable, and publication, all bearing the same title, in conjunction with the eighth Istanbul Biennial.

19 SEPTEMBER – 16 NOVEMBER 2003 — Istanbul, Turkey. **8th Uluslararası Istanbul Bienali** [International Istanbul Biennial], *Poetic Justice*. Curator: Dan Cameron.

24 SEPTEMBER 2003 – 4 JANUARY 2004 — Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, Germany. **Traumfabrik Kommunismus** [Dream Factory Communism]. Curators: Boris Groys and Selfira Tregulova. This exhibition is dedicated to Soviet art made during the Stalin era, examining its similarities with American mass culture of that time.

24 SEPTEMBER 2003 — Edward Said, literary critic, scholar, and advocate of the Palestinian cause, dies in New York City at the age of 67.

28 SEPTEMBER 2003 — A blackout in Italy affects almost the entire country's 57 million inhabitants. Along with an earlier North America blackout affecting 50 million and recurring power outages in California, these events seem to signify a global power crisis.

1 OCTOBER 2003 — In connection with joining the EU, Poland institutes a mandatory visa regime for Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian citizens. Russia introduces visas for Poles.

4 OCTOBER – 7 DECEMBER 2003 — Porto Alegre, Brazil. **4th Bienal de artes visuais do Mercosul** [Mercosur Biennial of Visual Arts] *Contemporary Archeology*. General curator: Nelson Aguilar

13 OCTOBER 2003 — Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, Germany. **Back from the Future: The Post-Communist Condition**. An international conference resulting from the larger research project known as the Post-Communism Condition directed by Boris Groys at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (ZKM), Karlsruhe, the goal of which was to explore the current artistic and cultural situation in Eastern Europe as well as the differing conditions in which cultural discourses in the East and the West have developed. As one of the culminating points of the research project, the conference is conceived in relation to several discussions held at the ZKM and Das Moskau Kongresszentrum, Berlin; an exhibition at the Kunst-Werke, Institute for Contemporary Art, Berlin (see 16 MAY – 26 JUNE 2004); and a series of publications: *The New Humankind: Biopolitical Utopias in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century*, *At Zero Point: Positions of the Russian Avant-garde*, and *Back from the Future: Eastern European Cultures in the Age of Post-Communism*.

25–26 OCTOBER 2003 — Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. **Die Neuerfindung des Balkans: Geopolitik, Kunst und Kultur in Südosteuropa** [The Reinvention of the Balkans: Geopolitics, Art, and Culture in South-East Europe]. Conceived by: Marius Babias and Bojana Pejić. The 2-day conference, organized with the Kunsthalle Fridericianum in cooperation with the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa), Stuttgart, discusses the political and cultural relations between Western and southeastern Europe and attempts to deconstruct existing representations of the "Balkans."

1 NOVEMBER – 15 DECEMBER 2003 — Havana, Cuba. **8th Bienal de la Habana** [Havana Biennial] *Art Together with Life*.

6 NOVEMBER – 13 NOVEMBER 2003 — Kunstraum der Universität Lüneburg, Lüneburg, Germany. **Die Regierung** [The Government]. Curators: Roger M. Buergel and Ruth Noack. The beginning of a 5-part project of exhibitions and discussions informed by the late Michel Foucault's notion of *gouvernementalité*. The political potential of art makes up the core of the series, while specific examinations of such issues as Europe's education system, collective memory, or art making as a sphere of action are the topics of individual exhibition installments at: Museu d'art contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA), Miami Art Central, Wiener Secession in Vienna, and the Witte de With in Rotterdam.

15 NOVEMBER 2003 — Two car bombs explode simultaneously in front of synagogues in Istanbul, killing at least 25 people and wounding more than 300. The terrorist group Al-Qaeda claims responsibility. Five days later, another bomb explodes, targeting the U.K. consulate and the head office of HSBC.

23 NOVEMBER 2003 — The Rose Revolution starts in Georgia. President Eduard Shevardnadze is forced to resign, following mass protests.

3 DECEMBER 2003 – 5 JANUARY 2004 — Kiasma, Helsinki, Finland. **Institution²: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Working with Contemporary Art**. Exhibition and accompanying seminar organizers: Jens Hoffman with Nina Möntmann for the Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art (NIFCA). An examination of the working methods of 10 contemporary art institutions from various cultural and geographic contexts in Europe (Basis voor Actuele Kunst, Utrecht; Contemporary Art Center, Vilnius; Foksal Gallery Foundation, Warsaw; Index, Stockholm; Kunstverein Frankfurt, Frankfurt; Palais de Tokyo, Paris; Platform Garanti, Istanbul; Rooseum, Malmö; Witte de With, Rotterdam; Oslo Kunsthalle, Oslo).

13 DECEMBER 2003 – 13 FEBRUARY 2004 — Cairo, Egypt. **9th Cairo Biennial**. Chief curator: Ahmed Fouad Selim. The ninth edition of this biennial continues to display the foundational influence of

the Venice Biennial, with its national pavilions along with "honorary guests" and "special invitees" presented in 3 exhibition buildings. Even after 9 editions, however, the event does not manage to gain much of a following in the international art world, in large part because it is deemed conservative and at odds with the dynamic young art scene in Egypt. The biennial is intimately linked to Egyptian governmental bodies and their nationalistic and official concerns, remaining openly hostile to art practices from the second half of the twentieth century (conceptual art, video, installation, new media, etc.). Instead, it is used as a tool for diplomatic relations, especially the first post-9/11 edition: Organizers are explicit about the desire to help relations between the U.S. and the Arab world, while also using biennial guidelines to disallow the participation of certain nations, such as Israel.

31 JANUARY – 2 MAY 2004 — Kiasma, Helsinki, Finland. **Faster Than History Yet Slower Than a Lifetime**. Curator: Ekaterina Degot. The core of the exhibition consists of the pluralistic work of the "new generation," artists born in the 1960s and 1970s, including 25 artists from Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Russia.

10 FEBRUARY 2004 — The French National Assembly votes to pass a law banning ostentatious signs of religious affiliation from public schools, after several Muslim girls are expelled for wearing headscarves.

14 FEBRUARY – 18 APRIL 2004 — Berlin, Germany. **3rd Berlin Biennale für zeitgenössische Kunst** [Berlin Biennial for Contemporary Art]. Curator: Ute Meta Bauer.

28 FEBRUARY 2004 — Fondazione Antonio Ratti, Como, Italy. **L'Europa e gli "Altri"** [Europe and "Others"]. Organizer: Lóránd Hegyi. The international forum on the visual arts explores the profound contemporary reformulation of European cultural identity.

11 MARCH 2004 — A terrorist attack in Madrid's central train station, Atocha, kills 191 people. The government initially blames the Basque separatist organization ETA but evidence suggests it was a terrorist act of Al-Qaeda. Three days later, the Spanish parliamentary elections are held and the socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero defeats the incumbent government led by José María Aznar.

11–14 MARCH 2004 — Centraal Museum Utrecht, Utrecht, The Netherlands. **Almost Real**. International conference exploring artistic strategies in a rapidly changing Europe.

2–4 APRIL 2004 — Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia. **Public vs. Private: Cultural Policies and the Art Market in Central and South-Eastern Europe**. One of a series of conferences and symposia taking place in Vienna, Linz, Ljubljana, London, Lüneburg, and Riga as part of the European Internet project, Republicart (www.republicart.net).

8 APRIL 2004 — France and the U.K. celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Entente Cordiale, an agreement signed in London on 8 April 1904 with the aim of settling long-standing disputes between the U.K. and France concerning their respective colonial hold over countries such as Morocco, Egypt, Thailand, Madagascar, the New Hebrides, West and Central Africa, and Newfoundland.

25 APRIL 2004 — Referendum on a UN plan to reunite the island of Cyprus. The Turkish part of the population votes in favor, while the Greeks reject the proposal.

1 MAY 2004 — Ten countries (the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) become new members of EU.

3 MAY 2004 — Lygia Pape, artist, experimental filmmaker, and founder (with Hélio Oiticica and Lygia Clark) of neo-concretism in Brazil, dies in Rio de Janeiro at the age of 75.

6 MAY 2004 — Populist right-wing Dutch politician Wilhelms Simon Petrus Fortuijn, known as Pim Fortuyn, is assassinated by a supporter of immigration, during a national election campaign. Fortuyn was the focus of controversy for his hostile views on Islam and his anti-immigration positions. Shortly following his death, Fortuyn's party wins the elections.

7 MAY–7 JUNE 2004 — Dakar, Senegal. **6th Dak'art, Biennial of Contemporary African Art.** General secretary of the biennial: Ouseynou Wade; President of the selection committee and international jury: Sara Diamond.

16 MAY–26 JUNE 2004 — Berliner Kunst-Werke, Berlin, Germany. *Privatisierungen: zeitgenössische Kunst aus Osteuropa* [Privatizations: Contemporary Art from Eastern Europe]. Curator: Boris Groys. The exhibition parallels the themes explored in the conference Back from the Future: The Post-Communist Condition (see 13 OCTOBER 2003).

22 MAY–27 JUNE 2004 — Moss, Norway. **Momentum 2004, Nordic Festival of Contemporary Art.** Curators: Caroline Corbetta and Per Gunnar Tverbakk.

22 MAY–31 OCTOBER 2004 — Uppsala, Sweden. **EVENTA 6, International Art Exhibition.** *Transformation, Reflected, Crossover.*

4 JUNE–15 AUGUST 2004 — Sydney, Australia. **14th Biennale of Sydney.** Curator: Isabel Carlos.

4 JUNE–19 SEPTEMBER 2004 — Museo d'arte contemporanea di Roma (MACRO), Rome, Italy. *Mediterraneans.* Curators: Zdenka Badovinac, Ami Barak, Dobriša Denegri, Katerina Gregos, Mai Abu Eidahab, Vasif Kortun, Gianfranco Maraniello, David G. Torres, Sarit Shapira, and Jalal Tuffic. For this ambitious project, curators from 10 Mediterranean countries select about 45 artists to trace the profound political, economic, social, and cultural transformations of a region that encompasses 3 continents (Europe, Africa, and Asia) and 3 major religions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism).

11 JUNE–30 SEPTEMBER 2004 — Donostia-San Sebastián, Spain. **Manifesta 5, European Biennial of Contemporary Art.** ...*With All Due Intent.* Curators: Marta Kuzma and Massimiliano Gioni. The fifth edition opens in Donostia-San Sebastián, a stronghold in the politically charged Basque region. The show mixes contemporary works by over 50 emerging artists with several vanguard historical works from the 1960s in 4 venues and several outdoor spaces. The curators' collaboration with urbanists permanently transforms one of the most disenfranchised port areas of the city. For this edition, the usual exhibition entrance fee is eliminated, subsequently attracting record numbers of visitors from the region.

2 JULY–5 SEPTEMBER 2004 — Wiener Secession, Vienna, Austria. *Belgrade Art Inc.: Moments of Change.* Curators: Stevan Vukovic and Marko Lulic. The show is a first-of-a-kind presentation of Belgrade's art scene from the 1920s to the present, exploring connections within the region (Zagreb, Novi Sad) as well as links with Western centers.

18 JULY 2004–9 JANUARY 2005 — Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. **5th SITE Santa Fe, International Biennial.** *Disparities and Deformations: Our Grottesque.* Curator: Robert Storr.

17 JULY–19 SEPTEMBER 2004 — Cetinje, Dubrovnik, and Tirana. **5th Cetinje Biennial, Love It or Leave.** Curators: René Block and Nataša Ilić. With 80 artistic contributions from several different generations, the show looks at the southeastern region of Europe as the gateway to the Middle East. In reaction to recent political developments and the consistent lack of cross-national politico-cultural cooperation in the region, "crossing/abolition of national borders" becomes the main conceptual framework of the biennial.

24 JULY–7 NOVEMBER 2004 — Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf, Germany. *Africa Remix: Contemporary Art of a Continent.* Curators: Simon

Njami, Marie-Laure Bernadac, David Elliott, Roger Malbert, Jean-Hubert Martin, and Els van der Plas. Featuring 88 artists from 25 countries, the exhibition is the largest showcase of contemporary artistic production from Africa and the African diaspora ever seen in Europe. It travels to the Hayward Gallery, London; Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris; and Mori Art Museum, Tokyo.

14 AUGUST 2004 — Czesław Miłosz, Polish poet, Nobel laureate, and prominent symbol for anticommunist dissidents in Poland, dies at the age of 93 in Kraków.

21 AUGUST–31 OCTOBER 2004 — Busan (Pusan), South Korea. **4th Busan Biennial.** Artistic directors: Tae-Man Choi and Kwang-Woo Kim; Curators: Man-Woo Park and Tae-Ho Lee.

26 AUGUST 2004 — Chile's highest court rules to lift the immunity enjoyed by former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. The decision opens the door to indict the former dictator for human rights violations committed in the 1970s and 1980s during so-called Operation Condor, a campaign in which he eliminated "opponents."

3 SEPTEMBER 2004 — Russian forces end the Chechen rebels' siege of a school in Beslan in northern Ossetia. At least 335 people are killed and some 700 injured. Most of the hostages are children.

4 SEPTEMBER–17 OCTOBER 2004 — Oslo, Norway. **4th UKS Biennial.** Curators: Ida Kierulf and Helga-Marie Nordby.

10 SEPTEMBER–13 NOVEMBER 2004 — Gwangju, South Korea. **5th Gwangju Biennial.** General artistic director: Yongwoo Lee; Artistic directors: Kerry Brougher and Suk-won Chang.

13 SEPTEMBER–28 NOVEMBER 2004 — European Commission, Brussels, Belgium. *The Image of Europe.* The exhibition, organized by AMO and Rem Koolhaas on the occasion of the Dutch presidency of the EU, presents a panoramic overview of Europe's history in the form of charts, timelines, statistics, and icons that line the exhibition's walls. It travels to Haus der Kunst, Munich.

17 SEPTEMBER 2004–30 JANUARY 2005 — Budapest, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Ljubljana, Vilnius, and Warsaw. *Who If Not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of All This? 7 Episodes on Ex(changing) Europe.* Program director: Mária Hlavajová; curators: Leontine Coelewijn, Geurt Imanse, Catherine David, Kestutis Kuizinas Joanna Mytkowska, Andrzej Przywara, Lívia Páldi, and Gerardo Mosquera. A vast project, including 7 exhibitions, an eponymous publication, an anthology of artists' writings, and a number of additional activities held throughout Europe as the visual arts component of the Thinking Forward cultural program. The project takes its impetus from the historic enlargement of the EU and locates its focus in thinking about changing Europe.

18 SEPTEMBER–28 NOVEMBER 2004 — Liverpool, U.K. **3rd Liverpool Biennial.**

24 SEPTEMBER–31 OCTOBER 2004 — Montreal, Canada. **4th Biennale de Montréal** [Montreal Biennial] *AGORA: The Public Domain.* Director: Claude Gosselin.

25 SEPTEMBER–19 DECEMBER 2004 — Parque do Ibirapuera, São Paulo, Brazil. **26th Biennale internacional de São Paulo** [São Paulo International Biennial]. Artistic director: Alfons Hug.

29 SEPTEMBER–28 NOVEMBER 2004 — Shanghai, China. **Shanghai Biennial 2004.** Curators: Sebastián López, Xu Jiang, Zheng Shengtian, and Zhang Qing.

1–31 OCTOBER 2004 — Łódź, Poland. **1st Łódź Biennial.** Curators: Aneta Szytak and Grzegorz Musiał. The Łódź Biennial continues the venerable tradition of events once organized as a part of *Construction in Process*,

the city's series of artist-run exhibition, and the International Artists' Museum. Its first edition is based on a 3-level structure opposing the local, national, and international.

3 OCTOBER–5 DECEMBER 2004 — Seville, Spain. **1st Bienal internacional de arte contemporáneo de Sevilla (BIACS)** [International Biennial of Contemporary Art of Seville]. Director: Harald Szeemann.

8 OCTOBER 2004 — Jacques Derrida, French philosopher, dies in Paris at the age of 74.

9 OCTOBER 2004–20 MARCH 2005 — Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S. **54th Carnegie International.** *The Ultimates.* Curator: Laura Hoptman.

23 OCTOBER 2004–23 JANUARY 2005 — Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Taipei, Taiwan. **4th Taipei Biennial, Do You Believe in Reality?** Curators: Barbara Vanderlinden and Amy Hwei-hua Cheng.

2 NOVEMBER 2004 — Controversial Dutch filmmaker and television producer Theo van Gogh is assassinated by a radical Muslim on a street in Amsterdam, allegedly for his staunch criticisms of Islam. The murder leads to a polarizing debate about the position of the more than 1 million Muslims in the Netherlands.

11 NOVEMBER 2004 — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat dies in Paris at the age of 75.

20 NOVEMBER 2004–30 JANUARY 2005 — Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Warsaw, Poland. *Warsaw-Moscow/Moscow-Warsaw, 1900–2000.* Curators: Lidia Jowlewa, Walentin Rodionow, and Anda Rottenberg. A first-of-a-kind large-scale presentation (with over 400 works) inspired by the celebrated exhibitions *Paris-Moscow/Moscow-Paris* and *Berlin-Moscow/Moscow-Berlin* (organized by the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris) provides insight into the development of twentieth-century art in 2 neighboring countries as well as the turbulent history of their cohabitation, including their most recent history. The exhibition travels to the Tetriakov State Gallery in Moscow.

DECEMBER 2004 — **Negotiations for Turkey's membership to the EU** officially begin, launching yet another debate over the actual borders and possible limits of the future EU.

11 DECEMBER 2004 — The **Istanbul Modern**, the first museums of modern and contemporary art in Turkey, opens in one of the former venues of the Istanbul Biennial. Rosa Martínez is appointed as its chief curator.

26 DECEMBER 2004 — **Viktor Yushchenko** wins the rerun of the runoff presidential elections in Ukraine. With its nonviolent Orange Revolution, Ukraine sets out on a path toward joining the EU.

28 DECEMBER 2004 — **Susan Sontag**, American novelist, essayist, and social critic, dies in New York City at the age of 71.

17 DECEMBER 2004–20 FEBRUARY 2005 — State Museum of Contemporary Art and Macedonia Museum of Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki, Greece. *Cosmopolis 1 Microcosmos X Macrocosmos.* General curator: Magda Carneci; general coordinator: Miltiades Papanikolaou. This inaugural edition of what is meant to become a biennial presentation of contemporary art also aims to make Cosmopolis into a new European art institution. The exhibition shows 77 artists and 150 works from 10 southeastern European countries (Greece, Albania, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, Turkey, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia). Ten curators from the participating countries contribute to the selection of contemporary artworks that explore the relationships between regionalism and globalization, localism and cosmopolitanism.

20 DECEMBER 2004–28 FEBRUARY 2005 — Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia. *The Seven Sins.* Curators: Zdenka Badovinac, Viktor Misiano, and Igor Zabel. The ambitious exhibition explores the various points of contact between the cities of Ljubljana and Moscow, underscoring the continuity of their cooperation and their shared interest in similar aesthetic concepts. The "7 sins," which according to the curators might also be regarded as 7 virtues, are stereotypical qualities that Slavs are thought to contribute to European culture: collectivism, utopianism, masochism, cynicism, laziness, non-professionalism, and love for the West.

14 JANUARY–10 FEBRUARY 2005 — Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, India. **11th Triennale India.** Guest Director: Sushma K. Bahl.

16–18 JANUARY 2005 — Constitution Club, Rafi Marg, New Delhi, India. **Making of International Exhibitions: Siting Biennales.** TAC (Talk About Curating), a working group of local critics, curators, and artists, organizes this international symposium on biennials.

20 JANUARY–24 APRIL 2005 — Generali Foundation, Vienna, Austria. *The New Europe: Culture of Mixing and Politics of Representation.* Curators: Marius Babias and Dan Perjovschi. The exhibition thematizes the spectrum of artistic production in the "new Europe" following the end of the East-West confrontation. It focuses on artistic positions that produce new connections between a culturally defined Europe and the underlying idea of political uniformity.

25 JANUARY 2005 — **Philip Johnson**, American modernist architect, dies in New Canaan, Connecticut, at the age of 98.

28 JANUARY–28 FEBRUARY 2005 — Moscow, Russia. **1st Moskovskaya biennale covremennogo iskusstva** [Moscow Biennial of Contemporary Art]. Curators: Joseph Backstein, Daniel Birnbaum, Iara Boubnova, Nicolas Bourriaud, Rosa Martínez, and Hans-Ulrich Obrist. The Russian capital's inaugural biennial for contemporary art confirms that the country's political and economical stabilization has prompted a growing interest in contemporary culture. The biennial is divided into a central exhibition, *Dialectics of Hope*, presenting mainly international artists, as well as a parallel program of exhibitions in various venues in Moscow, which present emerging and more established figures in Russian art.

18 FEBRUARY 2005 — **Harald Szeemann**, Swiss independent curator, dies at the age of 71.

6 APRIL–6 JUNE 2005 — Sharjah Museum of Art and Expo Center, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates. **7th Sharjah International Art Biennial, Belonging.** Director: Hoor Al-Qasimi; curators: Jack Persekian, Ken Lum, and Tirdad Zolghadr. An international conference, entitled Bienniality, coincides with the opening and focuses on the phenomenon of biennials.

1 MAY 2005 — The **European Agency for External Borders** is launched in Warsaw. Its objective is to encourage cooperation between national border surveillance agencies.

29 MAY 2005 — The French reject the proposed European Constitution in a popular referendum. Three days later, on 1 June, voters in the Netherlands make it the second country to vote "no," leaving the EU in disarray over the future of Europe.

25 MAY–15 SEPTEMBER 2005 — Karlin Hall, Prague, Czech Republic. **2nd Prague Biennial.** Artistic directors: Giancarlo Politi and Helena Kontova.

12 JUNE–6 NOVEMBER 2005 — Venice, Italy. **51st Biennale di Venezia** [Venice Biennial]. Artistic directors: Maria de Corral and Rosa Martínez. For the first time in its 110-year history, the Venice Biennial appoints women to conceive the international exhibition at the Arsenale and the

Italian pavilion. Each curates a distinct but related show, exhibiting about 90 artists between them, with works from the 1970s to the present. An international symposium on contemporary art by Robert Storr (appointed director for the 2007 edition) will take place in the fall.

14 JUNE – 11 SEPTEMBER 2005 — Prague, Czech Republic.
1st Mezinárodní bienále současného umění [International Biennale of Contemporary Art (IBCA)], *A Second Sight*. Director: Milan Knížák; chief curator: Tomáš Vlček. As a result of the discord between the Prague National Gallery and *Flash Art* over the organization of the first Prague Biennial, the former decides to mount its own perennial, large-scale international show, bringing together some 30 curators and 400 artists.

7 JULY 2005 — Three suicide bomb explosions in the London underground transport system kill 56 people, including the 4 suspected bombers, and injure 700. The bombings coincide with the opening of the U.K. held-G8 summit and a day after London was chosen to host the 2012 Summer Olympics. A second series of bombs left in the London underground and on a bus two weeks later fail to detonate properly and cause only one injury.

2 AUGUST – 10 OCTOBER 2005 — National Museum of Art, Osaka, Japan. **Positioning – In the New Reality of Europe: Art from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary**. The first exhibition of post-1989 art from Central and Eastern Europe ever to be organized in Japan. It brings together works that reflect the general disenchantment of Eastern Europeans with their new post-communist reality as well as their struggle to adapt to its vast transformations. Organized by the Japan Foundation as a part of Japan-EU Year, the exhibition travels to Hiroshima and Tokyo.

27 AUGUST – 13 NOVEMBER 2005 — Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego, California, U.S. **inSITE 2005, Farsites: Urban Crisis and Domestic Symptoms in Recent Contemporary Art**. Artistic director: Osvaldo Sánchez; curator: Adriano Pedrosa.

1 SEPTEMBER – 20 NOVEMBER 2005 — Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany. **50 Jahre/Years documenta, 1955–2005**. Curator: Michael Glasmeier. The anniversary exhibition brings together 65 of the over 2,000 works shown in the various editions of the half-century old quintennial, as well as numerous documents and other exhibition artifacts.

3 SEPTEMBER – 6 NOVEMBER 2005 — Göteborg, Sweden.
3rd Göteborgs Internationella Konstbiennal [Göteborg International Biennial for Contemporary Art], *More Than This! Negotiating Realities*. Curator: Sara Arrhenius.

10 SEPTEMBER – 10 NOVEMBER 2005 — Tirana, Albania. **3rd Tirana Biennial**. Curators: Zdenka Badovinac, Roberto Pinto, Joa Ljungberg, Hou Hanru, Edi Muka, and Gezim Qendro.

14 SEPTEMBER – 31 DECEMBER 2005 — Lyon, France. **8th Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon** [Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art], *Expérience de la durée* [Experiencing Duration]. Artistic director: Thierry Raspail; curators: Nicolas Bourriaud and Jérôme Sans.

16 SEPTEMBER – 30 OCTOBER 2005 — Istanbul, Turkey.
9th Uluslararası İstanbul Bienali [International Istanbul Biennial]. Curators: Charles Esche and Vasif Kortun.

17 SEPTEMBER – 27 NOVEMBER 2005 — Fukuoka, Japan.
3rd Fukuoka Asian Art Triennial, Parallel Realities: Asian Art Now.

17 SEPTEMBER – 19 DECEMBER 2005 — Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany. **Projekt Migration** [Migration Project]. Exhibition accompanied by a program of films, music, theater, and literature. The exhibition, examining new models for representing immigration, is a collaboration between the Kölnischer Kunstverein, DOMiT.

20 SEPTEMBER – 20 NOVEMBER 2005 — Valencia, Spain.
3rd Blenal de Valencia [Valencia Biennial].

23 SEPTEMBER – 20 NOVEMBER 2005 — Vilnius, Lithuania.
9th Baltic Triennial of International Art, BMW. Curators: Sofia Hernández Chong Cuy, Raimundas Malasauskas, and Alexis Vaillant.

26 SEPTEMBER — After more than 3 decades of armed struggle against British rule that claimed more than 3,500 lives on both sides, Northern Ireland's paramilitary Irish Republican Army (IRA) formally announces that it is destroying all its weapons, ending its armed campaign, and will involve itself in the political process "through exclusively peaceful means."

28 SEPTEMBER – 18 DECEMBER 2005 — Yokohama, Japan.
2nd Yokohama Triennial. Artistic director: Tadashi Kawamata; curators: Taro Amano, Takashi Serizawa, and Shingo Yamano.

30 SEPTEMBER – 4 DECEMBER 2005 — Porto Alegre, Brazil.
5th Bienal de artes visuais do Mercosul [Mercosur Biennial of Visual Arts].

27 OCTOBER 2005 — **Civil unrest erupts in France** when 2 adolescents are accidentally electrocuted after being chased by police in their Paris suburb. Over the course of 20 days, riots, the burning of nearly 9,000 cars, and the vandalization of numerous public buildings ensues across France as the largely North African populations living in city suburbs clash with the police. The racial and social discrimination against which they protest seems confirmed by the reactions of government officials such as the Minister of Defense, whose public comments further fuel the ethnic tensions. French Parliament declares a state of emergency on 16 November. Lesser but apparently related violence quickly spreads to Belgium, Germany, Italy, Greece, Spain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

9–12 DECEMBER 2005 — Venice. **Where Art Worlds Meet: Multiple Modernities and the Global Salon**. Organizer: Robert Storr. Major international conference of curators, artists, critics, and historians invited by the Venice Biennial and the director of its upcoming edition to discuss globalization and the fate of large-scale international exhibitions.

15 DECEMBER 2005 – 25 FEBRUARY 2006 — Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Rijeka, Croatia. **1st Biennial of Quadrilateral**. Curators: Guiliiana Carbi, Branko Franceschi, János Sugár, Igor Spanjol. The new biennial is overseen by the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka, former organizer of the Biennial of Young Yugoslav Artists (1960–1991) and the Biennial of Young Mediterranean Artists (1993–1997). It aims to foster cultural dialogue in the the diplomatically defined "Quadrilateral" region: Croatia, Italy, Hungary, and Slovenia.

II SHIFTING ART AND EXHIBITION CONDITIONS

MAPPING INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS*

Bruce W. Ferguson, Reesa Greenberg, and Sandy Nairne

Every exhibition is a map. As such, it not only separates, defines and describes a certain terrain, marking out its salient features and significant points, omitting and simplifying others, but it also depicts the ground according to a method of projection: a set of conventions and rules under which the map is constructed....The problem is...that in exhibitions as in maps, the conventional nature of the representation tends to be hidden in use. The laws of projector become invisible.

— John Tagg, "A Socialist Perspective on Photographic Practice"

I
There is an important politics in the locality of an exhibition. *Where* an exhibition is staged, particularly one of the perennial large-scale international exhibitions like the Venice Biennial or Documenta, determines who is included, both as participants and viewers, as well as how that exhibition is positioned and read. By definition, the location of an international exhibition constructs a map of the world from the perspective of both the city and the country that sponsor it, underlining any notion of an equality of nations.

With such exhibitions, the location is often included in the title, both as a manifestation of this bias, though not always an openly acknowledged one, and as a way of attaching the cultural and political status of the city or country named. The Venice Biennial is the oldest, largest, and best attended of the regular international exhibitions, but its rivals vie for some of the same attention and, through names and numbers, contend for an equal or different authority. These include, among others, the São Paulo Biennial, the Triennale India in New Delhi, the Biennale of Sydney, the Istanbul Biennial, and Dak'Art, the Biennial of Contemporary African Art in Senegal. Each competes

for worldwide cultural influence by asserting its importance on the map of international exhibitions.

This recent transformation in the kinds and numbers of geographical locations in the "international" art world is one of several components that have changed the agenda for major presentations of art, both in and outside Europe today. "Festival-exhibitions" with their roots in the large, international exhibitions of the nineteenth century are still a public model and a shifting backdrop against which the meanings of contemporary art are constructed, maintained, and sometimes irrevocably altered. However, the very ideas of centrality and dominance on which spectacular, imperial displays were originally founded are now increasingly interrogated by ideas and practices imported from formerly "marginal" discourses and artistic activities, geographic and otherwise. An ambivalent but intriguing case is the 1993 Venice Biennial, which expanded the number of countries from which artists were represented, albeit in the form of add-on delegations from East Africa, South Africa, Ireland, and Turkey. In a rather superficial manner, it took "cultural nomadism" as its theme, which reinforced the decision of a small number of countries to select artists whose hybrid citizen status put into question the concept of achieving or maintaining cultural hegemony through definitions based on a nationalistic agenda. Even before the theme was proposed, Austria acknowledged its confused national identity, selecting three artists, only one of whom was Austrian.

Many artists in the twentieth century and especially today have renounced singular national identification. Their ways of working depend increasingly on transnational access and multiple exhibition venues. These factors have altered the internal maps of international exhibitions, as has the inclusion of women, people of color, new nations, and indigenous peoples with a range of cultural and subcultural viewpoints. Of equal consequence in this recharting of international exhibitions are changes in the public acceptability of certain types of images previously restricted to specialized aspects of popular or reproductive culture, particularly from the realms of advertising and pornography, and the inclusion of technological and telematic systems into the practices of the art world.

Culture must now be viewed within the orbit of mainstream politics. This was the case with its specific incorporation into the Maastricht Treaty, in February 1992 in Europe, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, in October 1992. Cultural politics have been displaced from previously identifiable national registers, creating complex and contradictory understandings of artistic and social identities. The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Union, did not put culture legitimately within the domain of the European Commission. Instead, it provided the now notorious and ill-resolved Article 36, which allowed member states to protect their "patrimoine national," both terms being anachronistic and unpropitious.

Culture has been schizophrenically treated either as economic goods to be traded freely, like furniture or vegetables, or as national treasures that should be cherished and protected at any cost. Now, the Maastricht Treaty promises: "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity, and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore." In a small way, the treaty recognized that Europe had no single culture (other than being a spectator-participant in global media networks), but it failed to identify the continuing place and impact of cultural minorities, aside from those defined in terms of terrain, and failed equally to distinguish hybrid cultural forces within Europe. In the past, it was only through migration and the clash of cultures in European colonial projects that cultural development took place at all. Repressive immigration laws, as exemplified in France, are a vicious misunderstanding of both history and the present economic crisis and have proven to be a sad regressive move reminiscent of past attempts at "cleansing" with regard to foreign cultures.

Today manifestations of extreme artistry can be fostered, produced, and presented by official institutions; indeed, art is dependent upon such support if it is to be produced at all and to find its way to an audience. Yet, at the same time, art denounced everything institutional and official.

— Theodor W. Adorno, "Culture and Administration"

Exhibitions formed, for instance, within the Cultural Capitals Program (one of the few parts of EC cultural policy to have public impact) are meant to be nice affairs, not disposed, of course, to such contradictions. Allied to the historical "international exhibitions," they have the triple intention of improving diplomatic relations with other political allies, boosting trade, and contributing to the urban regeneration of their localities. What the art actually is may be of little matter to those who fund it; what counts is the degree to which it commands the attention of the art world (curators, critics, dealers, and collectors), leads to wider media attention, and appropriately signals cultural and, by implication, economic progress. This is no easy task, even during the best of times. And in factionalized and hyper-racist Europe, these can hardly be considered the best of times. Such sensitive issues become even more complex when the art exhibited itself addresses these same questions of urban, national, or subjective identity or when, through image and text, art posits questions of power, domination, subjugation, and fantasy critical of or alternative to the behavior seen in many corporate executives or political leaders. For example, in *La Reconquista: A Post-Columbian New World* organized by Patricio Chávez for the 1992 Istanbul Biennial, a postcolonial position was in direct conflict with the official U.S. sponsoring body.

Exhibitions are fictions of a particular kind, and they can be both celebra-

tory and critical by turn. Who is participating, why, and on what terms need careful examination. Questions of access more often than not have been first addressed from within the field of the arts. Shifts in both form and content have altered the certainties of international exhibitions, symbolized perhaps by the fact that the art museum is no longer the assumed haven of a de-socialized art. Artists both use, misuse, and abuse situations of exhibiting to many ends, and the art of today is often categorized by its pronounced alienation from the very patronage that offers it a home.

II

The exhibition is a tool of a thousand-and-one purposes, and half of them have not yet been discovered. Human nature will always cause men to want to exhibit, and the itch to see something new will then provide the visitors. "The eye is not satisfied with seeing nor is the ear filled with hearing."

— Kenneth Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions*

The Great Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851 provided a spectacular model for the international expositions of the second half of the nineteenth century. These were stage-managed forms of national rivalry set within universalist assumptions and "international" presentation. They were public and popular devices within the ideology of modernity, where art usually had an important place alongside manufacture. Paris provided the peak of achievement with its three exhibitions between 1867 and 1889, when the Eiffel Tower was erected. Others, such as the World Exposition of 1873 in Vienna, decisively marked the spirit of a new age in an old capital. For other newer cities, the international expositions asserted a place on the map, enlarged commercial possibilities, and frequently originated or expanded the processes of modern city planning. Such expositions were essentially utopian and quintessentially didactic, liberally deploying sensation and pleasure.

Chicago's 1893 *World's Columbian Exposition* exemplified the imperial dream of the White City: Huge temporary edifices sheltered national displays as well as thematic conglomerates of industry, communication, and the famous Women's Building had murals designed by Mary Cassatt. The fairs of the era were "triumphs of hegemony as well as symbolic edifices," as Robert Rydell puts it.¹ In Chicago, the White City and the Midway (the other section of the exposition, where "ethnic" groups were located next to the fun fair and displayed anthropologically) were "two sides of the same coin — a coin minted in the tradition of American racism, in which the forbidden desire of whites were projected onto the dark-skinned peoples, who subsequently had to be degraded so that white purity could be maintained."² This imperial and hegemonic story of the cultures of the world was also told in Paris, where African and other colonial villages were on display under the all-seeing eye of Eiffel's

tower in the huge Exposition universelle of 1900. The debased form of these exhibitions today is Disneyland and EuroDisney, where each nationality or ethnicity is reduced to its most clichéd cultural form for facile and fast consumption. Although in a less polarized manner based on a schema of absences, the national identities set out in the pavilions of the Giardini in the Venice Biennial since 1893 have been simply a more circumspect but equally exclusionary form of internationalism. And it is the same history and the same assumptions about the rivalry of nations and hierarchies of race that stand behind the creation of the Carnegie International in Pittsburgh (founded 1896) and "national" exhibitions, such as the Corcoran Biennial in Washington, D.C. (founded 1907).

There is in this common history an interrelationship of parts between the promotion of art as a signifying practice in support of cultural and national identity, the growing development of commercial world traffic in art, and the expansion of a modernist doctrine that positioned art as a form of international exchange represented by its "universal" language. This complicity between the "unconscious" of modernist art and the deliberately hierarchic policies of dominant political forces joined together to anchor a new era of cultural politics and political cultures. It was the trauma of World War II and the exclusions of "degenerate art" during the Nazi era that provided the immediate backdrop for Arnold Bode's founding of the Documenta exhibition series, the first of which took place in Kassel in 1955. Here was a renewal of the humanist ideal, specifically to be expressed through an exhibition of Western contemporary art. Documenta was created as the antithesis of the propagandist exhibitions and national rivalries that had been all too evident in the years before 1939. Bode's exhibitions were precursors of the new museums and galleries devoted exclusively to white, Western, and predominantly male contemporary art, which were to become such a feature of urban life in post-World War II Western countries. By and large, this idealized notion of the sympathetic display of contemporary art was largely pushed forward in Europe through inventive national museums like the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam (host of *Dylaby* in 1962 with its "dynamic labyrinth" of an international set of installations, including Daniel Spoerri's upturned gallery), the Moderna Museet in Stockholm, and the "independents" (i.e. the Kunsthallen in Bern and Basel as well as the Institute of Contemporary Art in London).

III

About 1960, artists began to work for the museum, in the same sense that they created works knowing in advance that they would be shown exclusively in the museum. However, even in the sixties, artists were already beginning to become allergic to the idea of cooperating with museums, seeking to escape from the static atmosphere of the museum by organizing their happenings and concerts. Today, in

1971, their preoccupations have a more social aim. Artists are no longer interested in getting into the museum, but want to conduct their activities on a wider stage; for example the municipality.

—Harald Szeemann, Museum

If Robert Rauschenberg's 1964 victory prize at the Venice Biennial symbolized a change in the balance of power between Europe and America, the 1968 social disruptions worldwide symbolized others. Euro-American disaffection with government and state institutions reverberated in widespread political and educational upheavals. The social and cultural frictions revealed fundamental shifts occurring in the relations between artists, curators, and spectators. These were commonly signaled by artistic projects that invited audience response through new kinds of physical, perceptual, and intellectual participation. The artistic ideals of the *art informel*, kinetic, and happenings movements together with the new technological advances, such as video, transgressed the museological notion of the passive spectator lost in aesthetic reverie guided by the curator or art critic. Allan Kaprow in his events, Claes Oldenburg in his store, Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica in their constructions and environments, Iain and Ingrid Baxter's wide range of projects by the N.E. Thing Company, Joseph Beuys in his seminars and performance events, Carolee Schneemann's activities, and so on, at the very least, had a shared purpose of disrupting the conventions of behavior within an exhibition by blurring the edges, both of what might be looked at and where it might be seen.

The continuing emotional oscillation between the artist and gallery, both public and private, is indicated by radical shifts *within* the space and shape of traditional exhibitions. It also occurs in the creation of non-gallery exhibitions in the form of earthworks and environmental projects, the use of television and radio airwaves as studio or gallery "spaces," and the establishment of single-issue exhibition venues. A kind of vacillation between the museum, gallery, and vernacular locations was established and to some extent supported by those whose interests were not even immediately served by such waywardness. The late 1960s were years of tremendous growth in the art market and dealers' galleries, together with a huge expansion of independent, artist-based institutions. Surprisingly perhaps, it was dealers who frequently offered artists the spaces of greatest "freedom," where the absence of an overt institutional or curatorial "voice" allowed them total control of the space. As in the case of Gordon Matta-Clark, an artist might seek an urban site of specific architectural, social, and aesthetic qualities to intervene into existing meanings with support from a combination of dealer, public institution, or private sources. In the early 1970s, however, the power of a number of "avant-garde" dealers began to produce a narrowing of the range of art and artists who might receive consistent attention from collectors and museums.

Many of these contradictions were born out in Documenta 5 in 1972, which Harald Szeemann curated with Jean-Christophe Ammann and others. In Kassel, he presented a thematic structure that introduced comic-strip, film, and devotional religious materials in order to indicate some of the parallels for new artistic activity, inventing the oxymoronic category of "individual mythologies." He also invited Bazon Brock to restage the "visitor school," first made in 1968 as a vehicle for analysis and popular debate within the exhibition itself. Yet, these so-called radical approaches infuriated many artists selected for inclusion in the exhibition, such as Robert Morris and Robert Smithson, who protested vigorously against the lack of consultation in the thematic approach. More important still were the protests from women artists, newly organized but still ignored. No less problematic was the narrow base of countries represented. East Germany's participation, proposed for the photorealist section, was subject to much debate. Documenta 5 introduced all the contemporary tensions of medium, culture, nation, gender, race, and class that face us on every front and even more acutely today. Its problematics—hidden and barely acknowledged—are the very content and structuring devices of the artistic discourse of exhibitions today.

A whole series of "alternative" exhibitions and projects in the 1970s extended the questions of place, audience, and culture. From the mid-1970s with *A Space* project in local Toronto apartments, through Stephen Willats's participatory art projects in West London, to the 1976 *Rooms* exhibition, which drew upon the social qualities of P.S.1 (an alternative space in an old school in Long Island City, New York), artists challenged the assumptions of the gallery exhibition by creating viable and complex options outside its constraints. Trends changed, however, and in the early 1980s, the art world leapt to the idea of re-promoting a "proper realm" of and for art, through the polemics that surrounded exhibitions such as *Pictures* (1976), the Whitney Biennial (1979), *A New Spirit in Painting* (1981), and *Zeitgeist* (1981). At the same time and in contradiction, artists were in the forefront of opening up the hinterland between nightclub, music, and art activity, in what was to evolve into the East Village scene in New York, through the introduction of everyday activities into the privileged realm of art, a spirit much guided by the earlier and continuing activities of Andy Warhol.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, the use of new and multiple exhibition locations became the norm in certain international exhibitions such as the Ghent *Chambres d'amis* show, the 1986 and 1991 TSWA projects across the United Kingdom and *Places with a Past* in Charleston. This now mainstream movement, which Mary Jane Jacob refers to as the scattered site exhibition, has once again restored all the ambivalences about the self-contained gallery exhibition, undermining the last lingering ideals of the translucence of the

Back to the kitchen. History is always telling us something new, even as we write ourselves into it. Consider how the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 became, as the preceding essay observes, a model for the exhibition spectacles that followed: Paris in 1889, Chicago in 1893, San Francisco in 1915, and the many biennials and triennials that defined the art world at the end of the last millennium. Like Detroit's annual North American International Auto Show and Chicago's International Fancy Food and Confection Show, our culture is a culture enamored by the spectacle of the new. Exhibitions and fairs like these provide a survey of authority alongside the promise of change, a promise that symbolizes progress and hope. The question is: After 150 years of large-scale exhibitions, do they really matter any more?

In so many ways, I suppose they do—surely they matter to the cities and the people who produce them; they matter to the people who visit them; they matter to the artists. But I'm not really sure what this tells us. And I'm less sure what it tells us about art.

I like the way small exhibitions have a way of inverting public spectacle into private intimacy. Hans-Ulrich Obrist's *Kitchen Show* in 1991 in Saint Gallen, Switzerland, seems the perfect counterpoint to the big: understated, unpackaged, unbudgeted, unostentatious, it was all of the things that the biennials of the past decade were not. Slow, not fast. A few people, not a lot of people. It represented a kind of exhibition practice that had been a modus operandi through the 1970s—in so many ways a forgotten decade—resurrected in the 1990s in garages and living rooms in Los Angeles, in tool sheds in Oak Park, in hotels in Paris, and in Dave Muller's nomadic *Three Day Weekend* exhibitions. Culture has this way of moving through a constant cycle of point and counterpoint, repositioning the relationship between here and there and us and them—and what matters most is that we keep doing this, because it's the doing that matters, in the end.

Joseph Grigely, Chicago-based artist and writer

pure, white cube. The flight from the gallery (from the temple to the grotto) and the utilization of spaces of immediate and strong connotations, as opposed to spaces masking their denotation through supposed neutrality, bears out many of the current contradictions in the seeking of new audiences. Krzysztof Wodiczko touched on the difficulties for artists, when he wrote: "The aim of critical public art is neither a happy self exhibition nor a passive collaboration with the grand gallery of the city, its ideological theatre and architectural-social system. Rather, it is an engagement in strategic challenges to the city structures and mediums that mediate our everyday perception of the world: an engagement through aesthetic-critical interruptions, infiltrations and appropriations that question the symbolic, psychopolitical and economic operations of the city."³

Abandoned office blocks, public buildings, or monuments of industrial archaeology are often the urban counterpart of the deserts sought by land artists. They have the cumulative advantage of a dual experience of space, for the "ghostly" presence grazing the surface here (in the contiguous overlap between place and trace) is intensified by the fact that the here is never fully integrated as such, never fully familiar. It is often off-circuit. It is always from the outset "an elsewhere".

— *Johanne Lamoureux, "The Museum Flat"*

In her critical analysis of the new "non-exhibition," Lamoureux has referred to its ambivalent relation with the leisure industry and tourist promotion. She identifies a common characteristic in such exhibitions as the creation of a "local exoticism." The ironies of this development are manifold: Audiences, while unpremeditated, are also unprepared and being forced to search through parts of a city requires an engaged commitment from a viewer, in contrast to the equivalent experience in a museum. On the other hand, for a viewer, in contrast to the equivalent installation and itinerant transnational artists, the discovery and public exposition of spaces to be made "extraordinary" can produce results of exceptional poignancy and make infinitely more subtle a new exchange between histories and images and between participating viewers/readers, local and otherwise.

IV

Voice has emerged as a crucial issue in the design of exhibitions. Whose voice is heard when a curator works through an established genre of exhibition, such as the monographic account of an artist's career or the ecological and social explanation of the lives of "primitive" peoples in the diorama of the Museum of Natural History? How can the voice of an exhibition honestly reflect the evolving understandings of current scholarship and multiple voices within any discipline?...How can the widely varying voices of museum visitors be heard by exhibition makers and reflected in

their designs? Can an exhibition contain more than one voice, or can a voice exhibit more than one message?

— *Stephen D. Levine, Museum Practices in Exhibiting Cultures*

While questions of people and place have been explored assiduously in Australia and Canada in the twenty years following Documenta 5, questions of audience and culture have emerged more contentiously and less consistently. In the development of the Australian *Perspecta* survey exhibition and the Biennale of Sydney as well as the elaboration of conflicts in the support and exhibition of Inuit and other artistic work from First Nations in Canada, initial issues concerning the segregation of supposedly Western and non-Western work came to the fore through political and artistic protest. It was clearly no longer possible for curators to characterize aboriginal art as an unchanging and "timeless" set of conventions that could then be written off as fundamentally less creative than Western, artist-centered contemporary art. This direct cultural conflict added to the tensions of regionalism. As Terry Smith wrote from Australia in 1974, "most artists the world over live in art communities that are formed by a relentless provincialism. Their worlds are replete with tensions between two antithetical terms: a defiant urge to localism (a claim for the possibility and validity of 'making good original art right here') and a reluctant recognition that the generative innovations in art, and the criteria for standards of 'quality,' 'originality,' 'interest,' 'forcefulness,' etc. are determined externally....Provincialism produces highly self-conscious art obsessed with the problem of what its identity ought to be."⁴

The European mainland has allowed itself to remain more aloof from many of these concerns. Regional issues have been used as substitutes for the more complex cultural debate of postcolonialism. Even where more attentive, there are difficulties in the purported interest that a postmodernist art world has in issues of "difference." Against an emerging ambivalence about how to address such concerns, artist and critic Rasheed Araeen has consistently pointed out the dangers of producing new "ethnic" ghettos rather than recognizing cultural and racial difference already lying in the heart of modernism.⁵ Against this background, in 1989 Jean-Hubert Martin produced *Magiciens de la terre* (supposedly a reply to debates surrounding "*Primitivism*" in *Twentieth Century Art* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1984) at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris as a self-conscious attempt to realign internationalism by basing the selection of one hundred artists on a quota of fifty percent "center" and fifty percent "periphery." Gavin Jantjes commented in the same year, "*Les Magiciens de la Terre* laid open the Western/Eurocentric consciousness like a surgeon dissecting his own body without an anaesthetic. It revealed that the Eurocentric gaze has distinct and daunting problems when fixed upon the 'cultural other,' its achievements and methodologies. To imply that equality in the cultural arena is signified by everyone exhibiting together is both illusion-

istic and historically unsound."⁶ *Magiciens de la terre*, as an exhibition, and some of the juxtapositions within it certainly gave fuel to further debate on both sides of the Atlantic, arguments re-reflected in the critical disputes around the 1992 Documenta 9.

A project that has also grown out of these debates is the Institute of New International Visual Arts (inIVA) in Britain. Funding was allocated for research and publishing, which may, together with the exhibition activity, eventually get drawn into a single place. The importance of the project lies in the structural change that it engenders: seeking new international models alongside the present institutions.

The very *idea* of the international survey exhibition is now questioned at its most fundamental level. However progressive the political or economic intentions behind them, international exhibitions still invite a presumption that the curators have access to an illusionary world view, and that spectators may follow in their wake. But a more specific and sustained engagement with communities and audiences, creating meanings beyond the spectacular and mere festivalizing of such occasions, may produce a new genre of exhibition. It seems that in order to accommodate both artists' needs and audience demands, the new exhibition must have reciprocity and dialogue built into its structure. How successfully this is accomplished will determine international exhibition maps of the future.

* This essay was first written in the early 1990s as part of work on a Getty Research Fellowship and was originally published in *On Taking a Normal Situation and Retranslating It into Overlapping and Multiple Readings of Conditions Past and Present (Antwerp: E. Antonis, 1993)* in the context of Antwerp being named a European Cultural Capital in 1993. This period followed the rapid expansion of the international contemporary art market in the mid-1980s. At the time, numerous artists, curators, organizers, and writers associated with a growing number of exhibitions and events that appeared to be in distinct contrast to the homogeneity of the commercial art fairs were asking many questions about what was meant by "international." Even the most mainstream international events, such as the Venice Biennial, had begun to change. Our desire was to contextualize these questions within the history of international gatherings and expositions, going back to the nineteenth century. The overlap of critical, commercial, and educational interests remained one line of continuity between the past and present. And in the period since the essay was written, such an overlap continues to provide both interest and frisson for "international" exhibitions.

NOTES

1. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at the American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
2. Ibid.
3. Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Strategies of Public Address: Which Media, Which Publics?" in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Dia Art Foundation, 1987).
4. Terry Smith, "The Provincialism Problem," *Artforum* 13, no. 1 (September 1974).
5. See issues of *Third Text*; and Rasheed Araeen, *The Other Story: Afro-Asian Artists in Post-War Britain* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1989).
6. Gavin Jantjes, "Red Rags to a Bull," in *The Other Story*.

Spurred by the renaissance of institutional critique in the early 1990s, the analysis of the conditions of art presentation has generated a substantial body of critical knowledge about the exhibition as an institution of cultural production. The proliferation of this knowledge has had positive effects: It has provided art criticism

with a more differentiated set of criteria and challenged curators to develop exhibitions that explore and transform the politics of identity in art. But there are reasons to be skeptical. With the global boom of biennials, the critical discourse on post-colonial identity politics is often converted into mechanical routines to showcase artists as involuntary ambassadors of their home countries. Still, when these routines have been avoided, the critical discourse has enabled the expansion of the horizon of the forms of art shown and discussed. It has opened up doors for more alternative and non-gallery based art practices that would otherwise remain invisible. And this, quite simply, is a good thing.

The discourse on the politics of exhibition making can, however, become stifling when it portrays art institutions as the main agents shaping the reality of contemporary art and thereby tacitly affirming its power. Paradoxically, institutional critique has played its part in discouraging faith in the potential of artistic agency in favor of a belief that it is the prerogative of institutions and their curators to produce culture. The question is then: How can institutional critique also point beyond the institution to other political realities and fields of artistic agency? While undoubtedly there is a need for institutions and artists to critically assess the conditions of art presentation, there also is a need for more attempts to transgress institutional discourse through the development of speculative agendas and experimental practices that allow other ideas of critical artistic agency to emerge.

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TOWARDS A NEW LOCALITY: BIENNIALS AND "GLOBAL ART"*

Hou Hanru

Biennials of contemporary art inevitably have cultural and geopolitical ambitions. They seek to be nationally and even internationally significant, by putting forward particular and supposedly incomparable local characteristics, what we might call "locality." Ideally, the concept of locality should be culturally related to the local tradition but innovative and open to international exchanges. The introduction of artworks by international artists is an efficient strategy to achieve this end and is often introduced as a catalyst to accelerate this process. (Geo)politically, this newly constructed locality should demonstrate its singularity when compared to other similar events, especially those happening in surrounding areas. The Busan Biennial, for instance, has direct and indirect rivals or peers in Korea, such as the Gwangju Biennial, Seoul Media City, etc., and across the Pacific Ocean, with the Fukuoka Asian Art Triennial, Yokohama Triennial, Taipei Biennial, or Shanghai Biennial and even, going a bit further, the Asia-Pacific Triennial in Brisbane and the Biennale of Sydney. To configure the locality of such events in contradistinction to their ever-increasing number of national and international counterparts means emphasizing something quite particular to the context of the locale—city, region, or "neighborhood," as Arjun Appadurai would say.¹ This is true of most biennial or triennial organizations across the world today, including the Havana Biennial, Johannesburg Biennial, or Manifesta, to name just a few. The problem of locality provides us, as curators and artists directly involved with such events, a unique opportunity to explore the creative and innovative possibilities offered by the occasion. The challenge that we face is how to imagine and realize a biennial that is culturally and artistically significant in terms of embodying and intensifying the negotiation between the global and the local, politically transcending the established power relationship between different locales and going beyond conformist regionalism. More than ever, biennials of the future should be an occasion to conceive and construct new localities capable of responding to the age of globalization.

As Appadurai argues, "The problems of cultural reproduction in a global-

ized world are only partly describable in terms of problems of race and class, gender and power, although these are surely crucially involved. An even more fundamental fact is that the production of locality—always, as I have argued, a fragile and difficult achievement—is more than ever shot through with contradictions, destabilized by human motion, and displaced by the formation of new kinds of virtual neighborhoods.² This vision or reality no doubt implies contradictions, conflicts, and chaotic elements, but it also offers an optimistic and futuristic picture of the local scene. Artistically, biennials naturally reflect such a reality. However, it is important that the projects and works presented not only respond to such a reality, but also be able to emphasize the real meaning of their engagement with the event, to articulate the experimentality and vitality necessary to the invention of the new locality.

It has become increasingly evident in today's globalized world that it is impossible to talk about the question of locality without relating it to globality. Historically and especially in the contemporary world, locality is always a product of the confrontation and negotiation of the locale (or the neighborhood) with the global (or "Other"). This vital and intense process of self-reflection, autocritique, and self-innovation allows the individual to continue to survive and obtain meaning within global modernization. The process is automatically one of breaking down and reestablishing territorial borders as well as cultural boundaries at large, whether they have been recently politically determined or historically granted. In our age of globalization when every locale is struggling hard to turn itself into either a member of the global village or a key point on the network of global cities, this becomes drastically intensified and even urgent. Producing new localities is the most imminent task for locales. If the boundaries of locales were once relatively clearly defined and conceivable as being like islands on the world map, today this island-based concept is no longer sustainable. Everyone must leave his or her island and merge into the border-crossing, translocal ocean of global restructuring.

Globalization is a necessary first step in the process of expanding the global economy and its related effects: migrations across borders—from economic and political refugees to technological and intellectual global travelers as well as the development of new technologies of global communication. Accordingly, the globalized culture of electronic media, with multimedia images and languages at its center, becomes the dominant, "mainstream" culture. It has penetrated almost every corner of the world and caused profound changes in local cultures. As a result, established economies, social relationships, and politics as well as collective and individual imaginations, visions, values, and languages are all affected, contaminated, and transformed. For the sake of survival, every locale has to develop new strategies to face such a new reality.

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Politically, we are seeing a kind of reorganization of regional, translocal alliances. Aspirations for peace and the impossibility of coexistence between nations and communities are working hand-in-hand, drawing new geopolitical maps of different scales, from the unification of West and East Germany to the Balkan conflicts, from the tension between China and Taiwan to the latest constitutional change redefining the relationship between the French government and Corsican nationalists.

In terms of culture, a new phenomenon, as Appadurai emphasizes, is the unprecedented acceleration of the destruction of local cultures and the formation of new communication and cultures based on the "virtual neighborhood," which brings people from different parts of the world in closer contact than they are with their actual neighbors thanks to the Internet and other electronic media.³ In this context, the process of inventing new localities in every locale is inevitably open to global or other cultures. Everyone has to live a kind of "unhomely" life, as Homi Bhabha puts it.⁴ Events like contemporary art biennials, initiated by local authorities to promote the position of locales on the global map, are then global events by nature, while they claim to be locally meaningful and productive in terms of new localities. The introduction of "foreign," international knowledge, cultures, artworks, and discourses are not only proof of the capacity to master international cultural exchanges and thereby better defend local characteristics. More significant yet, this process reveals that international or global cultures influence and even condition the new reality of the locales. The home is being voluntarily turned into a kind of non-home, a constantly changing and evolving in-between space, a kind of "glocal" land. The new localities being generated are definitively impure, hybrid, and therefore innovative. Accordingly, the question of cultural identity is no longer based on the logic of the nation-state. Instead, it is about transnationalism, and identities themselves continuously transform. Even taken-for-granted distinctions between Eastern and Western cultures, for instance, are definitely losing their meanings. Permanent confrontation, negotiation, and hybridization between different cultures and identities are all that remain.

Along with economic globalization, the logic of late or global capitalism and the ideology of consumerism are now spreading and "conquering" the planet, an irreversible trend thanks to new technologies and electronic communication. Popular cultures and their images, mainly electronically generated and distributed, are becoming common sources of imagination, fantasy, and even moral values for people, especially youth, whether they live in the developed "First World" or the developing "Third World." This new global culture is, as already suggested, pluralist, hybrid, and interactive. One should not, however, be automatically optimistic about it. The fact that globalization is actually producing further divisions between the rich and the poor, between the empow-

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ered and the exploited, clouds euphoric visions of the new reality like those in the post-World War II war years in the West embodied by pop art. On the contrary, this new reality must be continuously examined and criticized, eliciting more fundamental, political critiques of global capitalism itself. However, the recent economic and political dominance of this new form of capitalism have rendered its critique much more complicated and difficult. We are living in a time of self-contradiction: Consumerism so thoroughly dictates the cultural context in which we live that even intellectual notions, such as locality, globality, multiculturalism, and hybridity, in spite of their original political bias, are systematically appropriated by the marketplace and turned into commodities or consumable signs—the most infamous example being the advertising strategy of Benetton. Furthermore, localities, embodied in the promotion of tourist spots, local specialties, etc., are actually one of the most reliable economic revenues for local communities. They are first of all commodities. We are losing what Frederic Jameson has called the necessary “distance of critique.”⁵

Facing such a contradiction, contemporary art has to come up with more innovative solutions in order to continue to exist. Using different mediums, notably electronic means, artists in different parts of the world or those sharing various types of localities have developed similar methods to re-appropriate images from electronic media and commercial advertisements, turning them into subversively ironic statements and even critical commentaries on the originals. Putting the “detoured” images back into circulation in the media, they affect and transform the collective consciousness as well as fantasies governing popular cultures. This is only one example of how contemporary art is being re-harnessed to transform society.

Obviously, one of major results of globalization is the gradual disappearance of borders separating nation-states and the establishment of new boundaries according to the rules of global capitalism. Concomitant with such a tendency, contemporary art is also going through a transitional period of self-deconstruction. Increasingly, art concepts and practices merge with other disciplines, especially architecture and urbanism, providing a larger space for social intervention by means of the reconstruction of visual environments beyond the framework of art institutions or the market. In the meantime, like the internal transformation of architecture and urbanism into a domain between the “real” and the virtual, contemporary art is being “dematerialized” and rematerialized within the network of global communication and hence incorporated into every level of cultural and quotidian activity. The arts can no longer remain confined in a separate enclosure.

Another driving force of globalization affecting the world order is global migration. Populations are traveling at an unprecedented speed across the planet. Their compositions are diverse: from economic refugees to political

International biennials are to the art market what fusion food is to the culinary world: mainstream ingredients with a local flavor snuck into the mix, but not enough to aggravate the conventional palate. What recipe possesses the right balance to allow for necessary mass consumption? Of course, nothing too excessive: Let's

start with something a little unusual, say papaya? And then mix it with a chicken pâté. Everybody eats chicken, right? And systemically, those with purchasing power dictate the margins of taste.

In the process of “glocalism” or fusion, power politics play the determining role. Getting back to contemporary art, give me something familiar enough, say Olafur Eliasson, and mix in a little Solmaz Shahbazi? That's just about mild and new enough. I like chicken, and papaya sure sounds sexy.

All of this is problematic because art is not food, and within the aggressive parameters of the market-driven culture industry, international biennials are the market's white lie: International Food Day. They are about consumption, they are about tourism, they are about branding, and they are about new product lines. But thankfully, they also have a comforting slogan: promoting international cultural exchange, art, and ideas.

When the meal is over, although we believe we have widened our horizons (even though it was just chicken!), we are often still too uncomfortable to pick up a papaya the next time we are at a fruit stand. Perhaps it is indeed time to regain our Jamesonian “distance of critique” because fusion food has yet to fulfill its promise, and we are always still hungry after leaving the table.

Mai Abu Eidahab, Cairo-based independent curator and co-curator of Manifesta 6

exiles, from cheap labor forces to jet-set political, economic, and intellectual elites. These different groups of global travelers, however, are all closely linked to the logic of global capitalism. They are at once the very symptoms and the catalyst of this irreversible trend. This tremendous global movement not only creates new opportunities for economic and cultural activities across the world. More significantly, it also profoundly influences localities everywhere in the world and provokes their generation. The departure of certain groups from the local community and the arrival of “Others” are fundamentally transforming every city, region, and nation-state. The conditions, discourses, ideologies, and values of the production of localities are producing totally new adventures. Apart from the problems and difficulties caused when one departs from one's culture, displacement can also provide certain opportunities for the exile, while his or her experience of global traveling and adaptation in new contexts can be re-imported to influence the locale of his or her origin. Culturally and artistically, this intensive struggle to lead a new life in a new environment can also present an opening to an innovative perspective of creation. As the American-Vietnamese cultural activist Trinh Minh-ha argues, “Displacement involves the invention of new forms of subjectivities, of pleasures, of intensities, of relationships, which also implies the continuous renewal of a critical work that looks carefully and intensively at the very system of values to which one refers in fabricating the tools of resistance.”⁶

No doubt, “the invention of new forms of subjectivities, of pleasures, of intensities, of relationships” is not only an inspiring moment for the cultural imagination and artistic creation. It also provokes a necessary process of a more fundamental nature—the transformation and mutation of the relationship between subjectivity and society. The Internet is perhaps the most evident symbol of such a new cultural structure. Subjectivity and identity should be understood as comprising continuously changing and evolving processes. The border around the self is blurred, and the self merges more and more actively with the Other. Intersubjectivity, rather than subjectivity, is a more relevant and meaningful notion, while artistic and cultural creations demand a new foundation beyond the ideology of individualism. Art making should be a process and expression of intersubjective communication, exchange, and collaboration. We are now witnessing more and more artists working in groups, while transdisciplinary collaborations are becoming the focus of artistic experiments. In working collectively, different individual talents are accumulated and combined to generate new languages, concepts, and especially new cultural categories that suggest a revolution of the social order, both globally and locally.

Eventually, contemporary art created from and for different localities but immediately involved with the swirl of global information, communication, and displacement can become an efficient means of resistance, interruption, and deconstruction of the established, dominant, hegemonic power of global capi-

talism and its ideology. And it should remain so. To resist the materialist values of consumerism and evolve along with the possibilities that new communication technology offers, contemporary art is now being explored and developed increasingly towards immateriality, interactivity, instability, uncertainty, and spatial temporalization. This process, inevitably affecting the global communication network, produces fragmentation, interrupting critical moments in the flow of communication and the production of value. It always plays the role of the Other, an alternative to the "mainstream," voicing different and unexpected feelings, understandings, knowledge, and projects. As a consequence, artworks constantly create vacant spaces or voids. The works are then open to free interpretation, interactive participation by the public, and the constant reinvention of meanings through endless negotiations between different individual and collective experiences and aspirations on their equally endless journeys between the global and the local, between history and the present, between reality and projection.

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Projects to produce new localities should start by considering the dynamism of the global-local nexus. This is the very context of locality production today. If Appadurai is right and localities are the product of specific contexts and, at the same time, present new contexts for the generation of social life, then cities can potentially become the most vital spaces for the production of localities, when they introduce international or global artistic biennials.

* An earlier version of this text was written for the catalogue of the 2000 Pusan International Contemporary Art Festival (now the Busan Biennial), which was never published. The essay appeared in my collection *On the Mid-Ground*, ed. Yu Hsiao Hwei (Hong Kong: Timezone 8, 2002) and appears here in a revised form.

NOTES

1. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
2. *Ibid.*, 198.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
5. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).
6. Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Cotton and Iron" in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson et al. (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 331.

THE GLOBAL WHITE CUBE

Elena Filipovic

The history still to be made will take into consideration the place (the architecture) in which a work comes to rest (develops) as an integral part of the work in question and all the consequences such a link implies. It is not a question of ornamenting (disfiguring or embellishing) the place (the architecture) in which the work is installed, but of indicating as precisely as possible the way the work belongs in the place and vice versa, as soon as the latter is shown.

— Daniel Buren, "Function of Architecture"

First, the Museum

New York, 1929. A sparse, singular row of artworks lined the palest of walls in the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, a display strategy that Alfred Barr Jr. imagined after a visit to the Folkwang Museum in Essen two years earlier.¹ The walls became somewhat lighter upon arriving on American shores and even whiter over the years, moving from beige-colored monk's cloth to stark white paint by the time the MoMA moved into its new permanent home on West 53rd Street.² But the essence of the museum's aesthetic project was there from the start. With it, other details followed: Windows were banished so that the semblance of an outside world—daily life, the passage of time, in short, *context*—disappeared; overhead lights were recessed and emitted a uniform, any-given-moment-in-the-middle-of-the-day glow; noise and clutter were suppressed; a general sobriety reigned. A bit like its cinematic black-box pendant, the museum's galleries unequivocally aimed to extract the viewer from "the world." For this and other reasons, the minimal frame of white was thought to be "neutral" and "pure," an ideal support for the presentation of an art unencumbered by architectural, decorative, or other distractions. The underlying fiction of this whitewashed space is not only that ideology is held at bay, but also that the autonomous works of art inside convey their meaning in uniquely aesthetic terms.³ The form for this fiction quickly became a standard, a universal signifier of modernity, and eventually was designated the "white cube."⁴

No tabula rasa, the white cube is an indelibly inscribed container. Far more than a physical, tectonic space (monochromatic walls delimiting a certain geometrical shape), the art world's white cube circumscribes an attitude toward art, a mode of presentation, and an aura that confers a halo of inevitability, of fate, on whatever is displayed inside it. The legibility of the artwork *as work* is contingent upon the structuring of that legibility by its surroundings—Marcel Duchamp taught us that. From the MoMA's whitewash forward, the white cube became a cipher for institutional officiousness, fortifying the ultimate tautology: An artwork belongs there because it is there. (The fact that the artwork is bracketed off from the world also undermines the impression that it might be related to, or the same as, the stuff of everyday life.) In that space of encounter, the ideal viewer (white, middle-class) is also constructed—well behaved, solemn, disembodied, and able to focus on the singularity of the work of art with an uninterrupted gaze.⁵ Particular to the white cube is that it operates under the pretense that its seeming invisibility allows the artwork best to speak; it seems blank, innocent, unspecific, insignificant. Ultimately, what makes a white cube a white cube is that, in our experience of it, ideology and form meet, and all without our noticing it.⁶

Years after Barr invoked the white cube as the hallmark of the MoMA's exhibition spaces, Hitler approved of its use for the interior of the Haus der Kunst in Munich in 1937, the Nazis' first architectural project after coming to power. That monumental new building with its interior of vast well-lit gallery spaces, all white and windowless, opened with the exhibition *Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German Art Exhibition). The white container and sober display served to make the painted idyllic landscapes and bronze Aryan bodies on view seem natural and innocuous, despite the belligerent motives that underlay their selection and presentation. Driving home the point, the demonstration was doubly staged; *Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung* was the "acceptable," positive pendant to the somber, densely cluttered, and apparently disorganized show *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) that opened in a nearby archeological institute the following day.⁷ Thanks to such a contrast, the artworks in the former seemed all the more righteous and those in the latter all the more abhorrent. There is no denying the coincidence: When the aestheticization of politics reached terrifying proportions, the white cube was called in.

New York and Munich, 1929 and 1937. The larger architectural frames for these white cubes are not comparable, and their respective regimes, it goes without saying, were worlds apart. Conflating them is not my purpose. Rather, I wish to highlight the usefulness, efficacy, and versatility of an exhibition format that has become a standard. If the white cube managed to be both the ideal display format for the MoMA's and the Third Reich's respective visions of modern art, despite their extremely different ideological and aesthetic positions, it is because the display conceit embodied qualities that were meaning-

ful to both, including neutrality, order, rationalism, progress, extraction from a larger context, and, not least of all, universality and (Western) modernity.⁸ Their examples are relevant today not only because they laid the foundations for how the white cube came to signify over time, but also because the subtle and not so subtle political ambitions of their exhibitions remind us of the degree to which pristine architectonics, immaculate backdrops, general sparseness, and the strict organization of artworks on the walls *matter*. The subjugation of artistic production to a frame at once "universal," neutral, ordered, rational, and ultimately problematic for what that so-called universality implies and hides, points to a predicament with which artists and curators have grappled ever since: Exhibitions, by their forms, entangle the viewer in a space at once physical and intellectual, but also ideological.

Now, Biennials and Other Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions

Fast forward, virtually everywhere, sometime here and now. Like modernity, the white cube is a tremendously successful Western export. Its putative neutrality makes it a ubiquitous architectural surround (an "architectural inevitability," Rem Koolhaas would say) for artworks in museums, but also for galleries and art fairs that transform commercial environs into what look more and more like mini museal spaces. Given that galleries and art fairs have a financial interest in making goods for sale appear as if they have already been legitimized by museum-like spaces, not to mention their frequent desire to keep the poetry or violence of everyday life out of the realm of becalmed shopping, this is hardly surprising. It makes less sense, however, within the context of the recurrent, large-scale international exhibitions that have proliferated around the world.

Sometimes referred to in shorthand as "mega exhibitions" or "biennials" (even those that do not, strictly speaking, occur biannually), these various large-scale international exhibitions distinguish themselves from typical group shows staged in museums, art centers, or *Kunsthallen* in large part through their lineage to the Venice Biennial, the first perennial international salon of contemporary art inaugurated in 1895. This parentage implies a temporality and spectacularity that is their own: These punctual manifestations recurring every two or three or even every five years, as is the case with Documenta, lack real visibility beyond the duration of their exhibitions; they have an explicit ambition both to represent their region, host city, or nation and to display a decidedly international panorama of contemporary production, an ambition that influences the scale and general circumstance attached to the event; and they often are dispersed over multiple public spaces and institutional sites. If these relatively basic features unite large-scale international exhibitions and biennials, an ocean of differences can separate their tenants and histories. A number of them find their origins in contexts of profound political

and cultural transition, for example, Documenta and German post-war reconstruction, the Gwangju Biennial and the democratization of South Korea, the short-lived Johannesburg Biennial and the end of apartheid, or Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art and the fall of the Berlin Wall. These and others have used the particularity of their historic, cultural, and geographic situation to define an institutional focus, a striking example being the Havana Biennial's ongoing engagement to offer a platform for artists from the "Third World." Whatever their individual histories, however, the ambition to be a counter model to the museum and its traditional exhibitions is a significant defining feature of such events.

Most biennials and large-scale international exhibitions in fact were founded in reaction to nonexistent or weak local art institutions unwilling or unable to support the most experimental contemporary cultural production. These perennial exhibitions, therefore, perceive themselves as temporally punctual infrastructures that remain forever contemporary and unburdened by collecting and preserving what the vagaries of time render simply modern. The aim to be the paradigmatic alternative to the museum cuts both ways, however, with positive and negative distinctions. The proliferation of biennials in the 1990s rendered them new privileged sites for cultural tourism and introduced a category of art, the bombastic proportions and hollow premises of which earned it the name "biennial art," a situation that knotted the increasingly spectacular events to market interests. That mega exhibitions can be compromised is a frequent lament, but in their best moments, they offer a counterproposal to the regular programming of the museum as well as occasions for artists to trespass institutional walls and defy the neat perimeter to which the traditional institution often strictly adheres when it organizes exhibitions (although museums, it must be said, are increasingly challenging their own once-staid protocols). Moreover, mega exhibitions have also been platforms for challenging and heterogeneous artistic forms from around the world, often addressing some of the most politically charged issues of the period. Just as importantly, they have been known to elicit some of the most intense questioning of artistic practices through the expanded idea of where such an event's borders lie. Interdisciplinary discussions, conferences, and lectures that take place on or near the premises of exhibitions or, as was the case with Documenta 11, in several locations around the world are increasingly integral to these events. This striking expansion goes in tandem with curatorial discourses that increasingly distinguish the biennial or mega exhibition as larger than the mere presentation of artworks; they are understood as vehicles for the production of knowledge and intellectual debate.

As Carlos Basualdo suggests, "the configuration of interests at the core of institutions like biennials clearly differs from that which gave rise to the institutional circuit traditionally linked to modernity (museums, art criticism, and galleries)."⁹ In many ways, he is correct. If, however, "museums are, first and

foremost, Western institutions," then biennials, as Basualdo reasons, avoid being so almost by definition because "the global expansion of large-scale exhibitions performs an insistent de-centering of both the canon and artistic modernity," rendering the two qualitatively different.¹⁰ While such an optimistic position champions the positive effects of the increasing number of biennials worldwide, it tends to overlook some of the ways they perpetuate the museum's most questionable paradigms.¹¹ Despite the numerous reasons to extol mega exhibitions, it is necessary to examine the curious discrepancy between their accompanying discourses as well as the extraordinary promises they seem to offer and the conventions through which they frame the artworks on view.

Globally Replicated

Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched?

— Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*

No one seems to want to speak about it, but no matter how fervently biennials and other large-scale exhibitions insist on their radical distinction from the idea of the museum, they overwhelmingly show artworks in specially constructed settings that replicate the rigid geometries, white partitions, and windowless spaces of classical museum exhibitions. Otherwise, these mega exhibitions simply bring artworks into existing museum spaces without altering their white cubes. Timeless, hermetic, and always the same despite its location or context, this globally replicated white cube has become almost categorically fixed, a private "non-place" for the world of contemporary art biennials, one of those uncannily familiar sites, like the department stores, airports, and freeways of our period of supermodernity described by anthropologist Marc Augé.¹² One of the crucial particularities of biennials and large-scale exhibitions, however, is that they are meant to represent *some place*. Their specificity is precisely their potential to be specific—site-specific, if you will, and time-specific as well. The fact that the main exhibition format used in a recent biennial in Dakar looked like that used in Taipei a short time ago or like that used in Venice twenty years ago seems to contradict such an idea. Forays beyond the box and into the city or its environs are part of what visitors expect from biennials, but such "special projects" held outside museal spaces often make up a relatively small percentage of the whole event and, in some cases, don't figure at all. Instead, the requisite mixing of "local" and "global" artists, recurrent themes generalizing the contemporary condition (their titles say it all: *Everyday*, *Looking for a Place*, *Art Together with Life*), and a singular, age-old display strategy diminish the distinctions between geographically distant events. The paradox, of course, is that the neoliberal model of globalization

against which many of these biennials position themselves thrives on and itself produces just such homogenization.

There are exceptions to this rule. Biennials such as those in Havana, Istanbul, Johannesburg (while it lasted), and Tirana, all of which happen to represent the so-called margins of the art world, historically have often reflected the particular economic, political, and geographic conditions of their localities through their inventive and often hesitant exhibition forms. Rare editions of other biennials, like Paulo Herkenhoff's edition of São Paulo in 1998 or Francesco Bonami's edition of Venice in 2003, stand out for the ways in which they revised typical biennial norms and forms. Still, the list of cities that have hosted large-scale exhibitions in the last decade using and reusing white cubes to display large portions of the artworks selected for inclusion is seemingly endless: Berlin, Dakar, Pittsburgh, Luxemburg City, New Delhi, Taipei, São Paulo, Sharjah, Frankfurt, New York City, Kassel, Sydney, Prague, Seville, etc. Their reliance on traditional museum exhibition formats is questionable for numerous reasons, including, as Catherine David suggests, the fact that many contemporary aesthetic practices no longer correspond to the conditions for which the white cube was built.¹³ Just as troubling is the presumption that the profound diversity of histories and cultures that these biennials aim to represent should be equally legible in such a space. Determined to present themselves as an alternative to the museum, these large-scale exhibitions attempt to give voice to cultures, histories, and politics underrepresented within that institution. The fact that the most seemingly progressive biennials and their curators, vaunting the most heterogeneous of art forms, so often adopt a unique and now ossified exhibition format suggests that some of the most pernicious tenants of the museum and the history of modernism it embodies remain fundamental to their functioning.

As Brian O'Doherty, one of the white cube's most perceptive theorists, notes, "the history of modernism is intimately framed by that space; or rather the history of modern art can be correlated with changes in that space and how we see it." More than "any single picture," he further states, "that white ideal space...may be the archetypal image of twentieth century art; it clarifies itself through a process of historical inevitability usually attached to the art it contains."¹⁴ The white cube, therefore, often supports the modern museum's other historiographic devices, including a linear, evolutionary history of art (think Alfred Barr's famous "torpedo" of modern art) with its decidedly Western perspective, limited temporal schemas, and unidirectional notions of influence. Given this, one wonders why this most dutiful spatial accomplice has continued to proliferate almost without question when we have become more conscious in recent decades that "modernity" is a construct that has suppressed, obscured, or transformed whole cultural histories and their pro-

It is about time that someone persuasively showed that the strategies and tactics of exhibiting art in large-scale international exhibitions (whether it be Manifesta, Documenta, the Gwangju Biennial, or other similar events) are no less neutral or innocent than the modernist museum or gallery. In short, the biennial's white cube is

not a transhistorical, transgeographical, or apolitical construct. Its aesthetic ideal is a specific macro- and micro-political construction that operates in relation to an art that is involved in the social machines of identification, exchange, consumption, pleasure, critical expression, and undeniably the construction of social subjectivities and objectivities. Strategies and tactics of exhibiting are devices of explicit cultural politics employed to reflect social reality in relation to the structuring of aesthetic, discursive, and political identities (both individual and collective). Thus the curator is not just a technician who arranges more or less temporary or permanent manifestations, but instead a kind of "political activist" acting in a cultural superstructure that today increasingly resembles a fast-paced and spectacular system that shows signs of what Foucault called the "biotechnological" and Marx called "class struggle."

Pushing these arguments in another direction, I would say that contemporary large-scale exhibitions no longer present finished masterpieces. Instead, they display the visible relationships between the curator-as-author, the exhibiting institution, and the artist-as-performer in the world of media and cultural traces. The artwork is thus removed from the exhibition, as Yves Michaud suggests in his book *L'Art à l'état gazeux*. Specific kinds of productive relations within society, which have historically determined every paradigm of the large-scale exhibition as well as the art world in general, cause this to occur. A high modernist fetishization of the art object determined the white cube. From the beginning, the Venice Biennial was founded on models of identity endemic to a nationalistic bourgeois society as well as the synthesis of representative "national" arts. Conversely, a system of rapid changes in the artistic and cultural fashions of late capitalism shaped Documenta from its outset. Manifesta emerged to problematize notions of the local and global in the aftermath of the cold war. Today, we could point to media spectacles, in which the so-called exhibition becomes a media and cultural net of totalizing artistic, cultural, and political events, presenting an atmosphere of art, culture, and society instead of artworks.

Miško Šuvaković, professor of aesthetics and theory, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu (University of Arts in Belgrade), Belgrade

ducers. If globalization, as is so often maintained, problematizes the binary opposition of the national and the international, defying national borders and unhinging dominant cultural paradigms to allow the entry of histories, temporalities, and conditions of production from beyond the West, then why do so many conventional structures remain at exactly those sites that seek to undermine the epistemological and institutional bases of these structures? The white cube is, to cite O'Doherty again, "one of modernism's triumphs," a Western conceit constructed to uphold some of its most cherished values, including what Igor Zabel called the common presumption that "Western modern art is...modern art, that modernization (in the visual arts as well as in other areas of cultural and social life) is Westernization."¹⁵ While it may not be surprising that the museum has been slow to dismantle these paradigms, why have biennials not done so? To question Basualdo's notion of decentering: Can a true decentering of traditional notions of modernity be fully accomplished so long as the Western museum's frame is exported as the unquestioned context by which to legitimize an apparently expanding canon?

To Lefebvre's queries about whether space can be innocent and whether hegemonies might leave space untouched, the answer—as he knew well—is "no."¹⁶ And so it is for the space of the exhibition. There are diverse ways an exhibition can resist, asserting its social and political relevance in our contemporaneity. To focus on select aspects, therefore, is admittedly to hold in suspense a reading of the others. Still, the "ideology of an exhibition," as theorist Miško Šuvaković persuasively contends, is not "an aggregate of oriented and entirely rationalized intentions of its organizers," nor is it the "messages that the authors of an exhibition are projecting and proclaiming in their introductory or accompanying texts."¹⁷ Instead, he concludes, it lies "between the intended and the unintended." Or, to put it slightly differently, the ideology of an exhibition lies between the discursive statements of purpose and the aesthetic-spatial result that manage more or less effectively to translate the intentions of its makers. An examination of several editions of Manifesta, Documenta, and the Gwangju Biennial thus will focus on the discursive and structural armatures supporting these exemplary recent projects and, inevitably, on the ways in which the white cube still continues to haunt them.

Manifesta

Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art was inaugurated in 1996 as a platform for cultural exchange between newly unified, post-Wall Europe. The paucity of dialogue between artists, institutions, and curators across Europe (despite the dramatic historic changes), the phenomenal multiplication of biennials, and their increasing concretization and inflexibility are all factors that profoundly influenced the project. As a result, the new biennial was imagined not only as an alternative to the museum, but as an alternative

to the typical biennial as well. Thus Manifesta's most unique feature was conceived—each edition was to be held in a different peripheral European city. Rejecting some of the inherent nationalism of geographically fixed events and eschewing art-world capitals in favor of locations with less established or visible infrastructures for art, Manifesta seemed to want to use its shifting locations and explicit focus on emerging European artists to rethink the form and specificity of large-scale international exhibitions.

For each edition, the selected curatorial team mounted its exhibition across a number of local institutional sites. The main venue was typically a contemporary art museum or *Kunsthalle*—the Museum Boijmans Van Beunigen for Manifesta 1, the Casino Luxembourg for Manifesta 2, the Moderna galerija Ljubljana for Manifesta 3, and the Frankfurter Kunstverein for Manifesta 4. (Manifesta 5 was an exception to this rule, with only a small portion of the show displayed in a local contemporary art space, the Koldo Mixtelena.) Exhibiting in such established venues was no doubt a pragmatic gesture: Given Manifesta's itinerant existence, it would be difficult to start from scratch each time. Moreover, the designation of local museums, contemporary art centers, and other cultural sites as exhibition spaces was a vital element, it was reasoned, in the collaboration between Manifesta and its host cities. However, in this process, the white cube seemingly had been accepted as a kind of "international-style" exhibition frame, an internationally recognized container that was deemed appropriate almost no matter where the project moved or the nature of the artwork being displayed.¹⁸ Whereas the incredible promise of such a project lay in the possibility of producing fundamental shifts in successive editions as they traversed Europe, Manifesta's exhibitions have remained relatively true to known biennial formats and standard museal display aesthetics.

Although no edition of Manifesta to date has abandoned the white cube, a remarkable fragility, informality, and tentativeness did characterize several editions, distinguishing them in the face of the otherwise visual sophistication and high-gloss spectacle of most perennial events. However, the modesty and ad hoc character of the display in Manifesta's first edition in 1996 had already begun to fade somewhat with the second edition two years later and seemed to have been lost altogether by the fourth edition of 2002. The reasons for this are hardly simple and the attachment to traditional museum spaces and their formats is perhaps the symptom of the resistance that biennials like Manifesta encounter when they consider departing from established expectations for such events. An anecdote about the city of Stockholm's decision not to host the second edition of Manifesta after having seen the first in Rotterdam is telling: The dozen venues across which were dispersed predominantly subtle and small-scale or otherwise unspectacular artworks and performances hardly seemed to cater to the ambitions of a city looking to place itself on the cultural (tourist) map. For city officials shopping for a biennial, there was little

that seemed likely to draw the same crowds or press as more established mega exhibitions. This story suggests that there was pressure on Manifesta to conform to the idea of what a biennial should look like—which meant not only grand artworks displayed in visible concentration, but the appropriately conventional "museum hang" and white partitioned spaces to properly enframe them.

Another theoretical problem with abandoning the white cube remained, one perhaps even more fundamentally troubling to such exhibitions: how to display works of art by as yet unknown artists, often with an aesthetic sensibility that is as yet unrecognized by most viewers, or artworks that are not easily recognizable *as art* in spaces that do not announce themselves as bastions for art? Might not the artwork be mistaken for mere "stuff"? And wasn't it desirable that artists new to the international art world avoid this confusion at the moment of their *entrée* into that world? (Not to mention that the emerging curators relatively new to the international art world might have felt they were expected to demonstrate that they too could organize a biennial that looked the part.) To imagine that the art that Manifesta showed or that the survival of such a new institution indeed *depended* on the white cube, however, would be to accept the dominance of Western modernity's structures as the ground against which everything else must be read in order to be considered legitimate at all, a highly problematic assumption and one contingent on precisely the kind of normalization that Manifesta claimed to want to question.

Efforts to highlight the specificity of a Manifesta exhibition in a particular place as well as its specificity as a biennial could instead be seen in the themes that both the displaced exhibitions and the artworks on view addressed, including homelessness, hospitality, diasporas, borders, and immigration. Perhaps more than any other biennial, Manifesta's various editions can be said to have consistently probed topics crucial to intellectual, cultural, and political debates of the 1990s. The third edition in Ljubljana in 2000 underlined these debates in a programmatic way. Its large number of politically engaged works, rejection of slick display strategies, active discussion program initiated by local thinkers, and collaboration with the RTV Slovenia to use local television broadcasts as a fifth venue were uniquely appropriate given the region's war-torn history. Relatively little was done, however, to engage in more than a thematic way the show's concerns with what it called Europe's "borderline syndrome." Thus, in the end, the significant distinctions between the exhibition formats of the editions themselves arguably were hard to discern.

Manifesta 5, held in Donostia-San Sebastián in the politically troubled Basque region of northern Spain, might be seen as an exception since it took urbanism as a theme at the same time it incorporated actual urban rehabilitation into the exhibition as a constitutive element. In collaboration with the Rotterdam-based Berlage Institute, the curators instigated theoretical reflec-

tion on the revitalization of one of the region's poorest districts, the Pasaia Bay area, and had two of the area's disaffected factories, Casa Ciriza and Ondartxo, restored with the intention that they would serve the community after the run of the show. The largest portion of the exhibition, shown in the Casa Ciriza and thus framed by the defunct fish warehouse's post-industrial ruin and larger impoverished context, avoided the physical accouterments of the white cube, as did the portion held in the sixteenth-century former monastery Museo San Telmo; yet, what was staged in these venues and those others that did resort to white cubes amounted to a rather conventional show. While the urban renewal project was an important step towards asserting that biennials could be the motors for lasting local change, in the eyes of a number of critics, the exhibition missed an opportunity to render the historic, political, and cultural specificity of the location more integral to its form or to the artworks selected. As one reviewer concluded, it "could have been mounted almost anywhere."¹⁹

Ultimately, Manifesta's past exhibitions as well as its symposia, discussion forums, and parallel events have attempted to encourage curators and institutions to think about the limits, transformations, and particularities of Europe as an idea as much as a physical place but never productively incited the connection between this thinking and the reinvention of the project's structural form. After all, given Manifesta's concerns, why demand that it take the form or occupy the space of a conventional museum exhibition? Why not imagine truly experimental exhibition forms that emerge from both the specific sites in which Manifesta finds itself and the issues that make holding a biennial there and then relevant or even urgent? And why not imagine that even those cities less able to replicate Western European museum standards and lacking the same level of financial commitment might actually host a Manifesta edition, inventing new idiosyncratic forms for the event. As experimental platforms that define new models for exhibiting, the peripatetic editions could thus better reflect Manifesta's stated ambitions.

If questions such as these have beset the project from the start, the sixth edition seems to have used them as a point of departure. The curators of Manifesta 6, still in the planning stages, have announced that this upcoming edition in Nicosia, a geographically isolated, culturally and politically divided site with only minimal resources for the production and presentation of art, not to mention a historically fraught relationship to Europe, will exchange Manifesta's punctual, traditional exhibition in favor of the extended duration and pedagogical process of an art school. It appears that the biennial's newly envisaged form and temporality emanate from an attempt to respond to Cyprus' multiple historic overdeterminations, including its locus between Europe and the Middle East (a first foray outside of Europe for Manifesta) and its role as paradigm of the conditions and consequences of globalization today. For what sense could another mega exhibition have in such a location today? If goods can traverse its international borders with relative ease, people still can-

not, caught as they are in the political instrumentalization of ethnic and national identities. In place of a biennial as showcase for contemporary cultural goods, the sixth edition purports to use the increased facility of movement across borders made possible by student visas to construct a bi-communal, international forum for process, experimentation, and exchange built from the artists' extended presence at the site in order to respond to the realities of its ethnically divided host city. What the visiting spectator will be able to experience, how such things as process and cultural translation can be rendered visible in an exhibition-as-school, and whether some of the complexity of what has for so long been the "Cypriot problem" will be adequately addressed in the result remain to be seen, but this shift for Manifesta suggests that the specificities of its site have come to serve as the foundation for imagining a new formal model for this biennial.

Documenta

Documenta began in 1955 in the hope of rehabilitating the image of postwar Germany, transforming the bombed-out town of Kassel and its most iconic extant structure, the neoclassical Museum Fridericianum, into the center of the art world every five years. The one-hundred-day quintennial quickly came to be considered the most serious and among the most prestigious mega exhibition of its kind.

One can hardly say that for the tenth edition of Documenta in 1997 artistic director Catherine David devised radical, new display strategies to recast the physical appearance of the white cube. While the artworks on display were largely political in content, their presentation in the Museum Fridericianum bore little evidence that the traditional museum format or the Western avant-garde canon were under attack. The highly problematic role of the white cube was, however, an essential tension underlying Documenta 10. A reflection on what David called its "spatial and temporal but also ideological limits" was central to the conception of her project.²⁰ The seeming inability of the museum's "universalist model" to accommodate some of the most experimental and exemplary contemporary cultural production determined her objective to conceive an exhibition that included the program 100 Days–100 Guests, a mammoth series of daily public lectures, theater performances, film screenings, poetry readings, discussions, and other events in Kassel.

Conceptually, 100 Days–100 Guests began with the premise that presenting a panorama of recent visual art was not a priori the best means of representing contemporaneity. As David suggested in the short guide to the exhibition, "the object for which the white cube was constructed is now in many cases no more than one of the aspects or moments of the work, or better yet, merely the support and the vector of highly diverse artistic activities."²¹ Nor was the *exhibitable object* the most representative of every culture. She

further explained:

For reasons which have partially to do with interrupted or violently destroyed traditions, as well as the diversity of the cultural formations that have sprung from colonization and decolonization and the indirect and unequal access these formations have been given to the forms of Western modernity, it seems that in many cases the pertinence, excellence, and radicality of contemporary non-Western expressions finds its privileged avenues in music, oral and written language (literature, theatre), and cinema forms which have traditionally contributed to strategies of emancipation.²²

All cultures, she thus contended, are not equally served by the white cube. David's resulting project, with predominantly Western figures featured in the show's historical "retro-perspectives," more recent but still largely American and European artwork on view in the exhibition spaces, and the work of non-Westerners overwhelmingly relegated to the lecture and events program, admittedly offered a Eurocentric perspective of *visual* art. But, instead of imagining yet another "Museum of 100 Days," as Documenta had been nicknamed at its founding, she aimed to present more heterogeneous works—and through more heterogeneous means—during 100 Days–100 Guests. Both conceptually and physically central to the exhibition (its stage stood in the middle of the Documenta-Halle), the events program could also be experienced live on the radio and via the Internet, or consulted as recordings in the exhibition, constituting a growing archive both in and, potentially, beyond Kassel.²³ David thus effectively transformed Documenta from a spectacular visual arts exhibition to a hybrid site for the representation of diverse cultural production. The result opened Documenta to the kind of political engagement and diversity of mediums and cultures that no other such exhibition in the West had seen—what many critics in turn lamented as an overly political, theory-driven, and aesthetically impoverished show. In fact, David's move to counter the mega exhibition's usual spectacle was consistent with the audacious assertion that it is impossible to continue to innocently perpetuate the museal exhibition format as the legitimate frame for all works of art from all places. The exhibition and events program thus staged the very limitations of the white cube. And in critically reflecting on the way hegemonic forms operate, Documenta 10 used the conceptual and discursive structure of the last edition of the millennium to encourage others to do so as well, a role that was, as David suggested, no less political than aesthetic.

For the eleventh edition of Documenta in 2002, artistic director Okwui Enwezor and his co-curators aimed to transform the geographic, conceptual, and temporal constitution of the event, conceiving a series of five "platforms," the first four of which were themed conferences (in one case including a workshop and film screenings) held in Lagos, Saint Lucia, New Delhi, Vienna, and

Berlin over the course of eighteen months.²⁴ The discussions deliberated such issues as the recent impact of globalization on the world or the violent legacy of colonialism. Although far from a literal rehearsal of the exhibition, they also mapped out the concerns at the heart of the fifth exhibition platform. Reiterating the terms of the larger project's postcolonial critique, the stridently political artworks and accompanying curatorial statements rendered explicit the need to question Western imperialism, including its perpetuation through such notions as modernity, the avant-garde, universality, and democracy.²⁵

The first four platforms were, by most accounts, thought provoking if academic affairs, at once dislocating the singular site of Documenta and situating critical research and theoretical reflection at its heart. Despite the fact that, relatively few visitors and participants actually attended the conferences, these proceedings were integral to the form of Documenta 11, which expanded the boundaries of this art event traditionally held in a provincial European town and transformed it into a transnational, interdisciplinary, multilayered manifestation. While these events overturned the strictures of Documenta's hallmark one-hundred-day exhibition in Kassel, the fifth platform appeared to be a decided *return to order*. Impeccable arrangements of white cubes and black boxes recurred throughout most all of the show's multiple sites. Even though the exhibition largely occupied the stately Museum Fridericianum, keeping with Documenta's typical practice, here as well as in the massive, newly inaugurated Binding Braueri and the Kulturbahnhof one encountered a display even more museal, conservative, and rarefied than in previous editions.²⁶ Exceptionally, a few of the exhibition projects extended outside the museum, seeming all the more to confine that platform to neatly delineated display spaces.²⁷ It was as if, in creating four other platforms out there in the world, the curators decided that the fifth in Kassel would replicate even more closely a museum space cut off from that world. The exhibition brought, as one critic noted, "issues of genocide, poverty, political incarceration, industrial pollution, earthquake wreckage, strip-mine devastation, and news of fresh disasters *into the inviolable white cube*."²⁸

This is not to suggest that the means through which display strategies structure perception and art history were simply overlooked. As one of the curators attests in his catalogue essay:

Art exhibitions also frequently adopt linear models to represent historical flux and the relationship between past art and recent production. To be sure, there is a correspondence between the linearity of these narratives and their tacit—or implicit—totalizing will....The ideological effects of these types of exhibition strategies are well known: the consolidation of an artistic canon, and therefore the staging of a series of mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that assures its permanency.²⁹

If the proliferation of biennials can be said to mark a break in the global cultural politics of modernity and modern art, it is because they affect art history writing and contemporary art's relationships to the specificity of location, which ultimately hinge on the revision of the aesthetics so dominant in the art of the 20th century. However,

a biennial's role in fashioning alternative art histories and aesthetics needs to take into account of their other concerns as well. As periodic events, they also aspire to showcase the new and the very contemporary as a response to and echo of local and global transformations in economy, politics, and culture. This limits their ability to incorporate historical depth but it contributes to their contest with the museum, which tends to be less sensitive to what is most contemporary. This conflict in the functioning of biennials has to be examined carefully, particularly in non-western countries where "contemporary art" only arrived in the 1980s (at the same moment that biennials began to proliferate) and still needs time to develop significant histories. Thus, instead of taking aim at how biennials attempt to write histories, we should talk about the "effects" of biennials on art history writing.

On the aesthetic level, it is hard to measure how far biennials can depart from the traditional white cube. Every biennial tackles this issue differently, and each edition also provides different approaches, articulated in more or less conscious ways. But, in general, it would not be fair to say that as long as biennials present themselves in museums, they will not be able to depart from the white cube or a linear art history based on Western modern art. On the one hand, museums all over the world are revising their relationship to the traditional white cube. On the other, the museum, with the protection and the flexibility of framing it can offer for art works, will still be an important venue for biennials, at times for reasons that are context-sensitive: A biennial can be created because of the lack of a museum, or because existing museums do not feature contemporary art, or because the contemporary art featured by the museum is outdated.

Manray Hsu, independent curator and critic based in Taipei and Berlin

He and the other curators of Documenta 11, therefore, tried to imagine a "structure that would allow the works to co-exist in a heterogeneous and non-linear temporality."³⁰ Indeed, as such an effort suggests, an exhibition's politics are inevitably a politics of (identity) representation, articulated in the selection of works and in the ways their strategic display rethink certain established ideals. Once the works were selected, however, Documenta 11, being largely composed of recent art, did not seem to fully question the ideological legerdemain of traditional museum shows, except insofar as it dispersed historical works from the 1970s throughout the exhibition. If Documenta 11's notable breadth of representation (with significantly more visual artists from non-Western nations than any previous edition) and the displacement of the four platforms sought to challenge occidental paradigms and champion instead "those circuits of knowledge produced outside the predetermined institutional domain of Westernism," then corseting the exhibition portion in exactly that predetermined institutional paradigm most intimately connected with the development and historicization of occidental modernism effectively undermined many of the very objectives of the project.³¹

Examining the fifth platform in this way inevitably simplifies the breadth and theoretical complexity of a much larger project, but it also underlines the silence which allows the white cube to function, even in those projects most consciously and explicitly positioned against the hegemony of modern Western forms. Why, one might ask, expand Documenta into different parts of the world through the four discussion platforms only to encase most of the over four hundred works from five continents in Kassel within the West's least questioned framing devices? A hasty response might be that bringing works of art from vastly different cultures requires using a uniformly prestigious or valid frame through which they can be experienced—the necessary fiction sustaining this being that the white cube is that neutral, legitimate frame. The issue is undeniably complex, but it was rehearsed, one might say, in one of the essential queries of *Democracy Unrealized*, the first platform of Documenta 11: Can democracy, a fundamentally Western concept and hegemonic political form, serve as a legitimate benchmark for the constitution of society in the postwar period, even in nations with vastly distinct histories and cultures? One could also ask the same of the white cube in relation to large-scale exhibitions. Of course, the underlying stakes of these two questions might seem, on the surface, wildly different, but both suggest that there is an imperative need to problematize (Western) models that quietly perpetuate themselves as unquestioned universals.

The Gwangju Biennial

The Gwangju Biennial, East Asia's first large-scale contemporary art event, was founded in 1995 at a high point in the biennial boom. With memories of nearly

two decades of political oppression still present, including the 1980 massacres that accompanied a citizen uprising for democracy, the new biennial was imagined as a bandage for old wounds and a means by which to provide the city a positive, forward-looking profile. Critics decried the overly Western focus of the first two editions as well as their seeming inability to draw attention to the specificity of the emerging Asian art scene or, for that matter, those of other cultures less well-represented in Asia. As a result, the biennial's third edition in 2000 was revamped, initiating a strong Asian focus accompanied by a declaration of commitment to becoming a forum for artistic practices outside the West. Broadcasting that the biennial would "pursue globalization rather than westernization, diversity instead of uniformity," officials marked their seriousness and new focus by building a multistory, convention center-like exhibition complex, which was inaugurated with the 2000 edition.³² Ironically, at precisely the moment that Gwangju and its biennial hoped to demonstrate their entry into a globalized art world, this new permanent exhibition structure incorporated generic Western display tropes in the form of a series of flexible but neatly arranged white cubes. For biennial officials, to be globally relevant meant replicating the "universal" exhibition backdrop.

The fourth edition in 2002 opposed this strategy. Entitled *P.A.U.S.E.* and directed by Wan-kyung Sung, the biennial was composed of four curated exhibitions or "projects" that in different ways engaged the vestiges of Gwangju's uneasy past and contemporary condition, including a series of site-specific installations in a former military prison, a project to reconstruct the area around the city's abandoned railroad tracks, and an exhibition concentrating on the Korean diaspora. Project 1: *Pause*, curated by Hou Hanru and Charles Esche and held in the biennial hall, was the largest part of the biennial, and the curators conceived it as a "context specific event" rather than a panorama of recent art. Asia's transformed urban reality provided the context for questioning art's "global-local negotiation" and imagining possible alternatives to the homogenization and acceleration of late capitalism.³³ The conditions of art production in contemporary Asia and beyond the Western world more generally, where structures to support experimental artistic practice are rare or non-existent, determined the curators' decision to show dynamic recent cultural production by artists who had self-organized outside the occidental art world's capitals.³⁴ As a result, they conceived an exhibition that included some twenty-five independent collectives and artist-run organizations from around the globe, mostly from Asia and Europe but also from the Americas and India. These groups were invited essentially to self-curate their participation in the biennial, retaining incredible autonomy and shifting the role of the biennial curator. The result was less a presentation of discrete artworks than a biennial as the workshop for artistic experimentation, since bringing together artist collectives from around the world was meant to empower and mobilize, acting as "a first step towards a global network of independent, self-organizational, and

resistant structures for creation."³⁵ By highlighting the possibilities of collective self-organization in the face of institutional inertia, the biennial engaged in a real dialogue with its local context, offering artists multiple models of self-sustainable cultural production.

"Hou and Esche seemed to want to subvert both Eurocentrism—with its fellow traveler, a certain patronizing exoticism—and 'the museum' as an institution," one critic noted, adding that "in much of Asia, these two issues are deeply intertwined."³⁶ Project 1: Pause translated its conceptual ambitions into an equally remarkable form: In collaboration with architects, the artist groups were asked to conceive display pavilions or reconstruct the actual spaces in which they typically worked and exhibited. A sprawling frame of steel and plywood delimited these pavilions, the ensemble redressing the biennial hall's exhibition spaces with evocations of a frenzied global metropolis. The resulting makeshift structures connecting the different parts of the exhibition rendered tangible the physical qualities of various international art spaces and conceptualized something about the practices seen within them. The pavilions and reconstructed independent art spaces varied wildly, from a Bedouin tent printed with images of Western cities overlaid with Muslim iconography (AES Group from Moscow) and a carpet-lined photocopying facility for xeroxing reduced-priced copies of the catalogue during the exhibition (Kurimanzutto from Mexico City) to reconstructions of an apartment interior (IT Park from Taipei) or a meeting room (Project 304 from Bangkok). They also implied, as did the urban evocations of the larger exhibition frame, that the particularities of artistic practices were connected to and imbricated in the actual structures that allowed for their experimentation. Suggesting that colonialism insinuates itself through the appropriation of the Other's monuments, demonstrating how capitalism's means could be used against itself, or illustrating that the most apparently quotidian gathering spot could be the site of intense cultural exchange, these structures within the larger exhibition refused the white-cube form but also demonstrated that the aesthetics of a display space are not separable from the ethics of an art practice.

The End(s) of the White Cube

To have begun to question the use of the white cube in recent large-scale perennial exhibitions by addressing the foundation of the modern museum and the historical and political implications of certain exhibition spaces, extreme as those examples may be, was not merely for rhetorical effect. By so doing, I intended to underscore that the framing of art, no less than the selection of artworks, is fundamental to the ideological dramaturgy that we call an exhibition. A curious silence regarding this phenomenon remains in discussions of biennials and related large-scale exhibitions. Yet, one could say that the "crisis of biennials" that so many critics have decried lies not so much in the prolifer-

ation of these events as in the proliferation of a *form*, which, more often than not, remains the same over time and across space despite the vast differences in the issues such exhibitions are meant to illustrate, their relationships to their individual local contexts, the works they present, the institutions that sponsor them, and the institutional and other histories they interrogate along the way.

At a moment when art remains one of the few modes of critically resisting hegemonic global transformations and when the engagement and experimentation of many artists remains a source of incredible promise for the future, exhibition forms need all the more urgently to be intelligent, sensitive, and appropriate means for rendering art public. To insist here on the ways in which some of the politics of an exhibition inheres in its form is not, however, to advocate the promotion of a cult of the curator or the conflation of his or her role with that of the artist. Nor does it mean to suggest that curators, institutions, or their exhibition spaces generate the meanings of contemporary artistic production. Artworks, however much they are elements in the construction of the meaning of an exhibition and, dialectically, also subjected to its staging, in fact can also articulate aesthetic and intellectual positions and define modes of experience that resist the thematic or structural frames in which they are put.³⁷ Yet, as any number of examples can amply testify, an exhibition is no mere sequence of artworks, good or bad, thematically unified or formally disparate. Nor is an exhibition's worth and meaning the sum (if one could measure them in this way) of the combined worth and meaning of the various works of art on display. Instead, the manner by which a selection of artworks, a tectonic context, and thematic or other discursive accompaniments coalesce into a particular form is at the heart of *how an exhibition exhibits*. This, after all, is what distinguishes an exhibition from, say, an illustrated essay: The articulation of a particular physical space through which relations between viewers and objects, between one object and others, and between objects, viewers, and their specific exhibition context are staged.

What then is the role of biennials and large-scale exhibitions today? How might they be more self-reflective about how meaning is expressed in the very structures they provide visitors for thinking, acting, and viewing a show? How can the postcolonial project of cultural translation prevent itself from being betrayed by the frame through which art is shown in order to allow these large-scale exhibitions to live up to their potential as sites from which to question the consequences of global modernity? How too might they register some of the hesitancy and instability that their discourse would have us believe is integral to their projects?

There are perhaps no easy answers to these questions nor is the issue without its own contradictions. But a change lies above all in the recognition that

How is an exhibition articulated? What new grammar of space should we invent for international shows, which claim to represent a globalizing art production, in order to transcend the Eurocentric confinements of the white cube? These are relevant questions, but let's push them one step further. What sort of new spatial language

are we looking for? Is it a language that universalizes its meanings through the subsequent inclusion of new forms, contents, audiences, producers, processes? Does it consist of more and more different spaces combined together? This erosion of the white cube's boundaries works both ways. We are faced with an increasingly rapid demand for new raw materials of art production: social contexts, local specificities, cultural differences, even new models of resistance. The white cube is only partly dismantled in the search for new stages and forums for art. This is because its mechanisms are also extended into the new areas it aims to include. We have seen the most curious examples of this dynamic: Due to instrumental policies of multiculturalism, reluctant marginal groups are dragged into museums about which they couldn't care less. The call for another form of exhibiting remains, nevertheless, urgent. But what if an exhibition is not a means to an end? What if it is not meant to transmit, to communicate, to translate, or even to reform, but to bewilder, alienate, dazzle, or suspend the instrumentality of meanings? Isn't the consequence of the call for a politics of form to liberate form from the instrumentality of the relationship of means and ends? The ends of the white cube thus consist precisely of getting rid of ends that mistake policies for politics because a politics of form knows no ends, just means, and it knows no end either, just endless contestation.

Hito Steyerl, Berlin-based artist and filmmaker

the aesthetic and intellectual premises on which an exhibition is based—the issues its curators and artists wish to defend, the positions they seek to express—need to be more fully articulated in the forms exhibitions take. Of course, it is not evident what forms might be appropriate to the vast cultural and formal heterogeneity of contemporary artistic production—supple enough to accommodate diverse practices, respectful enough to reveal the inherent, individual logic of artworks, and quiet enough to allow an intimate relationship between artwork and viewer. The answer is surely not singular. The now global white cube certainly should not be supplanted by another model that will become *the* biennial standard. Merely inserting works in crumbling industrial buildings or any number of other “exotic” locales is not the solution either. Instead, the future of biennials is to be found in a sensitivity to how the coincidence of works of art and other conditions (temporal, geographic, historic, discursive, and institutional) *locate* a project and how that “location” can be used to articulate a project that is respectful of its artworks and speaks to its viewers. This requires the willingness of curators and institutions to think through more complex relationships to sites, artworks, audiences, and the theoretical propositions of an exhibition—a prospect that may require more time for exhibition research and preparation as well as greater collaboration between artists, curators, and institutions, but also the courage to risk a result perhaps more vulnerable and hesitant as it departs from an authoritative format. In the end, none of this will guarantee consistently memorable shows, but thinking through an exhibition’s form will facilitate the development of more complex relationships between artworks and their presentation frames as well as projects and viewers more aware of the ideological entanglements of the structures and strategies they experience everyday.³⁸ Only then will biennials and mega exhibitions emerge that assert themselves fully as the “models of resistance” that they promise to be, which does not necessarily mean the end of the white cube in all cases and for all places so much as a critical relationship to its ends.³⁹

NOTES

1. For a discussion of Barr’s strategic adaptation of the white cube based on European exhibition models, see Christoph Grunberg, “The Politics of Presentation: The Museum of Modern Art, New York,” in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America*, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 192–210.

2. See also Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

3. As Grunberg (“The Politics of Presentation,” 206) argues of Barr’s whitewash of the MoMA: “The white, neutral and ideology-free gallery space constitutes the physical materialization of MoMA’s selective amnesia. More than anything else, the ‘white cube’ epitomized the attempt to escape from the realities of the external world, belying modernism’s original claim for the integration of art and life....The physical confinement and limitations imposed by the installation reveal MoMA’s selective appropriation of modernism.”

4. Artist and critic Brian O’Doherty, the white cube’s earliest commentator, probably first coined the term in the mid-1970s. His series of three articles entitled “Inside the White Cube,” originally published in *Artforum* in 1976, remain the most thorough and engaging study of the phenomenon. They have been collected and reprinted with later articles on the subject in his *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

5. Over the last decade, various studies have begun to make evident the manner by which the museum, from its origins, has been both an ideologically laden and disciplining site crucial to the formation of subjectivity. The white cube is in many ways the culmination of its Enlightenment project. See, in particular, Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum’s Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Donald Preziosi, *The Brain of the Earth’s Body: Art, Museums, and the Phantasms of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

6. Indeed, the white cube is no more a tabula rasa than the white surface in architecture more generally. The seminal work on this subject is Mark Wigley’s *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996). Whitewashed spaces, Wigley argues, were far from accidental, blank, or silent, and although his study concentrates on the beginnings of the use of white in modernist architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, the whiteness of museums, galleries, and biennial exhibitions in the decades since similarly speak volumes.

7. Numerous studies have thoroughly discussed these two exhibitions, including “Degenerate Art”: *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991); Neil Levi, “‘Judge for Yourselves!’—The Degenerate Art Exhibition as Political Spectacle,” *October* 85 (1998): 41–64; and Berthold Hinz, “‘Degenerate’ and ‘Authentic’: Aspects of Art and Power in the Third Reich,” in *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators, 1930–1940*, ed. Dawn Ades et al. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 330–34.

8. A discussion of the Third Reich’s paradoxical conceptions of modernity and diverse exhibition strategies is not possible here. While the above cited studies have brilliantly treated many of these issues, what interests me is the ways in which the white cube was indoctrinated early in the twentieth century as a vehicle for the projection of diverse, even contradictory, ideals. There is, as I have pointed out, some shared significations of the display conceit, including legitimacy, neutrality, and—albeit differently for Barr and Hitler—a modernity that is resolutely Western. This last point may sound contradictory, since what counted as “Western” was also very different for both men and their respective institutions. Moreover, one could argue that the art shown in the *Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung* was like Albert Speer’s monumental neoclassical structure, hopelessly caught between past and present, more backward looking than “modern,” in the way we have come to think of the term. However, for Hitler, the presentation of newly made works of art at the Haus der Kunst (the only ones that could legitimately represent their time) contrasted with those of the avant-garde and everything gathered in the *Entartete Kunst* show, which were dismissible as degenerate and essentially non-Western or at times degenerate *because* non-Western (the discourse that

accompanied the show was explicit, while the primitive "African" lettering of the posters for the *Entartete Kunst* show attempted to underscore the point).

9. Carlos Basualdo, "The Unstable Institution," *MJ – Manifesta Journal 2* (winter 2003–spring 2004): 57.

10. *Ibid.*, 60. For a discussion of the degree to which museums have historically been Western institutions founded on colonial imperialist principals, see Preziosi, *The Brain of the Earth's Body*, 116–36.

11. Across various texts, from his curatorial statement for his exhibition *The Structure of Survival* at the fiftieth Venice Biennial in 2003 to his essay for the Documenta 11 catalogue, Basualdo has interestingly engaged the discursive and display strategies in large-scale international exhibitions. If I point here to what has been overlooked in his most explicit treatment of the question in "The Unstable Institution," I do so in part because that essay is a rare example of serious consideration of the biennial phenomenon, and it is remarkable that it does not acknowledge how the endless replication of the white cube in biennials relates to the Western museum model he discusses.

12. Marc Augé, *Non-lieux: introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992).

13. That argument is a central premise of Documenta 10 and is discussed at length in David's introduction in *Documenta X: Short Guide* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1997) as well as in Robert Storr, "Kassel Rock: Interview with Curator Catherine David," *Artforum* 35, no. 9 (May 1997): 77.

14. O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 14. Igor Zabel astutely discusses the ambivalent possible readings of the use of the white cube in recent exhibitions ("The Return of the White Cube," *MJ – Manifesta Journal 1* [spring–summer 2003]: 12–21) and I agree that meanings of the display conceit are hardly univocal over time. However, I would argue that this format that "returned" may be more historically overdetermined than most admit and its proliferation as an ideal standard in biennials and other mega exhibitions merits questioning.

15. *Ibid.*, 79; and Igor Zabel, "We and the Others," *Moscow Art Magazine 22* (1998): 29.

16. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 11.

17. Miško Šuvaković, "The Ideology of Exhibition: On the Ideologies of Manifesta," *PlatformaSCCA*, no. 3 (January 2002), 11, available online at <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma3/suvakovicengp.htm>.

18. Robert Fleck ("Art after Communism?" *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* [Luxembourg City: Casino Luxembourg–Forum d'art contemporain, 1998], 195, reprinted in this volume), one of the show's curators, employed this term in the catalogue for Manifesta 2. He provocatively argued that after the Wall fell and equal access to such things as video games and Coca-Cola was established, essential differences between artistic production in the former East and West disappeared to be replaced by what he called an "international style."

19. Jordan Kantor, "Manifesta 5," *Artforum* 43, no. 1 (September 2004): 259. See also Susan Snodgrass, "Manifesta 5: Turning Outward," *Art in America* 92, no. 12 (December 2004): 68–73. The show almost completely, and perhaps understandably, avoided directly addressing the deep political tensions in the region, the site's most striking particularity. Instead, the curators opted to construct unspoken analogies to the

local situation by displaying a number of artworks that pointed to such things as identity construction, geopolitical strife, and territorial borders elsewhere in the world.

However, the inability of the exhibition to more actively or inventively engage with the complex specificity of its location, especially given that this "nomadic" biennial had chosen a Basque city for ostensibly those reasons, left many viewers feeling that the analogies were too few, too distant, or too abstract to resonate with the local reality.

20. David, *Documenta X*, 11.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, 11–12.

23. The massive publication that accompanied Documenta 10, *Documenta X: The Book* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1997), a collaborative project between David and Jean-François Chevrier, conceptually carried through this premise, but it in no way attempted to reproduce on the page the exhibition or events or otherwise represent the diverse artworks. Instead, it served as a parallel intellectual, political, historical, and cultural anthology of Europe across several key historical moments.

24. The four conference platforms—Democracy Unrealized (held in Vienna and Berlin), Experiments with Truth: Transitional Justice and the Processes of Truth and Reconciliation (held in New Delhi), Créolité and Creolization (organized as a workshop that was closed to the public and held in Saint Lucia), and Under Siege: Four African Cities: Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos (held in Lagos)—are more widely known through the publication of the proceedings in four eponymous volumes by Hatje Cantz in 2002 and 2003.

25. See Okwui Enwezor, "The Black Box," in *Documenta 11, Platform 5: Exhibition* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002), 42–55. For a thorough and cogent discussion of the various platforms, see Stewart Martin, "A New World Art? Documenting Documenta 11," *Radical Philosophy: A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Philosophy* 122 (November–December 2003): 7–19.

26. Critics repeatedly noted that the spaces were exceptionally "elegantly proportioned" and "restrained," what Peter Schjeldahl ("The Global Salon: European Extravaganzas," *The New Yorker* 78, no. 17 [1 July 2002]: 94) described as a "global salon." Another critic (Jens Hoffmann, "Reentering Art, Reentering Politics," *Flash Art* 34, no. 231 [July–September 2002]: 106) praised it as "almost perfect, at least in terms of what a traditional art exhibition can be." In one of the few reviews that addressed the contradictions inherent in the aesthetic of the display strategies of Documenta 11 in relation to the content of the artworks, Massimiliano Gioni ("Finding the Center," *Flash Art* 34, no. 231 [July–September 2002]: 106–07) proclaimed: "Everything is presented in an almost clinical manner, verging on seamless slickness. Disorder is at the core of the exhibition, but the show itself speaks in a very clear, at times didactic tone....The trouble with this edition of Documenta also lies in this attitude, for it renovates themes, artists, and languages, but it does not readdress the format of the exhibition or truly question our role as spectators." It perhaps bears underscoring that my critical position in relation to the near-uniform format of many mega exhibitions, exemplified in Documenta 11's ultrarefined version, does not suggest that the alternative is necessarily a chaotic, disorderly, overwhelming, or fetishized presentation, but instead, one that is uniquely appropriate to and in dialogue with the works, themes, location, moment in history, etc. of an exhibition.

27. Thomas Hirschhorn's *Bataille Monument* created for Documenta 11 was one

such project and a perfect example of the way in which subversive content and architectural/display form meet. Its insistent engagement with its displaced location on the outskirts of Kassel (through its use of vernacular materials, a local Turkish workforce to install and maintain the monument, and explicit dedication to the local immigrant community) enacted its own commentary on the relationship of margin to center and political injustice advanced by the exhibition.

28. Kim Levin "The CNN Documenta: Art in an International State of Emergency," *Village Voice*, 3–9 July 2002, 57, emphasis added. Also available online at <http://www.villagevoice.com/art/0227,levin,36174,13.html>.

29. Basualdo, "The Encyclopedia of Babel," in *Documenta 11, Platform 5: Exhibition*, 60. See also Derek Conrad Murray, "Okwui Enwezor in Conversation with Derek Conrad Murray," *NKA: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, no. 18 (spring–summer 2003): 40–47.

30. Ibid.

31. Enwezor, "The Black Box," 54.

32. Cited in Charlotte Bydler's exceptional recent study, *The Global Artworld Inc.: On the Globalization of Contemporary Art* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2004), 131.

33. Hou Hanru, "Event City and Pandora's Box: Curatorial Notes on the 2002 Gwangju Biennale," *Yishu* 1, no. 2 (July 2002): 91.

34. See Hou Hanru, "Initiatives, Alternatives: Notes in a Temporary and Raw State," in *How Latitudes Become Forms: Art in a Global Age*, ed. Philippe Vergne, Vasif Kortun, and Hou Hanru (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2003), 36–39. The Gwangju Biennial demonstrated what Charles Esche ("Debate: Biennials," *Frieze*, no. 92 [June–July–August 2005]: 105) has argued is the most pressing issue for such events: "the biennial needs above all to ask what kind of global culture it underwrites and how that support is made manifest."

35. Hanru, "Event City and Pandora's Box," 91–93.

36. Jonathan Napack "Alternative Visions," *Art in America* 90, no. 11 (November 2002): 94.

37. I actually believe in the agency of the artist as author, a singular one at that. This does not preclude the exhibition from providing a context for *reading* the artwork (otherwise, I have written in vain) but it does not, to my mind, fundamentally *change* the artwork nor does it annihilate the dialectic relationship between artwork and exhibition and the potential sense constructed by their encounter.

38. Such a turn would be a positive shift for the museum as well, which has arguably also been rethinking its own exhibitions' forms, in many cases in response to and under pressure from its biennial counterpart. The museum haunts this essay even as its particularities—but also its important social contributions—remain insufficiently discussed. (This section's title nods to the 1996 exhibition and conference series, *The End(s) of the Museum*.) Museums unquestionably serve a vital role and one that will always be distinct from that of mega exhibitions. Still, neither institution is monolithic despite the need to refer here to the values of each in schematic terms; space limitations have kept me from being able to treat the issue in a more nuanced way, but one should not go away with the impression that museums/*Kunsthallen* (and their directors and curators) have not historically struggled with the ideological signification of the white cube, nor that these institutions have not at times been the sites for truly engaged and innovative projects. The relationship between the large-scale international exhibition and the museum—one of exchange and articulation of difference that has been important for both sides—is a subject awaiting thorough study.

39. The term is Okwui Enwezor's and is mentioned in his "Mega-Exhibitions and the Antimonies of a Transnational Global Form," *MJ – Manifesta Journal* 2 (winter 2003–spring 2004): 31.

DIGRESSIONS FROM THE MEMORY OF A MINOR ENCOUNTER

Raqs Media Collective

Once, not so long ago, on a damp, rainy afternoon in Paris, a stroll took us across the Avenue d'Iéna, from contemporary art to ancient and medieval Asian art, from the Palais de Tokyo to the Musée Guimet. There, standing at the far end of the ground-floor section of the Guimet's permanent collection in front of a frieze from the Banteay Srei temple in Cambodia's Siem Reap province, we felt the sharp edge of estrangement in something that also felt downright familiar.

The Banteay Srei frieze narrates a story from the *Mahabharata*, a Sanskrit epic. The story is of two brothers, the demons Sunda and Upasunda, whose tussle over the attentions of Tilottama, an Apsara—a heavenly courtesan sent by the gods to destroy them with jealousy—was the cause of their downfall. Like most others who grew up listening to stories in India, we knew it well, even if only as an annotation to the main body of the epic. But it wasn't the details of the story that intrigued us that afternoon, nor the carved contours of Sunda and Upasunda's rage, not even the delicacy of the depiction of Tilottama's divisive seduction. Instead, standing before these stone images, made in a region roughly 3,500 miles to the east of where we live, in Delhi, and exhibited in a museum roughly 6,500 miles to the west, we felt compelled to think again about distance and proximity, and about how stories, images, and ideas travel.

The story of Sunda, Upasunda, and Tilottama was probably first told around 200 B.C. in the northwestern part of the South Asian subcontinent. Between the first telling of the story and the carving of the frieze in a clearing in the forests of Seam Riep in circa 967 lay a little more than a thousand years and an eastward journey of a few thousand miles. Between its carving and our sudden encounter with it in Paris, there lay a little more than another millennium and a westward journey halfway across the world. These intervals in time and space were overlaid by an elaborate circuit that encompassed travel, conquest, migration and settlement, wars and violence, the clearing of forests, the quarrying of stone, slavery and indenture, skilled artisans, the

faces and indiscretions of the men and women who would become the inspiration for jealous demons and divine courtesans, a few thousand years of history, the crossing of oceans, the rise and fall of several empires across different continents, and the repeated telling and forgetting of a minor story.

Contemporaneity, the sensation of being in a time together, is an ancient, enigma of a feeling. It is the tug we feel when our times pull at us. But sometimes one has the sense of a paradoxically asynchronous contemporaneity—the strange tug of more than one time and place. As if an accumulation or thickening of our attachments to different times and spaces was manifesting itself in the form of some unique geological oddity, a richly striated cross-section of a rock, sometimes sharp, sometimes blurred, marked by the passage of many epochs.

Standing before Sunda, Upasunda, and Tillottama in the Musée Guimet, we were in Siem Reap, in Indraprastha (an ancient name for Delhi, in whose vicinity much of the *Mahabharata* story is located), in New Delhi, in nineteenth-century Paris, and in the Paris of today. We were in many places and in many times. Sometimes art, the presence of an image, moves you. And you find yourself scattered all over the place, as a consequence.

How can we begin to think about being scattered? Collections of objects from different parts of the world are indices of different instances of scattering. The minor encounter that we experienced in the Musée Guimet is one kind of scattering. It taught us that sometimes we encounter familiarity in the guise of strangeness and then suggested that we learn to question the easy binary shorthand of the familiar and the strange, as ways of thinking about ourselves, others, and the world. It suggested the possibility of other less polarized and more layered relationships between cultural processes. But this is not the only possible kind of scattering that the presence of images and stories echoing the familiar in uncanny ways provoke.

An increased intensity of communication creates a new kind of experiential contagion. It leads to all kind of illegitimate liaisons between things meant to be unfamiliar. The first thing that dissolves under the pressure of this promiscuous density of contact across space is the assumption that different degrees of “now” obtain in different places, that Delhi or Dar es Salaam are somehow less “now” than Detroit. The “nows” of different places leach into each other with increasing force. The realities of different contemporaneities infect each other. This condition generates active estrangement, a kind of nervous expulsion, a gladiatorial of repulsion scripted either through an orientation of contempt or of homage.

Why contempt and homage? They permit the automatic assumption of a chasm between the beholder and the object of contemplation. The tropes of contempt and homage are an optic through which some perennially survey oth-

Unsettling tropes, including the tropes of critical analysis, Raqs Media Collective posits the emergence of new geographies of making—of making art and meaning, of unmaking existing systems of power and authorship, and of the practices of making and unmaking in general. These are geographies increasingly thickened by the imbrications of multiple and highly diverse instances of

time-space figurations. And these geographies remap notions habitually ensconced in specific time-spaces, for instance, the time-space coordinates of mobility, entailing movement across some sort of physical boundary. Advanced technologies are seen as raising physical mobility; and globality is then easily seen as more people moving and interacting with different cultures. Raqs writes about curators and artists moving and living in worlds other than their own. This is critical, but too narrow. Today there are nomadisms not predicated on geographic mobility. We need to dislodge mobility and globality from this entrapment, one that facilitates the dynamics of domination. There are new mobilities that encompass those unable or unwilling to “travel” but who can nonetheless experience themselves as part of larger worlds marked by the recurrence of meanings, struggles, and imaginaries in multiple other locations (including many where geographic immobility is the norm). These are mobilities that contribute to “make” horizontal globalities that do not need to go through vertical and centralizing institutions. Here, the possibility of simultaneous decentralized access and interaction made possible by public-access electronic networks is critical, though not enough by itself.

The notion of scattering, acutely captured by Raqs, is seen partly through new technologies, so that many different space/time points can be experienced simultaneously, but at a price: organizing the experience around an axis of distancing, notably through homage or contempt. Raqs calls for dilutions of this distancing, through inhabiting rather than just gazing at different worlds—by artists, by curators, by art critics. The implied hybridization of this way of diluting distance is but one way. Another one, one that I think matters, is akin to imbrication. I use this notion to distinguish it from hybridization, to capture the possibility of a dilution of distancing and the inequalities it entails without losing the specificities of the worlds, actors, and practices involved. Imbrication captures interactions that do not necessarily hybridize the entities involved but do produce mutualities—mutual need, recognition, and inspiration. This form of diluting distance also is available to those who cannot move geographically. Saskia Sassen, Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, and Centennial Visiting Professor, London School of Economics, London

ers and then evaluate them along an axis, where the production of estrangement has to be resolved in terms of either positive or negative regard. The “survey” mode of understanding the world presumes a stable cyclopean and panoptic center of surveillance to which the gaze can never adequately be returned, ensuring that a meeting of visions will never take place on equal footing.

Like Sunda and Upasunda fighting over Tillottama, the more that different parts of the world come to be aware of each other's desires, the more disputes there are over who has the greatest access to the contemporaneity both desire—the part of the world that has more confidence in itself or the one that has more of the élan of the “Other.” Key to this conflict of perceptions is a refusal to recognize that, like the sudden appearance of a Sanskrit story in a Khmer frieze in a Parisian museum to a collective of practitioners from Delhi, the relationships between familiarity and estrangement are compromised of many folds and cracks in space and time. Estrangement is only familiarity deferred or held in abeyance.

Rather than recognize the fact that familiarity and estrangement are only two nondistinct and contiguous instances of cognitive and affective transfer, this tendency to resolve the unfamiliar into the binary of the “like” and the “alien” needs constant mechanisms of reinforcement. The duality of contempt and homage is one such mechanism. In the first instance (contempt), the object of the survey is pinned down in taxonomic terms, explained away to require no further engagement, making impossible the blurring of the distinction between the surveyor and the surveyed. In the second (homage), the object is exalted beyond the possibility of an engagement. In either case, a difference, once identified, becomes a factor of cognitive and affective excision. This forecloses the possibility of recognizing that what is identified and estranged may in fact be disturbingly similar to what is familiar, even though it may be located in realities that are difficult to translate with coherence or consistency. It is the inability to recognize the face of a stranger when you look at your own reflection.

The amalgam of the sensations of familiarity and estrangement evokes a new register of a tense accommodation, a hospitality to the presence of the “strange” that is not without attendant unease to the “familiar.” In the end, this may guarantee the disavowal of mutual antipathy and the cultivation of some sort of cohabitation. We can change the framework of the story on the Banteay Srei frieze. Sunda and Upasunda can both survive by agreeing to stay within the framework of a generous but awkward polyandry. They can do this by learning to negotiate with Tillottama's claims on both their desires and displaying a little more effort at being open to unpredictable encounters.

What does a little more by way of encounter attain in the domain of contemporary art? An assessment of the amplitude of signals and the intensity of contact that marks our world today is still waiting to be made. One of the

ways in which this could be undertaken would be for us to try and account for the implications of the growth in Internet-based connectivity on a global scale. The Internet, as we know it today, is barely a decade and a half old, and its expansion can be dated to as late as the mid-1990s.

Curiously, the expansion of the Internet and the recent expansion in the number of biennials have been coincident with each other.

Today, it is estimated that 13.9 percent of the world's population, or 888,681,131 people, have some kind of regular Internet access.¹ The majority of Internet users live in North America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of East Asia (South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and Singapore). World Internet usage grew by an estimated 146.2 percent from 2000 to early 2005, and the highest growth rates were in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. Chinese is the second most used language on the Internet, and a country like India experienced a growth of 684 percent in Internet usage, from five million people in 2000 to 39.2 million in early 2005. It means that some thirty-nine million people in India (through labor, education, correspondence, and entertainment) employ, use, rely on a medium that enables an exceptional level of global reach. Actual figures are probably significantly higher, as most people in India and other similar societies tend to go online not from the computers that they own (since not that many people "own" computers) or even computers that they might access at work, but from street-corner cybercafés. No other platform of communication in world history can claim that it has attracted the attention of 13.9 percent of the world's population in the span of ten years. Ten years is a very short time in the history of culture. It is the span between three Documentas or roughly the time between the founding of the European biennial, Manifesta, and its fifth edition. If Internet usage continues to grow, at least at this rate, for the next twenty years, approximately seventy-five percent of the world's population will have initiated a deeply networked existence in the time it takes to produce the next four Documentas. Nothing has prepared us for the consequences of this depth and density of communicative engagement on a global scale. And unlike previous expansions in communicative capacity (print, radio, cinema, television), this time, with the Internet and new digital devices, we see readers, who are also writers and editors, users, who are also producers, viewers, who are also, at least potentially, creators, entering a global space of cultural production.

While it would be simplistic to argue for a cause-and-effect relationship between the expansion of the constituencies served by the Internet and the growth in number of biennials and other international art events, it would be equally facile to dismiss the implications of the emergence of this vast augmentation in global communication for the contemporary art scene.

What are these implications? Firstly, the discursive communities around

Biennials have afforded the most incredible loss of space and time imaginable. They have been superficial productions given insufficient attention by people flying in and out attending to their careers, kickoffs confused with nomadism. Yet they have also presented abundant opportunities for events—in the Deleuzian sense—within the often-squeaking narrative framework proclaiming them events—in the socio-economic sense.

Often biennials have provided such opportunities for the very reasons they failed as projects. Biennials only rarely have been grand projects, like the multilayered 1998 São Paulo edition of Paulo Herkenhoff, which didn't only thematize anthropophagia but also enacted it, or the frenzied 2002 Gwangju edition of Charles Esche and Hou Hanru, which structured the encounter through an architecture based upon the dwellings of artist collectives from all over the world. Biennials have rarely even displayed the nearly uncanny desperation to live up to their initial ambitions, something that became the hallmark of Manifesta. More often still, they have behaved according to fairly classic exhibition rules, which have consisted of a curatorial rhetoric functioning as a PR master narrative and a selection of artists who relate to that rhetoric from their positions in a given location.

Yet isn't this improvisational, sometimes haphazard confluence of energy generated by the encounter of half-formed ideas, plans, necessities, and accidents of both time and place what has given biennials their present importance?

When biennials became events, they did so for specific artistic practices in specific circumstances, for specific visitors, for fringe narratives that emerged and twisted the stretch of the curator's original plans. While classic institutions concentrate art and artistic practices in one place and homogenize them in time, biennials concentrate them in time and scatter them around various places. Art and artistic practices encounter one another by way of an adventure in which selective affinities predominant. In this incompleteness, the rules are flexible, "communing" a matter of fact. Furthermore, a shared yet precarious context, constituted through the very artistic practices meant to relate to it, becomes unavoidable.

This dynamic of loss and gain that biennials manifest doesn't only make for a fluid chronotopy for the artistic practitioners and their practices. It also affects the expectations regarding the outcome; visitors to biennials are less preoccupied

contemporary art, like the discursive communities in science or politics, are poised to undergo a significant transformation. Secondly, an increasing diversity of positions vis-à-vis the role of authorship, creativity, and intellectual property in the actual domain of global cultural practice are challenging the notions of bounded authorship that have dominated the concept of art production in the recent past. Both of these formulations need some elaboration.

The discursive framework of contemporary art, like any other domain of thought and practice today, can no longer be viewed as something that occurs only between an exclusive cognoscenti of curators, practitioners, theorists, and critics residing in Europe and North America. Discursive networks can afford to practice an exclusionary mode of existence only at the risk of their own obsolescence. Every node in such a network survives only if it is able to affect a critical mass of new connectivities and be a conduit for new information about a very rapidly changing world.

In politics, it is impossible to conceive of a discursive framework that does not include an active interest in what is going on in the majority of the world. The realities of the Middle East, South America, Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, and Central, South, and East Asia affect profoundly what happens in Europe and North America. The networks of global finance and trade or even of distributed production that characterize the world economy today would not exist as they do without the Internet. Similarly, the global production and dissemination of news is deeply tied into the substance of everyday politics. It is impossible to separate domestic politics in any major Asian or European country from, say, what is happening in Iraq today. To say this is to state the obvious.

But what is obvious in a discussion of the economy, the media, or politics is somehow seen as novel or esoteric in the realm of culture. This prevailing surprise about the fact that the "contemporary" is also "transterritorial," that "now" is "elsewhere" as much as it is "here," as "strange" as it is "familiar," is one of the symptoms of the lag in the levels of informed discussion between the domains of culture and of political economy. However, while it may still be possible for some to argue, from a perspective that privileges the present state of affairs, that a globalization of contemporary culture may imply an attempt to impose a specifically Western modernist agenda on a global scale due to the inequalities in articulative capacity, it would be impossible to sustain this argument in the long term. The momentum generated by different processes of cultural articulation set in motion in various local contexts all over the world indicate a reality of densely networked yet autonomous tendencies, movements, genres, styles, and affinities that are far more complex than those for which the discourse of westernization allows. Even a cursory glance at the crosscurrents of influence in global popular culture, in music, film, cuisine, fashion, literature, gaming, and comics, reveals the inner workings of this web. We are in a world where cinema from Mumbai, *manga* from Tokyo, music

with judging the overall affair, which is standard practice in the field of contemporary art, and more with discovery and curiosity.

This unsettled setting, with its countless problematics that could be transformed into opportunities, fosters a nomadic attitude, one of wandering and of dwelling, where viability emerges. I understand how the nomadism of biennials might sometimes encounter the sedentary, as with the Banteay Srei frieze in Paris. However, I understand less the optimistic predictions of the Raqs Media Collective concerning an overall switch in the mainstream of everyday art practices, lured as they are behind protective barriers by commercial and public exhibition systems. How can the sedentary be made sensitive to the amalgam of sensations of familiarity and estrangement that is evoked? Can the momentum of biennials overcome their temporal limits, the splendid isolation of their island-like cartography? Bart De Baere, director, Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (MuHKA), Antwerp

from Dakar, literature from Bogotá, cuisine from Guangzhou, fashion from Rio de Janeiro, and games from Seoul act as significant global presences, rivaling, occasionally overshadowing, the spread and influence of their European and North American analogues. The trends in contemporary art practice and exhibition can, in the end, only be an echo of this banal generality of the everyday life of global cultural traffic and transaction.

The growing presence of art practitioners and works from outside Europe and North America within major European and North American exhibitions, and the realization that there are non-Western histories of modernity have had two ancillary effects. They have demonstrated that these practices, practitioners, and their histories have a significant global perspective, speaking to the world from their own vantage points, as they have done for a while. These two realities also have created pressure within non-Western spaces and by non-Western practitioners, curators, and theorists to lay claim to a global cultural space through the founding of contemporary art institutions, networks of practitioners, and exhibition circuits. One implication of this has been the proliferation of biennials and other international exhibitions of contemporary art in spaces outside Europe and North America and a corresponding increase in the discourse generated through and around contemporary art in these areas.

Another implication of this has been the nascent presence of the curator and the critic of contemporary art in Asia, Africa, and Latin America or who finds him- or herself located within or at a tangent to new Asian, African, and Latin American diasporas in Europe and North America. At first, this new curator may be someone who seems to speak only to and for his or her place of origin. He or she then may be perceived as working with other curators and artists within specific regional (but transnational) settings or with peers in similar contexts elsewhere in the world. Eventually, he or she will be seen as laying a claim to working with artists from everywhere, including Europe and North America. These claims, as and when they occur (and some are indeed occurring even now), will be based not on the operation of affiliations based on geo-politics, geography, and location, but on elective affinities of interest, taste, curiosities, methodologies, and concerns. This will coincide with the rise of institutional and non-institutional structures, spaces, and networks in contemporary art that have significant presences outside Europe and North America. These entities will become forums for discussion and exhibition as well as fulcrums that enable the leveraging of transregional contexts for collaboration and curating. The idea that contemporary art has to have a central location, privileging a particular history or cultural framework, will erode and give way to the idea that contemporaneity is best expressed within the logic of a flexible and agile network that responds to emergences and tendencies on a global scale. This means that the logic of spatial and cultural distance that operated as a perennial handicap for the non-Western curator, practitioner, or

theorist is unlikely to remain of much significance. Likewise, the European or North American artistic practitioner or curator increasingly will be called upon to demonstrate his or her relevance in a multipolar world where European or North American origins or location will no longer operate as an automatic set of credentials. In a world that grows more used to being networked, curators and artists from different spaces will work together and in each other's spaces, as a matter of course. In their everyday practices, they will question, challenge, and subvert stable identifications of spatiality and cultural affiliation. This will not necessarily mean better or worse art or discourse; what it will mean is that the terms "global" and "contemporary" will resonate in a host of different ways, so as to indicate the active presences of hitherto absent, silent, or muted voices and expressions.

The formulation regarding the challenge to the notion of bounded authorship as a result of the expansion of a global platform like the Internet is perhaps of deeper significance for contemporary art, even if it is at the moment less visible. The Internet has set in motion peer-to-peer networks and online communities that do more than share cultural intelligence: They also occasionally collaborate on the making of things and of meaning, often on a global scale, in a way that is at variance with mainstream protocols of intellectual property. This is most clearly visible in the global open-source communities, but the influence of the "open-source" idea has ramifications beyond software. This tendency is increasingly audible in the domain of a new global musical sensibility based on file sharing, remixing, and recycling of extant musical material, with scant regard to the admonitions either of the protectors of intellectual property or cultural purity. It is also present in peer-to-peer networks founded by scientists, legal scholars, philosophers, historians, and other social scientists who have used the internet to establish a new intellectual common that gains strength through regular usage, participation, and contribution, often in direct opposition to the hierarchies prevalent in institutionalized academic and intellectual life. These new communities of research and reflection are rapidly establishing today's bridgeheads of inquiry, free from the inherent conservatism founded on concerns for proprietary or commodifiable utility that ties production in academic institutions and research spaces to "safe" areas of inquiry through the instruments of intellectual property. Increasingly, these "open" spaces are the ones where science, philosophy, social theory are "hot," more responsive to the world around them.

By foregrounding an emphasis on the commons and other forms of collaboration or non-property or anti-property arrangements, open-source practitioners and theorists (be they in software, music, science, or the humanities) have initiated a profound turbulence in cultural economy. The domain of contemporary art cannot remain immune to this turbulence, which exists all around it. It is perhaps only a matter of time before the ethic of sharing, collaboration, and "commoning" becomes commonplace within contemporary art, just as it

has in other domains of culture. It is already visible, in a nascent sense, in numerous curatorial collaborations and artist-practitioner-technician-curator-theorist networks that transcend borders and disciplinary boundaries, that give new twists to the "publicness" of public art projects, and that raise vexing questions concerning the "ownership" of the ephemeral and networked creations and processes that they generate. The increasingly dense cross-referential nature of practices within contemporary art are also pointers in this direction, leading us to think of the space of contemporary art not as a terrain marked by distinct objects, but as one striated by works that flow in and out of each other or cohabit a semantic territory in layers of varying opacity. Crucially, a liberality of interpretation about what constitutes intellectual property and what devolves to the public domain will be central to defending the freedom of expression in art. Art grows in dialogue, and if intellectual property acts as a barrier to the dialogue between works, then it will meet with serious challenges that arise from the practice of artists and curators.

All this cannot happen without conflict and disruption. The domain of the sign is the playing field of a new cultural economy, where the generation of value hinges on an adherence to the principles of intellectual property. Practices that are at variance with the principles of property in culture for a variety of ethical, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and pragmatic reasons increasingly, however, have perforated this domain. The likely consequence of all this is that the tasteful tranquility that marked the enterprise of aesthetic contemplation will find itself besieged by disputations, legal suits, accusations of copyright infringement, and intense, invasive scrutiny by owners of intellectual property. Making art will increasingly be about forging new legal concepts and creating new economies of usage, ownership, and participation. Making and exhibiting art will be fashioning politics, practicing a new economics, and setting precedents or challenges in law.

The existence of contemporary art is ultimately predicated on the conditions of life of its practitioners. The myriad daily acts of practicing, reading, inscribing, interpreting, and repurposing the substance of culture, across cultures, constitute these conditions of life. These acts, in millions of incremental ways, transpose the "work" of art to a register where boundedness, location, and property rest uneasily. The work of art, the practitioner, the curator, the viewer, and the acts of making, exhibiting, and viewing all stand to be transformed. All that is familiar becomes strange; all that is strange becomes familiar.

We would like to acknowledge Rana Dasgupta for his comments and criticism.

NOTE

1. See <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>, accessed 29 March 2005. All subsequent statistics derive from this source.

Various initiatives, like the Navdanya seed bank, the Gutenberg Project, open-source software, etc., are attempts to resist the expanding regime of intellectual property rights. Intellectual property rights cover copyright and related rights, geographical indications, industrial designs, integrated circuit layout designs, patents, trademarks, and undisclosed or confidential information. Since the 1994 signing of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement (TRIPS), part of the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), about 147 countries around the world have agreed to adopt the same intellectual property rights by default. Examples of recent additions to intellectual property rights include the patenting of gene-manipulated living organisms, indigenous knowledge and software, the registration of three-dimensional forms, melodies, smells, and colors as trademarks, and the copyrighting of databases, choreography, and architecture. In the context of this book, we would like to highlight one particular example: the copyrighting of exhibitions and collections.

During the last century, some artists claimed that the act of exhibiting or collecting an object was enough to turn objects into artworks. Marcel Duchamp exhibited a readymade urinal as a work of art, and Marcel Broodthaers installed his museum collection of eagles and materials about eagles as a work of art. Such artworks posed problems for the copyright regulations and had legal consequences.

For about a decade now, the makers of exhibitions and museum collections have succeeded in obtaining legal protection for their work authorized under copyright law. In current jurisprudence, judges have decided that exhibitions and museum collections may reflect the personality of their makers. From a legal point of view, exhibitions and museum collections are considered intangible realizations of the mind. So just like any other creative oeuvre, they fall under the same regime of intellectual property rights. *No rights reserved. This text may be freely reproduced, distributed, transmitted, used, modified, or otherwise exploited by anyone for any purpose, commercial or non-commercial, and by any method, even those not yet invented.*

Agency, an agency for temporary interdisciplinary and international collaborations

MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP

Boris Groys

Maybe there is no death as we know it. Just documents changing hands.

— Don DeLillo, *White Noise*

For a long time, the social function of the exhibition was firmly fixed: The artist produced artworks, then these artworks were either selected and exhibited by the curator of an exhibition or rejected. The artist was considered an autonomous author. The curator of the exhibition, by contrast, was someone who mediated between the author and the public but was not an author himself. Thus the respective roles of artist and curator were clearly distinct: The artist was concerned with creation; the curator, with selection. The curator could only choose from the store of works that various artists had already produced. That meant that creation was considered primary; selection, secondary. Accordingly, the inevitable conflict between artist and curator was seen and treated as a conflict between authorship and mediation, between individual and institution, between primary and secondary. Now, however, that era is definitively over. The relationship between artist and curator has changed fundamentally. Although this did not resolve the old conflicts, they took on a completely different form.

It is simple to state why this situation changed: Art today is defined by an identification between creation and selection. At least since Marcel Duchamp, it has been the case that selecting an artwork is the same as creating an artwork. That, of course, does not mean that all art since then has become readymade art. It does mean, however, that the creative act has become the act of selecting. Since that time, *producing* an object is no longer sufficient for its producer to be considered an artist. One must also *select* the object one has made oneself and declare it an artwork. Accordingly, since Duchamp, there is no longer any difference between an object one produces oneself and one produced by someone else—both have to be selected in order to be considered artworks. Today, an author is someone who selects, who *authorizes*.

The author has become a curator. The artist is primarily the curator of him- or herself, because he or she selects him- or herself. And he or she also selects others: other objects, other artists.

At least since the 1960s, artists have created installations in order to demonstrate their personal practices of selection. These installations, however, have been nothing other than exhibitions curated by artists, in which objects by others may be—and are—represented, as well as objects by the artist. Accordingly, however, curators are also freed from the duty of exhibiting only those objects that are pre-selected by artists. Curators today feel free to combine art objects selected and signed by artists with objects that are taken directly from “life.” In short, once the identification between creation and selection has been established, the roles of the artist and of the curator also became identical. A distinction between the (curated) exhibition and the (artistic) installation is still commonly made, but it is essentially obsolete.

This became especially obvious during the last couple of decades, as the figure of an independent curator at first emerged and then firmly established itself on the international art scene. Independent curators organize small, focused projects as well as big international exhibitions, like Documenta, the Venice Biennial, or Manifesta. Characteristically, these big shows are organized increasingly as a combination of different, individual curatorial projects that function not unlike artistic installations. Independent curators become more and more the leading figures in today's globalized art world. The curator is looking for new, innovative art and for young, promising artists all round the world. That was earlier the role of the galleries or the art agents. But contemporary curators do not understand themselves as impresarios or as agents of artists—and that is maybe the main difference between the contemporary art world and its predecessor. Today's curators develop mostly their own art projects and involve the artists in these projects if these artists seem to be suitable for a task. In many cases, the curator recontextualizes and also redefines the already existing artistic production by putting it in the context of an international project or exhibition. But in an even greater number of cases, a new work is produced by an artist in collaboration with a curator, with a conscious goal to be placed in a certain theoretical, political, or artistic context. And in all these cases, we can no longer speak of the authorial autonomy of the artist because he or she, from the beginning, is involved in a collaborative, collective, institutionalized, productive practice.

The old question must, therefore, be asked anew: What is an artwork? The answer that present-day art practices offer to this question is straightforward: The artwork is an exhibited object. The object that is not exhibited is not an artwork, but merely an object that has the potential to be exhibited as an artwork. Not by chance, we speak of art today as “contemporary art.” Such art must be exhibited in the present in order to be considered art at all. The elementary unit of art today is, therefore, no longer an artwork as object but an

art space in which this object is exhibited: the space of an exhibition, of an installation. Present-day art is not the sum of particular things, but the topology of particular places. The installation has thus established an extremely voracious form of art that can assimilate all the other traditional art forms: paintings, drawings, photographs, texts, objects, readymades, films, and recordings. All these art objects are arranged by an artist or curator in the space, according to an order that is purely private, individual, and subjective. Thus the artist or curator has the chance to demonstrate publicly his private, sovereign strategy of selection.

The installation is often denied the status of art because the question arises: What is the medium of an installation? That is because traditional art mediums are all defined according to the specific support of the medium: canvas, stone, film, etc. The medium of an installation is the space itself, which means, among other things, that the installation is by no means “immaterial.” Quite the contrary, the installation is by all means material because it is spatial. The installation *demonstrates* the material of the civilization in which we live particularly well, since it *installs* everything that otherwise merely *circulates* in our civilization. Hence, the installation demonstrates the civilizational hardware that otherwise remains unnoticed behind the surface of circulation in the media. And it also shows the artist or curator's sovereignty at work: how this sovereignty defines and practices its strategies of selection. That is why the installation is not a representation of the relationships among things, as regulated by economic and other social orders; quite the contrary, the installation offers an opportunity to use the explicit introduction of subjective orders and relations among things in order to call into question at least those orders that must be supposed to exist “out there” in reality.

Here, I must take the opportunity to clear up a misunderstanding that has come up again and again recently in the relevant literature. It has been argued with some insistence that art has reached its end today and that, therefore, a new field—visual studies—should take the place of traditional art history. Visual studies supposedly extends the domain of pictorial analysis: Rather than considering artistic images exclusively, it is supposed to address the purportedly larger, more open space of all existing images, to transgress courageously the limits of the old concept of art. The courage to transgress old limits is certainly always impressive and welcome. In this case, however, the transgression of limits turns out not to be an extension at all, but rather a reduction of the relevant spaces. As we have noted, art consists not of images, but of all possible objects, including utilitarian objects, texts, and so on. And there are no distinct “artistic images;” rather, all images can be used in an artistic context. Turning art history into visual studies is thus not an extension of its field of study, but a drastic reduction of it, since it restricts art to what can be considered an “image” in the traditional sense. By contrast, everything that can be presented in an installation space belongs to the realm of the

visual arts. In that sense, an individual image is also an installation; it is simply an installation that has been reduced to a single image. The installation is thus not an alternative to the image, but precisely the extension of the concept of the image that is lost if this extension is ignored and the traditional image is readopted. If we want to extend the concept of the image, it is precisely the installation that we need to discuss, since it defines the universal rules for space by which all images and non-images must function as spatial objects. In more than one respect, the transition to the installation as the guiding form of contemporary art changes the definition of what we define as an artwork. The most significant and far-reaching change is to our understanding of authorship in art.

Increasingly today, people protest against the traditional cult of artistic subjectivity, the figure of the author, and the authorial signature. This rebellion is usually conceived as a revolt against the power structures of the system of art that find their visible expression in the figure of the sovereign author. Again and again, critics want to demonstrate that there is no such thing as an artistic genius and, consequently, that the authorial status of the artist in question cannot be derived from the supposed fact that he or she is a genius. Rather, the attribution of authorship is seen as a convention used by the institution of art, the art market, and art critics to build up "art stars" strategically and to profit from them commercially. The struggle against the figure of the author is thus understood as a struggle against an undemocratic system of arbitrary privileges and unfounded hierarchies that de facto represent base commercial interests. Naturally, this rebellion against the figure of the author ends with the critics of authorship being declared famous authors precisely because they have stripped the traditional figure of the author of his or her power. At first glance, we might see this as merely the well-known process of regicide at work, in which the king's murderer is made the new king. It is not so simple, however. Rather, this polemic reflects real processes that take place in the art world but that have yet to be adequately analyzed.

The traditional, sovereign authorship of an individual artist has in fact disappeared; hence, it really does not make much sense to rebel against this authorship. When confronted with an art exhibition, we are dealing with multiple authorship. And in fact, every art exhibition exhibits something that was selected by one or more artists, from their own production, and/or from the mass of readymades. These objects selected by the artists are then selected in turn by one or more curators who thus also share authorial responsibility for the definitive selection. In addition, these curators are selected and financed by a commission, a foundation, or an institution, which also bear authorial and artistic responsibility for the end result. The selected objects are presented in a space selected for the purpose; the choice of such a space, which can lie inside or outside the spaces of an institution, often plays a crucial role in the result. The choice of the space thus also belongs to the artistic,

creative process; the same is true of the choice of the architectural style of the space, the architect responsible for it, and the committees that choose the architect. One could extend at will this list of authorial, artistic decisions, which, taken together, result in an exhibition taking one from or another.

If the choice, selection, and decision with respect to the exhibition of an object are also acknowledged as acts of artistic creation, then every individual exhibition is the result of many such processes decisions, choices, and selections. From this circumstance result multiple, disparate, heterogeneous authorship that combines, overlaps, and intersects

such that it cannot be reduced to an individual, sovereign authorship. It becomes increasingly clear that this overlapping of multilayered, heterogeneous authorship is characteristic of any larger exhibition of recent

years. A recent example is the 2003 Venice Biennial, for which several curators were invited to present their own exhibitions within the framework of a larger exhibition. The result was a hybrid form between a curated exhibition and an artistic installation: The invited curators appeared before the public as artists. But it is also frequently the case that individual artists integrate works by their colleagues in their own installations, thus appearing in public as curators. Consequently, authorial praxis, as it functions in the contact of art today, is increasingly like that of film, music, and theater. The authorship of a film, a theatrical production, or a concert is also a multiple one; it is divided among writers, composers, directors, actors, camera operators, conductors, and many other participants. And the producers should by no means be forgotten. The long list of participants that appears at the end of a film, as the viewers gradually begin to leave their seats and make their way to the exit, manifests the fate of authorship in our age, something the art system cannot escape.

Under this new regime of authorship, artists are no longer judged by the objects they have produced but by the exhibitions and projects in which they have participated. Getting to know artists today means reading their CVs, not looking at their paintings. Their authorship is presumed to be only a partial one. Accordingly, they are measured not by their products, but by their participation in important exhibitions, just as actors are judged by which roles they have played, in which productions, and in which films. Even when one visits an artist's studio to get to know his or her oeuvre, one is generally shown a CD-ROM documenting the exhibitions and actions in which the artist participated but also documenting the exhibitions, actions, projects, and installations that were planned but never realized. This typical experience of a studio visit today demonstrates how the status of the artwork has changed with respect to the new determination of authorship. The unexhibited artwork has ceased to be an artwork; instead, it has become art documentation. This documentation refers either to exhibitions that did indeed take place or to

The death of the author? Let's not get euphoric too quickly. The administrative, facilitational, and mediational functions of an exhibition maker are wholly distinct from an artist's ongoing thematic research and visual exploration of ideas. Although institutional agendas may partially influence a work of art, the result will only be as compelling and significant as the individual artist's practice guiding it.

The rise of the curator in the 1990s does not break with this model: The most prominent practitioners of the last fifteen years regularly present exhibition concepts that dominate the individual works within each show, resulting in a project that is only nominally collaborative.

And as for a history of unrealized projects, this sounds like middle management angling for a place in perpetuity. Museums, biennials, and commissioning agencies are cluttered with special "projects;" many are unremarkable. Now that Buren's distrust of the studio is an institutional norm, itself idealized and ossified, it's time to assess how this has come about—and indeed if it is to be so celebrated. Claire Bishop, Leverhulme Research Fellow, Department of Curating Contemporary Art, Royal College of Art, London

projects for future exhibitions. And that is the crucial aspect: The artwork today does not manifest art; it merely *promises* art. Art is manifested only in the exhibition, as in fact the very title "Manifesta" suggests. As long as an object is not yet exhibited and as soon as it is no longer on exhibit, it can no longer be considered an artwork. It is either a memory of past art or a promise of future art, but from either perspective it is simply art documentation.

The function of the museum is, therefore, also modified. Previously, the museum functioned just as it does today, namely as a public archive. But it was an archive of a special kind. The typical historical archive contains documents that refer exclusively to past events; it presumes the ephemerality, the mortality of the life it documents. And indeed, the immortal does not need to be documented; only the mortal does. The assumption about the traditional museum, by contrast, was that it contained artworks that possessed an eternal artistic value, which for all times equally embodied art and would fascinate and convince the present-day viewer as well. That is to say, museums did not just document the past but could manifest and emanate art here and now. The traditional museum thus functioned as a paradoxical archive of eternal presence, of profane immortality; and in this, it was quite distinct from other historical and cultural archives. The material supports of art—canvas, paper, film, etc.—may be considered ephemeral, but art itself lasts eternally.

The museum today, by contrast, is increasingly like other archives, since the art documentation that the museum collects does not necessarily appear before the public as art. The permanent exhibition of the museum is no longer—or at least less frequently—presented as a stable, permanent exhibition. Instead, the museum is increasingly a place where temporary exhibitions are shown. The unity of collecting and exhibiting that defined the particular nature of the traditional museum has come to an end. The museum collection today is seen as documentary raw material that the curator can use in combination with an exhibition program he or she has developed to express an individual attitude and individual strategy for dealing with art. Alongside the curator, however, the artist also has the opportunity to shape museum spaces in whole or part, according to his or her own personal taste. Under these conditions, the museum is transformed into a depot, into an archive of artistic documentation, which is no longer essentially different from any other form of documentation, and also into a public site for the execution of private artistic projects. As such a site, the museum differs from any other site primarily in its design, in its architecture. It is no coincidence then that in recent years attention has shifted from the museum collection to museum architecture.

The museum today, however, has not abandoned entirely its promise of profane immortality. The art documentation that is collected in museums and other art institutions can always be exhibited anew as art. This distinguishes

Museums and galleries, like artworks, have not enjoyed stable definitions over time. Relations between artists and publics have perpetually been of the greatest interest to artists, but artists have rarely regarded themselves as locked in a dance with curators—especially not with curators cast in the lead. After the decline of patronage,

credentialing groups, such as art academies, controlled public displays of works of new art; but this route to exhibition has never exhausted artists' ability to bring their works to their publics. Artists have also worked collectively in both production and distribution. Further, the art world's web of social relations includes all interested parties—artists, curator-critics, writers, and others—who often exchange roles, both formally and informally. In the modern world, critics and gallerists could rely on their personal connections in bridging the worlds of bohemia and social elites.

In mid-twentieth-century United States, critics were central to the reception of abstract expressionism, as was the crucial support of politically powerful patrons seated on the boards of trend-setting museums. Both critic (Clement Greenberg, Harold Rosenberg) and patron (Nelson Rockefeller) played shaping roles in the production of works themselves. Curatorial power was decidedly secondary, and curators who tried to defy powerful board members and their museum-director representatives lost their jobs. Lower curatorial ranks were filled with the children (mostly daughters) of wealthy social elites—the museum's patrons.

Presently, curatorial roles, while growing in power, remain circumscribed by activist museum boards, and the influence of critics has declined dramatically. As the art marketplace has become ever more central, first curators and then gallerists displaced critics as arbiters of worth. Now perhaps, curators (and consultants to collectors, both individual and corporate) are power brokers again. Gallerists provide entrée to very young artists, often right out of masters degree programs that constitute a nexus of art-world professionals and students. Selected artists become visible to collectors, who may buy their works at galleries or, increasingly, at auction. The curatorial ranks attend professionalizing institutions that diminish the genteel stamp and that help them develop a signature practice. The proliferating international shows on the biennale model are where curators get to impose their impresario brands.

the art projects collected in museums from the life projects documented in other archives: Realizing art as art means exhibiting it. And the museum can do that. It is admittedly possible to present a life project anew in a reality outside the museum, but only if it itself ultimately concerns an artistic project. This kind of rediscovery of art documentation is, however, only possible because it relies on multiple authorship, a product of the shifted role of the artist, but also of the shifted role of the curator. Old art documents are restored, transferred to other media, and rearranged, installed, and presented in other spaces. Under such conditions, it is meaningless to speak of an individual, intact authorship. The artwork as exhibited art documentation is kept alive because its multiple authorship continues to multiply and proliferate; and the site of this proliferation and multiplication of authorship is the present-day museum.

The transformation of the artwork into art documentation by means of its own archiving also enables art today to employ in an artistic context the immense reservoir of documentation of other events and projects that our civilization has collected. And indeed, the formulation and documentation of various projects are the main activities of modern humankind. Whatever one wishes to undertake in business, politics, or culture, the first thing that must be done is to formulate a corresponding project in order to present an application for the approval or financing of this project to one or more responsible authorities. If this project is rejected in its original form, it is modified so that it can still be accepted. If the project is rejected entirely, one has no choice but to propose a new project in its place. Consequently, every member of our society is constantly occupied with drafting, discussing, and rejecting new projects. Assessments are written, budgets are precisely calculated, commissions are formed, committees are convened, and decisions are made. In the meantime, no small number of our contemporaries reads anything other than such projects, reports, and budgets. Most of these projects, however, are never realized. The fact that they seem unpromising, difficult to finance, or undesirable in general to one or more experts is sufficient for all the work of formulating the project to have been in vain.

And this work is by no means insubstantial; and the amount of work associated with it grows over time. The project documentation presented to various committees, commissions, and authorities is designed with increasing effectiveness and formulated in greater detail in order to impress potential assessors. As a result, the formulation of projects is developing into an autonomous art form, the significance of which for our society has yet to be adequately considered. Irrespective of whether it is realized or not, every project presents a unique vision of the future that is itself fascinating and instructive. Frequently, however, many of the projects that our civilization is constantly producing are lost or simply thrown away after they are rejected. This careless approach to the art form of the project is quite regrettable, really, because it

In the 1960s, when the art market registered great leaps forward, artists took evasive measures. Pop and then Duchampianism, by foregrounding the rational elements in art production over abstract expressionism's quasi-mystical rhetoric of transcendence, elevated the intellectual quotient of art and widened the field of observation, helping free the artist from the need for either critical or curatorial explication. Conceptual reframing became the big new idea in a citified and mechanized society of sensory overload, but a generation later, "conceptualism lite" is one name for most commercially viable practices.

Competing for publics with the tremendously expanded communication and entertainment sectors, including theme parks, the art world has spent decades struggling futilely to retain a premier role as arbiter of the aesthetic. Redefining the art object as a luxury good with both investment potential and (restricted) cultural capital has restored market hegemony, and adopting the theme-park format for exhibitions has potentiated both advisers and showman-curators. Video and installation, formerly tactically evasive forms, may have been successfully commodified, but artists continue to develop resistant forms—not only those relying on still-developing channels of direct distribution such as the internet or the cell phone but also including public-sphere interventions—to bypass the gate-keeping and mediating activity of curator, critic, dealer, critic, and market.

Martha Rosler, Brooklyn-based artist, writer, curator, and activist

often prevents us from analyzing and understanding the hopes and visions of the future that are invested in these projects, and these things can say more about our society than anything else. Within the system of art, the exhibition of a document is sufficient to give it life. The art archive is particularly well suited to being the archive of these sorts of projects that were realized at some time in the past or will be realized in the future, but above all, represent the archive of utopian projects that can never be realized fully. These utopian projects that are doomed to failure in the current economic and political climate can be kept alive in art, in that the documentation of these projects constantly changes hands and authors.

Translated by Steven Lindberg.

III WHICH EUROPE?

EUROPE'S PAST, PRESENT, AND *LONGUE DURÉE*

Jacques Le Goff interviewed by Hans-Ulrich Obrist

Hans-Ulrich Obrist: To begin, I would like to ask you about Europe. One can speak of Europe as a geographical construct, cultural construct, political construct, or still other constructs, but what, in your mind, is Europe in 2005?

Jacques Le Goff: Europe is an entity at the geographical, economic, political, and cultural levels, but it is unfortunately altogether unfinished and, above all, fragile. I see it as being in an intermediary state that offers a lot of opportunities, in particular insofar as Europe has opened up to countries that obviously belong within it but weren't officially and institutionally part of it. But the construction of this grouping remains difficult. I believe that the construction of Europe, if it is successful—and I very dearly wish it to be—remains a long process. Consequently, I am very surprised to see so many people who think that Europe is coming together slowly. From my point of view as a historian, I am in fact struck by the swiftness with which Europe has moved forward since the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

HUO: How would you say your work to locate the beginnings of Europe in medieval times, which is a quite controversial starting point given that the period is frequently thought of as the "Dark Ages," relates to the contemporary reality of Europe today?

JLG: First of all, my sense is that Europe, as in fact most other political and historical entities, was constructed in several phases. And, using a word of Michel Foucault's, to understand the construction of Europe, one must inquire into its "archeology." Europe was built first from a base in antiquity, when Greek geographers in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. gave it its name and thus associated—in a mythical form, of course, and in keeping with ancient Greek thought—a name and a reality. The nymph whom Zeus abducted from Phoenicia (in other words, the Orient) to bring to the Occident reminds us of the idea that close connections tie Europe and the Orient, but that Europe

was separated from the Orient. Which is why I can say that I am opposed to Turkey's entrance into Europe in the near future. I don't know what will happen in several decades or centuries, but my sense is that Turkey still belongs to the Orient, and that Europe is still an occidental entity.

HUO: You are thus in opposition with Jean-Pierre Vernant on this point. I spoke with him about this issue in a recent interview, and he pointed to numerous historical and cultural connections between Turkey and Europe that convincingly suggest how linked the two are.

JLG: Jean-Pierre Vernant and I are not always in agreement. What's more, he is a historian of antiquity, so he may see things differently, from that perspective. I don't know what he's told you. But as for me, I disagree, at least with regard to an admission in the near future of Turkey within Europe. As for later, I can't say.

HUO: In his new book *Si l'Europe s'éveille* (2003), Peter Sloterdijk quotes you as saying: "Today, Europe must invent another form of unity than that of an empire." What might this other form of unity look like?

JLG: I see Europe as being at bottom antagonistic with the notion of empire, insofar as an empire is the reunion of heterogeneous entities under a dominating principle. Europe should reject both the heterogeneity of its components and this principle of domination. One of the primary conditions that I see for the historical possibility of Europe's existence was the disappearance of the Roman Empire. Rome had brought together pieces of the Occident, Asia, and North Africa, and these were heterogeneous to one another, which makes the Roman Empire very far from European conceptions. And anything that looked somewhat like an empire in the later development of Europe has been doomed to failure. Whether we look at Charles V's empire in the sixteenth century, Napoleon's empire, or, obviously, Hitler's empire, I think that "Europe" and "empire" remain antagonistic terms.

HUO: In connection with this notion of empire, I have talked a lot with Édouard Glissant about globalization, and he opposes the homogenization of globalization with a new notion of *mondialité*, which stresses differences. Accordingly, he suggests that we should stop thinking in terms of continental logics in favor of a logic of the archipelago...

JLG: This sounds like an interesting notion, but I must admit that I haven't read his book. Concretely, how is the notion of archipelago applied to Europe?

Hans-Ulrich Obrist: Europe seems to be a concept in particular crisis today. How has your training as a historian of Greek antiquity shaped your understanding of something we call "Europe," and how might the discussions about that contested concept be helped by looking at a period as far away from us as antiquity? In other words, what can history tell us about our present?

Jean-Pierre Vernant: To my mind, the debates currently taking place in France around the possible entry of Turkey into the European Union say much about the current situation. Clearly, the dominant opinion, whether in the general public or the French political class, is against Turkey's entry. This opposition or reluctance is explainable in two ways: On the one side, reasons of European politics are given, and on the other, an argument is made based on a supposed incompatibility of cultures. As to the reasons related to European politics, the idea is that the European Union has expanded enough already. A number of countries from Eastern Europe have been accepted. The question is about a possible dilution of the original core of the EU as well as a confusion about the meaning of the European project, as it was first conceived. The argument is: If Turkey is accepted, why not North Africa, why not even Egypt or Syria? This is more or less the political side of this opposition. I will not comment on these arguments because that is not my profession. Personally, I see the problem from another angle. For me, the heart of the problem—and here we come to the second type of reasoning that supports the opposition—is that Europe is considered fundamentally to be Christian. Europe does rest on a Greek tradition, but that was filtered through the Roman Empire and even more so through Christianity. I think the general public's problem is this one: "We can't accept a Muslim country like Turkey because that would bring Islam into a Europe that has defined itself at various moments in time—and continues to do so in the minds of many—as a Christian civilization."

Obviously, as a historian of ancient Greece, I have to say that these arguments do not seem very convincing to me. In its broad intellectual and cultural specificities, Europe seems to me, above all, grounded in Greece. And that Greece, while it is true that it was primarily continental (Athens, Sparta, etc.), was nevertheless also a Greece that spread throughout the Mediterranean. Greek colonies were established on the shores of the Black Sea, as far as Georgia, and above all Ionians were present on the

HUO: It applies to, among other things, the multiplicity of European languages, to the fact that there is not a single European language but many of them...

JLG: I agree on this point. And I do think that the concept of *mondialité* is far better suited than that of globalization (*mondialisation*), insofar as it implies worldwide contact and trade, without the sense of domination implied by the term globalization. It amounts to a universal that maintains a sense of multiplicity and freedom. I think Europe should become somewhat more homogeneous, but it must also remain plural. I believe it should turn into a new type of entity, different from other types of entities that have existed in history. For instance, it should not resemble the United States of America, but it should—let me stress this again—resemble an empire even less. It should counteract the power of empires—the American empire, which is about the only one right now, but probably soon the Chinese empire, too, and perhaps the Indian empire.

HUO: In your opinion, what would be concretely different if most people accepted your conception of a Europe, with its beginnings in medieval times?

JLG: A very important element in the construction of the European spirit was the creation of universities in the Middle Ages, and I believe that now again, it's in the domain of education that one should pursue this movement. Earlier, I mentioned the first phase of the creation of Europe in the invention of the name in antiquity and, with it, the invention of the idea that goes with that name. A second phase is obviously no less important, in my opinion: the medieval phase. In fact, the Middle Ages and its Christianity have provided what can be seen as a draft of what could be a political, ideological, and cultural unity that respects nations, countries—that is what happened in the Middle Ages through Christianity. But there are also medieval elements that are detrimental to the construction of Europe, in particular, the invention of a notion I take to be especially dangerous: sovereignty. This notion appears in the thirteenth and, above all, the fourteenth centuries with what we call the modern state. This was much studied by the German-American scholar Ernst Kantorowicz, in particular in his article "Mysteries of State." And unfortunately, this notion of sovereignty triumphed in the sixteenth century, as is clear with the Frenchman Jean Bodin. To me, sovereignty is a dangerous notion, insofar as it implies a closing down. In fact, it does not come from Roman law, but is a modern notion. To return to the present, a solution should be devised that would allow for all Europeans to understand one another, but without giving up on their language. I believe technological means could be designed that would allow somebody speaking their own language to be understood by somebody else in their language or another one they understand. These instant-translation instruments are a possibility, according to scientists

shore of Asia Minor. This is not a minor fact, but indeed something fundamental. Historians of philosophy generally agree that philosophy was born in Miletus, which is not located on the European shore, but on the Asian one. With Thales, there began a series of philosophical figures with whom we associate the origin of philosophy. Similarly, during the whole Hellenistic period and after the Roman conquest, the Greek world was culturally a very diversified one. We know very well, for instance, that beyond the Greek-speaking elites, many spoke Aramaic, Syrian, or Egyptian. In other words, Greek culture imposed itself on a whole series of populations that lived in what we now call Turkey. And consequently, the consideration of Greek culture does not bring me to consider Turkey as radically separate from Europe, but on the contrary, it brings up the question of the past we share in common.

And that is not all. Even after the fall of the Roman Empire, even after the troubles in the Occident, there was Byzantium—and Byzantium was an enormous part of civilization, at once European and Mediterranean! And we cannot pretend that the Ottoman Empire did not occupy Europe for an entire period of time, and that this was the case for Greece itself, for Macedonia... We know all too well that a number of people there converted to Islam, since we unfortunately had to witness the consequences of this very recently in the former Yugoslavia and in Kosovo. Therefore, I do not think we can conceive of Europe as if Turkey did not have a part in it. That would be to deny that Turkey had a presence within Europe at numerous times and in various ways in the past.

So I think that within the French right—not only within the extreme right, but the moderate right, too—there is something akin to what we see in American politicians at the moment, in other words, the reappearance of the old myth of the Crusades and the widely shared belief that history is only understandable through the prism of a supposed "clash of civilizations." Regarding the Crusades, I cannot say too much, since I am not a specialist on that, but what I do know is that, if you look at the matter more closely, you see that it is rather complicated. Also, the marks they have left in our imagination stem more from mythologies and fantasies than from effective historical and political outcomes. Personally, I am not opposed to the entry of Turkey into the European Union based on principles, and I cannot help reminding myself that Turkey is a country that instituted the separation between

I have talked to, but this research is not developed enough and should be supported more. Obviously, I also think that an easier communication should be sought both in the world of companies and trade and in the sphere of education, whether at the university or school level. In this respect, the new French system of three-tiered university degrees recognized Europe-wide is an important step in that direction.

HUO: You just mentioned Kantorowicz, and in *Un Autre Moyen âge* (1999), you spoke of Fernand Braudel and Marcel Mauss, the latter of whom, as you noted, was as influential on your generation as Durkheim was on the previous generation. How have these two figures influenced you and redefined the reading and making of history in Europe?

JLG: With respect to Braudel—this is my experience, but I believe it is rather widely shared—I would say that, above all, he has passed onto us the essential notion of the *longue durée* or “long term.” His point was that history is made in the long term. One can identify several rhythms in history, and this is the case for individuals as much as for groups, for economics as much as for culture. There is a fast pace, which is that of events and which, obviously, in our civilization is upheld and fostered by the media. And here, I would like to stress my deep admiration for the profession of journalism, particularly the print media. This profession is a very difficult one and an essential one because it gives us one of the elements that helps humanity the most—information. But the time unit of journalism—a word based on the French word for “day” (*jour*)—is a day. But a day is nothing to history. Other rhythms have to be taken into account, the medium and long term, and the long term is the one that is most important to history: It takes a very long time to develop, become itself, and come to the fore. And clearly, Europe is one of those constructions that call for the long term. Braudel showed that the most important things in history happened over this long term. Marcel Mauss, compared to Durkheim, is the ethnological impulse, compared to the sociological impulse. Durkheim taught historians the importance of sociology, but no matter how great his influence was, he had grown in the context of positivistic philosophy, and one of his limits was the resulting tendency of positivism. Marcel Mauss, on the contrary, stands for the multiplicity of cultures, the totality of what constitutes the individual and communal life of men and women, from clothing, housing, food all the way to economic and political institutions. In other words, Marcel Mauss spurred historians in two essential directions: comparativism, since these are traits that are found in all civilizations or cultures, and the desire for totality, globality, not dealing solely with the institutional, for instance, but considering men, women, human beings, and societies as global entities. Michel Foucault and I, for instance, were of the same age. We had exchanges, but neither of us was a great influence on the other. We were in

church and state by itself, in other words, independently and not as an effect of a colonial power. As a matter of fact, the Turkish state did not go about separating the two easily either; there were violent events and powerful taboos to deal with. The Turkish state has retained elements of that violence and authoritarianism, and I know that makes things more complicated. But the fact remains that it was one of the few countries in which women were able to attend schools and where the separation between church and state was clearly marked. Turkey defined itself above and beyond religion. If you compare that to other countries with which we have excellent relations, you cannot help but be struck by the contrast, even Morocco, where things did not happen in the same way, not to mention Jordan or Saudi Arabia! In this respect, the confusion is thus complete.

To this, I would add that the problems that the U.S. has had with respect to Iran, after its intervention in Iraq and even before, should motivate a greater connection between Europe and Turkey. What we witness is the appearance of blocks of Muslim countries and the growing problems this may cause. Meanwhile, France and Europe struggle, in this unfortunate context of direct confrontation and ambition on the part of the U.S., to bring democracy to these states in which religion plays a fundamental role. But they do not seem to perceive that democracy is certainly not something you can impose from the outside or through a set of economic maneuvers; that is actually the very opposite of democracy. In this context, I do believe that it would be very important to have among us, in the same political entity, a state that has, on the one hand, so clearly marked its difference with these movements, but that, on the other, cannot be perceived by Muslim countries and their populations as a nation of “Zionist, Catholic crusaders!” This card seems very important in Europe’s hand in order for this “clash of civilizations,” historically absurd but perhaps indeed being crafted out of thin air before our eyes, not to take place. And I don’t see why we should refrain from playing this card. That is my position, at least. But as I said, regarding political questions, I am merely voicing an opinion, as it is not my profession. Instead, let me say that a favorite character of mine, Odysseus, the anti Achilles, is a useful figure to cite here. Achilles is the short-lived man, the figure of eternal youth because he chooses a heroic death. Odysseus is the man of the return and above all the man who endures. He is also the

dialogue, and we were often in agreement with respect to our conception of human and social sciences. Foucault was not only the philosopher who studied human and social sciences closely, but he was himself a human and social researcher and, I would even say, a historian. Other philosophers were interested in history, while Foucault was a historian. Another person who played a very important role for me was Maurice Lombard. He is not very well known because he died relatively young, when he was about sixty years old, and his one published book is the posthumous *L’Islam dans sa première grandeur*. He was a scholar of Islam, which limited his influence on me since I am not an Islamicist, but the classes of his that I attended studiously and the discussions we had, when he was kind enough to take me as his assistant at the *École des hautes études*, taught me many things. Above all, he taught me that history takes place *in space*, and thus, if one is to understand a historical fact, one must understand its deeper connections to spaces. Spaces can mean a number of different but related things: a territory, roads, and other systems of connected sites. So you see how fundamental this method is to trying to understand Europe, for instance.

HUO: Yes. Picking up on the notions of the *longue durée* and space, I would like to ask you your perception of Europe with respect to the events since 1989. You spoke a little earlier about your position on the inclusion of Turkey within the European Union, but the main movement of expansion thus far has been towards the former Eastern bloc, so the question is very complex, especially if one sees this in light of increasing globalization...

JLG: Indeed. Among the difficult notions in history—and there are many—one is particularly difficult: that of borders. The word itself is not very old. In antiquity, borders were a rather unstable element. Take the Great Wall of China or the Roman *limes*, these borders were uncertain. One thing makes the matter even more complicated. Earlier, you mentioned that interesting term “archipelago,” but in fact, even the sea, despite its apparent role as a steady border, is not so historically. Seas have been crossed; states have been run on opposite shores of seas. So the matter is a very complicated one. With respect to Europe, as you know, its internal borders have been a great source of conflict and wars, but its external borders are essentially defined by seas, except in the east. The east poses a problem, which the ancient Greek geographers did not settle. Medieval encyclopedists only repeated what the ancient Greeks had written on the subject. Generally, they take the river Dnieper as the rough eastern border of Europe, the river that separates Ukraine from Russia. This is striking to me, insofar as so much is being said about Ukraine today and so little about this ancient border. But the matter is very complicated, since there is no clear natural border, except at one point: the Bosphorus. But history has made things more complicated, as it often does,

figure of the man who refuses to be dominated; he is the free man and an inquiring man. He wants to know. For instance, he wants to see and know the Cyclops, and he passes up the opportunity to flee when he can. But above all, he is a man true to himself and to those around him, and he foregoes his chance at immortality and eternal youth, when they’re within reach. And why does he refuse them? Because he wants to be Odysseus, and Odysseus is the one who will live on through misfortune and finally come back to Penelope and his son. For me, this vitality, this curiosity, and this fidelity are very close to the image of humankind, as I like to see it. As for Europe, it too has traveled very far. It is both closed and open, and even today it is made up of very different things. But I don’t think it is as crafty and true to its roots as Odysseus. And obviously, it doesn’t seem to get itself out of trouble as successfully as our hero!

Excerpts from an interview with Jean-Pierre Vernant by Hans-Ulrich Obrist, December 2004.

by placing on the occidental side of the Bosphorus the most important Turkish town, Istanbul. As for Europe's relation to the Turkish empire, on the one hand, and the Russian empire, on the other, they have changed radically. In my opinion, things are clear with respect to the Turkish empire: Turkey does not belong within Europe anymore, but countries that were influenced by it do. But another thing that is necessary to belong to Europe is missing in many of the countries of the region: democracy. Regarding Russia, things are extremely complicated. There is no doubt that on many cultural and political points, Russia belongs within Europe. The Europe of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century included Russia, even if Catherine II used the Enlightenment for her own purposes. Romanticism has been a Russian movement, too. Nevertheless, Russia built its empire in Asia, and there is no way that this Asian Russia should belong within Europe. Thankfully, a large part of this Asian Russia has achieved independence since World War II, but Siberia remains. The problem is not currently before us, but it will come to the fore. Consequently, a great number of problems remain, and my wish is that the coming years be seriously devoted to the integration of the new countries within Europe—but by integration, I do not mean homogenization. Above all, Europe should not become a new nation; it should not construct itself according to the idea of European sovereignty.

HUO: So in your opinion, Europe should maintain what you call the two-fold foundation of the old Europe: the diversity of nations and unity.

JLG: Yes, that is what I believe. We must definitively maintain these two. But of course, we should also move forward in the direction of a greater unification. With respect to this, the recent proposal to apply the rights of the country of origin to a person working in a different country should obviously be rejected. One of the greatest steps forward for Europe has been the adoption of the *droit du sol* or *jus soli*, literally, the right of soil, over and above blood or ethnic rights. I don't agree with those who think that Charlemagne was the first great European, but Charlemagne did do an essential thing: He replaced ethnic rights with the *jus soli*. Henceforth, subjects of Charlemagne's world were not subject to Bavarian, Lombardic, or Frankish law, but to the same and unique law, the law ruling the soil on which they lived. That is exactly what should be pursued, and Europe should, above all, be this soil, this territory.

HUO: I would like to ask you what method you see as appropriate to respond to the complexity of Europe today, and to what extent can cultural initiatives respond to it?

JLG: In my sense, this is one of the fields in which things move in the best direction, but unfortunately cultural initiatives and collective events are still

mostly spurred by an elite, while mass initiatives are necessary. We have to be careful. The Europe that we are trying to build should not be a closed one; we should not build a new nation under the flag of sovereignty, which would close it off from others. We must pursue an entity that is open to the world and others, but we must also strengthen the sense of an internal community. In my opinion, it is thus important to emphasize what Europeans share, while at the same time stressing the exchanges that have taken place with those outside of Europe. We can make a comparison with the field of sports. We have sporting competitions both at the European level and at the global level. Much the same thing should be done in the cultural field, so that Europeans can better experience and express what they share, while at the same time avoid closing themselves off by participating in international or worldwide events, too. As I have said earlier, I am wholly in favor of better communication and exchanges, the vanishing of internal borders, easier contacts, and this by building more high-speed trains, increasing the number of airline companies, highways, etc. Mobility is truly essential.

HUO: With respect to this notion of mobility, I want to ask you about a theme that is very present in the press these days, that of immigration, the integration of this immigration in Europe, and a possible crisis of identity resulting from it.

JLG: You are sparing me none of the toughest questions! Let's start from a historical standpoint. Since the sixteenth century, and even more so since the nineteenth century, Europe has colonized a large part of the world. This colonization meant, above all, exploitation. For a number of reasons, since the twentieth century, and increasingly so as it progressed, a reaction happened on the part of the colonized countries that took two main forms: the struggle to achieve independence and immigration—an immigration with the goal of securing better life conditions and with the dual advantage of feeding not only the immigrants, but also parts of their families back in their home countries. This is the problem, so finding the solution is extremely difficult. I believe this solution is to be found in an agreement between the developed European countries and the formerly colonized countries in which the benefits of both parties would be balanced. Consequently, it seems obvious to me that developed European countries should accept more immigrants and do so better, but this immigration should be filtered. Otherwise, the outcome will be one that everybody suffers from and the prosperity sought by the immigrants will vanish. I am not defending the privileges of Europeans, but rather advocating a moderation that works for the best of both sides. And obviously, that is a very difficult task.

HUO: Regarding your beautiful book *Pour l'amour des villes* (1997), in which you study towns in the Middle Ages, I wanted to ask you about your sense of the future

of towns, particularly in the context of the current European town/countryside or center/periphery divide.

JLG: One advantage of European cities is that they have avoided, to a certain extent, turning into the inhuman megalopolises that developed in Third World countries. This is really a sad situation for these developing countries: On the one hand, they have a share of the rural population that specialists consider to be detrimental to modernity, while on the other hand, their cities are monstrous. Whether in Brazil, India, or Egypt, what we see is that these megalopolises are great centers of misery, poverty, crime and present a terrible cost for the countries in which they are situated. In contrast to this, I see a European type of town that—I am definitive about this—appeared in the Middle Ages, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. These towns are very different from the ones in North America, too—and here we touch on another enormous question, which is the crucial one of Europe's relation to North America. Concerning this point, two things should be remembered: Europe and North America belong together in the Occident, but within this common grouping, they are very different. As a consequence, Europeans should be wary not to forget the community that is formed by the Occident and democracy, but they should also take into account that Europe and North America have been drifting apart. In other words, Europeans should have, in front of the United States in particular, a two-fold discourse that still needs to be clarified. Sometimes they tell the U.S., "You are marvelous; thank you for having saved us during the two world wars!" And sometimes they say, "You're awful. See what you are doing in the world? You want to dominate everybody and exploit the whole world, economically, politically, etc." This double talk should be cleared out by recognizing that the two are true, but a *modus vivendi* should be outlined between the two. The point is to devise a shared participation of Europeans and Americans in the institutions of democracy and the furthering of progress, but at the same time, the distinction between different sets of values should not vanish. These different sets of values are not only their different attitudes with respect to foreign countries—i.e. not only Iraq—but deeper things, such as a clearly different conception of capitalism. American capitalism does not see any limits to the pursuit of profit except, of course, those set by law. European capitalism, on the other hand, was also born in the Middle Ages. (I only talk about these institutions because I have studied their birth!) And this medieval capitalism was born with respect for the ideas of justice and rights, moral notions, the "just price" of the legitimacy of some amount of state intervention. For instance, people turned to the king for laws to stir the economy, when it seemed necessary. Another main difference belongs to the political sphere. It's very clear with Bush and his team, but it's true of just about every American president and administration: American politics are infused with religious ideas. Each president, whether

democrat or republican, concludes every one of his speeches with "God bless America," and that is far more important than it may seem; it is not simply a formula. Obviously today, with the neoconservatives or neoliberals, we are dealing with a group of people for whom this religious impact in politics is particularly strong. And I should add here that Protestantism, the main religious strand in the U.S., is much more amenable to this type of politics infused with religion than Catholicism, which, despite its great loss of authority, remains more or less the dominant religious influence in Europe. And so the other crucial difference is that Europe should maintain its separation between church and state. And thank God this has been achieved, since the Preamble of the European Constitution states this clearly, despite pressures from the Vatican and, among others, the Poles. Furthermore, this separation from the religious is the perfect backdrop for my sense of diversity, since it recognizes and protects the freedom to practice any religion—any decent religion, in other words, those that are not sects or tied to terrorism. So this separation of the state from the religious means religious freedom, much more than the lack of religiosity.

HUO: In closing, I would like to ask you a question that I ask in all my interviews. Do you have an as yet unrealized or unfinished project that is particularly dear to you?

JLG: I'm hesitant to say so, as it may seem immodest, but I do not have any. About a year ago, I turned eighty, and I told my wife that the book I was writing, a book about the medieval imagination, which will come out next month and about which we have talked a lot, would be my last one. I have written what I wanted to write, and I don't want to do anything else that I haven't already done. But since my wife died, I have started to write a book about her, which I hope I will complete. It is not a book of memories or an autobiography—I don't think these are ever honest in the end, but instead, it is a sort of biography, in which I will also remain a historian. My wife was Polish, and we got married in Warsaw in 1962, and I would like to tell how a Polish woman married to a Frenchman lived through the cold war, how she lived with the iron curtain, which we were able to cross several times, and how we witnessed that iron curtain and the Berlin Wall fall, and started, as a Franco-Polish couple, living in a united Europe. So in the end, I would like to inscribe the life of my wife, who was, by most accounts, an admirable person, in a European history that was effectively hers. That is my last remaining project.

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Transcription and translation by Boris Belay.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1989: THE PAST OF YET ANOTHER ILLUSION

Boris Buden

What really happened in 1989? A glorious democratic revolution that has radically changed our lives, freed millions from the totalitarian nightmare, and opened new historical perspectives? Most of us take this simple and convincing story for granted. No wonder, it has become a self-evident element of our historical consciousness, telling us most directly who we are in today's world, where we historically come from, and where we are going. According to this tale, we have once and for all left totalitarianism behind, there is no other thinkable alternative to the way we live now, and the only imaginable future is one that ceaselessly repeats this already realized dream.

Let's say it openly: This story is a very naive one, indeed. Nonetheless, nobody would seriously challenge it. Even though our real experience is at odds with this story, we are unable to tell another. Isn't that then the best reason to doubt it and openly ask: Was the "Revolution of 1989" really a revolution similar to those events, like the French Revolution two hundred years before it, in which humanity experienced the exclusively modern phenomena of a radical change and a totally new beginning?

As a political overthrow from below of one state order and its replacement with another, the events of 1989 qualify as an example of an authentic revolution. The images we remember from that time, like the one of the masses in the streets of Prague who peacefully (in a "velvet" manner) collapsed the ancien régime and installed a new democratic government, confirm this impression. Similar scenes of popular uprising were seen all over Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Even when mass protests turned violent, like in Romania, they always achieved their primary political goal: the replacement of a one-party communist system with capitalism and parliamentary democracy.

One particular scene expresses, in the most profound way, the entire meaning of the Eastern European revolution. No one can forget the masses of people climbing over the Berlin Wall, which for nearly thirty years had separated two parts of the same city, two parts of the same nation, two parts of Europe,

two antagonistic ideological systems, and even the so-called First World from the so-called Second World. Without question, the fall of the Berlin Wall is the genuine symbol of the Revolution of 1989.

In a peculiar way, this event evokes the very meaning of the Greek word *symbolon* (from *symballein*, literally "to put together"): two parts of a whole once cut in two but now rejoined to form a universally recognizable sign of an original unity. The collapse of the Berlin Wall was an event that, in a way, directly displayed its symbolic meaning, triggering another association: the myth about the origin of love as told by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*. According to this myth, human nature was originally one, and we were a whole. Because of the wickedness of humankind, Zeus decided to cut each human in two. After the division, the two parts searched for their other half, longing to grow into one. This ancient desire for one another, the need to make one from two, which seeks to reunite our original nature, this pursuit of the whole is what Aristophanes called love. He believed that, in returning to our primeval nature, we would be able to perfectly attain "true love," making humankind happy and blessed.

The fall of the Berlin Wall illustrates the same mythical motive. Its erection and the manner in which it divided Berlin—its squares, streets, and its inhabitants—into two parts seemed an abnormal or unnatural act; its final collapse was experienced not simply as a reunion of the two separated parts of the city and its people, of all of society and its genuine nature, violently suppressed under communism. For this reason, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the failure of the entire communist project it symbolized have never been understood simply as the victory of one political system over another, of one ideology over another, but as something much deeper and stronger, namely the ultimate victory of human nature over its worst enemies, ideology and politics. Moreover, the overwhelming enthusiasm that the fall of the Wall awakened all over the world was the result of this extra-ideological, extra-political, and extra-historical symbolic surplus. The real source of that enthusiasm, which according to Kant not only accompanies every genuine revolution, but more importantly discloses its true meaning, resides in this meeting and melting of two ideologically and politically divided parts—of one city, one nation, Europe, the world—into one another. This oneness, this coming of human nature into its own, is the very expression of that ancient need and desire Plato called love.

Nobody, for sure, is claiming that all those political events that brought down the Eastern European communist system were simply a revolution of love. However, the fact that the Berlin Wall has come to symbolize those events, that the scene of its destruction flared passions and caused such an enthusiastic identification with the Revolution of 1989, lies in the fact that it echoes the old Platonic myth about the origin of love. The Revolution of 1989 undoubtedly reminds us of the immortal promise, to recall the words of Aristophanes, of Eros, the greatest benefactor of humankind who guides us in

life back to our own nature and gives us high hopes for the future. This explains the strong emotional appeal of the Revolution of 1989 as well as its deep impact on today's world.

In this context, one cannot help but recall Freud's theory of Eros. In opposition to the death drive, which destroys things and breaks them apart, Freud saw Eros's main purpose as binding individuals together and producing ever-greater unities. The whole process of civilization (in the original German, *Kultur*), according to Freud, is in the service of Eros who combines single individuals, then families, races, peoples, nations, and ultimately all of us into one great unity, the unity of humankind. However, Freud's discovery of the conservative character of instincts is even more important in his theory of love. Freud was actually convinced that all instincts tend toward the restoration of a previous state of affairs. Although they appear to be forces striving toward change and progress, human instincts instead are seeking an ancient goal, the same goal Eros pursued in Plato's myth about the origin of love.¹

Let us now sum up our argument: The fall of the Berlin Wall echoes the myth of Eros not only in terms of an epochal victory of love that has finally reunited what communist totalitarianism previously separated, but also in terms of the regressive, restorative tendency of the democratic Revolution of 1989, in short, its essentially conservative character.

With this argument, we leave the vague world of mythical associations and step into the world of harsh reality. What happened in the former communist countries after 1989 was actually one single historical process that we can describe only as the restoration of capitalism. No matter what we call it, transition to democracy or belated modernization, one fundamental change occurred everywhere in Eastern Europe—the change in property relations, better known as "privatization." What under communist rule used to be common, collective, or state property is now in private hands. All those individuals (and there were many pretty serious people among them who were anything but communist dogmatists) who believed that the famous "expropriation of the expropriators," that is, the collectivization of private property—primarily the means of production—enforced during the Communist revolution, was historically an irreversible act were proven brutally wrong by the new reality. However, they were not the only ones taken by surprise. The actual political subject of this radical change was not, as the victorious liberals had expected, the celebrated free individual of emerging democracy, but rather an old one that suddenly awoke from its historical sleep—the nation, which provided the institutional framework for that change. The political, juridical, executive, and, before all, the ideological apparatus of the nation-state is today the ultimate guarantee that what is now private will never again be common. Finally, if there were a simple answer to the question of what actually happened in 1989, it would be: nation and privatization. In this context, democracy was a secondary phenomenon, often nothing more than an excuse for both.

Of course, this becomes clear only in light of the essentially conservative character of the Revolution of 1989. Russia is a perfect example. What appeared there in the wake of 1989, a historical step forward toward capitalism and democracy, was actually a step backward—from the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917 to the Russian bourgeois revolution in February of the same year. In terms of political subjectification, the events in Russia also exemplified a move backward from a class of workers and peasants with its revolutionary institution of councils (*soviets*) to the nation and its state institutions, from the concept of proletarian internationalism, with its emancipatory universalism, to Russian nationalism and its claims, to the imagined glory of the Russian past and sacred egoism of its future. "Russia! Russia!" is what the masses were shouting at the beginning of the 1990s on the streets of Moscow, as Boris Groys reminds us in his reflections on the so-called post-communist condition.² He stresses the fact that the struggle for national liberation brought about the Russian anticommunist revolution. What those masses really wanted was Russia to step out of the Soviet Union. They were actually struggling for Russian independence from Soviet authority. The civil war fought in the early twentieth century between Reds and Whites was in fact a historical clash between the Communist International and nationalist Russia. The Communists won in 1917. After 1989, Russian nationalists took revenge on them, as if this new democratic revolution, this final victory over communist totalitarianism, was nothing but a move backwards to a moment in the past when communist intervention succeeded in stopping history, violently disrupting a "natural" development and dividing the nation, its allegedly original unity destroyed, into hostile parts fighting each other—all in the name of some artificial, transnational society, a utopia of social justice, prosperity, and humanism.

Similar regressive and restorative processes have taken place all over post-communist Eastern Europe. The consequence, as Groys points out, has been an omnipresent conviction that communism, which has in the meantime completely disappeared from our historical horizon, was simply a kind of disruption of an otherwise "normal" development of Eastern European countries, a pause or delay that has left behind no traces except for some sort of a "backlog demand."³

German philosopher Jürgen Habermas has stressed this point even more explicitly. He defined the Revolution of 1989 literally as a "belated revolution" (*die nachholende Revolution*), describing it also as a "rewinding" (*rückspulende*) revolution, the actual goal of which was to makeup for missed developments in Eastern Europe.⁴ In the events of 1989, he saw a clearly articulated wish by Eastern European nations to catch up, in constitutional terms, with the legacy of European bourgeois revolutions and, in a sociopolitical sense,

When politics are overdetermined by economy and especially when economy follows a capitalist logic, culture tends to be the privileged arena for ideological debates. Culture becomes the place of performance of classical politics, albeit sometimes in disguise. And when the political discourse within the public sphere of parliamentary democracies turns to ethics, morals, and how to avoid hurting peoples' feelings (in particular religious feelings), then art seems to revisit phenomena long taken for granted, phenomena that have either eroded or been thoroughly transformed. Culture then is not only used in the political arena; it also produces agency, which is palpable in the current strong desire for activism in the world of contemporary art.

Boris Buden refers to Habermas's concept of "belatedness," as an example of the fundamentally conservative character of the Revolution of 1989, a political revolution that in fact did not bring about anything new. This is also an apt description of what is happening within contemporary art. Today, a market-driven "revolution" against conceptual and critical practices reigns, mainly in the domains of painting and sculpture, whether ultra-subjective or formalist. This revolutionary return to painting and sculpture will supposedly return things to normal—away from discourses marked by extra-Western and interdisciplinary influences. However, so far this "art revolution" has been less evident in post-socialist cultural contexts. The most ambitious state-financed architectural projects in northern European post-socialist countries are neither opera houses nor universities, but rather contemporary art museums. A brand new museum of contemporary art will be inaugurated in Tallinn in 2005. The Latvian parliament has recently voted for a museum of contemporary art in Riga, and in Vilnius, a museum previously devoted to the history of the communist revolution is undergoing major renovations and will become—guess what—a museum of contemporary art. In Bucharest, it took major renovations to transform parts of Ceaușescu's palace into a museum of contemporary art. Interestingly, none of these is a kunsthalle or art center; they will all be historically oriented, thanks to their collections. At the same time, and more importantly, they will have their compasses geared toward contemporaneity.

This is different from the usual instrumentalization of art in much of the rest of Europe, which aims at city marketing and tourism. It is closer to the

with the forms of communication and lifestyle of advanced capitalism, especially that of the European Union.

Isn't it strange? We are talking about a genuine revolution, yet this revolution has brought about nothing new. On the contrary, this old-fashioned, well-known, and, as we are supposed to believe, historically tested and sufficiently proven life now seems worth catching up to and repeating. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, we celebrate the final reunion of violently divided and separated parts, a symbolic victory of love that has created one from two and restored a natural primeval unity. And yet, these parts, although reunited, are still not equal, and there is no balance whatsoever between the two sides of this new wholeness, as if the old divisions have survived somehow in the guise of a new asymmetry within one and the same unity. Berlin, Germany, and Europe are divided again in two, one half having existed for ages and the other just beginning, one half occupying its firmly established historical place, while the other strives to catch up. This new difference is one between two forms of life or, to use philosophical terminology, between one whose essence has already become identical with its appearance and another, belated and alienated, that has yet to accommodate to this standard and find its own true essence.

The concept of belatedness, the fundamentally conservative character of the Revolution of 1989, necessarily implicates and in fact reproduces the divisions of old and new in today's Europe. These divisions are surely not the same as those that once marked the cold war. What makes them different is the simple fact that we are no more able to experience these divisions on the level of political systems or economic production. This doesn't mean, of course, that political and economic differences have disappeared. What has changed in fact is only how and where we become aware of them. Only the conceptual space of differentiation has changed, becoming now exclusively cultural. Today's differences and divisions can be seen and recognized as such only if they are articulated solely in cultural terms. Culture has completely absorbed everything that used to be our social, political, or historical experience and dominates almost the entire space of our everyday life.

This is the reason why political conflicts that are shaking our world today become visible only as conflicts of competing cultural differences. The former *Realsozialismus* (actual existing socialism) is the best example of this phenomenon. Its previous political unity, based upon communist ideology that has melted away since 1989, reappears thereafter as a common space of opposing cultural differences. In this perspective, inexplicable eruptions of regressive ethnic nationalisms are perceived to be the cause of post-communist political conflicts, including bloody civil wars. As if particular cultural values are the only source of post-communist political mobilization. The radical change in property relations, with its historically regressive character as mentioned above, took place at the same time and may also have caused some of the post-communist social tensions and conflicts, or at least had some influence

kind of branding that the early kings of Bavaria employed after independence in 1805, whereby the young nation formed a national identity through the promotion of art and opera. Tony Blair engaged in similar marketing in the 1990s, promoting Cool Britannia and Young British Art. In the above cases, art functions as a cipher of contemporaneity, as contemporary art seems to have become quintessentially "of our time," a notion embraced particularly by young nations and regimes eager to brush up their otherwise politically and socially archaic legacies. The Moscow Biennial and the Sharjah Biennial—both funded by governments, whether the Russian Ministry of Culture or the Sheik of Sharjah—clearly function to this end. Here, history is neglected in favor of an all-encompassing contemporaneity. Some questions arise: How will these new museums and biennials of contemporary art relate to the "revolution," to "the human spirit against politics and ideology," to the pressure to reach out to an audience, to the idea of art as an arena where a different public sphere can take shape?

Maria Lind, curator, critic, and director, International Artists' Studio Program in Sweden (IASPIS), Stockholm

on them. This has never crossed the political minds of those in victorious capitalist democracies.

Moreover, culture also seems to have become the ultimate horizon of our experience of time, for it is only in the cultural terms of today that we can still differentiate the past from the present and make sense of historical change. This applies to the communist past too, which can only be experienced today in the guise of a different culture. In short, either we remember the communist past as a particular (communist) culture, or we don't remember it at all. There is obviously no memory except for cultural memory. And what is more, there is no cultural memory without its collective subject, which is, in the first place, a nation.

We face here the crucial paradox of European identity, which as many expect should simply emerge out of itself as a cultural by-product of political and economic unification. What still divides Europe today, what cuts it in two different parts in spite of the ongoing unification, namely its communist past, cannot be remembered by Europe itself. Every attempt to do so is doomed from the beginning, for a common past must necessarily fall apart into different nation-based cultural memories. The only communist past we remember today is always only a Polish, a Bulgarian, a Russian, or an East German one, but never a common European communist past. This paradox implicates an intrinsic impossibility of remembering communism at all. For there is no politically viable notion of a transnational collective memory, and there is no subject of this memory that would be able to remember communism for what it—despite of all the terror that had accompanied it—essentially was: the concept of a universal emancipation that, from the very beginning of its political history, had been a global phenomenon. What our memory today cannot keep hold of from the past is precisely this exclusively universalistic experience of communist political engagement. To the simplest member of any communist party, it was once perfectly clear, as a trivial fact, that his or her main cause was a better world, over and above the prosperity of his or her local community or the interests of its particular cultural identity—ethnic, religious, or gender. No cultural memory can recall today the worldliness of the communist political experience. This points to the crucial antinomy of our historical experience today: As a particular culture necessarily structures this experience today, it is not able to recall what once had been thought, felt, and done not only beyond the bounds of any particular culture, but against cultural particularity as such. In a simpler and more concrete way: We know very well that the communist past belongs to both Eastern and Western Europe and, what is even more important, to the world as a whole, and yet we don't have the conceptual means to recall this past as such. This is not because cultural memory is itself blind to the common character of the communist legacy. Far from it! In her *Requiem*

There is no paradox in the fact that we cannot remember the communist experience of Europe, which divided the continent into two parts of different cultural metaphysics. Communism did not manage to imprint upon us a unique, clearly expressed, specific culture for a simple, prosaic reason: it was never really implemented. We cannot remember something that didn't exist.

What was implemented in the former Soviet Republics was state "socialism" based on forced cooperation. The culture of the Soviet period was the culture of ideological service. Without being autonomous, Soviet culture was not reflective; moreover, it could not be critical and could not be freely political.

Communism did not create a new type of supranational social order. And the definition of this attempt was so abstract that it could hardly have been realized. Most Soviet citizens maintained a reasonable doubt as to whether communism was actually being created. Therefore, the object of national identity was necessary to ensure psychological wellness. The concept of nation-states remained an alternative to the abstractness of the communist ideal. And so communism, as a social order, remained unimplemented. It was a utopia.

Certainly, the "communist" past is an undeniable personal tragedy for many people. However, this was the epoch of one of the biggest social experiments, and at the same time, the period when various hopes and illusions failed. What really crosses over national and social borders, what is really a common experience of the citizenry of these countries is the failure of this experiment. For several generations, its partial or intermediate achievement has been a measure of value used to gauge conservative, economic, and social development within restored nation-states.

A much more critical outlook toward, first of all,

for *Communism*, Charity Scribner has shown very clearly how recent aesthetic and cultural production in Europe (both Eastern and Western) is not only well aware of a common loss created by the collapse of communism, but also able to redeem it by accomplishing some sort of a Freudian *Trauerarbeit* (labor of mourning) for the lost experience of collective solidarity among working men and women, typical of industrial labor.⁵ Industrial modernity, i.e. its forms of life and work, has historically exhausted its utopian potential on both sides of the former iron curtain and not simply the Eastern European side, where state socialism collapsed in 1989. Our (collective European) cultural memory, as Scribner believes, should recall today "and claim its reminders as sites of reflection and resistance."⁶

However, what has been offered here as the solution turns out to be yet another problem. Whose cultural memory is this? To what political collective does it belong, or what is today nearly the same, from which particular culture does it originate? It is not difficult to see what this cultural memory is really about in this context, namely to keep hold of something that has never existed before—communism as a particular culture—and to do it in the name of a European global collective that politically doesn't yet exist. Cultural memory, therefore, is not about making up for what we have lost in the collapse of communism, but about producing a new cultural need that can be rather easily satisfied by this cultural memory itself. In fact, cultural memory is nothing more than this need, the satisfaction of which it pretends to fulfill.

The belief that we can come to terms with our past only after we have translated it into some sort of cultural difference is more than a mere illusion. It affects our perception of reality, transforming it into a force of an ideological compulsion; that is, it determines primarily the way we become subjects in our world and not simply how we see it. The fact that this world appears to us today mainly as a space of cultural diversity, therefore, has nothing to do with objective reality. On the contrary, it is the moment of our subjectification, of the way we internalize this reality and draw experience from it. And we can rationally internalize today only what we previously have culturally externalized. In other words, we can assert ourselves as the self-conscious subjects of our lives, knowing who we are, where we historically come from, and where we are going, only in relation to some sort of culturally generated otherness, the Other of our past, the Other of all sorts of cultural particularity, the gendered Other, the neglected, marginalized, suppressed, abused, victimized, silenced, "subaltern," or otherwise excluded Other. Of course, only an ideology can provide such perfect transparency. And it does, since ideology too has survived the Revolution of 1989. It, therefore, is no wonder that ideology affects again today's political reality.

The project of European unification perfectly proves this. It too follows an ideological pattern, one that is articulated—and legitimized—precisely through the relation to the Other of Europe, the Other of its communist past, the East,

the egocentric orientation of our own countries, the less socially amortized condition of capitalism, and prioritized national cultural politics are not due only to lower costs of living compared to Western neighbors. And a more favorable outlook toward European expansion in the East is not simply an opportunity to attain the same level of consumerism.

The past experience of internationalism and several decades spent in a mega republic united by one ideology (although against our own will) have produced a longing for a global, singular ideal. Elderly communists do not miss social guarantees, but rather the remnants of the idealism that used to unite dozens of nations belonging to distinct cultures, including those of historical rivals. Deimantas Narkevičius, Vilnius-based artist and filmmaker

its cultural, religious, underdeveloped, backward, belated Other.⁷ In this way, the whole process of the so-called enlargement of the EU appears to us as a heroic endeavor to cope with countless differences, in short, as being part of an epochal struggle with the Other—a sort of gigantomachia of our time—that will decide the future of the entire world.⁸

In reality, only difference that has proven precisely not to be so, difference that is basically the same as the subject who supposedly recognizes and includes it, will have the chance of being recognized and included, that is to say, an already parliamentary democratic difference, “properly” privatized, based on free-market economics, backed by the so-called free and independent media, tolerant of minorities, or simply “pro-Western,” whatever that means.⁹ So the right to be different can be claimed only by those who have already become the same or even “more than the same.” This is actually the case of the so-called “new Europe,” which is obviously the name for a capitalism that is even more capitalistic than its Western original, that is, more “flexible,” more reckless, more Darwinian, or simply freer from old social(ist) constraints, from the last remnants of the institutionalized collective solidarity, in short, from the dying social state. “New Europe” denotes a more radical and more fundamental “democratic” politics than classical Western democracy, of course, only in terms of a reawakened nationalism and a revitalized, mostly religiously inspired conservatism. Finally, it points to a culture that is both more traditional, more conservative, and at the same time more consumption-oriented than its Western archetype. One cannot but ask openly: What is post-communist Europe? Is it the “old Europe,” still holding on to the last values of its socialist legacy, or the “new Europe,” which got rid of them? Which Europe then is the belated one, having to catch up with its alleged standard, and which is the Europe that is already ahead, waiting for the other to catch up? Which is the original Europe and which is its copy? Finally, is there any difference still worth mentioning, let alone recognizing or including? To put the question quite openly: Why the pompous struggle with all this differences? Why all this trouble with the Other?

The notion of cultural difference plays a decisive ideological role in the project of European integration. As a kind of fetish, it provides a perfect ersatz for the trauma of dealing with the crucial political problem of Europe's future, a problem that has been completely foreclosed from its political reality today. The question regards the final fate of European nation-state(s): Will Europe, in its further political unification, follow the logic of sovereignty and become a more-or-less federal nation-state, having a democratically elected government (one citizen, one vote), in which case it would have to abolish definitely the sovereignty of its member states? Or will it completely abandon the logic of sovereignty and build an essentially new type of political community based on

Recently, a discussion has been initiated by certain Eastern European representatives in the European Parliament about banning the public use of not only Nazi, but also communist symbols. In general, a political will seems to have prevailed, bent on eradicating from memory the idea of communism as a progressive, universal,

humanist concept and introducing “order” to Europe. A unified and newly “normal” Europe is also the aim of stimulating cultural programs as well as of the increasing conformity of individual member states’ cultural policies with European policy.

Indeed, art should distance itself from the European culture of tolerance. In reality, it is a culture of conformity, one that interprets the history of communism as an aberration comparable to Nazism or fascism, in the name of righting the wrongs of yesterday and improving prospects for all. But that raises questions: How can art maintain its distance and at the same time accept funding from European cultural programs dedicated to stimulating collaboration and common subjects? How can radical difference be recognized and endorsed in a situation where the production, distribution, and presentation of art are guided by more and more conforming directives? And how might one prevent shrewd capital or European policy from appropriating and absorbing all critical perspectives—even the most audacious and extreme ones—and making them part of the latter's increasingly banal idea of cultural difference and “tolerance”?

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some new idea of democracy that will go beyond already known concepts of parliamentary democracy, political parties, citizenship, etc.? The problem with this question is that every possible answer is a radical one. No decision can be made in this matter without risk and conflict or without some sort of a radical (revolutionary!?) change, in short, without dealing with radical political difference, one that cannot be simply recognized and included according to the principle of (cultural) tolerance. This is the reason why this challenge is so traumatic. It hits the European ideological edifice at its very foundation, in the mechanism of its subjectification. What constitutes the political and historical identity of today's Europe, if not dealing with cultural differences, recognizing and including the Other, following the imperative of tolerance? To put it quite simply, Europe is nothing but a culture of tolerating cultures, which is mistaken for social essence. What appears to be the genuine political cause behind the project of European unification, the one that transcends the logic of capitalist expansion giving it a “higher” legitimation, is in fact a purely ethical attitude. The United Europe of our future is, therefore, primarily a matter of belief, in a religious sense rather than a political one.¹⁰

One is perfectly justified in asking here: What the hell does art have to do with it? Hopefully, nothing! That is probably the only adequate answer to this question. Any art that would adopt the project of European integration as its commitment to justify preserving fully its autonomy, its social function, and/or its financial support in the name of it is likely to betray both its aesthetic reason and its political meaning.¹¹ Europe is all but an innocent cause. If the European politicians are so keen to forget this, artists shouldn't be.

As Jacques Rancière has reminded us, it is precisely by virtue of art's distance from what we perceive as politics proper that it becomes truly political.¹² This applies fully to the historical situation in which we live. Art's very distance with respect to Europe after 1989, that is, to the ideological and political cause of Europe's integration, to the moralistic promise of its democratic tolerance, and to the aggressive narcissism of its self-asserted cultural superiority—in short, to the whole myth of 1989—makes a European art today both aesthetically and politically respectable. For art and Europe have nothing essential in common.

NOTES

1. In his famous essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) (vol. 18 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud [London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1955], 57–58), Sigmund Freud explicitly quotes Aristophanes's speech from *The Symposium*.

2. Boris Groys, “Die Geschichtsschreibung sucht ein neues Subjekt: Die postkommu-

nistische Lage," *Le Monde diplomatique*, no. 7380, 11 June 2004.

3: Ibid.

4. Jürgen Habermas, *Die nachholende Revolution* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1990), 180.

5. Charity Scribner, *Requiem for Communism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 2–23.

In her book, Scribner analyses a number of literary texts, artworks, and other cultural projects (museums, collections, etc.) that in some way deal with the communist past, including the writings of Christa Wolf, John Berger, and Leslie Kaplan; films of Andrzej Wajda, Krzysztof Kieślowski, and Mark Herman; the German museum collection Offenes Depot; *The Detachment*, an installation by the French conceptual artist Sophie Calle; sculpture by Rachel Whiteread, etc.

6. Ibid., 4.

7. Against this ideological background, we can understand certain unexpected and curious developments on the European art scene, like the sudden interest in so-called Balkan art. Over a period of only one year in Austria and Germany, there were three large and quite ambitious exhibitions of the art from the Balkans: *In Search of Balkania* (October–December 2002), curated by Roger Conover, Eda Čufer, and Peter Weibel at Neue Galerie Graz, Graz, Austria; *Blut und Honig: Zukunft ist am Balkan* (Blood and Honey: Future's in the Balkans) (May–September 2003), curated by Harald Szeemann at Sammlung Essl, Klosterneuburg, Austria; and *In den Schluchten des Balkans: eine Reportage* (In the Gorges of the Balkans: A Report) (August–November 2003), curated by René Block at Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany.

8. Following Zygmunt Bauman ("The Great War of Recognition," in *Recognition and Difference: Politics, Identity, Multiculture*, ed. Scott Lash and Mike Featherstone [London: Thousand Oaks, 2002], 137–51), we may call it also "the great war of recognition."

9. See Alain Badiou, *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*, trans. Peter Hallward, (London: Verso, 2001), 18–30.

10. Ibid., 23.

11. In a speech at the General Assembly of the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH) in Lille, France, in October 2004, Adrienne Goehler, who was then the senator for science, research, and culture in Berlin and since 2002 has served as curator of the city's Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Cultural Capital Funds), told an anecdote about artists' applications for financial support in 2004. The majority of their project proposals began with the sentence: "In the year of the enlargement of the European Union..."

12. See Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (New York: Continuum, 2004), 60: "Commitment is not a category of art. This does not mean that art is apolitical. It means that aesthetics has its own politics, or its own meta-politics."

EUROPE CALLING

Rem Koolhaas interviewed by Hans-Ulrich Obrist

Hans-Ulrich Obrist: You have been thinking intensely about Europe for some time now. The culmination of this seems to be your recent series of exhibitions called *The Image of Europe* and its vast panorama of European history. How did this project start? I recall that, a few years ago, you told me about your participation in a think tank about Brussels in which Umberto Eco was involved...

Rem Koolhaas: In December 2000, at the summit of the European Union (EU) in Nice, it was decided that Brussels would be the capital of the EU. Both Romano Prodi, the president of the European Commission (EC), and Guy Verhofstadt, the prime minister of Belgium, were involved, but neither of them had a sense of the implications of that decision. So they called together a group of people and had a daylong brainstorming session, followed by two more meetings. It was a very interesting group, although most of the people were men. The group included, among others, a French moviemaker, the guy that invented Swatch, and Umberto Eco. We spent the first day trying to define what the elements or emblems of "a capital" are and were asked to invent a "European" institution, like a museum of "European" civilization, yet we felt that those kinds of institutions are really ponderous, onerous, and uninteresting. I believe it was Umberto Eco who proposed that, instead of an actual museum, we might conceive of a virtual museum. The most crucial and painful impression that came out of this was how little I and other invited people knew about how the European Union works. So I came back to the office a bit embarrassed by my profound ignorance as a European intellectual about the institution that has been drastically changing Europe. I was determined to correct our ignorance. That was the basis for our Europe project. We started looking at Brussels and wondering what could be done in Brussels by analyzing how "Europe" is present in Brussels. That led AMO to begin a study of the iconography of Europe and, by implication, to study the status of that iconography today.¹ We presented this to Romano Prodi and Guy Verhofstadt, and they, in turn, asked us if our work could be considered the official result or product of the brainstorms. And that is, to some extent, and, by default, how we became involved.

HUO: We have spoken in the past of invisible cities, especially in the context of your *Mutations* project, but what you have described is, in a way, an invisible continent: Europe. I remember in our first discussions that you were confronted with the strange "invisibility" of the continent. Could you talk a bit about this?

RK: For AMO, *The Image of Europe* project has been particularly interesting because we have worked so long on it that it has enabled us to work in different phases and to come to conclusions that were not at all evident in the beginning. In essence, we found that the iconography that represents Europe is profoundly inadequate, and that inadequateness is, I think, partly responsible for the low regard in which Europe is held. We discovered this when we were looking at Brussels the city, but also at the history of the EU, and how it represents itself. The ambition to create a united Europe is such an incredible project and had to overcome so many obstacles that a certain degree of invisibility in the beginning was very productive for proceeding but later became problematic in terms of communication. Our own work evolved over time and toward unexpected dimensions; we abandoned the emphasis on the iconographic and started to look at what had been achieved by the EU, how it had been achieved, and the fundamental reasons for its existence, but also how it was crafted, and what potential directions it could take in the future. And then, we began to look at how such achievements might be communicated.

HUO: I remember you often spoke about engaging with politics. Jacques Delors speaks about this and the necessity to re-politicize, arguing that there is currently a triple crisis of politics: a crisis of the nation-state, a crisis of politics searching for a project and common values again, and the crisis of European construction, which is a paradox because Europe has never before been more interesting and active. Dozens of countries want to join the EU...

RK: Interesting enough, when we started working on this project in early 2001, there was no interest whatsoever in Europe as a political institution. It was really a blank spot. So in that sense, it is a fascinating development that in four years it has become *the* subject—that's a fantastic development for all parties. But it also means that our tone had to change all the time because in the beginning we had to draw attention to an unknown issue that everyone now knows is a crucial issue.

HUO: How did that initial study lead to the exhibition in Munich and Brussels? And when does the invention of a barcode flag for Europe emerge in this process? In the past, you've mentioned propaganda and the propagandistic nature of such things as flags and codes. Is that the case here, too?

RK: The flag reflects an initial, playful, and not particularly serious idea. It suggested that there might be other ways to make the EU visible than through existing morose symbols. When we studied it in a more fundamental way, we realized that, since states or governments didn't really advertise or proclaim the reasons for the EU anymore, Europe needed to develop its own dialogue to explain and advertise why it exists. We looked at the history of propaganda. Propaganda is usually defined by sound bites or by simplifying issues. The beauty of Europe is that you cannot simplify it, as it is an infinitely complex process. So in the end, we interpreted what we were doing as propaganda for complexity—a paradox since those two issues usually don't fit together. The exhibition, therefore, consists of two parts: the history of Europe and the history of the EU. After World War II, for the first time, it became possible to define a European narrative objective and integrate the entire story without lying, but nevertheless negotiating the paradoxes that characterized Europe: that one nation's villain is another nation's hero. If you look at the current tensions between China and Japan, you see what an achievement this single history has been. It is really a very persistent issue. In our project, we made a very serious effort to develop a narrative that is valid for all parties and tells the history of the EU, which includes all the important moments, disasters, crises, arguments, actors, and triggers for change in a way which hasn't been done and which is accessible. We have our own hesitations, of course; we wonder whether it is intellectually serious or respectable enough or, whether it is the right thing to do at this moment, but on the one hand, you could be more earnest, and on the other hand, you could be more populist, and yet I think it proposes an ultimately plausible dimension to Europe's history.

HUO: These multiple dimensions made it a very interesting project to me. I would like to ask you more about the historical panorama as it took shape. In it, the writings of thinkers like Jacques Derrida, Peter Sloterdijk, Benedict Anderson, and others are brought into action. I didn't think of the project as tracing the finished past or unforeseeable future of Europe, but about a form of dynamic memory—Derrida called it "double memory." In Europe, reactionary forces are co-opting the use and the entire notion of memory, making it static. In an amazing way, what you showed is the possibility of using memory in a dynamic way. Neuroscience has proven that memory is dynamic. But I think that Europe has a kind of memory problem...

RK: I think that is entirely true, and that is why this is an incredibly interesting project, because you are really navigating between the oversensitivities of politicians, the vagueness of the average European's interest, the puritanism of the art world, and the jealousy of the academic world. It is a very contested territory. The more I think about it, the more I think that this could be our task: to try to undo some of those boundaries and to question some of those categorizations. I have realized that we are living in a completely paradoxical

moment of modernization, where all modernization is driven by nostalgia, on every level. Yet, we are absolutely disinterested in the past, in history. Auschwitz, for example, has become nostalgia, and there are more and more instruments of memory and less and less *actual remembrance*. That's a quite perverse thing. Nostalgia means living permanently in a form of denial, and what is particularly sinister about it is that it is driving the left as much as the right, intellectuals as much as the general population. What is underneath all of this, and indeed, the essential operation that is necessary is to redefine what "modern" means.

HUO: What is amazing about your project is that a lot of those things are actually visualized—they are seen through pictures, timelines, maps, etc., even more than through texts. If one sees a map, one sees that Europe is not a homogenized space. Can you speak a little bit about how those visuals combine with the multilingual aspect of the project? You call it "Eurobable," a Babelian dimension of multilingualism...

RK: What is ultimately beautiful in the EU project—and maybe we live in a very intense moment of it at present—is that, in spite of the efforts of the politicians and in spite of the efforts of bureaucrats, there is a new understanding of Europe developing and emerging that is completely independent of them. There is no construction of a super state in progress but rather the co-existence of difference, the construction of a virtue out of difference. And this is an incredibly rare thing. At the moment, there are many fears that the differences between European countries are disappearing, and that this is the way that the EU functions. Ethnologists are constantly counting the languages that are disappearing, the cultures, the species, etc. But in fact, Europe is a very strong counterforce to that flattening and is investing in the preservation of regional difference, ironically at the cost of a certain "inefficiency."

You could say that the entire project is a post-September 11 project, in the sense that we felt there was a compelling reason for Europe to develop a degree of representation that would be sufficiently robust so that the Bush vision would not abuse it because Bush has been putting all kinds of wedges between any seam that Europe revealed. That is the underlying theme in the whole project. But a further instinct driving it is that, since September 11, we are able to realize that there is a connection between Europe, Russia, China, and India, which means that, for the next twenty-five years, Eurasia is the site where both creativity, productivity, and the next iteration of all these separate identities and the relationships between them as a larger whole will be identified. That's an instinct of mine, but I feel wholly convinced that it's true, and as you may remember, we discovered it by looking at the increased air travel of all these countries at the expense of the Atlantic circle.

HUO: In Brussels, the project took the form of an exhibition in a tent that revisited the panorama, which many artists have used since the nineteenth century. I've been thinking about panoramas and, among other things, about the unrealized alpine panorama of Giovanni Segantini for the Paris World Exhibition in 1900. Panoramas are, by definition, meant to present a singular, all-encompassing view. But in your project, the panoramic is made up of parallel views or contradictions—the lines of sight in your panorama go in two directions.

RK: For the display in Brussels, we thought for a long time about how we could do that. It was a collaborative project with Jens Hommert, Reinier de Graaf, and Brandon McGetrick; Jens was particularly responsible for the exhibition portion. I don't know exactly how, but we very early on thought of the idea of the two interlocking panoramas. The panorama is, of course, very traditional. We found it very important not to make it virtual, slick, or computer-based and technological, since with those mediums you get a smooth, narrative sequence and a certain amount of erasure of the tension between history and the present. In the tent, the beauty was that the panorama defined a central space, and in that central space, we created a boardroom with a series of emblematic objects like the Jean Monnet statue and, most particularly, the *acquis communautaire*, that book of eighty thousand pages of all those rules that together define "Europe."

HUO: We are back to memory again. One of the things that I want to ask you about is the relationship of culture to your project. I have been rereading Denis de Rougemont, who was one of the founding protagonists with his idea of a cultural Europe. I wonder how you see *The Image of Europe* as a cultural project of the twenty-first century?

RK: I think that to speak of a "cultural project" today is too limited, and that is partly because culture has become part of the market economy. Perhaps the only domain that is not entirely absorbed by the market is the political domain. If you talk about real imagination at the surface of more than commercial forces or more than strictly limited forces, then politics is in itself a culture. That is also a positive outcome of globalization: We live in such an incredibly radical moment that the best way to participate it is through politics rather than culture. It is wonderful, though, to give the project a cultural reading and to interpret it also as an effort to politicize architecture.

HUO: Do you see this as a further step away from architecture? Indeed this project—set up in a readymade circus tent in an open public space in Brussels and then in an existing art museum, the Haus der Kunst, in Munich—had little to do with constructing or imagining a new architecture and even less to do with design. I thought that your project was a big leap forward for you in this regard...

RK: It was the furthest we ever went in not relying on any explicit reference or connection to architecture, and the project is really driven by the ambition to

I must say that, given the state of the EU in July 2005, I find this interview very optimistic. Reading the exchange between Hans-Ulrich Obrist and Rem Koolhaas, one might think that European achievements can be taken for granted. As far as I am concerned, I feel that the whole project could still disintegrate under the pressure of centrifugal forces. Indeed, since the rejection of the European Constitution by France and the Netherlands, we are becoming aware of the fragility of the European construction. The EU is today facing a real crisis of legitimacy, the origin of which must be grasped before it is too late. Koolhaas is right to point out that the iconography representing Europe is inadequate and that the image of Europe needs to be improved. Developing a visual language for all European appearances is an excellent idea. (I find the barcode flag that he designed very appealing.) But the crucial question concerns the aim of such a language. I believe that what is really at stake is the fostering of a common bond among the citizens of the various nations of the EU. It is the lack of a collective allegiance to the European project that explains the disaffection we have been steadily witnessing.

This is why I am less convinced by Koolhaas's insistence on the *acquis communautaire*. I do not want to deny the importance of these rules, but they cannot provide the libidinal investment necessary for the emergence of collective identities. In fact, it is precisely against them that many anti-European resistances are being articulated. What is missing is a strong identification with the idea of Europe, and this can only be created by engaging the affects of its citizens and mobilizing their passions. This is the real challenge, and it requires much more than good communication about the advances of the European Union in a diversity of legislative fields. One cannot leave aside the "feelings" about Europe. To be "European" cannot be merely following a set of procedures. It necessitates a passionate attachment to the European project, which, and here I agree with Koolhaas, means the construction of a virtue out of difference. Chantal Mouffe, professor of political theory, Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, London

ultimately disconnect from architecture. For us personally, it has been incredibly important that, as the rest of the architectural field is increasingly preoccupied by last years' biennial and moving in the direction of an astonishing process of homogenization, we wished to step away from that and announce our final lack of interest in it.

HUO: Not only was *The Image of Europe* project not explicitly architectural, but it took the form of an *exhibition*. What chance do you think exhibitions (of all sorts, but also exhibitions of contemporary art) have to awaken a public awareness about important issues or motivate change in general? I ask because, increasingly, large-scale international exhibitions like Documenta, the proliferating biennials all over the world, and even the itinerant European biennial, Manifesta, aim to be platforms for the visualization and discussion of the political implications of globalization, border openings, immigration, and even Europe.

RK: The point about *The Image of Europe* show was its limitations to the construction, workings, and future of Europe, independent of any other issues, let alone our "feelings" about Europe.

HUO: The project is an interesting pendant in fact to your very first architectural project, *The Berlin Wall as Architecture* (1970). I remember when we spoke about that project in an earlier interview you said: "To see the Berlin Wall as architecture was for me the first spectacular revelation in architecture of how absence can be stronger than presence."² You also said that this realization had an impact on your position against architecture, which, in a way, seems fully realized with *The Image of Europe*. A lot has changed in Europe since that 1970s moment, most notably the status of that piece of "architecture" that once ran through Berlin. I wonder if you could speak about Europe as a result of 1989 and the changes that you see since the fall of the Wall, which perhaps have been less discussed? Do you feel, for instance, that East and West fully act now as if the Wall were no longer dividing them?

RK: Europe now is like a fast-forwarded movie that shows you what happens after the elimination of the Wall, first to Europe, East and West, but eventually to Asia and the entire world. In retrospect, it's clear that the Wall had even bigger consequences than anyone could have imagined at the time. It kept Europe and Asia apart, therefore, it kept Europe and America together. Now that it's gone, you understand what it actually prevented from happening.

HUO: What new institutions are required in this post-1989 Europe to respond to those changes. I have been wondering, for instance, if we should invent a new college in Europe—perhaps a European Black Mountain College...

RK: That should actually be our next project—places that can compete with the best American universities. You could have thousands of Chinese and Indians studying here, but there is no place for them to go. Europe has to construct something totally different, a kind of laboratory to investigate the relationship between power, the military, religion, race, and history, for instance.

HUO: If one looks at the whole question of the enlargement of Europe eastward, such a laboratory seems particularly relevant, and it might help to make European expansion more productive. Because the idea of expanding, of pushing boundaries,

should not be an end in itself. And this expansion should not keep Florence or Berlin or Vienna from asking themselves how to further develop with a Europe of the twenty-first century.

RK: Yes, I think the present is similar to the Renaissance in that way—the explosion that happened around the different city centers and their definition vis-à-vis each other. I am reading and thinking a lot right now about the past. The Renaissance constructed a kind of modernity, one that was not nostalgic even though it was based on a study of the past. One of the most incredible things about the Renaissance is that people then were studying antiquity, but they were studying it at the moment when new aspects of it were being brought above ground, literally being unearthed everyday. That changed the entire interpretation. So antiquity was in a constant dynamic process of being elaborated even though it was the past.

HUO: One could say that Europe's relationship to its past is one that revels in a nostalgia about its moments of strength, even if those moments are in a certain sense long past. I want to ask you about weakness and strength in relation to Europe, not because I am interested in a propaganda of strength, but in how to make the weaknesses of Europe into a strength. It seems that Europe is in incredibly weak condition right now...

RK: Theoretically, Europe is reinventing its power now. And power is in the *acquis communautaire*, in the accumulation of rules: Those rules, in this case, determine the quality of food, the quality of communication, the quality of political rights, the quality of workers' rights, etc. Those rules make up a new form of power, one that is more potent than guns, and the eighty thousand pages of rules actually represent an ideological construct that makes anyone who follows them "European," to some extent, from that moment on. The rules have a really big effect on the world because in order to communicate better with Europe in terms of trade, for instance, certain countries are adopting whole sections of the EU legislation; they call it "syndicated legislation," which I think is a beautiful term. The EU is exporting its rules and negotiating them constantly. Basically, the Third World has said that the EU's demands for hygiene are an indirect form of discrimination, so now the EU is thinking about lowering the demands for that. Certainly now, I think that rules really represent the future form of power exchanges. You see how Ukraine and other future participants drastically improved their conditions; Turkey did as well, so there has already been an enormous effect. That is the paradox of our internal, supposed weakness and the invisibility of our power...

HUO: If we speak of Europe, it is also important to address the notion of citizenship. I have been thinking a lot about the contemporary definition of the citizen with Stefano Boeri and Barbara Vanderlinden. We talked about the citizen in terms of what Stefano called "bands of perception"—the idea that to be a citizen today is less about belonging to a single and fixed geographical site, but instead it is about constructing a personal collage inflected by all the various places one traverses each day, all the places one travels to, lives in, emigrates to. In your case, one could say you are composing an extreme collage of citizenship: Your office is in Rotterdam, you have houses in London and Amsterdam, you travel to other countries almost every week, and you even move in a collaged way, building your own city as you go. So this would be called your "band of perception." But it is also

true for someone who lives in Essen in the Ruhr region of Germany and comes from Turkey or Morocco. This idea of a different form of citizenship within Europe or the world is something I want to ask you about...

RK: I think that the current discussion about immigration is taking a suicidal and dangerous tenor because what the resistance to immigration denies—and I think that it's fundamentally connected to an inability to grasp the contemporary—is what Europe's potentials are. We are not alert enough in embracing some of the positive consequences. To use an example: In Amsterdam in the 1960s there was a horrible planned project, the Bijlmermeer, and in 1972 white people moved in, started moaning about it not being finished, and immediately turned around to go back to the city; this meant that the buildings became available to recent immigrants from Turkey, Ghana, etc. There were the most incredible discussions between young leftist politicians and academics in Amsterdam saying, "Get rid of this, and this, and this," and that's where I find the academic world basically useless because, in effect, these buildings turned out to be incredibly creative, capturing the dynamism and diversity of all those new citizenships. The immigrants organized the entire project complex. They self-organized, dedicating blocks to one nationality or another. They imported their own drugs, their own merchandise, and filled their own supermarkets. Everything became incredibly multilingual, and they created their own radio stations. Actually, what was going on was really incredible but no one saw it, no one got it. Even today, it's treated as a disaster zone. I think that in the rest of the world there is the same kind of thing: The typical pizza restaurant in Germany, for instance, is run by Turks, and yet the discussion of the politicians is that these people should know about German history and should have a minimal sense of belonging to an identity, etc., so it is a completely counterproductive and reactionary idea and also part of this nostalgia. It would be really interesting to locate the moment that nostalgia started to become the dominant mode.

HUO: And where would you locate it? Would you say it was postmodernism?

RK: I think that it was probably earlier, no?

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Transcription by Frances Horn.

NOTES

1. Founded in 1998, AMO is the think-tank pendant to the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA), which Rem Koolhaas established in London in 1975 with Elia Zenghelis, Zoe Zenghelis, and Madelon Vriesendorp. While OMA, now headquartered in Rotterdam, continues to design buildings and plan cities, AMO (an inversion of the acronym OMA rather than one in its own right) focuses on ideas, the speculative, the virtual, and the unbuilt. *Ed.*

2. Hans-Ulrich Obrist, *Interviews*, ed. Thomas Boutoux (Milan: Charta Press, 2003), 1:514.

IV NEGOTIATING CULTURE IN EUROPE, COLD WAR TO POST-WALL

WHEN EAST WAS EAST AND WEST WAS WEST: ART ATTITUDES IN THE COLD WAR*

Henry Meyric Hughes

There have been a number of different visions of Europe (from Napoleon's to Hitler's), not all of which we would nowadays regard as benign. The meeting at Yalta between Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin in February 1945 determined the shape of Europe and the pattern of relations for the next fifty years.¹ But only the threat of "greater German" hegemony was sufficient to hold together the anti-Fascist alliance between the Soviet Union and the Western capitalist democracies. The Western nations were anxious to get on with the business of rebuilding their shattered economies, with American support, and preferred to meet the Soviet threat with a policy of containment rather than one of confrontation. In Eastern Europe, the struggle against foreign domination went on, and ideas of resistance and of civil disobedience took root. In a famous speech at Fulton, Missouri, Churchill already had warned of the impending danger: "From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line, lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe—Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia....This is certainly not the liberated Europe which we fought to build up."² There was a brief moment of uncertainty from 1945 to 1948–49, when the communists sought tactical alliances with the socialist parties in Eastern Europe. But after that, the ideas of a Danube confederation or a wider "United States of Europe," of the kind envisaged by Churchill to counter Soviet expansionism, were replaced with a fragile equilibrium between two opposing power "blocs" represented by NATO and the common market in the West and the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in the East.³

The next four decades form the now historical period referred to as the "cold war," which was dominated by a Manichean and sometimes apocalyptic view of the ideological struggle between East and West. Images of an "iron curtain" and a homogenous Eastern (or communist) "bloc" all too often obscured from Western observers the varied contours of Central and East

Central Europe and their convoluted pasts, while the peoples inhabiting those regions felt cut off from their natural historical and political affiliations to the West, abandoned to their own devices, and thrown back on their inner resources. Right up to the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Westerners seemed content with their version of a little Europe based on the Franco-German alliance and rooted in the assumption of growing material prosperity under the protective umbrella of the United States. The overthrow of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe changed everything at a stroke, and the choice of Berlin as the eventual capital of a reunited Germany signaled the dramatic shift eastward of Europe's center of gravity.⁴

The Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, which began with Stalinization in the late 1940s, was characterized by successive waves of liberalization and repression, reflecting the key political developments in Moscow, such as the (relative) "thaw" of the Khrushchev era from 1956 to 1964, the stagnation of Brezhnev and his short-lived successors from 1964 until 1985, and the perestroika of Gorbachev, which ended in the disbandment of the Soviet imperium in 1991. It was punctuated by Stalin's rift with Tito in 1948, leading to Yugoslavia's position outside the main socialist camp, and the "Finlandization" of Austria in 1955 as well as the workers' uprising in East Berlin in 1953, the Hungarian "counterrevolution" in 1956, Prague Spring in 1968, and the rise of the Polish Solidarity movement in 1981-82, with all their attendant consequences.

Each of these events had major repercussions within the countries concerned and a powerful effect on their political, economic, and cultural development; but local circumstances varied so much from one country to the next that it is impossible to speak of a uniform or synchronous development throughout the region as a whole. This is particularly true of the cultural field and the gradual recovery of artistic life, from the blanket imposition of socialist realism to the attempted nationalization of the means of artistic production (i.e. the imposition of state control over the academies, studios, awards, commissions, sale of artists' materials, and practically everything else affecting the individual artist's livelihood). Initially at least, artists not playing a full part in the official unions or academic groupings worked in a position of near isolation, and their achievements were local and went unreported. News of their activities that reached the West was due largely to the occasional relaxation of constraints on the movement of people, works of art, and ideas, reflecting the barometric changes in the political climate referred to above rather than a response to pressure from artists, critics, dealers, or curators in the "free world." Even within the "Eastern bloc" itself, it was sometimes easier to gather up-to-date information about artistic life in the West (or the Soviet Union) than that in neighboring countries. Those anxious to defend the notion of an unbroken continuity in the cultural development of Europe as a whole often emphasize one point: the common intellectual heritage of all parts of

Europe, which had been affected by the great religious and intellectual movements from the Middle Ages onward, as well as the social revolutions, of which marxism was one of the principal motors, and early modernism, in which Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and other capitals in the region played a notable part.⁵ There is truth in this, as there is in the assertion that marxism is itself an important part of Western heritage. But we should not be allowed to forget that official ideology allowed no room for the study of individual psychology (Freud or Nietzsche, surrealism or existentialist philosophy), that Adorno and the Frankfurt School were unknown, Benjamin unheard of, and that structuralist philosophy and its aftermath were regarded in official quarters as characteristic products of late capitalist decline. Many of the principal sources of twentieth-century modernism were banned, occluded, or partially inaccessible to the majority of artists and intellectuals throughout much of the period in question. In contrast, much of the most creative thinking of marxist philosophers and theorists (Lukács and his school, for example, or Brecht and his followers) had been completed by the 1950s and passed over into the Western corpus of thought, where it reached American campuses at the time of the Vietnam War and was absorbed into mainstream political discourse in Western Europe at the time of the protest movements of 1968. Official culture in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe languished in a heavily subsidized limbo and access to popular Western culture was blocked. Individuals were left to pick up the threads of their own traditions and tie them together with their fragmentary perceptions of what was going on in the West.

Socialist realism was only pressed into service in the satellite states of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland from 1949 until the death of Stalin in 1953 or, at the latest, 1955. It barely survived as a style, though the link between politically committed art and some form of realism lasted a great deal longer. At the very least, socialist realism provided independently inclined artists with a negative model against which they felt an urge and even a moral compunction to react, often by retreating into a private world of denial or by explicitly renouncing the possibility of social engagement.⁶ It helped to sustain a widespread belief in the myth of the inviolability of the avant-garde, for some time after such illusions had been dispelled in the West, and provided their work with an ethical determinant that was to be a frequent source of misunderstanding in the West.

Throughout most of the 1950s, it was virtually impossible for artists from Eastern Europe to travel and exhibit in the West, unless they belonged to the privileged elite associated with the official unions and state-run institutions. Countries such as France and Italy still had large communist parties and many communist sympathizers among artists and intellectuals, but the brutal suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 fatally weakened the position of the Stalinists among them. What was occasionally exhibited in state-sponsored exhibitions of Eastern European art in the West merely served to rein-

force a Western prejudice against figurative painting in general and *art engagé* in particular. Westerners scarcely suspected the existence of an alternative art scene in certain of the countries in Eastern Europe and implicitly rejected the notion of "inner emigration."

Yugoslavia went its own way in 1948, after its rift with the Soviet Union, and later became prominent as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, which included countries such as Egypt and India. In any case, art there was freed from most stylistic constraints by around 1950, after which official blessing was bestowed on a wide variety of personal forms of expression, ranging from naive or primitive art to abstract art and magical realism. Marshall Tito is known to have spoken out forcibly against modernist artistic tendencies in the semi-privacy of his own circle of supporters, but from the 1950s onward, Titoist Yugoslavia did much to promote contemporary art, both at home and abroad, as a sign of political liberalism (though artists were well advised to avoid any direct allusion to political themes) and a demonstration of cultural independence from the Soviet "bloc."

The situation in Austria in the early 1950s was comparable to that in Germany, insofar as the country was divided into different zones of allied occupation (until 1955), and regional centers, such as Graz, Innsbruck, and Klagenfurt, were almost as important to incipient cultural life as the capital, Vienna. However, in contrast to Western Germany, little or no attempt was made to come to terms with the recent past or to rehabilitate the modernist artists and intellectuals who had suffered persecution at the hands of the National Socialists. This explains in large measure the violence of the Actionists' revolt against bourgeois attitudes to sex and religion and the limited impact of contemporary Austrian art outside the country itself until the early 1980s.⁷

As so often in the history of East-West relations in this century, Germany has played a pivotal role. Indeed, it might be said that the early ideological struggles of the cold war were played out on the territory of divided Germany, with the superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union) on the touch-line spurring on their respective sides. In this respect at least, the two Germanys continued to represent a certain idea of *Mittleuropa* (Central Europe), but one that was regarded initially with understandable mistrust.⁸

The German Democratic Republic developed into the most loyal satellite of the Soviet Union, to the fortunes of which it became more closely attached than any other Central European state. (It was only in the GDR perhaps that an authentic and original "national" school of painting eventually grew up on the unpromising soil of Soviet-inspired socialist realism). The *Dritte Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Dresden in 1953 was the first in this series effectively to

The phenomenon of state initiated cultural exchange in the visual arts has rarely been investigated, especially in the context of former Eastern European socialist countries. Why and how exactly did various exhibitions, for instance, in Moscow or Warsaw, Sofia or even East Berlin, the capital of the GDR, "take place"? Which contemporary artists participated in representative art exhibitions in London, Paris, or Bonn, the West German capital? Even when art historians have focused attention on such events, they often have interpreted them as only collateral evidence for more general political processes, citing them as signs of either the lessening or heightening of tensions between Eastern and Western Europe.

It would be interesting to find out who made the decisions related to such exhibitions and how these choices were determined. Why did certain people involved in cultural politics on both sides of the iron curtain tolerate some events but oppose others? Apparently, individual courage, private initiatives, and personal contacts were of the utmost importance. It is possible that the bureaucratic archives of many institutions on either side of the former iron curtain contain documents that evidence these decision-making processes as well as the names of those responsible for them. So far, only a limited number of personal experiences have been recounted, mainly in the West. The Europe of twenty or thirty years ago described in these memories is presented as if it were composed of two "communities," Eastern and Western. From today's perspective, it is clear that both communities consisted of "official" and "unofficial" scenes. However, most artists in the East remained unaware of this strange parallel. On the other hand, nowadays one tends to overestimate the flow of dialogue between the West and unofficial scenes in the East, while underestimating the degree of contact between the official scenes on each side of the former iron curtain.

Without the publication of archival material and the identification of specific cultural workers and decision makers, it remains very difficult to construct a convincing image of the realities of cultural spaces under socialism. The concepts of "official" and "alternative," therefore, cannot be clarified. It seems, furthermore, that such concepts apply only to art in the former Soviet bloc countries, while the Western situation is presented as homogeneously "free," "open," and "progressive." (I use quotation

exclude modernist tendencies and West German participation. It attracted a total of 200,000 visitors, and its success contributed, in part, to the West Germans' determination to establish a rival quadrennial international event of their own in Kassel, some three hundred kilometers to the west, on their own side of the internal border.⁹

Documenta 1 in 1955 had aimed to reinstate the centrality of modern art as a reaction to the Nazis' "cleansing of the temple of art,"¹⁰ while Documenta 2 in 1959 (134,000 visitors¹¹) gave prominence to American abstract expressionism and the idea of "abstraction as a world language."¹² Werner Haftmann, the principal architect of Documenta 2, went out of his way to emphasize the independence of the artist from social and political concerns and reverted to German idealist aesthetics to justify the virtual exclusion of all forms of realist art.¹³ Thus, Documenta 2 came to be seen as a direct riposte to the hard-line policies for a politically engaged, figurative art laid down that year by Walter Ulbricht and the art functionaries of the GDR with their so-called "Bitterfeld Way."¹⁴ It marked the highpoint in the controversy over the respective merits of abstraction versus figuration (or formalism versus humanism, in communist terminology), which had dominated artistic debate throughout the decade on both sides of the ideological divide.

The 1960s brought a gradual loosening up of political and artistic doctrines and the easing of some of the restrictions on travel and communications contributed to the development of artistic dialogue between East and West. The influence of American art in Europe reached its peak in the period, beginning with the consecration of pop art at the 1964 Venice Biennial, where Robert Rauschenberg won the major painting prize, and ending around the time of the oil crisis in 1973. As the 1960s progressed, United States influence expanded to embrace minimalist and conceptual art, hyperrealism, happenings, performance art, body art, earth art, and the rest of what has now come to be regarded as second-wave modernism. All these movements met with a sympathetic response in Central and Eastern Europe, in so far as they provided an alternative to prevailing orthodoxies, though ideas from abroad sometimes arrived late, were imperfectly understood or modified in relation to local circumstances, and were mostly developed in private. The state's espousal of some of the safer brands of abstraction placed avant-gardes in Yugoslavia (and later in Poland and Hungary) in an awkward position, and this no doubt encouraged younger, more radically inclined artists to demonstrate their independence by experimenting with different ways of engaging once more with reality, from hyperrealism to actions and performances. It may also account, in part, for the introspective nature of much Central and Eastern European art and the artists' involvement with elements of their own lives in their work—qualities that enjoy wide currency today.

Little is known in the West about the Hungarian or Czechoslovak variants of pop art, for instance, though some of the supposed protagonists had occasion

marks because these words have different historical connotations.)

I think now we have the opportunity to undertake a new type of investigation that bypasses both ideological and political rivalry and prejudice in order to construct a newer and fuller history of contemporary art. Take Manifesta as an example. It was one of the first events of its kind to transcend national borders. It attempted to overcome the official (state supported) and traditional (the Soros Centers) channels of access in former Soviet bloc countries. The organizers and the curators of all its editions have not only searched for new names and practices, but also transgressed the restrictions of exchange and quota-based representation in order to establish a network of professional relations that continues to grow and expand. The openness and popularity Manifesta enjoys could indeed be the target of critique, a necessary side effect of all successful projects, even while it also keeps them from stagnating. Iara Boubnova, independent curator, art critic, lecturer, Cultural Studies Department, Sofia State University, Sofia, and co-curator of Manifesta 4 (2002)

to exhibit there on their own but out of context. A number of leading protagonists also emigrated to the West (Gyula Konkoly in 1970, for example, and László Lakner in 1973). Indeed, it is hard to determine whether the use of this label even makes any sense, when it is applied to work produced under entirely different social and political conditions and in the virtual absence of a consumer market or an advertising industry.¹⁵ One Yugoslav critic asserted that no local brand of hyperrealism had emerged in his country because the economic conditions were not right for it, whereas German critics reviewing Lakner's first show in that country in 1974 treated him as a hyperrealist, when in reality he was handling the pictorial imagery of communist propaganda with a perfectly conventional painterly technique.¹⁶ Much of the conceptual or performance art of this period was poorly documented and never accessible to the general public, so even local audiences have had to wait for twenty to thirty years to see comprehensive and carefully researched exhibitions, such as *Body and the East: From the 1960s to the Present* in Ljubljana (1998) or an exhibition of "Polish" conceptual art (only an apparent contradiction in terms perhaps) in Warsaw (1999).¹⁷ Little such work was seen in the West at the time of its production, and as the Slovenian curator of *Body and the East* points out in her catalogue introduction, "just as Western art has mainly presented itself to the relatively isolated East as reproduced in magazines and books, so the East has been presented in the West with a small quantity of poor quality documents, with white spots in retrospectives of European art, with the myths of official art and suffering dissidents. In this dialogue, the power always remained on the side of the West which has been constantly producing new trends."¹⁸

The fact that George Maciunas nominated Milan Knížák to be the official representative of Fluxus East in 1965 and that the latter succeeded in organizing an international Fluxus festival in Prague one year later seem far more important in the Czech context than in the international one. (Knížák's appointment to the prestigious directorship of the National Gallery in Prague in the 1990s provides a wry epilogue to this!) In general, it is hard to disagree with the verdict of the British performance artist Adrian Henri that it was often difficult in the atmosphere of "repressive tolerance" (Marcuse) in the West to appreciate fully the radical nature of any new art that might be construed as a political action in its country of origin.¹⁹

Work still remains to be done on the reception in the West of some of the more ephemeral and transportable forms of art that succeeded in crossing the frontiers in both directions with relative ease, from concrete poetry to mail art and multiples. (There was a particularly active scene in Hungary in the 1970s, but even in the repressive GDR, Robert Rehfeld managed to establish an active web of postal communications with artists from all over the world.) Some reference would need to be made in this context to the role played by small independent galleries, such as the Galeria Foksal in Warsaw and

Akumulatory 2 in Poznań, as well as the student centers and clubs in a number of principal cities in the East, which managed to use public funding intended for individual visits and exchanges to invite artists from the West to present suitcase-sized exhibitions to a limited, invited public. Needless to say, encounters such as these did much to promote bilateral contacts, at a time when they were extremely difficult to sustain, and undoubtedly helped to make the art of a number of Eastern European avant-gardists better known in professional circles in the West.²⁰

One area of fruitful exchange was in the field of geometric abstraction and related forms of kinetic and op art in the 1960s. Artists from Poland had gravitated to Paris beginning in the 1920s, and this link was maintained by the Salon des réalités nouvelles, founded in 1947, and the Galerie Denise René, which mounted the important exhibition *Précurseurs de l'art abstrait en Pologne* in 1957 including work by Henryk Berlewi, Katarzyna Kobro, Władysław Strzemiński, and Kasimir Malevich. This exhibition and others like it were instrumental in highlighting the direct link between Strzemiński's Unism and the pioneering work of Malevich and his pupils in Soviet Russia.²¹ In turn, they are recorded as having exercised a direct influence on the evolution of the work of Max Bill in Switzerland, the somewhat younger François Morellet in France, and Günther Uecker in West Germany.²²

Constructivism and various forms of geometric art had an equally long and virtually unbroken history in Hungary. Most of the pioneers, such as Vilmos Huszár and László Moholy-Nagy, emigrated to the West between the wars, but among those who returned, Lajos Kassák and Sándor Bortnyik exerted a direct influence on younger artists in the 1950s and 1960s. Kassák himself had his first solo exhibition abroad at the Galerie Denise René in 1960 at the age of seventy-three, and the younger Victor Vasarely (a former pupil of Bortnyik before emigrating to Paris in 1930) became a pioneer first of kinetic art in the late 1950s then of op art around 1965. The strength and continuing vitality of the Hungarian constructivist tradition were demonstrated in a number of exhibitions in Western Europe in the 1970s and in two parallel exhibitions at the Fodor Museum in Amsterdam, where eight contemporary artists from Budapest were shown alongside *The Hungarian Constructivist Tradition until the 1980s* (1988).²³ In contexts such as these, Western viewers could trace the survival in Central Europe of a tradition of fine arts and design closely linked to a faith in social and technological progress, which had become unfashionable in the West by the 1970s. By and large, the utopian component in the urge to intervene in all branches of human thought and activity ran parallel rather than counter to the prevailing socialist ideology and could be followed back to William Morris and the social reformers of the nineteenth century, via the Russian constructivist movement, the neoplastic idealism of de Stijl, and the practical utopianism of the Bauhaus.

Until the 1980s, contemporary art from Central and Eastern European

countries became known in the West most frequently through group exhibitions selected by the sending country and funded under reciprocal arrangements laid down according to the terms of bilateral cultural exchange agreements with host countries in the West. The problem with the majority of such exhibitions was that they reflected not so much the ideological as the aesthetic prejudices of the established bureaucracy and the selfish interests of the individuals controlling the artists' unions, in addition to the usual considerations of national representation and geographical balance, as in the case of federated states such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Where possible, exhibitions toured a number of countries or individual cities for reasons of economy, and little attention was paid either to the suitability of the host venue or the potential relevance of the work on show to the interests and concerns of the audience at the receiving end. A country's openness to the West could be measured by the volume of two-way traffic, but qualitative criteria, such as the nature of public and critical response, took second place in the general scheme of things. The typical package might be tagged with a label such as *Modern Paintings and Graphic Art from the CSSR* (Munich 1960) or *23 ungarische Künstler* (Bielefeld, 1969). The characteristic Western response, when it was not in like kind, seldom went beyond an affirmation of established values, such as academic abstraction or assertions of a "humanist" faith, as in the case of a figurative artist such as Henry Moore.

The International Association of Art Critics (AICA) played an important role in sustaining contacts between critics in East and West. Of particular relevance were the three congresses held in Eastern Europe—in Poland in 1960 and 1976 and in Czechoslovakia in 1966—and the exhibitions organized locally to coincide with them. These events not only gave Western critics, such as Pierre Restany and Dore Ashton, the opportunity to meet colleagues and artists who were prevented from traveling abroad, but it enabled them to write up what they had seen in some of the leading art journals on their return. Restany acted as the Paris correspondent for two Czechoslovak reviews in the years of ferment between 1964 and 1968 and introduced his readers to *nouveau réalisme*, of which he was the leading theoretical exponent.²⁴ At the same time, he did much to help artists from the region to visit the West and exhibit their work there—most notably, perhaps, Alex Mlynárčik who became actively involved in artistic circles in Paris in the late 1960s and later an influential figure behind the scenes in his native Slovakia in the much changed, repressive climate of the 1970s and 1980s.

Private individuals in the West were generally more successful than the representatives of publicly funded institutions in making the necessary contacts in unofficial circles and bringing back work from Eastern Europe for exhibition. The Scottish gallery owner Richard Demarco, who succeeded in mounting successive exhibitions of Romanian, Polish, and Yugoslav art at a very early date (from the late 1960s and early 1970s onward) within the con-

text of the Edinburgh International Festival, demonstrated just what was possible, given the necessary commitment and determination. He also engineered the sensational first performances in Britain in 1972 of Tadeusz Kantor's distinctly anachronistic Cricot 2 Theater—seventeen years after the company's first clandestine appearances in their city of origin, Kraków. (Kantor became a popular figure with audiences in Britain, as in Germany and Italy, though his impact there had much to do with spectators' own black-and-white preconceptions about conditions under communism and was largely confined to the theatrical world rather than across the whole spectrum of the arts, as in Poland.) The seeds sown by Demarco during this period bore fruit in a major Hungarian arts festival organized by the Third Eye Centre in Glasgow in 1985, which introduced artists such as Miklós Erdély, Ilona Keserü, and Sándor Pinczehelyi to Britain for the first time.²⁵ A Polish season there in 1988 was notable for its inclusion of the sculptor Mirosław Bałka, the installation artist Mariusz Kruk, and painters such as Tomasz Ciecierski and Leon Tarasewicz.²⁶ However, it may be worth remarking on the political dimension to these events, which were intimately connected not only to the increasing liberalization in East Central Europe, but to the self-esteem of a Labour-dominated city council in Glasgow and Scottish aspirations to greater cultural independence within the United Kingdom. As so often in East-West exchanges, the political rather than the artistic agenda dictated the timing and the nature of relations. Indeed, of all the artists shown in Glasgow, only Mirosław Bałka has been given a subsequent opportunity of wider exposure in London.²⁷

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, West Germany was more receptive than other countries in the West to the first tentative signs of liberalization among the communist regimes, though major institutions continued to ignore art from Central and Eastern Europe. Whether some of the initiatives mounted at the time reflected a genuine thirst for knowledge, a desire to escape from provincial constraints, or a predilection for the exotic is a moot point, though there was often a combination of all three. At a later date, *Kunst, Europa* (1991), a plethora of simultaneous exhibitions of work from twenty countries in sixty-three different German Kunstvereine, was the first and, for some years, only attempt to show contemporary art from all parts of Europe on the basis of open-mindedness and respect for individual achievement.²⁸

The Museum Bochum organized a series of well-documented exhibitions of contemporary art from Poland (1964–65), Czechoslovakia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1966) on a scale that was not repeated until the Esslingen Museum near Stuttgart attempted something similar in the changed climate of the late 1980s.²⁹ The Museum Folkwang in Essen, its initial politically controversial contacts with Poland going back to 1961, went further still in making a first systematic attempt to collect, exhibit, and reevaluate the work of contemporary artists in Central and Eastern Europe. Essen's small collection was probably the most significant of its kind in a public institution in Western

Europe before the 1980s.³⁰ As Ryszard Stanisławski, the former director of the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź, was to remark later, the geographical radius covered by museum collections of contemporary art in East and West coincided neatly with the lines of the old political divisions.³¹ It was not until the 1980s that private (West German) collectors, such as Peter Ludwig and Henri Nannen, began to collect contemporary art from Central and Eastern Europe, and not until the end of that decade did they begin to take an independent line from the advisers and salesmen of the official art agencies, including Artex in Budapest, Art Centrum in Prague, and Desa in Warsaw. Even so, it would seem that the best qualification for acceptance in the West was emigration, to judge by the fact that the painter László Lakner (b. 1936) and neo-constructivist Attila Kovács (b. 1938) from Hungary as well as the performance artist Marina Abramović (b. 1946) from the former Yugoslavia, all of whom have lived in Western Europe for many years, were the only living artists included in the Museum Ludwig's 1996 catalogue of work by almost three hundred artists.³² Today, a visitor to Tate Modern or the Centre Georges Pompidou would be unlikely to see on display more than a token example of work produced by any artist who continued working in Central, Eastern, or southeastern Europe up to 1990.

Personal contact between artists and critics is, of course, one of the most effective ways in which ideas travel and develop. It was particularly in this area that so many obstacles were artificially placed in the way of a normal dialogue between East and West, hence, the importance of private initiatives and the few established programs in the West for artists' residencies, scholarships, and exchanges. Until the late 1970s or early 1980s, it was in fact exceedingly difficult for an artist from Eastern Europe to travel west on a two-way ticket, and the bleeding of talent through emigration and exile was constant and severe, particularly after periods of political turmoil. (Twenty thousand Hungarians, including many artists and intellectuals, sought asylum in neighboring Austria after the revolt of 1956, and Austria later provided asylum to a number of signatories to Charter 77.) As an example of what could sometimes be achieved, Dieter Honisch, curator at the Museum Folkwang from 1968 to 1975, enabled a number of Hungarian artists, like Imre Bak, László Lakner, István Nádler, and György Jovánovics (all of them born in the 1930s), to visit Essen on short-term awards and make contacts with other artists in the region.³³ He also gave Roman Opalka his first solo exhibition in the West in 1973, before the latter's emigration to France (1977), and showed in his writings a keen understanding for the specific qualities of his work in its historical context.³⁴

Berlin occupied a rather special position in all this, even in relation to the German Federal Republic. In the 1960s and 1970s, it became a place of refuge or transit not only for artists escaping the pressures of communist regimes (including painters from the GDR, such as Georg Baselitz, Sigmar

Polke, and Gerhard Richter), but for a number of leading Austrian writers and intellectuals, including several members of the Wiener Gruppe and one of the leading Actionists, Günter Brus, who fled the oppressive atmosphere of Vienna in 1969 and joined the writers Gerhard Rühm and Oswald Wiener in setting up an "Austrian government in exile." The Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD), the studio program launched by the American Ford Foundation as a cold war initiative and run by the Berlin Senate since 1967, gave residential scholarships to artists, writers, and composers from all over the world, including artists from Poland (Wojciech Fangor, 1963–65, and Karol Broniatowski, 1976), Czechoslovakia (Jan Kotík, 1970–present, Jirí Kolár, 1979, and Milan Knížák, 1980–82) and Hungary (Endre Tót, 1979, and György Jovánovics, 1980–81).³⁵ They all contributed greatly to the cultural life of the city—in Fangor's case, at a formative moment in the evolution of op art.³⁶ One or two of them (like Kotík) chose to stay on, and many of them found connections to artists and dealers in the West. But Berlin was trapped between East and West and was regarded as somewhat provincial, until its reemergence in the early 1980s.

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe were generally keen to present "their" artists at international events such as the Venice Biennial, the São Paulo Biennial (from 1953), Documenta (from 1955) and the Paris Biennial (from 1959). Yet, they often found that the expenditure of hard currency and effort involved were considerable in comparison to the meager rewards, usually amounting to skeptical press, public indifference, and the occasional minor prize or commendation either as a sop to the conscience of the jurors or as a consolation to the artist concerned. That their national entries were so uninspired was probably due as much to the official nature of their culture as to ideological pressures of any kind, though it was often difficult to separate the two. What could be achieved when professional curators were given a free hand was demonstrated by the engagement of Jerko Denegri as Yugoslav commissioner for the 1971 Paris Biennial (see below), and Katalin Néray as the Hungarian commissioner for the Venice Biennial from 1986 to 1990.³⁷

Art shown in the West under official auspices was generally regarded as too derivative, too out of touch, or, at most, bait for conservative collectors. Most non-Western artists were passed over in silence by critics who had no understanding of the context in which their work had been produced or the key to its correct interpretation. Even those few who succeeded in making their mark at an event such as one of the international biennials often found that their success was short-lived. Such was the fate of the Polish *informel* painter Jan Lebensztejn who was selected for Documenta 2 in 1959 and won a prize at the Paris Biennial in the same year but subsequently dropped out of sight. (According to Ryszard Stanisławski, the French critics completely misunderstood his work by attempting to relate it to Dubuffet's.³⁸) The Yugoslav sculptor Dušan Džamonja did well enough at the 1960 Venice Biennial to sell a

number of works but was dismissed out of hand by the avant-gardist critic Lawrence Alloway for his "ornaments with creepy larval references," betraying "a period style that had lost the crispness of its origins."³⁹ Perhaps the most fortunate were those artists, like the Polish sculptor Magdalena Abakanowicz, whose work conformed sufficiently both to a contemporary idiom and Western expectations of "otherness," in Abakanowicz's case denoted by her "Eastern European" sense of alienation combined with a craft-orientated technique and use of organic materials appropriate to an agrarian economy.⁴⁰

The Paris Biennial was open to work by young artists outside (or not yet within) normal commercial circuits and to cross-cultural activities, including music, theater, film, poetry, and design. For most of its existence, it attracted contributions from Central and Eastern Europe, as was somehow appropriate, for in these countries there had never been the same rigid divisions between individual art forms as in the West. The highpoint of Central and Eastern European participation came at the time of the seventh Paris Biennial in 1971, which afforded the French public their first opportunity to see a comprehensive selection of conceptual art from all over Europe and the United States and featured an especially strong Yugoslav selection, including Braco Dimitrijević and four groups of conceptual artists from Ljubljana (the Ono Group), Novi Sad, and Zagreb. Yet Parisian critics and curators had not set their sights on this part of the world, and it had been evident to some people all along that the primary objective of the Paris Biennial was to win back from New York the title to world leadership in the field of contemporary art. As one of the French selectors for the 1980 edition put it, "Rien n'est plus naturel à la France que de se prendre pour l'Empire du Milieu: qu'autour d'elle se resaisisse la vieille Europe pour envoyer outre atlantique, comme on l'y conjure, quelques Airbus promis au plus grand succès!"⁴¹

From an Eastern European point of view, Documenta has always resembled a half-closed door through which no more than a maximum of half a dozen artists from the entire region (often émigrés) have ever been admitted at any one time. As one of its later directors has recounted: "In the mid-1970s there was an encyclopaedia in East Germany, in which *documenta* was spoken of as if it were an advertisement for the capitalist world."⁴² And so it has appeared to remain: Even the editions of 1992 and 1997 gave greater prominence to the more "exotic" cultures of other continents than to the artistic production of Central and Eastern Europe.

It is interesting to observe how the second wave of (American-led) modernism was played out in the 1970s, against a gradual softening up of the confrontational lines between East and West in Europe, and how Western Europeans edged toward greater independence from American cultural dominance. One of the consequences of this was a gradual erosion of the monolithic aspect of the modernist movement and a move towards the eventual disappearance of the old opposition between abstract and figurative art and

"pure" and "impure" forms of expression. Arte povera was one of the first European avant-garde movements consciously to stake out an independent position in relation to the power and wealth of the Americanized art market; ten years later, the transavantgarde took the process a step further by undertaking a reverse conquest of that market on its own terms.

There now developed among the small, neighboring states of Central Europe a new conception of *Mitteleuropa* to rival (or supplant) the unpalatable Pan-German version, which had been at the origin of two world wars and the subsequent division of Europe. This new version was based, in part, on a nostalgically tinged recollection of the multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual Habsburg Empire, pre-1918, and, in part, on Tomas Masaryk's democratic vision—on returning to Prague in December of that year—of a "close friendship with our neighbors to the East and Southeast" and an "amicable group of small nations, extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic."⁴³ As a formula for collaboration, it was based on a recognition of mutual interests and acceptance of different needs and traditions of the various peoples in the region. This notion appealed not only to dissident writers and intellectuals in the East, such as the Czech Milan Kundera and the Hungarian György Konrád, but to westerners of various political complexions, ranging from representatives of the international peace movement in the wake of the Vietnam War to conservative politicians, such as the Austrian Christian Democrat Erhard Busek who envisaged a new mediating role for his country. In cultural terms, the growth in regional consciousness was an extension of the postmodernist spirit of the late 1970s and the breakdown of confidence in the existing hierarchies of modern art, the "grand narratives" (Lyotard), and the catalyzing role of the avant-garde.⁴⁴

Joseph Beuys represented an isolated and rare case of a Western artist attempting to heal the breach in European consciousness caused by war and political dissent. His divided cross symbolized the rift between the Churches of Rome and Byzantium, and a number of his actions, starting with *EURASIA* (14–15 October 1966 in Copenhagen) and *EURASIENSTAB* (2 July 1967 in Vienna), represented an attempt, metaphorically, to overcome the divisions of the past.⁴⁵ He was also one of the twenty-one artists close to the Galerie René Block in Berlin who took part in a twenty-fifth anniversary exhibition to commemorate the liquidation of the village of Lidice in the former Nazi-occupied Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (others taking part included Sigmar Polke, Gerhard Richter, and Wolf Vostell) and one of the first Western European artists to be extensively exhibited in the East.⁴⁶ As he expressed it in 1981: "It is necessary to view Western Europe, Central Europe, and Eastern Europe as an organic, and indivisible whole. Starting out from my personal conception of art, I endeavor to establish this on a theoretical basis and develop it further into a new aesthetics."⁴⁷ But Beuys's influence only began

Today there is a cognitive demand to establish a new approach to the postwar Eastern European experience. It should not be seen through the confrontational logic of the cold war, since there is no longer any need to ask which part of Europe had privileged rights over modernity, liberal and socialist projects having been its consistent parts. Free from a prejudicial view, we can recognize today creative and liberated impulses, for instance, in certain Eastern European figurative painting, previously considered the conservative art of governing regimes. And the opposite is true as well: Phenomena that seemed consistent with synchronically Western tendencies were not at all its peripheral derivation, as it has been sometimes thought, but rather were firmly rooted in the work of historical Eastern European avant-gardes. Even more, the critical and polemical spirits of free-minded artists and intellectuals in the East were not necessarily oppositional to socialist democratic values, but demanded their more consequential development. In other words, there was never one standard and waning modernity, but two (or even more) that were interdependent. It's time to write a common history of European art, as there is no East without West, and vice versa.

Viktor Misiano, Moscow-based curator and critic

to percolate through to Eastern Europe in the early 1980s, and in the end, neither his nor the politicians' vision of a third way prevailed.

So far, little has been said about the artistic situation in Austria, partly because all parts of the country entered the Western sphere of influence after 1955, and partly because, with its negligible market for contemporary art, it endured cultural and economic rather than political isolation. However, the biennial arts festival Trigon in Graz assumed a growing significance as a forum for cultural exchange in the 1970s, first with the neighboring countries of Italy and Yugoslavia, parts of which had formerly belonged to the old heartland of Austria, then with Hungary and other countries in the region. Successive exhibitions and workshops helped Austrian artists not only reconnect with their own past, which had been characterized by the repeated attacks on modernity and cosmopolitanism since the 1930s, but connect up with international postmodernist tendencies.⁴⁸ In 1987, the exhibition *Expressiv: mittel-europäische Kunst seit 1960* in Vienna and Washington was an important first attempt to survey contemporary artistic developments in the region embracing the five adjacent countries, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia.⁴⁹ Although it placed a perhaps unduly strong emphasis on the expressive painting that had found its way onto the international market, it provided a proper context for this work alongside that of older and more established artists with figurative concerns, such as Arnulf Rainer and Maria Lassnig. It also included senior figures from East Central Europe, such as Adriana Simotová and Karel Malich, who had been cut off from the West and sometimes forbidden to exhibit for many years. (This was only made possible by the organizers' decision to purchase all of the work by the Czechoslovak artists in advance of the exhibition's opening.) *Expressiv* was followed in 1992 by another exhibition in Vienna on reductivism in the same countries, which placed an emphasis on the strong rationalist and constructivist tradition of much art in the region.⁵⁰ Finally, *Identität, Differenz: Tribüne Trigon, 1940–1990: eine Topographie der Moderne* in Graz that same year brought out the renewed relevance of art from the region, with all its historical and stylistic discontinuities, at a time when national borders were being called into question and (Western) Eurocentric accounts of the evolutionary development of modern art were under attack.⁵¹

It was not until 1994 that a systematic attempt was made to chart the history of avant-garde movements in the whole of Eastern Europe from the beginning of the century onward. The impressively ambitious exhibition *Europa, Europa: das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa* was mounted, significantly enough, in the initial capital of reunited Germany, Bonn, with substantial government support.⁵² In part, it was conceived in atonement for the sins of omission from the major survey *Westkunst: zeitgenössische Kunst seit 1939* in Cologne (1981), which had appeared to continue the postwar tradition of equating "good" art with political freedom. (Its

four-volume catalogue provides an indispensable reference source for the art of the period.⁵³) However, it failed to do more than fill a gap in information perhaps because its line of inquiry was set in a traditional perspective, which did not accord with recent research techniques and the global reorientation of artistic practice. A fully revisionist view of Central and Eastern European art would involve a thorough reassessment of the Western European tradition as well and might usefully start with Joseph Kosuth's suggestion: "If certain artists from the past are revived, it is because certain aspects of their work becomes usable for living artists."⁵⁴

The spirit immediately following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak federations, and the resultant turmoil were captured by the director of the forty-fifth Venice Biennial, Achille Bonito Oliva, in basing his concept of "Cardinal Points of Art" on the "three closely related principles of cultural and political transnationality, multiculturalism and nomadism."⁵⁵ However, Oliva was less than successful in his attempt to globalize the creaking structure of the Venice Biennial by asking the foreign commissioners in charge of national pavilions of their own to share them with artists from countries of the postcolonial world, which had not been present at the territorial carve-up of the exhibition grounds in the Giardini earlier in the century. A central feature of this biennial was the exhibition *La Coesistenza dell'arte: un modello espositivo* curated by Lóránd Hegyi, which built on the achievements of Trigon and the previous exhibitions in Vienna by assembling recent art from the Central and East Central European region (including the newly independent states of Croatia and Slovenia), with which Vienna was historically affiliated.⁵⁶ This marked one of the first attempts to demonstrate some of the contradictory tensions at work in the art of these years and highlighted some of the difficulties that a couple of dozen artists from at least two different generations were experiencing in coming to terms with their fractured pasts. In this effort, there was more than a suggestion that both the problems and the opportunities of the new Europe were reflected in the work of young artists from the region.

In many ways, the 1990s have offered a wholly new range of possibilities in which the old issues of national or regional allegiances—whether political or artistic—have taken second place to those of personal identity and group endeavor. The conditions of production, distribution, and consumption of art also have been changed almost beyond recognition. The ideological battles of the cold war have lost their relevance, and a new generation of artists who have grown to maturity in the years since the fall of the Berlin Wall has moved onto the field vacated by their elders (friends and foes alike). The globalization of both economics and communication has done little to change the inequalities in the distribution of wealth and information, but artists in Central and Eastern Europe are now confronted with many of the same problems as their colleagues in the West and elsewhere in the world and are liable to com-

municate in a language that owes little to the political and cultural determinants of the past. Indeed, the rapid spread of new(ish) forms of expression, such as installations, or sophisticated new media, which are accessible to a widespread public and can be manipulated in a domestic environment, as well as new collaborative working methods mark a break with tradition and its hierarchical values. Time and space have been elided into an apparent continuum of the here and then and the there and now.

The network of Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts, which was established throughout the region in the early 1990s, sought to confront the structural weaknesses of art institutions in Eastern and Central Europe, the lack of government support, and the difficulty that artists faced with breaking into wider systems of information, sale, and distribution. But the network has not survived intact a severe cutback in funding by its parent organization in New York, and artists in the region still have the greatest of difficulty in promoting their work in the absence of a market for it or an effective network of communications.

The 1990s also witnessed the emergence of Manifesta, a Pan-European network and biennial, the aim of which has been to respond to the changed circumstances in Europe for the production and distribution of contemporary art and to provide a platform for young artists from all parts of the continent who already had professional careers but had not yet received widespread commercial backing.⁵⁷ In keeping with the times, the chief emphasis in Manifesta has been on collaboration rather than competition, process rather than product, and an incremental use of new means of communication, such as the Internet. Manifesta's "open houses," public discussions, and its new journal of curatorship have all contributed to creating regional solidarity and a closer integration with the West.

Regional exhibitions backed by Western and European Union funding, from *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe* (Stockholm, 1999) onward, would appear on the face of it to be an increasingly blatant anachronism.⁵⁸ However, in Eastern Europe as everywhere else, artists find it necessary, to paraphrase Marshall McLuhan, to drive into the future with one eye on the rearview mirror. The preoccupation of artists with questions of personal identity and with elements of autobiographical and fictional narrative are a reaction to the collapse of the old hierarchies and the ideologies of the past. Each one of us is left with the fragments of memory with which to construct a defense against the totalizing powers of global capitalism and the media. It may just be that artists coming from a background of repeated migrations, exile, persecution, ethnic and religious strife will have something of particular value to say to the rest of us about the integration of cultural difference into our rapidly changing society. What is certain is the need to reassess the entire legacy of our recent past, and we could do no better than to start with the forgotten, neglected, suppressed, distorted, and disrupted cultures of Central and Eastern Europe.

* A slightly revised version of this text first appeared as "Were We Looking Away? The Reception of Art from Central and East Central Europe at the Time of the Cold War" in *Aspekte/Positionen: 50 Jahre Kunst aus Mitteleuropa, 1949–1999* (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, 1999), 1:47–58.

NOTES

1. In reality, "Yalta" is the commonly used shorthand for the decisions taken by the leaders of the "Big Three" nations of the anti-Fascist alliance at Teheran (December 1943), Yalta (February 1945), and, after the war, Potsdam (June 1945). See Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 1036.
2. Cited in *ibid.*, 1065.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Deimantas Narkevičius's film *Europa 54°54'–25°19'* (1997) located the new geographical center of Europe at 54°54'24" N, 25°19'12" E, in the middle of the countryside. See *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* (Luxembourg City: Casino Luxembourg–Forum d'art contemporain, 1998), 100–01.
5. Cited in Milena Kalinowska, "Exhibition as Dialogue: The 'Other' Europe," in *Carnegie International*, ed. John Caldwell, Sarah McFadden, and Joan Simon (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art, 1988), 30.
6. It has even been suggested that an apparent predisposition towards conceptual art in Eastern Europe formed a part of the legacy of socialist realism, with its emphasis on content and narrative forms. See Iara Boubnova, "Conceptualism between Despotism and Liberalism," in *Crossroads in Central Europe: Ideas, Themes, Methods, and Problems of Contemporary Art and Art Criticism*, ed. Katalin Keserü (Budapest: Association of Hungarian Creative Artists, 1996), 54–59.
7. The Actionists themselves have continued to evoke strong reactions abroad, as when a planned showing of the major touring exhibition *Von der Aktionsmalerei zum Aktionismus: Wien 1960–1965* at the National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh was cancelled at the last moment. For French reactions to contemporary Austrian art in general, see Bernard Ceysson, "Gedanken zu einer Untersuchung über die Rezeption der österreichischen Kunst in Frankreich," in *Auf Brüche: österreichische Malerei und Plastik der 50er Jahre*, ed. Tobias Günter Natter (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 1994), 38–43.
8. Timothy Garton Ash (*In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* [London: Jonathan Cape, 1993], 67, 316) points to the popularization of the term *Mitteleuropa* by the nationalist German historian Friedrich Naumann in his 1915 book on the subject and to Naumann's opinion that Bismarck "thought Europe from Prussia out." According to Ash, it was only later that the idea of *Mitteleuropa* was revived in a very different spirit, first by Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Polish intellectuals and then by social democrats in West Germany, such as Peter Bender, whom he quotes as saying (p. 316) at a symposium in 1987: "The renaissance of 'Mitteleuropa' is first a protest against the division of the continent, against the hegemony of Americans and Russians, against the totalitarianism of ideologies."
9. *Kunstdokumentation SBZ/DDR 1945–1990: Aufsätze, Berichte, Materialien*, ed.

- Günter Feist, Eckhart Gillen, and Beatrice Vierneisel (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1996), 70. There were to be as many as 650,000 visitors to the seventh national exhibition in the series (p. 81).
10. See Wolfgang Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels: eine kunstpolitische Kampfschrift zur Gesundung deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer Art* (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1937).
11. *Documenta: Idee und Institution: Tendenzen, Konzepte, Materialien*, ed. Manfred Schneckenburger (Munich: Bruckmann, 1983), 46.
12. Werner Haftmann, "Einführung," in *II. Documenta '59: Kunst nach 1945* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1959), 15.
13. See Kurt Winkler, "II. Documenta '59," in *Stationen der Moderne: die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. Michael Bollé and Eva Züchner (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, Museum für Moderne Kunst, Photographie und Architektur, 1989), 427–35.
14. See Martin Damus, *Malerei der DDR: Funktionen der bildenden Kunst im Realen Sozialismus* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1991), 165 et seq.
15. A number of leading participants in the two *IPARTERV* exhibitions in Budapest in 1968 and 1969, the second of which was referred to as the pop art exhibition, had seen American pop art and hard-edge abstraction in Stuttgart, Kassel, and Venice between 1964 and 1967: László Lakner saw Rauschenberg's work at the 1964 Venice Biennial, and Gyula Konkoly and György Jovánovics saw the big pop art exhibition at the Museum moderner Kunst in Vienna immediately afterward. See Katalin Keserü, *Variations on Pop Art: Chapters in the History of Hungarian Art Between 1950 and 1990* (Budapest: Foundation of Art Today, 1993), which represented a first attempt to survey the phenomenon of Hungarian pop art. See also Julia Fabényi, "Vorwort," in *A magyar neoavantgard elso generacioja, 1965–72/Die erste Generation der ungarischen Neoavantgarde, 1965–72* (Szombathely: Szombathelyi Képtár, 1998), 6–7.
16. Jerko Denegri, "Yugoslavia," in *Septième biennale de Paris: manifestation biennale et internationale des jeunes artistes* (Paris: 1971), 259; and Wolfgang Becker, "Vorwort," in *Kunst heute in Ungarn*, ed. Gabrielle Uelsberg and István Dévényi (Aachen, Neue Galerie–Sammlung Ludwig, 1989), n.p.
17. Udo Kultermann (*Art: Events and Happenings*, trans. John William Gabriel [London: Mathews Miller Dunbar, 1971], 43) was one of the few Western critics to keep abreast in this field and made passing reference to the happenings staged in the 1960s by Milan Knížák in Prague, Sándor Altorjay in Budapest, and Edward Krasiński in Warsaw.
18. Zdenka Badovinac, "Body and the East," in *Body and the East: From the 1960s to the Present* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija Ljubljana, 1998), 11.
19. Adrian Henri, *Environments and Happenings* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 128.
20. Jarosław Kozłowski's artist-run space Akumulatory 2 in Poznań provided the inspiration for Robin Klassnik's comparable Matt's Gallery in London, which has just celebrated twenty years of activity. For a history of the Galeria Foksal, see Wiesław Borowski, *Galeria Foksal 1966–1994*, (Warsaw: Galeria Foksal, 1994).
21. For example, *Pologne: 50 ans de peinture* (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1959); and *Konstruktivismus in Polen* (Otterlo: Kröller-Müller Museum, 1973).
22. See Ryszard Stanisławski, "Le Musée: un instrument critique," in *Muzeum Sztuki w Łódź, 1931–1992: collection, documentation, actualité* (Lyon: Musée d'art

- contemporain de Lyon, 1992), 11; Dieter Honisch, *Texte* (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1992), 367–73; and *Présences polonaises: l'art vivant autour du Musée de Łódź: Witkiewicz, constructivisme, les contemporains* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1983).
23. For example, *Ungarische Konstruktivisten* (Rottweiler and Frechen, 1973); *Neue Konstruktivistische Kunst* (Kunstmuseum, Bonn, 1975); and *Ungarische Konstruktivistische Kunst, 1920–1977* (Kunstverein, Munich, 1979).
24. *Vytvarné práce* (Visual Work) and *Vytvarné umení* (Visual Art).
25. *Contemporary Visual Art in Hungary: Eighteen Artists from Hungary* (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre; Székesfehérvár: István Király Múzeum, 1985).
26. *Polish Realities: New Art in Poland*, (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre; Łódź: Muzeum Sztuki, 1988).
27. See *Rites of Passage: Art for the End of the Century*, ed. Stuart Morgan and Frances Morris (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1995).
28. *Kunst, Europa: 63 deutsche Kunstvereine zeigen Kunst aus 20 Ländern* (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 1991).
29. Esslingen's series included exhibitions of contemporary art from Hungary (1987), Poland (1988), and Czechoslovakia (Czech painting in 1989 and Slovak painting in 1990–91).
30. See Honisch, *Texte*, 351–56.
31. Ryszard Stanisławski, "Einleitung," in *Europa, Europa: das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. Ryszard Stanisławski and Christoph Brockhaus (Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1994), 1:21.
32. *Twentieth Century Art: Museum Ludwig Cologne* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen, 1996).
33. See Honisch, *Texte*, 351–56.
34. *Ibid.*, 494–500.
35. See *Blickwechsel: 25 Jahre Berliner Künstlerprogramm*, ed. Stefanie Endlich and Rainer Höynck (Berlin: Argon, 1988).
36. Eberhard Roters, "Begegnungen," in *ibid.*, 7.
37. Néray showed Imre Bak, Ákos Birkás, Károly Kelemen, and István Nádler in 1986, Imre Bukta, Sándor Pinczehelyi, and Géza Samu in 1988, and László Fehér on his own in 1990.
38. Stanisławski, "Le Musée," 11.
39. Lawrence Alloway, *The Venice Biennale, 1895–1968: From Salon to Goldfish Bowl* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 142.
40. It is interesting to note in this context that the Hungarian critic János Sturcz (*Tackling Techné* [Venice: Biennale di Venezia, 1999], 21) suggests that Imre Bukta's arrangements of the low-tech products of socialist industry in a contemporary idiom (installation) have been misunderstood in the West as somehow folkloric rather than as a source of shame or regret.
41. Jean-Louis Pradel, "Le Puzzle mis en pièces," in *XIe Biennale de Paris: manifestation internationale des jeunes artistes* (Paris: Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 1980), 26.
42. Heiner Müller and Jan Hoet, "Insight into the Process of Production: A Conversation," in *Documenta 9* (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1992), 1:98.
43. Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 197, 267.

44. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), esp. sec. 5, 9, and 10.
45. Doris Leutsch, "Eurasien," in *Beuysnobiscum*, ed. Harald Szeemann (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1997).
46. The exhibition *Homage to Lidice* was first shown at the Galerie René Block, Berlin, from 3 October to 15 November 1967 and then at the Spala Gallery, Prague, in July 1969 under the title *The West German and West Berlin Avant-Garde and Lidice*. See Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *L'Ordre sauvage: violence, dépense et sacré dans l'art des années 1950–1960* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 117 notes 24 and 25.
47. Author's translation from the German: "Westeuropa, Mitteleuropa und Osteuropa muss man als eine organische und unteilbare Einheit sehen. Von meinem Kunstbegriff ausgehend, bemühe ich mich das theoretisch zu begründen und auszubauen: also eine neue Ästhetik." Cited in Jaromir Jedlínski, "Joseph Beuys: Polentransport," in *Der Riss im Raum* (Berlin: Die Stiftung, 1995), 52.
48. The fact that Achille Bonito Oliva (*Transavantgarde International* [Milan: Giancarlo Politi], 1982) included chapters on artists from Austria and Yugoslavia in his book but omitted Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland from the sixteen countries surveyed is an illustration of the habitual delay in the transmission of ideas between the two halves of Europe.
49. *Expressiv: mitteleuropäische Kunst seit 1960* (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst, 1987), 38.
50. *Reduktivismus: Abstraktion in Polen, Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, 1950–1980* (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, 1992).
51. *Identität, Differenz: Tribüne Trigon, 1940–1990: eine Topografie der Moderne*, ed. Peter Weibel and Christa Steinle (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992).
52. See note 31 above.
53. *Westkunst: zeitgenössische Kunst seit 1939*, ed. Laszlo Glozer (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1981). This was caricatured at the time by Klaus Staeck in a flyer entitled "Bonanza: Zur Lage der WEST-Kunst" and bearing the inscription "Osten = unfrei = keine Kunst" (East = unfree = not art).
54. Cited in Catherine Millet, "The Part of Risk," in *Braco Dimitrijević: Slow as Light, Fast as Thought* (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, 1994), 58.
55. Achille Bonito Oliva, *Cardinal Points of Art: Theoretical Essays* (Venice: Marsilio, 1994), 9–27.
56. Lóránd Hegyi, *La Coesistenza dell'arte: un modello espositivo*, (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, 1993).
57. See *Manifesta 1, Foundation European Art Manifestation* (Rotterdam: Foundation European Art Manifestation, 1996); and *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* (Luxemburg City: Casino Luxemburg–Forum d'art contemporain, 1998).
58. *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe*, ed. Bojana Pejić and David Elliot (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999).

TOWARDS THE NORMAL: NEGOTIATING THE "FORMER EAST"*

Mária Hlavajová

The great social and political upheavals of 1989–90 in the area we often refer to using the neologism "former East" undoubtedly introduced new possibilities for redefining Europe. Ever since, there have been numerous attempts in the field of aesthetic practice to "introduce," "connect," "provide a platform," "build bridges," "bridge the gap," or "develop models of integration" between West and East.¹ As these expressions indirectly suggest, many of the initiatives intended to "resolve" the cold war divide were external to Eastern Europe; that is to say, they originated in the West.² Thus, those in the East to whom the rhetoric of these undertakings was addressed were initially rather alienated. Nonetheless, they pragmatically understood it as an opportunity to efface and neutralize the differences between East and West, after decades of forced separation, to enact a kind of "normalization."

Normalization, however, is a loaded and ambiguous term that implies the necessity to strive for a standard of living and a political environment comparable to what is deemed "acceptable" or "average" in the Western world. At the same time, it requires adaptation to yet another ideological framework. This gap—referred to by curator and writer Bojana Pejić as "the dialectics of normality," to highlight the paradoxical nature of and the contradictions intrinsic to normalization—affected all areas of daily life and certainly the way of experiencing culture.³ The cultural *agents* entering the post-communist arena in the 1990s, including the Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts (SCCAs), the Syndicate list, and Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, to name but three prominent examples, served as platforms for mediating these complex processes. Their role invariably involved negotiating between these two antinomic meanings, which is to say, dealing with conflicting interpretations of what becoming "normal" could potentially mean.

In the early 1990s, the SCCAs were established in most post-communist European countries (including parts of the former Soviet Union, countries once behind the iron curtain, and the Balkan Peninsula) to facilitate the processes of transition in the field of contemporary art.⁴ As part of the Open

Society Fund created by George Soros, a prominent American businessman and philanthropist of Hungarian descent, the SCCAs have been instrumental in documenting the developments in local art scenes, archiving information about artists of the 1990s (as well as the significant figures of local modernist art), and activating local cultural potential. This was achieved in a variety of ways, primarily through granting financial assistance to individual artist's projects, organizing annual exhibitions, publishing and disseminating the work and writings of local art professionals, and facilitating access to international art venues. The local circumstances in which the SCCAs operated were generally devoid of clear articulations of (inter)national cultural policies on an official governmental level, a characteristic deficiency in times of such radical ideological repositioning. The overall context was one in which not only institutional infrastructures or the status of cultural producers within society were redefined, but also one in which a fundamental shift occurred from centrally governed systems of state institutions to a field of self-governed dynamics and multiple possibilities. When the SCCAs were founded, support structures for artists as well as for artistic and intellectual production generally were lacking; contemporary art galleries and local art markets were virtually nonexistent.

The SCCAs simulated many of these changes with a strange mix of (often) contradictory undertakings. Their dual function as grant-giving foundations and ambitious platforms for exhibiting and promoting contemporary art through exhibitions, symposia, publishing, etc. is but one example of the competing agendas of the SCCAs. In addition, the centers at times performed traditionally governmental functions in relation to culture, including providing financial subsidies and selecting national representations at major biennials. On other occasions, they performed some of the non-commercial functions of private galleries (by providing access to materials, documentation, etc.). This ultimately led to an accumulation of power – the often problematic but natural result of immense, productive accomplishment.⁵

Within this framework, the SCCAs have produced a new elite of contemporary artists, theorists, and curators in their local areas – mobile, flexible, and internationally oriented art practitioners capable of not only connecting, but to some extent also translating local meanings into international contexts. It has been argued numerous times that, in the practices they represented and documented, no matter how varied the circumstances (and let us not forget how heterogeneous and multilayered the contexts within the “former East” are), certain similarities existed in the artistic and intellectual production of the young generation of artistic practitioners in the 1990s.

Philosopher Miško Šuvaković's term “Soros Realism” perhaps best conveys what these practices have in common. This expression acutely positions the contemporary artistic practice in the former Eastern bloc during the 1990s in relation to new political circumstances in the context of globalization. “Soros Realism,” as Šuvaković explains it, is “a *soft* and *subtle* uniformization and

standardization of postmodernist pluralism and multiculturalism as a criterion of enlightened political liberalism that has to be realized by European societies at the turn of the [twenty-first] century.”⁶ Šuvaković points out that

in the artistic context of Europe, there is a shift caused by the decline of Real-Socialism (Eastern bloc) and by the creation of *Western institutions* whose function is to stimulate, initiate, and provide transition processes...abridging the gap between *the East in transition* and *the West in globalization*. What characteristically occurred soon after the creation of the [Soros] Centers was the appearance of *similar new art* in entirely different, sometimes even incomparable, cultures. The narrative and the presented cases were different, but the means, i.e. the poetics of presentation, expression, and communication were altogether comparable.⁷

Šuvaković's “Soros Realism” is perhaps a more pointed term for what Robert Fleck described in the *Manifesta 2* catalogue as “international style.”⁸ Although Fleck's term seemingly exceeds the geopolitical denominator of the “former East,” in reality it addressed (as do the *Manifesta* exhibitions) the same sort of “normalization” in part of the region's contemporary artistic and intellectual production as well as a type of institutional creativity that evolved in Eastern Europe throughout the 1990s, which aimed against isolation from an international context.

The SCCAs have understood the Internet as a crucial channel for free communication; great efforts and large investments have been made to promote actively the spread of new technologies as well as artistic production and discourse embracing new technical possibilities (introduced in both East and West around the same time). To a certain extent, the network of professionals around the SCCAs overlapped with the community of the *Syndicate* list, which evolved amidst the digital optimism of the mid-1990s, promising to further enhance the possibilities of open and dynamic communication across Europe introduced by the political changes of 1989.

The *Syndicate* list was an important contributor to the development of networks of people in post-1989 Europe. It began in 1996 and connected practitioners of media culture from both Eastern and Western Europe (and beyond), initially providing an inclusive structure for an online network. As founding members Inke Arns and Andreas Broeckmann explain,

It was a network that devoted itself to fostering contacts and cooperation, improvements in communication and an exchange between institutions and individuals in Eastern and Western Europe active in the media and media culture. By allowing regular e-mail communication between participants regarding forthcoming events and collaborative projects, the *Syndicate* mailing list developed into an important channel and information resource for announcing and reporting new projects, events and developments in media culture.⁹

In addition to online communication, the Syndicate organized a number of meetings and workshops for its members, which lead to a series of publications dedicated to various issues but oriented mainly towards documenting and archiving media-arts developments in Eastern Europe. After some four years of existence, however, the list slowly ceased being a platform for discourse in a "network of people and of trust." It gradually transformed into an anonymous marketing instrument to promote the projects and activities of its members. However, when political circumstances called for opposition or constructive debate, as was the case during the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999, the list managed to recuperate its role as a powerful tool for artistic and political activism. In 2001, after numerous attacks on the list by the net entity "nn" and after many attempts by the list administrators to mediate the conflict, the Syndicate list was terminated. The "imagined community," initially born out of a belief in communication and exchange, collapsed, following abuses of its founding values of open interaction and productive dialogue that destroyed these very ideals.¹⁰

A self-organized, low-cost initiative, the Syndicate list illustrated precisely what was possible, even with modest means. Active media-culture communities in the "former East" relied heavily upon it in its flourishing period, even though it was founded outside Central and Eastern Europe. Most importantly, the very fluid character of communicating and collaboration within the Syndicate list fostered inclusion and was a tool for members to move beyond the passivity embedded in self-colonizing attitudes inherited from decades of international detachment, especially among the younger generation of cultural professionals.

Undoubtedly, SCCAs and the Syndicate list shared the same objectives—to create networks of people as well as foster communication, exchange, and dialogue between East and West in Europe and beyond. To some extent, they set the groundwork for Manifesta. Manifesta, a Dutch initiative conceived in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, identified the opportunities provided by the changing political and social climate in Europe in the early 1990s. It built upon research and knowledge that the SCCAs (as well as, to some extent, the Syndicate list) had consolidated concerning aesthetic practices in individual countries and the larger region as well as on their cultural, political, and economic contexts. The SCCAs thus greatly facilitated the research of Manifesta curators and other professionals on respective art scenes, while providing financial and production support.¹¹ In the catalogue of Manifesta 2, Robert Fleck acknowledged these accomplishments: "In Eastern and Southern Europe, that is not least of all the achievement of the Soros Centers for Contemporary Art, the network of which—as ever to be criticized—achieves epochal fundamental work for a free art concept in these countries, and provides concrete conditions for communication, travel and information on an international level."¹²

While the SCCAs, the Syndicate, and Manifesta may have shared some of the same ideas about the importance of the construction of new networks between Eastern and Western professionals, Manifesta's ambitions were of a different order. The initiators of Manifesta readily understood that none of the existing projects or large-scale, major international contemporary exhibitions was capable, prepared, or willing to accommodate the energies of a new generation of artists, curators, and intellectuals in the wake of the post-communist condition.

A political instinct for inclusion inspired the establishment of a new platform to present the most up-to-date developments in contemporary art to local and international audiences. The parameters chosen for such an undertaking supplied Manifesta with its distinctly unique features: As a nomadic biennial presented every two years in a different cultural, economic, and political context, its exhibitions take place outside of what are traditionally understood as the centers of artistic production in Europe. Furthermore, each time, new curatorial and production teams with diverse experiences and interests redefine its theme, form, participants, and structure.

If these distinctions suggest somewhat different goals and models than those the SCCAs and the Syndicate list used, Manifesta did not easily fit into the family of exhibitions that began to appear during the 1990s, despite a shared interest in involving "the other half of Europe."¹³ These exhibitions, appearing alongside Manifesta, largely responded to the relative invisibility of artistic developments in the "former East" within the international context, suggesting a real need to address the nature of a form of artistic production largely inaccessible due to the political and psychological disjunctions not only in the post-World War II period, but also in the years after 1989. Seminal undertakings, such as *Europa, Europa: das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, 1994), *Der Riss im Raum* (Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin and Galerie Zacheta, Warsaw, 1994–95), or *Aspekte/Positionen: 50 Jahre Kunst aus Mitteleuropa, 1949–1999* (Museum moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, Vienna, 1999–2000), were intended as occasions for rearticulating historical connections between East and West and reflecting on the twentieth century or the post-World War II period, respectively. They were also attempts to overcome artificial geopolitical dichotomies, through reestablishing a discussion about the past.

On the other hand, *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art from East Central Europe* (Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1995) focused on a number of individual artistic positions of the younger generation from Central European countries. The exhibition dealt with the cultural legacy of communism in the artistic production of the early 1990s, which meant not "substituting one belief system for another," but rather "attacking the very concept

One would like to think of the end of the cold war as a tearing down of walls, an opening up to the new, to the foreign, to that which was and continues to be across the border. This is the language of cultural elites and today increasingly that of some political elites, not the least of whom are at the very summit of the world

arena. This is the discourse of multiculturalism and its partial opposite, hybridity, as well as postnationalism. But what is really happening in the world? Is a new global culture of mixed up differences really being created, and is this what art should be aiming to achieve? After all, it ought to be a triviality that mixture and ouverture can only be meaningful where there is something to mix, something to open up to. Without difference and without borders of some kind, there is nothing to mix. Borders, social more than geographical, define identity, allow us to identify something as specific, allow us to transcend. But all of this wishful thinking is vitiated by another perspective on the world: While there are indeed elites who today identify with the world as a whole, not as internationalists but as cosmopolitans, they express in their identification their social position, the consumption of other people's differences, the decoration and furnishing of their own quite isolated and protected life spaces, expressing their own world citizenship. While on the streets below and in the trouble zones farther afield, agonistic differences of the downwardly mobile are fast proliferating, financed by the upwardly mobile mafias of mayhem, from weapons to minerals. This is not a harmonizing world; it is a *Bladerunner* world, the elites of which would delight in the differences below if only they could be pacified and turned into commodities. If art aims at truth, it must aim at an insight into reality rather than its mere reflection. Jonathan Friedman, director of studies, École des hautes études en science sociales, Paris, and professor of social anthropology, Lund University, Lund

of ideological structures," as curator Laura Hoptman wrote.¹⁴ *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe* (Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 1999–2000) focused on the post-communist period in the entire former Soviet bloc and revolved around particular issues, including subjectivity, identity, and gender, among others. The exhibition juxtaposed the political and cultural differentiation of the "former East" against the backdrop of the historical and political framework created by the fall of Berlin Wall. Despite debates that *After the Wall* generated about the "ethnicization" of art from the Eastern bloc, it became an important point of reference for understanding how art produced in the East could be approached and a critical milestone in the historicization of art developments in the first decade of the post-1989, post-Soviet era. However, Piotr Piotrowski is correct when he argues that "the end of the last decade of the twentieth century was really the last moment such a show was possible" and declares that this exhibition "is closing the post-war history of Central European art" mainly because "the political geography of the post-Soviet world is disappearing."¹⁵ Manifesta, itself concerned precisely with these shifting political geographies, soon abandoned the narrowly defined narrative of the East-West divide. Furthermore, unlike the abovementioned exhibitions, Manifesta has chosen to neither engage in rearticulating the past nor to isolate the "former East" from a larger European framework. On the contrary, it has focused on examining the very "now" in contemporary Europe, of which new political constellations are constitutive.

After five editions of its biennial, Manifesta has managed to test some of its claims about the possible role of exhibitions in a global context, while critically distancing itself from the ideologies of the two largest perennial exhibitions, the Venice Biennial and Documenta. This divergence, to a great extent, resides in Manifesta's attitude toward Central and Eastern Europe, on the one hand, and the character of artistic practices in the region, on the other hand, which in part defines Manifesta's objectives. The Venice Biennial, since its inception a disparate assembly of national representations accompanied by an international exhibition, provides rather narrow insight into contemporary art currents. It tends, instead, to be a parade of national mythologies and nostalgia for an international avant-garde—a conflict that exemplifies the difficulties inherent in establishing a new global system of representation beyond nation-states and national representation. Furthermore, the national selection of artists as well as the realization of presentations in individual pavilions take place in radically different political, cultural, and economic circumstances and often create distinctions not necessarily related to the quality of the art being exhibited. The international exhibition at the Biennial is aimed at riposting the nationalism of the pavilions and synthesizing the current state of art, both of which invariably have led to a focus on the dominant artistic tendencies of the time. This tendency has kept the displays from breaking much new aesthetic ground and maintained the Biennial's dual position as maker and

protector of the canon. Documenta, conversely, is a cultural product of the cold war, created specifically as a cultural counterpoint to the use of art as propaganda under communism. In part as a result of this history, it has traditionally presented a curatorial selection of what are considered masterworks by great artists, exhibited without being specifically bound to a nation, style, or movement. The works at Documenta, as previous editions have largely shown, represent art history's "priorities" and produce what Walter Grasskamp has called "art-historical extracts."¹⁶ In either case, the art world flocks to a glistening Italian island or a depressed German town to find confirmation of what is, in many ways, already familiar.

Again, Manifesta's point of departure was different. It was conceived as a response to an explicit political demand to open the channels of cultural, artistic, and thus political dialogue between West and East and to build "one of the few platforms accessible for East European artists."¹⁷ Its task was to establish a forum for emerging artistic positions from Eastern and Western Europe (or, if speaking in terms of geography, from north, south, east, and west) as well as to develop a project that would allow for a flexible format capable of absorbing the ever-changing landscape of art and its contexts. Thus, over time and as Europe changed in the face of globalization, so Manifesta's geocultural points of focus changed. Its initiators had correctly assessed, from the very beginning, that it was dangerous to see either contemporary Europe or the world as a set of established positions. Rather, the fabric of contemporaneity needed to be acknowledged as a complex mix of persistent mutations of powers, centers, and constellations. This vision has, from the beginning, demanded a fluid, flexible, horizontally structured organization with a symbolic center (in this case, an advisory board), itself international and made up of members from diverse cultural backgrounds and institutional experiences.¹⁸ As a result, Manifesta has been able to operate with extraordinary dynamism, occupying a space between static, outmoded, and weighty institutions. In other words, and as Eastern European onlookers like Šuvaković were aware, in comparison to the Venice Biennial and Documenta, "it was necessary to create a 'mobile' and 'open' institution which would integrate on a global level: (a) young artists, (b) artists of those marginal Western European cultures which are not 'great' (as German, French, Italian and perhaps Russian are), and (c) artists of transitional former Eastern cultures."¹⁹ Manifesta was the initiative poised to take on the task. For Šuvaković, the results were patently clear, "a high international second league was created."²⁰

The phrase "high international second league" reflects the contemporary artistic practices that appeared following the paradigmatic shifts of 1989. Although reformulation of the function of contemporary art after the collapse of communism in Europe is usually assigned to the "former East," processes of a similar nature took place in the wider context of the "post-communist condition," that is to say, in Europe at large.²¹ In other words, experimentation

with the new political, economic, and technological possibilities of the 1990s took place in parallel throughout Europe. Art, following Šuvaković, "has become anew 'a matter of culture' with certain functions of mediating the positive social interest in the sense of public or general politics and ethics."²² By involving social functions, mediating between disciplines, employing new media, technologies, and strategies of communication, adopting process-oriented, activist strategies, and, further, by registering, mapping, and archiving instead of merely displaying, Manifesta exhibitions have, generally speaking, sacrificed some visual sophistication in favor of outlining a wider picture of cultural perspectives. Manifesta positioned itself against popularly held concepts of what constitutes art and its presentation. By subjecting its exhibitions to this type of practice, Manifesta created an antipode, to invoke Šuvaković again, to the "first league" of large-scale international projects that focused not only on spectacular ways of exhibiting, but also, *producing*—in the social, political, and economic sense—grand works and great masters.

Since Manifesta was, from its inception, imagined as more than a series of perennial exhibitions, its very concept constitutes a singular cultural phenomenon. This larger concept includes building a network of artists, curators, theorists, cultural collectives, and art institutions in Europe, organizing regular debates and conferences about theoretical topics of relevance to Europe and exhibition making, sponsoring an Internet-accessible artist archive, and other things—all of this while also giving artists and curators the freedom to experiment in mounting exhibitions that reject the all-too-common contemporary art spectacle and the dictums of the market.²³

Manifesta's policy of holding exhibitions outside of artistic capitals, so as to culturally activate and support places otherwise considered to be at the "margins," has become its critical feature. However, in considering how such a policy has impacted Central and Eastern Europe, beyond the fact of exhibiting the work of artists from local regions or including those regions in its network, it must be said that there is a conflict between how Manifesta conceptualizes itself and its actual activities. To date, for example, only one edition of Manifesta has actually taken place in the "former East." Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, hosted Manifesta 3 in 2000. Professionals visiting the region for the first time might have experienced it as Eastern European. But in reality, Slovenia (and the former Yugoslavia, for that matter) was never entirely part of the Soviet bloc, and within Eastern Europe it has always been regarded as relatively Western. (In the communist era, Ljubljana was a place to which we could travel without the usual obstacles of obtaining a visa. We easily could acquire foreign currency to buy our blue jeans, the ultimate sign of Western economic and cultural superiority.) In that respect, the choice of Ljubljana was extremely low risk. Located in relative proximity to what one in the West imagines to be the East, Ljubljana in reality had a quite developed institutional infrastructure (certainly in comparison with other "Eastern" cities such

as Riga, Bratislava, Zagreb, Skopje, or Sofia) as well as a local art scene fully operating/flourishing within the international context. Most importantly, unlike other capitals in the region, Ljubljana was economically capable of *buying* Manifesta, a necessity given the structure of Manifesta. "Hospitality," a theoretical concept around which the Manifesta organizers articulate the very basis of their project, is defined, in the case of exhibition venues, by cities *bidding* for the right to host an important cultural event, which can become in turn an effective marketing instrument and lead to high-level political positioning.

Securing financial means for a profiled international cultural occasion in this way is not necessarily wrong; rather, the discrepancy between Manifesta's self-adopted theoretical positions within a discourse of hospitality and how these are actually carried out within current European conditions needs to be recognized. The downside is alarming: Many countries, namely those in southern and Eastern Europe "grappling," as director of Manifesta 3 Igor Zabel acknowledged, "with the economic aftermath of communism and the region's ethnic wars" simply do not have the necessary financial resources or infrastructures to host Manifesta exhibitions, as they have been hitherto conceived.²⁴ Critic Susan Snodgrass noted that Zabel's "observation raises important questions about the function and purpose of Manifesta, and echoes many of the same issues being played out in the international arena regarding European unification. If the goal is to create a biennial that indeed includes all of Europe, then imposing a structural framework based on Western-Northern systems of cultural production only reinforces the cultural divide and creates expectations that currently cannot be met." She further added, "If instead, Manifesta were to remain nomadic, as well as open and flexible, then it could adapt to the needs and means of its host site, where the absence of traditional infrastructures may be seen as a challenge rather than a deficiency."²⁵

In this respect, Manifesta must ask itself at this critical point in its history: Who is actually inviting whom and why? And perhaps even more importantly: Can it radically re-imagine itself so that this kind of financial transaction (contradicting the theoretical premise of Manifesta's selection process) is not needed at all? Within the discourse on the conflicting nature of normalization, can one seek a model of intervention that is sensitive to the context in which it is to take place, instead of imposing (as Manifesta did with its first five editions) the principally traditional option of a large-scale, institutionally grounded, Western-type biennial exhibition? And if so, what would a path "towards the normal" then look like?

Within the "former East," one can perhaps, if generalizations of this kind are at all possible, speak of two directions in negotiating this "normalization" dilemma, both repeatedly invoked and believed equally viable. On the one

An artist from the Baltics told me that, before the opening of the borders, artists thought the West would be waiting with open arms for their entrance onto the scene.

During the first few years of the post-Soviet period, this was, in a way, true. A great number of exhibitions of Baltic artists opened in northern Europe, and, likewise, exhibitions from northern Europe opened in the Baltic area. The phenomenon was based on novelty—a politically and artistically interesting situation that had suddenly unfolded before its Western neighbors. Artists expected this would continue, but once the novelty waned, a harsh reality also became evident. Within the national and international art scenes, the competition and politics were evident. As a result, many Baltic artists returned to their national scenes and started working both inside them and from within them.

The rapid integration of these countries into the EU took place quicker than the possible development of new institutions or the evolution of existing commercial systems, thus disabling some of their potential. Throughout this period, other systems of encounter developed: Residency programs, conferences, travel exchanges, and various forms of grassroots collaborations between institutions and artist groups seem to have been better able to meet the challenges of the new geopolitical situation. The condition of possibility for these to emerge was perhaps the presence of existing networks, even as those ambitious attempts at institutionalizing, at "bridging the gap," can be said to have now outlived their usefulness. The SCCA is practically finished, the Syndicate list has ended, and Manifesta is searching for new paths and principles for its biennial. That said, I feel totally optimistic that many new networks are developing that will grow and provide new understanding and openings on both sides of Europe.

Maaretta Jaukkuri, chief curator, Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art, Helsinki, and visiting professor, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim

hand, Igor Zabel proposes the assumption of a critical Eastern identity as a "strategic behavior inside of the art system," which could, as a matter of fact, "function as a kind of active resistance to Western structures of identification."²⁶ Contrary to this opinion, Bratislava-based artist Boris Ondreička poetically formulated another line of thought. In his text entitled "Scheissliche Ostblocker" (2001), written in consciously incorrect, raw, and unedited English (which indirectly points to his background), he enumerates the various names others have called him: "They call me subject, inhabitant, citizen and Slovak. They call me foriegner, alien, European but mostly 'Scheissliche Ostblocker,' eliminated, disqualified, excluded, expelled."²⁷ By concluding the long list with "They call me 'I' ~ 'Me,'" Ondreička seems to suggest a basic tenet of cultural liberty within which he chooses to relate to the world not as an "Ostblocker" (Eastern European), an identity imposed on him by others, but simply as a human being: "I."

While assuming a "critical Eastern identity" might be a constructive option, I tend to believe, following Ondreička's critique, that the notion of Eastern European art is an artificial construction, a product fabricated through post-1989 repositionings. The paradoxes of "normalization" under discussion might explain how the SCCAs, the Syndicate list, and Manifesta, the three main international cultural *agents* performing in the region and disguised as advocates of change, actually have contributed, from various perspectives, to the creation of this phantom with which we now desperately grapple. As a political and artistic imaginary, the notion of "Eastern Europe" certainly brought about catalyzing discussions inevitable for re-envisioning contemporary Europe.

Zabel suggests that divisions in Europe, which we like to think have disappeared since the fall of the Berlin Wall, actually have not been overcome at all: "After the radical changes of the geopolitical situation in Europe they have only been transformed and rearranged" into new divisions.²⁸ If this is true, Manifesta faces a unique opportunity, especially if, on the basis of the negotiations of the last decade, it manages to build new strategic alliances with new agents—the youngest generation of artists, curators, intellectuals, and art administrators with no pre- or (immediate) post-1989 memory. The cultural exchange addressing new constellations and opportunities must, however, take place through a redefinition of balance and traffic that flows in both directions. The new political urgencies and earnest longing to become "normal" in the "former East" could thus be understood as a challenge to the West to rearticulate itself, despite its economic superiority, as the "former West." The task would then be to find ways of overcoming the asymmetry residing in the chronic debris of post-cold war divisions in Europe. This cannot happen by repressing the differences, nor by absorbing them into the Western narrative, but rather by constant dynamic remixing of changing aesthetic, cultural, and political positions in Europe, itself in flux. Given Manifesta's avowed ambitions in this regard, its future lies in assuming that responsibility.

In the beginning of the network, there is the Event. Encounters, long evenings, exchanges of ideas, email addresses, and other fluid material. But then, one starts to wonder. What is this label "contemporary arts?" Where does it come from? (New York, the 1970s, some whisper?) Suspicion grows. What's the point of Eastern Europe being integrated into a closed circuit of contemporary art spaces? Why exactly this agenda and not countless other possibilities? The power game starts. Who's in and who's out, in the land of biennials? Those in charge of definitions rule. "You are contemporary. You're just a painter, and you, out there, new media." Divide and conquer, that's the tactic of curators. New-media and Internet artists never really fit into this logic. Like true conceptual artists, they produce ephemeral work that resists being collected. There are links, collaborations, workshops, friendships, but little or no accumulation of "value." Yes, there is a steady rise of "cultural capital" in new media, too, however, the question "but is it art?" has haunted the new-technology scene, in "deep Europe" as much as anywhere else. Is video art? Is painting art? No, after all, these are the wrong questions. Confusion begins to grow, networks fall apart, and promised rewards fail to materialize. It's just another gray day. There is this wish to crash. Where is the reset button?

Geert Lovink, media theorist, net critic, activist, and director, Institute of Network Cultures, Amsterdam

* I was involved in the work of the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts in Bratislava from 1992 to 1999, and I co-curated Manifesta 3 (Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence) in Ljubljana in 2000, facts which perfectly disqualify me from providing an objective view of their impact and working mechanisms. That said, my subjective reading has its basis in a firsthand examination of these diverse institutions, the ideals of which I firmly believed in, even as I also advocated criticizing them whenever they did not seem to be upheld in reality. I would like to thank Jill Winder for her careful reading and suggestions while I wrote this essay.

NOTES

1. The cited expressions or similar ones can be found in the numerous press releases, mission statements, or catalogue texts for exhibitions, symposia, and other projects (Manifesta included) initiated in the West and attempting to involve the "former East," in the years since 1989.
2. Given that the point of this essay is to address the relationship between Manifesta and the "former East," I concentrate on initiatives (like Manifesta) conceived outside the region. This is not to say that no activities originated from within these local contexts, contributing greatly to changes in the region.
3. Bojana Pejić, "The Dialectics of Normality," in *After the Wall: Art and Culture in Post-Communist Europe*, ed. Bojana Pejić and David Elliott (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999), 16–28. See also Ákos Szilágyi, "'The Raw' and the 'Cooked': Russia's Mediatization," in *Junction Skopje: The 1997–1998 edition*, ed. Inke Arns (Skopje: Soros Center for Contemporary Arts, 1998), 75, also available online at <http://colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr2.html>; and Igor Zabel "Haven't We Had Enough?" available online at <http://www.bak-utrecht.nl>.
4. In 1985, the Soros Foundation Fine Arts Documentation Center was established as a result of cooperation between the Soros Foundation (later the Open Society Fund) and Műcsarnok in Budapest. In 1991, it was renamed the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts (SCCA). Between 1992 and 1999, nineteen additional SCCAs were opened in seventeen Central and Eastern Europe countries (in the cities of Alma-Ata, now Almaty, Belgrade, Bratislava, Bucharest, Chişinău, Kiev, Ljubljana, Moscow, Odessa, Saint Petersburg, Prague, Sarajevo, Sofia, Skopje, Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius, Warsaw, and Zagreb). Together they formed the Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts Network. In 1999, the network became the International Contemporary Art Network (ICAN), registered in the Netherlands as a non-profit organization. This move was a result of George Soros's withdrawal of funding for contemporary art activities in the region. Some of the centers subsequently ceased to exist and others transformed radically. ICAN is based on the unique resources (documentation, knowledge, and expertise) accumulated by the SCCA Network. ICAN's mission is to encourage, support, and provide a framework for international collaboration in the field of contemporary visual arts and culture, involving artists, art critics, writers, theoreticians, curators, and art administrators from Central and Eastern Europe. It is aimed at fostering collaboration among its members, encouraging them to actively participate in international contemporary art discourse, promoting contemporary art from Central and Eastern Europe, and advocating constructive change in cultural policy on regional and international levels. It is important to note that the ICAN is currently inactive for several reasons, mainly because most individual members struggle with their own financial survival in changed circumstances.
5. The role of the SCCAs has yet to be comprehensively evaluated in the context of

the developments in the field of culture during the 1990s. Among the many questions that remain to be answered is whether powerful agents of this kind, operating with virtually no other stakeholders, did not essentially postpone, at least for a decade, the generation of locally sustainable, functioning art and cultural scenes with both multiple institutional contexts and various actors.

6. Miško Šuvaković, "The Ideology of Exhibition: On the Ideologies of Manifesta," *PlatformaSCCA*, no. 3 (January 2002), 17, available online at <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma3/suvakovicengp.htm>.

7. Ibid.

8. Robert Fleck, "Art after Communism?" in *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* (Luxembourg City: Casino Luxembourg–Forum d'art contemporain, 1998), 197.

9. Inke Arns and Andreas Broeckmann, "Rise and Decline of the Syndicate: The End of an Imagined Community," in *Who If Not We...?* ed. Mária Hlavajová and Jill Winder (Amsterdam: Artimo, 2004), 205.

10. See *ibid.*, 203–10.

11. As mentioned in note 4 above, towards the end of the 1990s, George Soros practically withdrew from financing the SCCAs. Some of the centers transformed or merged with other institutions, others ceased to exist. The SCCA Network never managed to recover fully from this withdrawal of Soros funds, despite many attempts; the reason for this lies, in my opinion, in the Network's conception. While facilitated by local actors, it was always a project funded "from above" or rather from "outside" its own context, a fact contrary to the generation of sustainable networks. In addition, the use of an outmoded concept of "East and Central Europe" in the Network's organization stifled opportunities to create new models for conceptualizing and theorizing art and cultural production in the region.

12. Fleck, "Art after Communism?" 197.

13. *Ibid.*, 194.

14. Laura Hoptman, "Introduction," in *Beyond Belief: Contemporary Art From East Central Europe* (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 2.

15. Piotr Piotrowski, "Central Europe in the Face of Unification," first delivered as a conference paper at MIT in October 2001 then featured in *Artmargins* (January 2003). The text is available online at www.artmargins.com/content/feature/piotrowski2.htm and reprinted in *Who If Not We...?* 271–81.

16. Walter Grasskamp, "For Example, Documenta, or How is Art History Produced?" in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 67–78.

17. Hedwig Fijen, "Manifesta: History and Concept," available online at <http://www.manifesta.org/manifesta4/en/press/pressm16.html>.

18. By establishing an official headquarters in Amsterdam, Manifesta seems to have lost some of its early informal character. The increased institutionalization of its permanent headquarters and its accompanying official administrative positions suggest that Manifesta and its administrators may have succumbed to the seduction of power.

19. Šuvaković, "The Ideology of Exhibition," 14.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Boris Groys ("The Post-Communist Condition," in *Who If Not We...?* 163–70) argues that the term "post-communist condition" is applicable to Europe as a whole

and not only to the parts that suffered under communist regimes.

22. Miško Šuvaković, "Critical Phenomenology of Artwork: The Status, the Functions, and the Effects of the Artwork at Manifesta 3," *PlatformaSCCA*, no. 2 (December 2000), 19, available online at <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma2/suvakovicang.htm>.

23. The official descriptions of the Manifesta project outline the stakes involved. As executive director of the International Foundation Manifesta, Hedwig Fijen ("Decoding Europe?" in *Manifesta 5, European Biennial of Contemporary Art: With All Due Intent* [Donostia–San Sebastián: Centro internacional de cultura contemporánea, 2004], 16) explains: "For Manifesta in general, the worldwide growth of large-scale art projects and cultural festivals with an orientation toward marketing has persuaded us to step back gradually from this sort of event, lowering the expectations of all kinds of stakeholders and concentrating our activities. Consequently, Manifesta has opted for closely integrating artistic practice in a more compact and more articulated community in order to de-territorialise [*sic*] itself from commercial constraints and so reclaim its humanity. Over the next few years, this means a policy of inviting distinctly transitional areas to host Manifesta, and slowly withdrawing from the Western art circuit in order to create closer connections and collaborations with new communities."

24. Igor Zabel, quoted in Susan Snodgrass, "Manifesta 4: Defining Europe?" *Art in America* 91, no. 1 (January 2003), available online at http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1248/is_1_91/ai_96126343/pg_3. Zabel also suggested, in this context, that every European country should be charged a participation fee.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Igor Zabel, "The (Former) East and Its Identity," in *Who If Not We...?* 288.

27. Boris Ondrejčka, "Scheissliche Ostblocker, PrePhase 2001-02-04," available online at http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors/ondrejckabio.html.

RE-IMAGINING EUROPE: CONTEMPORARY ART AND IDEAS IN AN ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Gilane Tawadros

All identities are ultimately an effect of power, since their inner homogeneity — what gives their members the sense that they belong together because they are all “the same” — is the effect of symbolically excluding difference. Identities are thus constructed through difference: they are what they are because of all the things they are not, because of what they lack. But in so far as identities depend on what they are not, they implicitly affirm the importance of what is outside them — which often then returns to trouble and unsettle them from the inside. Nothing could be more true of Europe, which has constantly, at different times, in different ways, in relation to different “others,” tried to establish what it was — its identity — by symbolically marking its difference from “them.” Each time, far from producing a stable and settled entity, Europe has had to re-imagine or re-present itself differently.

— Stuart Hall, *“In but Not of Europe: Europe and Its Myths”*

When we think of nation-states we think first of those which make up the mythical concept of “Europe.” It is those which make the essential internationalism that we have known. Thus nationalism comes as a defensive strategy one of against the others, like Mafia families. This internationalism is in the first instance competitive, like the Venice Biennale, and in the second, fearful and hermetic. Now Europe-the-myth attempts to re-create itself as a concrete “community” wherein competition is more ordered. The current debate about who might be allowed into this community, and who might be forced out, exposes the roots of internationalism. If internationalism is a requirement for civilisation, what nation is civilised enough to participate?

— Jimmie Durham, *“A Friend of Mine Said That Art is a European Invention”*

Europe’s national identities are in a state of turbulence, unsettled from below by the complex, transnational identities of its shifting citizenship and, at the same time, overshadowed from above by the forces of globalization that per-

vade the world with little regard for the discrete borders of nation-states. In Brussels, the constitutional heart of the European Union, politicians continue to debate and negotiate the boundary between the national and the supranational, circumscribing national identities as distinct entities that converge or diverge from the collective interests of an increasingly federalized Europe. And yet, the nationalism of states is gradually eroding away due, on the one hand, to the shifting, heterogeneous cultural identities of urban populations and, on the other, a profound transfer of political and economic power from the governments of nation-states to multinational corporations. Noreena Hertz writes:

Propelled by government policies of privatisation, deregulation and trade liberalisation, and the advances in communication technologies over the past twenty years, a power shift has taken place. The hundred largest multinational corporations now control about 20 per cent of global foreign assets; fifty-one of the hundred biggest economies in the world are now corporations, only forty-nine are nation-states. The sales of General Motors and Ford are greater than the GDP of the whole of sub-Saharan Africa; the assets of IBM, BP and General Electric outstrip the economic capabilities of most small nations; and Wal-Mart, the US supermarket retailer, has higher revenues than most of Central and Eastern European states including Poland, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia.¹

Over the past decade, European nation-states have been challenged by increasingly globalized economies that refuse to be constrained by discrete national borders. While currencies and goods now flow seamlessly across state boundaries, migrant labor from outside the European Union is checked, held, and expelled at those very same borders. Even though Europe seems content, for the most part, to expand its borders politically and economically, the same cannot be said for its willingness to accept peoples or cultures from outside the European Union. In the same way that physical, territorial borders are swiftly closed to exclude those considered undesirable or those who resist assimilation, the fortress of European identity has been defended fiercely against the incursions of cultural otherness. Culture is part of the fabric of Europe's defenses deployed strategically to fend off the differences that it assumes, wrongly, lie outside itself. In the sphere of culture, national identity is constructed in and through the spaces of the imagination, not least of all in museums and galleries, prime sites for the articulation of a homogeneous, collective identity.

Against this grain, a growing band of artists, writers, and thinkers from diverse cultural backgrounds as well as cultural institutions, such as the Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA), have represented the present reality of Europe as an unsettled and fluctuating political, economic, and cultural

What other ways might one re-imagine Europe with the aid of exhibition practices? The recent "no" votes in both France and the Netherlands on the proposed European Constitution present an interesting challenge for the idea of Europe and thus for all cultural projects grappling with it. An institution such as inIVA is an important example no

doubt, but one might also read the terms of a shifting Europe through another example, that of Manifesta, the first contemporary art biennial to build itself around and celebrate the new idea of Europe. Manifesta was, in a way, clairvoyant, defining an expanded, enlarged, and endangered Europe rather than honoring simply and formally a future ideal. When I curated Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana, Slovenia, in 2000, together with Mária Hlavajová, Kathrin Rhombert, and Ole Bauman, we opted for the title *Borderline Syndrome*. In retrospect, our choice was a telling one, considering the latent malaise that eventually developed around the very idea of Europe, which, like Saturn, seemed to devour its own children. Since then, Manifesta has moved back and forth between the borders of "old" Europe and "new" Europe, between places like Donostia-San Sebastián, where the question of Europe remains a moot issue before other complex identities can be defined, and Nicosia, Cyprus (for the 2006 edition), where a borderline syndrome is still a reality and European identity even more fictional than in Slovenia five years ago.

So what does a big, loud "no" tell us about Manifesta's utopic attitude? It tells us what I have always believed: An event or project like Manifesta needs to remain a moving target; it cannot be defined by too bureaucratic a structure or, needless to say, by the indulgence of becoming part of the establishment. The vision of Manifesta lies in its capacity to stay underground, to shift its ground of action, thus refusing to become a tool for auto-satisfaction or political motivations. Manifesta is an oddball in the confused realm of biennials, which gives it its strength to exist as a laboratory not only for art, but also for curatorial and critical practices. Now that Manifesta has reached the border of Asia and the outer reaches of what Bat Ye'or terms "Eurabia," it can pose a true challenge both to its own identity and to other contexts and cultures.

The borderline syndrome that we identified in Manifesta 3 is one that has affected Manifesta itself. In its role as clairvoyant, Manifesta should no longer look back and strive to push beyond the limitations of its initial inception in Rotterdam. Manifesta 11, for example, should be as far from Europe as we can pos-

entity.² They recognize its past, present, and future as "fluid, constructed, and dynamic" but not settled and secure, nestling in the comfort of invented traditions and imagined communities. They challenge both the assumption that Europe's diverse populations merely embellish the fabric of a continuous European identity and culture, and that they flutter over the surface of European society and culture with an in-between status, disqualifying them as true citizens of the United States of Europe. However, this space between departure and arrival is, in many ways, the distinctive geographical, intellectual, and cultural domain of the twenty-first century. It is the space that circumscribes modernity, a space that is traversed and intersected by different cultures, languages, and histories, and one that we all inhabit to differing degrees, as a consequence of a process of globalization that began centuries ago. As Stuart Hall writes: "The world is littered by modernities and by practising artists, who never regarded modernism as the secure possession of the West, but perceived it as a language which was both open to them but which they would have to transform."³ In moving between the place of departure and the place of arrival, the modern European is inevitably transformed by his or her journey, as is his or her place of arrival, and irrevocably so.

Case Study No. 1: *Parisien(ne)s*

In 1997, I worked with the Paris-based curator and art critic Hou Hanru on the exhibition *Parisien(ne)s*, which he curated for inIVA in London. It brought together artists living and working in Paris but born elsewhere, including, among others, Absalon, Chohreh Feyzjou, Thomas Hirshhorn, Huang Yong Ping, Shen Yuan, and Chen Zhen. Paris has always been the home of émigré artists—Picasso, Mondrian, Brancusi, to name only three. Art historians and curators perceive these stalwarts of European modernism as quintessentially "Parisian," their integration into French culture constitutive of "Frenchness." In due course, the artists in *Parisien(ne)s* may come to be seen as more than visitors on French soil. But for the time being, they have been designated a separate status, marked by their "difference" from a designation of pure, unvariegated Frenchness. In recent years, this concept of pure Frenchness has been challenged on the soccer pitch, but as yet not within the hallowed domain of cultural institutions. In July 1998, when France won the World Cup with a team of players that contested the notion of French nationhood as an undifferentiated, mono-cultural entity, France questioned its own image in the most public of domains. The day following France's spectacular win, a commentator in a British newspaper remarked that the triumph of France's multi-ethnic soccer team united the nation, suggesting it was the start of a new era. But what was this new era, and how did it effect France's representation of itself to the rest of the world as a paradigm of cultural and linguistic unity embodied in its citizenship? How did this newly articulated, multiethnic

sibly imagine. In measuring this distance from Rotterdam, we will be able to say "yes" to an idea that celebrates Europe not as a new empire, but as a vessel moving toward new utopias.

Francesco Bonami, senior curator, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, founding director of the Villa Manin, Trieste, and co-curator of Manifesta 3 (2000)

France reconfigure the concept of French citizenship and inflect the French language differently?

We repeatedly failed to secure private or public funding for *Parisien(ne)s* mainly because the project contested the accepted definitions of "Frenchness" and, more specifically, of "Parisian-ness." The work of the artists in the exhibition did not address either the question of their individual identities or the impact of living in Paris on those identities. Rather, their art, in more ambivalent ways, reflected upon the question of place and displacement, an increasingly dominant theme in modern lives that, like the displaced object of Archimedes's principle, has an equal impact upon the environment surrounding it. In other words, the presence of Parisians of non-French descent has altered the very notion of what constitutes a Parisian identity and, hence, the identity of the city itself. Just as the French Academy cannot defend the French language from the daily incursions of English and other cultural invasions, French society cannot defend French citizenship from the inflections and transformations brought about by successive generations of immigrants who are remolding the idea of "Frenchness" for the twenty-first century.

In Britain, "Britishness" is equally contested, although questions of race and nation are articulated in subtle but significantly different ways. In 2000, English newspapers (as opposed to their Scottish, Welsh, and Irish counterparts) were immersed in a heated debate about Britishness, provoked by the publication of the Runnymede Trust's independent report entitled *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. In the opening chapter, the authors maintained that the term "British" was racially inflected in the public domain and did not reflect the changed condition of contemporary British society as multiethnic. This caused a public outcry in some quarters of the English press, which accused the authors of trying to undermine British nationhood and rewrite history. In some respects, the details of the debate are less important than the sentiments of outraged nationalism that the report provoked. At a time when Britain had devolved power to its Celtic fringe and was preparing to enter the single currency as an equal partner in Europe, race and nation remained high on the political and cultural agenda. The debates that raged in the press following the report's publication indicated the fragility of the multiethnic society that politicians and institutions on the other side of the Channel have been so proud to proclaim. In a speech at the London School of Economics, Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown announced that he saw Britain as the first country in the world that was a multicultural, multiethnic, and multinational state. But the very public success of artists like Chris Ofili and Steve McQueen masks the reality of the deep-seated racism of the British art establishment and major institutions' lack of investment in culturally diverse artists from all parts of the world, as reflected in their exhibition programs, staffing, and permanent collections.⁴

On the evening after the fall of the Berlin Wall, groups of East Germans wandered down the Ku'damm, Germany's Champs-Élysées, for the first time. Shops were open late, offering token gifts such as small shopping bags with samples of cosmetics and perfume. This odd gesture of welcome anticipated how cultures and national identities

formerly considered almost monolithic would, in the years that followed, deal with the intrusion of peripheral, hybrid ones. Whoever lies outside traditional European boundaries and cultural models—as if they could be isolated from their historic interrelations with the rest of the world!—is given a sample product and is considered a potential customer but is not integrated as an equal partner in the inner circles of the system. Europe has been looking down at its navel since the fall of the Wall shifted the world focus towards it, reducing regions such as Central America—the people of which spend their time looking out—to almost complete invisibility and disregarding their centuries-old experience in cultural integration and syncretism. While post-Wall Europe and the post-cold war U.S. devised notions such as "multiculturalism" to deal with the diversity of cultures that accompany migration (rarely mentioning, however, that this migration was often the result of their repressive political and economic policies), many of the migrant populations originating from multicultural or métis societies, which existed long before the terms were coined, attempted to integrate into "developed" societies that in fact have never stopped considering them potential threats. In relation to the position of the exiled, the German-born Uruguayan artist Luis Camnitzer defined two possible attitudes during a 1994 lecture titled *Wonderbread: mimesis or resistance*. He also stated that the mimetic transformation of the "Other" to adapt to dominant culture is as problematic as the position of resistance—both ending in their own forms of marginalization. In the realm of culture then, institutions should engage in reflections that avoid unwittingly propagating such marginalization. Otherwise otherness is simply kept visible, under control, and safely represented on the margins; the inclusion of foreign cultural contributions is conditioned by the display of sufficient "diversity," and the cultural products that seem to have integrated a dominant culture too well are suspiciously judged.

Virginia Pérez-Ratton, founding director of TEOR/ética and independent curator based in San José, Costa Rica

Case Study No. 2: *Century City*

In February 2001, the new contemporary art museum in London, the Tate Modern, launched its exhibition program with an ambitious project entitled *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*. The show was explicitly intended as a kind of manifesto to announce the museum's future agenda for the new millennium. As Lars Nittve, then director of the Tate Modern, declared: "*Century City* ... can be seen as a mission statement which forecasts the richness, breadth and direction that we hope will characterise our activities in the coming years.... The global remit of *Century City* indicates Tate Modern's ambition to widen our cultural perspective, from a Western concept of internationalism—in the case of modern museums often synonymous embarrassingly enough, with the NATO alliance—to one which is truly worldwide."⁵ Nittve drew parallels between *Century City* and the Tate Modern, suggesting that the exhibition could be seen almost as a cipher for the institution itself. But what then did the exhibition have to say about that contemporary art institution?

Echoing the Centre Georges Pompidou's celebrated series of exhibitions dedicated to the declared metropolises of modern art—Paris, Moscow, Berlin, and New York—*Century City* seemed to herald a new art-world order, the regime of which had expanded to include other urban centers of cultural production. Alongside the usual suspects of London, Paris, Vienna, and New York (Berlin was mysteriously dropped from the star cast) were added Lagos, Mumbai (formerly Bombay), Rio de Janeiro, and Tokyo. The organizers insisted that their objective was to bring these new venues "into dialogue with canonical Western narratives."⁶ We can infer that the presence of non-Western narratives did not disturb, shake up, or in any way alter these canonical narratives. Rather, a binary relationship was set up between the canonical Western narratives and the other, implicitly non-canonical narratives with which they were juxtaposed. The non-Western cultural stories of Lagos, Mumbai, Rio, and Tokyo embellished the familiar tales of Western modern art with the frisson of difference, without disturbing their essential trajectory.

Indeed, the exhibition was constructed as a hierarchy of city-states, which, despite the chronological overlaps between them, placed Paris and London as the defining parameters or bookends for a century of global cultural production. While Paris defined the origin of modernist cultural production at the beginning of the twentieth century, London represented its apogee at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Thus the Tate Modern placed both London and itself at the vanguard of cultural production in the new millennium, surrounded by a number of cultural satellites, like planets circling around the Sun. As David Harvey pointed out in his keynote address at the conference that accompanied the launch of *Century City*, the issue of authenticity lay at the heart of the Tate Modern project.⁷ The construction of the Tate Modern, like the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao,

must be seen in the context of global capitalism. In a move to build collective symbolic capital, these new art institutions participate in a process of constructing capital that derives its value from relying on the characteristics of uniqueness and authenticity. In other words, to attract financial capital, cities must present themselves as unique and distinctive and offer an authentic, urban experience. In presenting *Century City* as its inaugural exhibition, the Tate Modern offered precisely such a series of "authentic" urban experiences distilled as mini exhibitions that revolved around the central construction of the Tate Modern and London as the authentic hub of cultural innovation in the twenty-first century.

Two forms of strategic displacement operated in *Century City*, both of which have wider implications for our understanding of institutional discourse around contemporary art from different parts of the globe. First of all, cities replaced nations as the organizing principle for considering international artworks. In *Century City*, Lagos, Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro, and Tokyo replaced Nigeria, India, Brazil, and Japan as the curatorial frame through which the Other was viewed. Organizers, however, invoked cities, not as subversive spaces where the global/local dichotomy is problematized and disrupted, but as vessels for what David Harvey terms "collective symbolic capital."⁸ By substituting metropolitanism for nationhood, the contemporary art institution is thus able to avoid the troubling questions of race and nation, which threaten to agitate the re-presentation of these city-states as floating signifiers of different geographical and historical moments.

Cities displace nations, and the global usurps the local. Brushing aside any notion of international or cross-cultural intersections across the temporal and geographical spaces of cultural production, cities are presented as self-contained and autonomous formations. In this context, the global assumes new significance as the generic marker of value, taking the place of the modernist definition of the universal as the passport for entering the canon of Western art history. In this new cultural economy of signs, the local can only operate as a satellite of the center, like the various Tates and Guggenheims dispersed respectively across the U.K. and the world, with their parent institutions at the center. Mumbai, Rio, Lagos, and Tokyo provide the veneer of difference to a cultural regime that manages and defines the ways in which that difference can be articulated and presented as *essentially* different. In this way, a second displacement takes place, namely, the substitution of global difference for local difference. In a double turn, the Other "out there" eclipses the Other "in here" as the authentic sign of difference, while difference at home is suppressed as fundamentally "inauthentic." Relying on a notion of essentialized difference to disenfranchise local difference, this new cultural regime refuses to recognize any notion of difference that might threaten its own perceived cultural integrity and hegemony. Put another way, the cultural institution privileges the "authentic" Other from elsewhere—Africa, Asia, South America (in

fact, anywhere as long as it's not here at home). While difference from outside can be fixed, managed, controlled, and isolated, difference at home is more slippery, evasive, and threatening. As Stuart Hall writes:

Nothing is pure difference; there is no essentialised difference. Difference remains, but not fixed immutably by its origins, not immured in an unchanging "tradition," because it is open to movement and located within other dimensions which cut across that, which laterally connect you with other people. I no longer believe in some abstract universal set of values that you can import into the conversation to trump every other particular.... I think the only way in which people who are different could come to constitute a common conversation is by recognising the inadequacy of each of our positions as well as what is not translatable. The moment you take the radical inadequacy, the "lack" of your own position into account, there is a broadening, a widening, an ethical reach for that which is different from you but which also constitutes you.⁹

The unsettling of what appeared settled, or at least has been presented as being settled, a continuous European culture and identity, has given rise to xenophobia and racism across the Continent. Not only far-right groups but also neoliberals are invoking a mythical and rose-tinted view of Europe's past *before* migration, glossing over Europe's continuing history of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism, which is as old as the Continent itself. Like other times in recent European history, minorities and immigrants are being blamed for socioeconomic changes, including unemployment, the loss of social welfare, and the drop in educational standards.¹⁰ They have also given rise to what Sarat Maharaj has termed "multicultural managerialism." In other words, the management and regulation of cultural difference have become equally a function of European government policies within the arena of "managing" migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers as well as within in the sphere of cultural policy.¹¹ Multiculturalism and racism have been increasing, at one and the same time. The celebration of cultural difference, its assimilation into governmental thinking at national levels around Europe, and the proliferation of images of cultural diversity within advertising and popular culture—the Benetton effect—paradoxically have gone hand-in-hand with a rise in racially motivated violence. In other words, the increasing "cosmetic" prominence given to Europe's diverse populations has not been matched by an equal shift in their political, social, and economic standing in European life or, indeed, in Europe's cultural institutions. Perhaps it is only through a sustained engagement with the complex cultural and historical contingency of Europe and its Others that we can come closer to realizing the potential of European culture and society as it is and it is becoming rather than as it was or as it has been constructed.

NOTES

1. Noreena Hertz, *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy* (London: Heinemann, 2001), 7.
2. The Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA) was founded in 1994 in London with a program of exhibitions and publications as well as multimedia, education, and research projects that propose to bring the work of culturally diverse artists and ideas to the widest possible public. See www.iniva.org.
3. Stuart Hall, "Museums of Modern Art and the End of History," in Stuart Hall and Sarat Maharaj, *Modernity and Difference*, inIVA Annotations, vol. 6, ed. Sarah Campbell and Gilane Tawadros (London: inIVA, 2001), 19.
4. For example, there is, according to anecdotal evidence, a disturbing and disproportionate instance of suicide among black art students at one leading art school in Britain.
5. Lars Nittve, foreword to *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*, ed. Iwona Blazwick (London: Tate Publishing, 2001), 7.
6. Iwona Blazwick, "Century City," in *ibid.*, 13.
7. David Harvey's keynote address, "Global and Local: The Conditions of Art Practice Now," Tate Modern, 2 February 2001.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Stuart Hall, "Modernity and Difference: A Conversation between Stuart Hall and Sarat Maharaj," in Hall and Maharaj, *Modernity and Difference*, 51.
10. See Eva Tahlhammer et al., *Attitudes Towards Minority Groups in the European Union: A Special Analysis of the Eurobarometer 2000 Opinion Poll on Behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* (Vienna: Institute for Social Research and Analysis, 2001), available online at www.sora.at/forschungsbereiche/migration/publikationen.
11. Hall, "Modernity and Difference," 51.

TEBBIT'S GHOST

Okwui Enwezor

In coping with identity crisis, what counts for people are blood and belief, faith and family. People rally to those with similar ancestry, religion, language, values, and institutions and distance themselves from those with different ones.

— *Samuel Huntington*, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*

These are days of great anxiety in Europe and for Europeans. Samuel Huntington has located this anxiety in the clash of values between Europeans and non-Europeans who recently have settled on the Continent. But what exactly is the basis of this clash? Is it the resurrection of old antagonisms or the historical return of the repressed? Like the rest of the world, Europe is deep in the convulsive throes of a collision of worlds, cultural values, and shifting historical currents. And like all the rest, it is bewildered by the immense challenge of creating a coherent, federal super state to rival the United States. To understand why the European Union is worried about this convulsion in the global order, we would do well to understand Huntington who believes that the proper response to the identity crisis that Europe is undergoing is a return to some pure, atavistic past. He writes:

In the new world, cultural identity is the central factor shaping a country's associations and antagonisms. While a country can avoid Cold War alignment, it cannot lack identity. The question, "Which side are you on?" has been replaced by the much more fundamental one, "Who are you?" Every state has to have an answer. That answer, its cultural identity, defines the state's place in world politics, its friends, and its enemies.¹

Could there be a more enervating sense of cultural relationship in a globalizing world than the one sketched above, in which contact between peoples is grounded in some nativist understanding of friend and foe? It would appear that the political task of the state, henceforth, is to be based precisely on the

characteristics of a fundamental separation within the body of the polity between the friend to be protected and sheltered and the enemy who must be dominated and deracinated. Within this bleak scenario, Europe has gone to search for answers and perhaps to discover the enemies who so trouble its cultural coherence. In this quest, the immigrant has emerged as the spectral epiphany of its self-doubt, its cultural integrity, its identity. This immigrant has emerged in the name of the postcolonial subject across the territories of the European Union.

Increasing hostility towards this subject in Europe has moved beyond the threshold of phenomena to that of a norm. It appears that a once-cosseted Western modernity is out of sorts, enervated by this postcolonial mongrel: the non-European immigrant who first arrived in the late 1940s and 1950s as cheap labor or, in more fanciful parlance, as a "guest worker" on factory floors and in menial jobs after World War II to help rebuild a ruined continent. These guest workers, from countries like Turkey and regions such as the Caribbean, South Asia, and Africa, filled crucial labor shortages throughout Western Europe following World War II. They were often enticed to make the journey with promises of residency and economic opportunity. Moreover, as "guests," they were expected to reside only temporarily; in time, it was assumed, they would return to their respective lands. While many of these workers went back home, many others stayed and settled into their new cultures.

Today, those guest workers have grown old enough to have children and grandchildren who carry seeds of their parents' and grandparents' cultural heritage but who know no other home but Europe. Fifty years later, globalization has added to this social transformation of codes of cultural attachment. But no longer will that old idealism, "Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses," suffice. *Liberté's* beckoning call also comes with a demand for *égalité*, even if the third component of the liberal trinity, *fraternité*, has long been discounted, producing an antagonism that has engulfed Europe in debates about its political future and social networks. In this examination of the relationship between friends and enemies, hosts and guests, integration and resistance, a shift in the cultural ecology of the Continent has produced its own countermeasures, such as tough immigration rules, deportation laws, detention in hostel barracks, denial of entry at ports for boats smuggling humans, and, finally, the creation of a vast *cordon sanitaire*, which in a sense is a blockade in international waters to prevent those wanting to land on the European continent from reaching its shores.

These are extreme measures, and they are growing increasingly dire. Let us take as an example the recent French law proscribing all religious symbols from state schools, but most especially headscarves worn by Muslim girls. Paradoxically, the French policy to ban religious paraphernalia in its public schools in order to maintain the apparent neutrality of the secular state as

well as to maintain a clear boundary between the church and the state or, as some see it, the mosque and the state effectively bans practices of conscience and freedom of personal religious expression guaranteed by European law. But in spite of the seeming evenhandedness of the new policy, Muslims, the most recalcitrant of all European immigrant groups, were clearly the principal target of the French law. Under the law, while Christian students can wear discreet crosses to class, Islamic girls are not allowed to don headscarves, which are deemed far too conspicuous for the Catholic taste of the supposedly secular state. What this law portends for future cultural politics in the European Union remains to be seen, especially if Turkey joins in the coming years.

Though there have been attempts to mediate the fallout from this law through calls for tolerance and intercultural dialogue, it is impossible not to recognize that, for European countries, Islam is perceived as a threat to the secular traditions of the Continent. And if Islam is a threat, one must see it through the prism of immigration. Effective immigration policies constitute the first line of defense against Islam's incipient radicalism. But to frame the state's antagonism to Islam as an enemy requires a certain form of willful agnosia, given the recent atrocities against Muslims in Bosnia and Islamic history in European cultural traditions. But that is another matter. For now, I want to concentrate on the effects the hysterical debates on immigration have had on political and cultural discourse.

I will begin with politics. If the immigration question in Europe has produced a growing disenchantment with the auguries of pluralism, once celebrated by postmodernism, and the insouciant militancy of postcolonial discourse, the events surrounding the attack on the United States on 11 September 2001 and the combined wars on "terror" in Afghanistan and Iraq have rent the fragile fabric that formerly held out the possibility for those who persist in their daydream of a multicultural Europe. For many Europeans already opposed to or suspicious of multiculturalism or pluralism, 9/11 made clear that immigrants, especially Muslims, are anathema, as Huntington argues, to the survival of a stable European identity. Populist politicians, such as Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, Jörg Haider in Austria, Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Filip Dewinter in Belgium, and Nick Griffin in Britain, along with a motley crew of far-right political parties working across Europe, all united in their singular hatred of immigrants, have exploited this electorally. On the one hand, there is the insurgent rhetoric of nativism on the part of certain groups, wielding xenophobic discourse, and on the other, a rising jihadism among young Muslims. With equal vehemence, these young Muslims, enacting their own nativist retreat to some pure past, have engaged the spectacle and speciousness of rightwing attacks on immigrants. This is perhaps what Tariq Ali meant in his book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*.²

The paroxysm of fear and loathing that often accompanies anti-immigrant

attitudes and policies is not new. Xenophobia has always had a great appeal on the Continent, despite attempts at papering over its cracks, as the 2004 murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh and public reaction to it clearly remind us. His murder has precipitated a great deal of soul searching, spawning anew reassessments and reevaluations of integration programs. Do they go far enough or are they hopelessly doomed to failure? Again, a new urgency surrounds the debate—decades old already—across the Continent. What is to be done with Europe's immigrant populations, the ranks of which continue to grow at a prodigious rate?

Europe's immigrant community is vast and varied, ranging from South Asians, such as Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis, to Africans and Caribbean populations. Muslims are currently the most visible of these groups, for obvious reasons. According to population and demographic studies, Muslims comprise the largest group of immigrants living in Europe today and are often committed to their ethnic and religious identities. While their host cultures perceive many of them as hostile to the ideals and values of Western modernity, further testing the ideal of tolerance long cherished (perhaps in delusion) as part of Europe's heritage of political liberalism, a majority, it is often noted, are comfortable with such ideals and values and see no contradiction whatsoever between their cherished Muslim identities and their European identities. This certainly has done little to assuage the fear that Islamic radicalism has eaten more deeply into the lives of young European Muslims, a matter of both political and cultural concern.

The debate on immigration and immigrants is a complex one, to be sure, even if much of it has been reduced to cultural and loyalty tests. What to do with immigrants is not only a matter of how to assimilate them culturally and instill in them European values, it also raises the question of how to live with them as neighbors, with full recognition of their cultural and political rights as Europeans. While laying bare the ethical limits that mark the topology of European tolerance along with its myths of openness to other cultures, strange and abhorred neighbors make for uncomfortable shared space.

However, the immigration question, like "the Other question," is one side of the coin of dissension being played out in the relationship between Europeans and foreigners.³ The other side concerns the eastward expansion of the European Union. As the Union expands to the east, moving ever closer to the edge of the Levant in Turkey, it is also experiencing another profound shock: a crisis of identity within its territorial map. Donald Rumsfeld's slashing dissection of this crisis allowed him to frame Europe less in the monadic fantasy of Euro bureaucrats based in Strasbourg and Brussels than in the oppositional terms of *realpolitik*: as a struggle between "new Europe" and "old Europe," a distinction, no doubt, with which Huntington would have agreed. In other words, taking a page from Huntington, Rumsfeld sought to express Europe's confusion as the difference between the inchoate and the outmoded.

My metaphor of slashing for Rumsfeld's mode of discourse is apt, for his sword is not originary, but merely an expressive power implement unsheathed to remind Europeans of the terrible tear at the core of their Union. French President Jacques Chirac, knowing firsthand the terrible truth of Rumsfeld's claims, more than obliged the pugnacious defense secretary with his Gallic condescension toward his seemingly subservient Eastern partners in the Union who, rather than keep quiet and maintain the façade of European solidarity, sided with America and, therefore, missed a vital opportunity to "keep quiet" in the debate surrounding the Iraq war.

Of course, one can also read the American defense secretary's Munich insult as calculated and deliberate, intended to dramatize and to highlight not just European weakness in the politics of power, but also its weakness as an effective super state speaking with one voice. If Europe is in disarray, unable to unify behind a common foreign policy, how can it ever hope to manufacture a common culture with shared values among its disparate peoples? Is it not delusional to conceive of culture in the same manner as common currency, markets, foreign policy, citizenship? Aren't culture and its other cognate, identity, far more resistant to any totalizing, common bureaucratic discourse?

With due deliberateness, Rumsfeld carefully exposed and cruelly exploited this weakness in the present conception of European identity. As he knew and we all know, when we take a grand tour of Europe, from Istanbul to the Russian steppe, Cardiff to Lillehammer, Lille to Bucharest, what we encounter is not consensus as to what constitutes its identity, but dissensus: Europe as multiplicity, a concatenation of traditions that no officious fenestration manufactured in Brussels will ever bring to a totality. But how did this once powerful imperial force come to be so blind to the profound set of cultural differences that inhabit the multiple traditions of its various nation-states, not to mention the visibly present immigrant communities produced as a result of its violent colonial adventures? The contortions and agonies that Europe is now undergoing in its difficult attempt to integrate the Other within its borders are not unexpected. But they do beg the question, given the political hysteria surrounding immigration and religious minorities, whether all the public flagellation is not a case of amnesia or arrogance.

I will now turn to the second part of this discussion: culture. What follows is partially set in the conflagration that is Huntington's conception of identity. I shall examine how a politician frames social relations within a cultural topography and how an artist does the same. It is important, in this context, to note Europe's recidivism in response to its non-European communities: During moments of unease, it tends to revert to political hysteria, oppose the value systems of Europe and its immigrant communities, prove them irreconcilable, and test the loyalty of those who may be deemed dangerous to the *res publica*. In so doing, suddenly the enemy is revealed. Lord Norman Tebbit's "cricket test," a shibboleth of blatant racialized connotations, offers a useful

precedent and is worth revisiting. Tebbit conceived his cricket test not just as a test of Britishness or, as it were, Englishness, but also as a means by which to discover the enemy within. The full scope of the British peer's test hinges on two notions: the first is tribal, given his ethnocentric instincts; the second, which is more profoundly disabling, disarticulates the non-tribal British person through a test of loyalty. To test not only if a British immigrant belongs to Britain, but his or her loyalty to it, we are called to adjudicate which side he or she should support during a cricket match between England and, say, Pakistan, India, or the West Indies. If the immigrant supports any team other than the British one, he or she fails the test of loyalty. Amartya Sen has shown the fundamental flaw of this thinking. He was correct to take Lord Tebbit to task, by pointing out:

The plurality of competing as well as non-competing identities is not only not contradictory, it can be part and parcel of the self-conceptions of migrants and their families. For example, the tendency of British citizens of West Indian or South Asian origin to cheer their "home" teams in test cricket has sometimes been seen as proof of disloyalty to Britain. This phenomenon has led to Lord Tebbit's famous "cricket test" (to wit, you cannot be accepted as English unless you support England in test matches). This view involves a remarkable denial of consistent pluralities that may be easily involved in a person's self-conception as well as social behaviour. Which cricket team to cheer is a completely different issue from the demands of British—or any other—citizenship, and different also from a socially cohesive life in England. In fact, in so far as Tebbit's "cricket test" induces an exclusionary agenda, and imposes an unnecessary and irrelevant demand on immigrants, it makes social integration that much more difficult.⁴

The cricket test points to the tenuous concept of what constitutes "home" for immigrants living in Europe. It articulates the possibility of their exclusion from home's banner of protection, should they fail its test of loyalty. As Sen makes clear, this evident distrust of immigrants erodes the networks of goodwill necessary for social integration. But let us turn the cricket test around and place the spotlight on a country like Germany, where the consequences of the literalization of home and a people has left a lasting impression on the possible abuse of the notion of home and a common heritage shared by a people. How should the Turkish or African immigrant living in Germany interpret the ambiguous inscription *dem Deutschen Volke* (to the German people) etched on the façade of the Reichstag in Berlin? Is the *Volk* of the Nazi past the same as the *Volk* of today? If they are the same, what were the lessons learned from the Nazis' murderous denationalization of its Jewish populations in an attempt to exclude them from protection and thereby thoroughly annihilate them from their erstwhile "home"? If the *Volk* of the Nazi past is different from the one of today, what is the appropriate designation for those who came

in the aftermath of National Socialism from elsewhere and settled in Germany?

Hans Haacke takes up precisely these questions in his *Der Bevölkerung* (1999–2000), a permanent sculpture installation on exhibit in the courtyard of the German parliament in Berlin. Haacke's sculpture performs a crack in the mirror that seemingly reflects the self-image of the German people. The cool white lettering spelling the words *der Bevölkerung* (to the population) produces both a soothing and acidic effect. It is soothing in its attempt at historical responsibility and acidic because it wounds and shocks memory. The specificity of the wording is both the subject and object of the work; the word and image, text and object, are intertwined in rendering the open terrain of cultural citizenship in Germany. This work simultaneously evokes the memorial and the monument. In a city like Berlin, littered with memorials and monuments of all kinds, this double resonance is crucial to the work's explicit artistic efficacy. But what was the reason for Haacke's gesture, and what are its other ramifications?

Haacke's proposition is a meditation on the Holocaust and what it means to be German today, where all references to cultural heritage are darkened by the stain of the Nazi racial interpretations of belonging and citizenship. In conceiving the sculpture, it would appear that Haacke's principal aim was to confront and transform the phrase *dem Deutschen Volke*, which has come to haunt German public memory and the question of inclusion. Transforming *dem Deutschen Volke* and its connotations of blood and exclusion to the more open, inclusive concept *der Bevölkerung* was not, however, a *fait accompli*, as the debate in the Bundestag surrounding its approval proved. To view the sculpture, the visitor has to traverse the corridors (of power), come to an expansive glass window, and look down the courtyard, where the piece is installed. Seen from the top, the sculpture declares its counter-discourse of citizenship, opposing the Nazi exploitation of the *Volk* for *der Bevölkerung*, an alternative, putatively more inclusive idealism of social belonging. Much debate surrounded this critical work because it addressed both the matter of German reunification and its postwar immigrant identity. But Haacke's intervention in the debate on immigration presents a striking irony. If, in the act of naming, the designation "people" calls up traumatic events in European history, the seeming neutrality of "the population," rather than serving as an inclusive and welcoming designation due to its seeming benignity, calls up other uses of the term in relation to population control. More specifically, the move by rightwing parties to curtail the rising population of immigrants, to block their entry into the Union, to deny them protection and access to legal recognition and equality all reveal the dark side of the concept of population. Foucault has shown the modern biopolitical deployment of the population at a time when the state saw that, henceforth, its power was no longer defined along the limit of life and that it had to direct its attention to the health of the population.⁵ As such, if the immigrant population in Europe is a threat to the

health of the Union, then Haacke's *Der Bevölkerung* is essentially an aporia.

We can then ask the question: Are Britain and Germany home to the immigrant families spread across their territorial boundaries today? Or is home elsewhere, in some native land? The concept of home and the cultural values attached to it are complex and not a straightforward matter. It neither defines the point of proper belonging nor should it disqualify a person from its protection, even if such a person has a divided sense of home. The cricket test and the concept of population, each in its own manner, induce a state of non-concordance for a unified European identity.

This non-concordance, often taken as a danger sign in the state's inability to properly integrate and assimilate immigrants into Europe, is rarely viewed as the strength of contemporary Europe. The importance of immigrants and their cultural effects on Europe continue to retail at deep discount. But for those like Lord Tebbit who continue to marginalize immigrants, C. L. R. James makes an obvious and salient point:

What is important to me is that there are now three million black people or more in Britain today. In 10 or 15 years there will be a whole generation of black people who were born in Britain, who were educated in Britain and who grew up in Britain. They will be intimately related to the British people, but they cannot be fully part of the English environment because they are black. Everyone including their parents is aware that they are different.

Now that is not a negative statement. Those people who are in western civilization, who have grown up in it, but yet are not completely a part (made to feel and themselves feeling that they are outside) have a unique insight into their society. That, I think, is important, the black man or woman who is born here and grows up here has something special to contribute to western civilization. He or she will participate in it, see it from birth, but will never be quite completely in it. What such persons have to say, therefore, will give a new vision, a deeper and stronger insight into both western civilization and the black people in it.⁶

I want to turn to another space of culture to observe how this interplay between those within and outside European culture or Western civilization have fared in its institutions, or rather how cultural investments within the European context have been recognized in institutional formations. Whatever the case may be, many institutions across Europe today are grappling with several questions: What is Europe, and who is European? Is there a "new Europe," as opposed to an "old Europe"? Is European identity singular and unique or is it plural and multicultural? Is European cultural influence in the world waning or not? These questions have multiplied since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Manifesta, a roving, nomadic biennial exhibition initiated by the Dutch

government in 1995 as a Pan-European platform for contemporary art, is one of the institutions that emerged in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Empire, attempting to reiterate these questions and elaborate possible answers to them. The goal of Manifesta is to build a network that plaits together various strands of institutional and artistic production within territorial Europe. Furthermore, the goal to integrate the newly "liberated" Eastern European countries into the Western European context is equally clear. But the definition of the topology is not only abstract. It is unhelpfully vague, when it comes to other communities not represented as nation-states. Perhaps this is intentional. Or perhaps the founders of Manifesta, in their search for a European ontology, deliberately chose to avoid illuminating identity as such. Or it may owe to the extreme conservatism of European institutions regarding this matter. For sometime, we have heard from the neurotics of political incorrectness, who have lately become culturally intolerant as well, that identity politics is foreign to Europe, it being a specifically Anglo-American obsession.

Yet, the challenge of identity politics to European cultural discourse cannot be overstated, especially now that tolerance alone is not sufficient for inclusion. Articulating the inherent tension in both its identification and cognitive atlas, Manifesta has resolutely repressed "the Other question" and the presence of "Other people" working within the European artistic context.¹ This repression has one striking quality; it exposes the inherent provincialism in current discursive formations in the European artistic sphere. And no document illustrates this better than the text on the website of the International Foundation Manifesta regarding the history of its initiative. It is reproduced here in its entirety:

Manifesta grew out of an early Dutch initiative, to create a pioneering, pan-European platform for the contemporary visual arts. The concept of an itinerant Manifesta first took shape in Rotterdam, in consultation with a specially appointed International Advisory Board (the forerunner of the present International Foundation) and with the support of thirty National Governmental Arts organisations and Ministries of Culture in Europe.

Manifesta developed into a fast growing network for young professionals in Europe and one of the most innovative biennial exhibition programme to be held anywhere. This is due, in no small measure, to its pan-European ambitions and its uniquely nomadic nature. Both the network and the exhibition, with its related activities, are equally important components of this itinerant event. Manifesta offers a platform for emerging artists, on the basis of a networking organisation, which is able to respond flexibly to new artistic, technological and cultural developments. The most obvious aspects of Manifesta's inbuilt flexibility is the fact that a new, pan-European theme or concept is developed on each occasion by a team of out-

During the last decade, we have seen a rapid proliferation of biennials and triennials, especially in so-called economically challenged regions, both Western and non-Western. Does the "biennial" symbolize a kind of contemporary art museum of the "poor," both temporary and improvised, or is it proof of a globalized visual culture expressed through contemporary art? I guess both.

In contrast, rich societies create biennials overnight, in an effort to market the cultural attractiveness of a given place. For German collector and curator René Block, one of the main forces behind Manifesta both as an idea and an organization, such developments could not be brought to a halt. Rather than complaining, Block and his collaborators sought to "discover" the contemporary art and artists of the new member-states of the EU, mainly Eastern European countries. While it was and still is true that we tend to standardize Europe from the perspective of visual culture, we above all deny the different histories and modernities of the eastern regions. I do not know if the Manifesta editions succeeded in their mission, but they definitely brought to the fore artistic practices of transformation hitherto unknown. And yet, in order to achieve politically and economically, the organizers were dependant upon the fiction of a "new Europe." I do not think, however, that the essence of such a fiction differs much from other cultural makeovers, which lie at the basis of most current and even "progressive" biennials. The more important and pressing issue is that contemporary art, more than other disciplines, is the most suitable to fill in those fictions.

Chris Dercon, director, Haus der Kunst, Munich

side curators, working in close consultation with representatives of all kind [sic] of cultural, social, academic institutions in the host city. In other words, each new edition aims to establish a close dialogue between a specific cultural and artistic situation and the broader context of European visual contemporary art. At the same time, Manifesta provides strong continuity, through its ever-expanding network of contacts.⁸

From the foregoing statement, given its initial existence as an initiative of the Dutch government, Manifesta may appear to be complicit in the current official disappearance of immigrants in Europe from its cultural institutions. Every goal Manifesta articulates eerily echoes "bureaucratspeak." Despite this official discourse, which has been pervasive from the first Manifesta in Rotterdam in 1996 to the most recent one in Donostia-San Sebastián in 2004, this so-called innovative exhibition turns its face resolutely from the peripheries of Europe and the East and its back to the anomalous communities that have no "real" ties to the investment in the nation-states of its supposedly Pan-European network. Manifesta's resolutely conservative European agenda indeed has been surprising. Rather than being open and outward looking, it barricades itself behind the idealism of European nationalism, a model long discarded by most progressive biennials across the world. In accordance with this limiting national model, all its curators have been, without exception, ethnically European, and the vast majority of artists exhibited have been of similar origin. This policy seems to stem from an inability or refusal to make the interrogation of "Europe" part of the process. Given such realities, one wonders what is so pioneering in its so-called new model of exhibition practice, beyond the fact that it entrenches itself as an extension of Brussels's cultural policy. What if Manifesta were to move from what has been essentially a logic of *die Europäer Volk* to an active commitment to *der Bevölkerung*, in other words to exhibiting the artwork of the European population in all its multiplicity? Or even more, what if Manifesta opened up the exhibition to all international artists, regardless of their European affiliation. Through such an extension of both its programmatic and territorial outlook, perhaps Manifesta will recognize, however late, as James Clifford has cogently argued, that in Europe today "culture is migration as well as rooting within and between groups, within and between individual persons," not just an institutional gambit.⁹

What I have traced here is not necessarily a critique of Manifesta alone, as an extension of European Union cultural policy along with its bureaucratic cultural managerialism. I have chiefly delineated a pervasive amnesia in certain forums of contemporary cultural discourse, its blindness to the difficult terrain of European culture, its repression of immigrant communities. Today, there is a radical disorientation of the dead certainties of Western modernity, not just

Can you discern a cultural identity from a name? From the sound of a name? We Belgians know for sure that you can't. The current regional Flemish minister-president has a French name, and the current regional Walloon minister-president has a Flemish name. And, of course, the Belgian writer of these words has a German first name, a French surname, and speaks Dutch as his mother tongue. A name doesn't betray a cultural identity. You don't know nothing, if you know a name. A list of names that sounds "different" can never prove that you are open to "other cultures." Therefore, the people involved in a project like Manifesta—not their names—should be different. If Mohamed is a hardcore visual artist, and Klaus doesn't believe that art has any relevance whatsoever, then it would be much more culturally challenging to include Klaus rather than Mohamed in a Manifesta project. But, then again, what kind of challenge is this?

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in the context of Europe. At the same time, immigrant particularism cannot simply be embraced as the response to discrimination and marginalization. Immigrant essentialism and ethnic ghettos also require critical scrutiny and careful interrogation. Immigrants are responsible for opening themselves up to their host cultures, for working to understand the values of their new homes and the importance of those values as a way to build an open society. I am interested in how a careful historical examination of Europe's relationship to its immigrant communities can, at the level of the curatorial agenda of Manifesta, generate a more engaging, open exhibition model that does not confine itself to building networks with official institutions, but can equally extend itself into communities long denied proper recognition as part of the reality of contemporary Europe.

New networks of cultural participation, such as Manifesta, can articulate what is possible in contemporary Europe's relationship to its immigrant communities, while directing us to the instability of any fixed meaning of identity. But it requires the recognition as well of the bankruptcy of the antagonistic and exclusionary view of identity and culture offered by Huntington and Lord Tebbit: between enemies and friends, between loyalty and disloyalty. The upheavals taking place in different cultural communities in Europe alert us to this.

As we rethink the radical potential of a politics of difference, the task then is how to demolish the paradigm of the concentration camp (from detention camps to deportation trials) that has been dominant in the conception of citizenship and immigration in Europe.¹⁰ In *Der Bevölkerung*, Haacke offered one possible proposal to overcome the paradigm of the concentration camp. However, *Der Bevölkerung* falls well short of its own goal, for it merely proposed inclusion and tolerance rather than the assimilation of other forms of difference into the norms of belonging, those which can never be wholly or ethically absorbed into the discourse of the state and its institutions. The future radicality of Manifesta in European cultural discourse is to make possible and viable those forms of difference that cannot be ethically incorporated into the predetermined rules of its official networks. The goal for Manifesta, therefore, is to surpass the institutional limit (the concentration camp) and enter the city (the community) composed entirely out of a tremulous politics of difference. Such an exhibition model will then allow it to vanquish the ghosts of Lord Tebbit's cricket test as well as guide it past the treacherous path of a nativist impulse that argues for an identity secure in the fantasy of a coherent European cultural past.

The continuous infatuation with the operational mode of the network and the organizational characteristics of flexibility may indeed become a curatorial limit. By fostering commonalities between disparate nodes, networks allow homogeneity to spill beyond its previous territorial confines. If insisted upon as the principal mode of

social practice, it would either reduce friction, conflict, and differences or leave them outside.

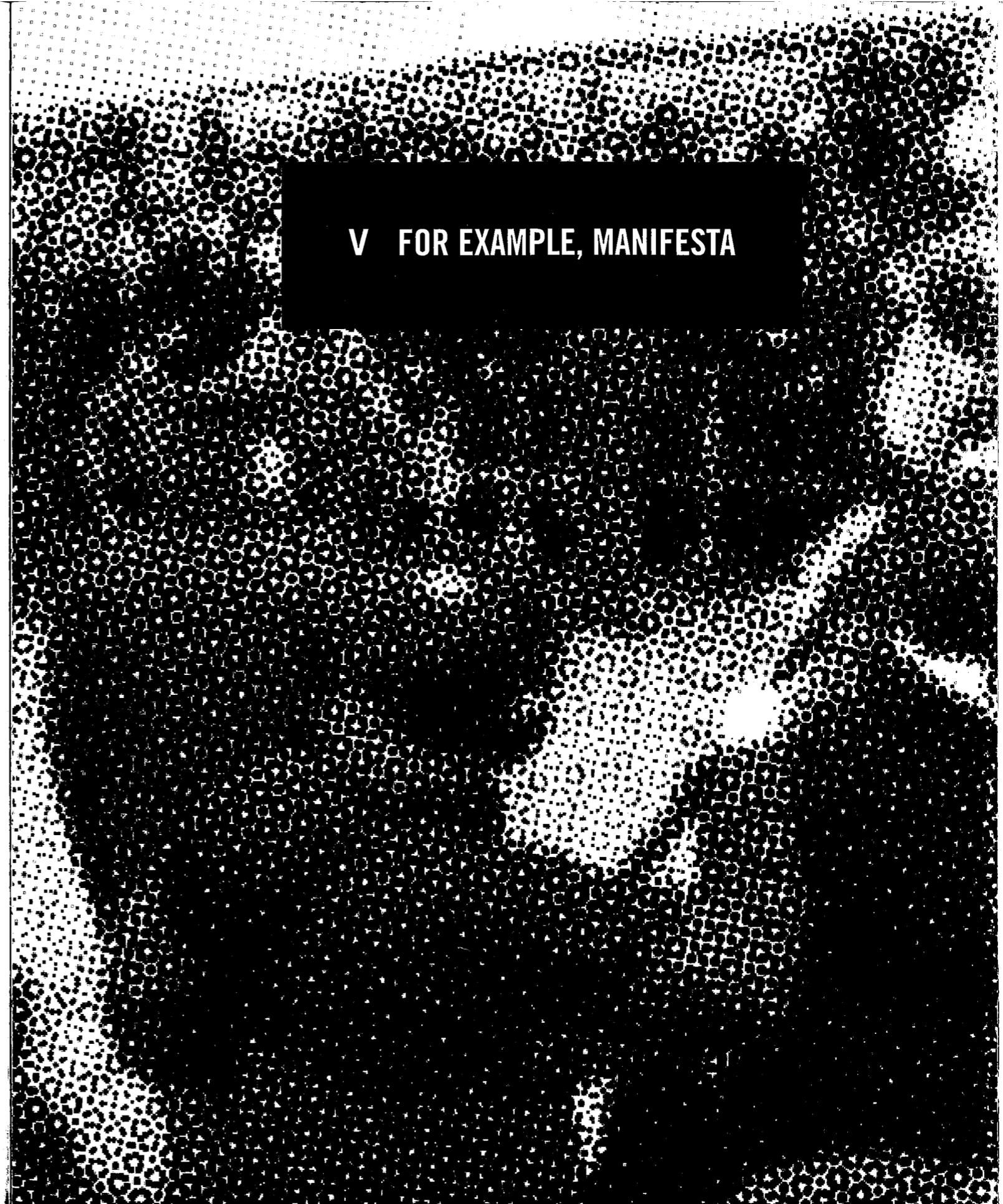
Flexibility, understood as the capacity of organizational forms to undergo transformations in response to social and political forces, may become the real-time graphic representation of such network-era tendencies for consensus.

Contemporary methods of cultural interrogation may look beyond the social organization of tolerance and cooperation to uncover Europe's topology of enmities and the city as common arenas of conflicts. As metro politics replace geopolitics, the city has already become the omnipresent target of political violence and the helpless victim of its countermeasures—reproducing and sharpening identity differences and folding them into the physical technologies of alienation in its fragmented peninsulas of extra-territoriality. Conflicts are also spatial practices beyond this phenomenology of the extreme. Indeed, below the register of the existing framework of Europe's "legitimate" politics and its "strategic" conflicts, a multiplicity of micropolitical organizations and community groups of overlapping aims are engaged in local, provisional, low-intensity urban conflicts for their rights and interests. The rapidly transforming spaces of our daily lives could be seen as monuments of these invisible conflicts. Critical intervention in this urban arena must make clear statements and take sides, support the struggle of political actors in exercising their differences rather than reproducing their similarities.

Eyal Weizman, architect and urbanist based in Tel Aviv and London

NOTES

1. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 125.
2. Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads, and Modernity* (London: Verso, 2002).
3. See Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 66–84.
4. Amartya Sen, "Other People," available online at <http://www.cis.ksu.edu/~ab/Miscellany/otherpeople.html>.
5. Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 258–72.
6. Quoted in Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1.
7. The Whitney Museum of American Art's biennial exhibition is the closest to Manifesta in its national orientation. Yet even the Whitney has begun to wrestle with what "American" means in the exhibition's designation, self-questioning which Manifesta unfortunately still has not reflected on sufficiently.
8. Available online at <http://www.manifesta.org/frame3.html>.
9. James Clifford, "The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," *Third Text* 6 (spring 1989): 75.
10. For a more succinct reflection of the concentration camp as a dominant paradigm of our time, see Giorgio Agamben, *Means Without End: Notes on Politics*, trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).



V FOR EXAMPLE, MANIFESTA



HOW A EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART BEGAN

René Block, Hedwig Fijen, Henry Meyric Hughes, and Katalin Néray discuss the creation of Manifesta, a history in which many of the participants have played a crucial role. In this interview with the editors, participants speak of the European context out of which Manifesta emerged, its curatorial model, the network it established, and other themes tracing the genesis and recent developments of Europe's first biennial of contemporary art.

How did a 1991 governmental initiative of the Dutch ministry subsequently come to be a European-wide biennial of contemporary art, carried out by art-world participants? How did it differentiate itself from other biennial models that have had strong national and governmental backing, both financially and organizationally?

René Block: The question already touches on the difference between Manifesta and other biennials. As far as I know, biennials largely have not been inventions by governments, but instead formations instigated by individual people or private initiatives, as in Sydney or in Istanbul. For the Venice Biennial, which is indeed a municipal foundation, I assume that it was an initiative emanating from the citizens, although today we don't know which individuals were responsible for encouraging the mayor of Venice more than a hundred years ago. On the other hand, the germ of Manifesta can

be found in the cultural department of the Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands. As far as I remember, it wasn't begun at the ministry's instruction, but as an idea of two art lovers, Gijs van Tuyl and Els Barents, who at that time worked at the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts and who were horrified about the conservative direction taken by the Venice Biennial and its closing down of "Aperto," the part of the biennial showing younger artists, at precisely the moment when Europe was in a phase of full change and optimism.¹ From the beginning there was a consensus to create a new type of biennial that would respond to this new European situation and reflect it in terms of cultural policy.

Henry Meyric Hughes: The prehistory of Manifesta is somewhat nebulous, but the outline is clear enough. In the period 1990-91, the members of the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, the director of which at the time was

Robert de Haas, held a series of internal discussions about the possibility of launching a new European art project in the Netherlands. It would take account of the political changes precipitated by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the gap created by the demise of the Paris Biennial after 1985, and the failure of other events, including "Aperto" (established in 1980 at the Venice Biennial) or Documenta, to take its place.² To this end, preparatory discussions for this had in fact already begun on an informal level at the 1990 Venice Biennial, between Dutch commissioner Gijs van Tuyl, his colleague Els Barents, and a limited number of other national commissioners, of whom I was one.

In 1992, after Gijs van Tuyl left the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts to take over the direction of the new Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, Els Barents went on to visit some seven countries in Europe, with a view to establishing the feasibility of the proposed European event. At the same time, things were rapidly changing

at the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, which from 1993 had been compelled by changes in Dutch government policy to abandon many of its traditional functions, including the presentation of Dutch art abroad. The event now proposed for Rotterdam assumed greater urgency, as there was a need for the Netherlands Office to demonstrate its commitment to the work of living artists on an international level. At the constituent meeting of the Foundation European Art Manifestation in The Hague in 1993 an official Dutch board was set up, with De Haas as chairperson. Hedwig Fijen, who from then on would be the main force behind the project, was introduced. She took over from Els Barents as project manager and was among those to advise on establishing an International Advisory Board. Besides Barents and De Haas, the International Advisory Board members invited to attend the first meeting in November 1993 comprised René Block (Germany), Svenrobert Lundquist (Sweden), Michelle Paris (France), who represented Michel Moulin from the Association française d'action artistique (AFAA), and me (United Kingdom). Basically, the outline of Manifesta and its artistic aims and objectives were established at the first four meetings of this International Advisory Board, which took place between November 1993 and the end of 1994 in The Hague, Stuttgart, and Rotterdam – at this last venue, in conjunction with the newly appointed curatorial team of Manifesta 1.

Hedwig Fijen: The prehistory of Manifesta is not at all nebulous, but it has never been clearly written and made publicly available. Its origins go back to the time when Gijs van Tuyl was head of the department in the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts that dealt with the presentation of Dutch art abroad, including representation at the major international biennials of contemporary art. Gijs had already worked on the 1983 edition of the Paris Biennial as well as the final

1985 edition.³ In a recent conversation, he told me that the demise of this event in the 1980s inspired him to propose a new concept based on the same model, with its focus on the presentation of younger artists and its emphasis on developing a new format and network for exchange between artists and other professionals, including teams of independent curators. Gijs asserted that his first ideas were never meant to counteract the putative failure of other events, such as Documenta or Venice. It was his positive experiences with the Paris Biennial and a desire to continue such an event that inspired him.

From the end of the 1980s onward, the project that would later be called Manifesta was conceived of as a reinvention of the Paris Biennial, with its specific focus on younger generations. Els Barents, who as one of the curators working for Gijs van Tuyl, investigated its feasibility and laid out, along with seven European colleagues, the first draft of the project, which was discussed and published in an internal paper in 1991. On the basis of this, De Haas allocated a budget to underwrite the initial steps of this biennial project. And when Gijs left for Wolfsburg at the end of 1992, he turned over his role as commissioner and his responsibilities at the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts to Els Barents.

In the beginning of 1992, when a new national policy forced the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts to cease its role as mediator of Dutch art abroad, De Haas asked me to work on the creation of an independent foundation to secure the development of this new biennial, as a separate project from the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts. In the meantime, Els continued to support the project, although from a distance, as she had taken on a major role in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands and was stationed part-time as cultural attaché in New York. Finally, during the summer of 1992, an independent Dutch foundation called Stichting Europese Manifestatie



Beeldend Kunstenaars (European Art Manifestation or EAM) was created to ensure the further development of the new biennial project. Its board would be composed entirely of Dutch members.⁴ The allocation of a budget of fifty thousand Dutch guilders made it possible to invite over some of the people Els had contacted earlier on, in November 1993. The first International Advisory Board, a consulting body rather than a legal entity, was set up and representatives from certain cultural institutions in the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Hungary became members. Lively discussions took place during that meeting, questioning what was needed at that point in Europe, for which target groups, and how it could be developed within a structure different from that of other large-sale exhibition events.⁵ Soon after, the first locations for the new event were investigated. Amsterdam and Maastricht were both considered, but we finally decided on Rotterdam. Board member Wim van Krimpen lobbied to have the opening of the first edition of Manifesta, scheduled for late 1994, at the new Kunsthal Rotterdam, designed by Rem Koolhaas and of which Van Krimpen was soon to become director.

On basis of the parameters defined during this first meeting of the International Advisory Board in November 1993, I organized an in-depth feasibility study to be presented at the first European gathering in January 1994. With more than fifty-five representatives from national arts organizations and governments in attendance, the concept of the new biennial was introduced to our colleagues. To convince them of the viability of our plans, I defined a new model of mutual cooperation and financing that was proposed to the partner organizations and signed by twenty representatives. At this meeting, Katalin Néray, who had just joined the International Advisory Board at the invitation of De Haas, was selected to

become the chief curator of the first edition, and Lilijana Stepančić was selected to take Katalin's place on the board and represent EAM to the Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts (SCCA). The EAM committed itself to developing the first edition of the event, respecting the link established with Rotterdam. Wim van Krimpen stepped down from the EAM and asked Joop van Caldenborgh, the Rotterdam-based collector and chairman of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, to head the EAM. He appointed me, the former curator of the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, as the first project manager. Jolie van Leeuwen offered to join us at the end of 1994 as production manager, which made the enormous task of managing and executing the inaugural edition much easier.

In 1994 and 1995, Van Caldenborgh invited the Dutch artist Marlene Dumas, Chris Dercon, then director of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Herman Wessels, Vincent Vlasblom, and Geert Dales, who at the time was the director of the Stichting Fonds voor Beeldende kunsten, Vormgeving en Bouwkunst Amsterdam (Amsterdam Fund for Visual Art, Architecture, and Design), to become members of the existing board and help him oversee the start-up of Manifesta 1 in Rotterdam. As a member of the International Advisory Board, Els Barents served as the most important intermediary with the European specialists, including Suzanne Meszoly, the representative of the Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts (SCCA) who played a vital role in forging the connection between the SCCAs and Manifesta.

Henry Meyric Hughes: Just to return to one point that Hedwig mentioned: Gijs and I emphatically did discuss the comparative failure of Venice and Documenta (first of all, in Venice itself), specifically their failure to show the work of many young artists, particularly those from Eastern Europe who were usually not included in the commercial

network or even in the "Aperto." Perhaps no broader comparisons were made at the time, although I myself developed thoughts about the structural nature of these and similar large-scale events and analyzed them in public at the meeting in The Hague in January 1994.

The Venice Biennial began over a century ago and Documenta after World War II, each emerging from distinct historical moments. Manifesta emerged out of a very different epoch and a new cultural landscape. In Europe, one could speak of 1989 and the importance of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the opening of borders, sharp political transitions, but also of lingering nostalgia, uncertainly, ethnic eruptions... How do you situate Manifesta in this European context?

Katalin Néray: Due to the fact that the first Manifesta exhibition was organized five years after the initiative began, we had a certain experience with what had happened in Central and Eastern Europe in the period after the Wall. With the passing of the euphoria that it brought on, signs of a hangover appeared: disillusionment, the feeling of a vacuum, disorientation, ethnic conflicts, bloody wars, xenophobia, and populism. In his wonderful essay "Enjoy Your Nation as Yourself" published in *Tarrying with the Negative* (1993), the eminent Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek puts forth the question: Why was the West so fascinated by the collapse of Eastern European communist systems? His answer to this is that the West presumed to discover its own idealized image of democracy, a treasure it had long forgotten. Manifesta had the ambition to react to this new political situation in Europe by involving artists from formerly neglected areas. This motivation was not embodied in direct political messages. By that time, the first wave of this fashion was over, and it was no longer so interesting that artists came from

this other part of Europe. Actually, artists have always waited to be measured on an equal basis and not to be considered exotic. The curatorial team of the first Manifesta had decided to focus on art projects as art in progress, to find common topics, to select different mediums, to involve emotions ranging from drama and lyricism to humor and irony. For me, this collaboration with colleagues of different cultural backgrounds was a great experience, and all decisions were based on consensus.

René Block: I would also like to remind everyone that the inclusion of southeastern Europe was discussed with a lot of sympathy. For example, the only preliminary Manifesta meeting that took place in Germany (in June 1994) did so in the exhibition *Iskele* at the IFA (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) in Stuttgart, which at that time was presenting the young art scene in Istanbul for the first time.

Henry Meyric Hughes: Indeed, a generally felt need to do something about the "new Europe" inspired Manifesta.⁶ However, we were always aware that developing appropriate organizational structures was going to be at least as important as trying to influence the course of cultural-political events. With its emphasis on emerging (as opposed to established) artists, the EAM was more modest in scope than other events of this nature. But from the beginning, it was more ambitious in its desire to stimulate an open-ended dialogue between artists and their public and foster the development of a network less susceptible to the market and the media. Manifesta's desire was to build a structure that would be more like Documenta than the Venice Biennial, where every country would be actively involved in helping the curatorial team, opening doors, sending ideas to the foundation, arranging transport, and so forth.

The title of the biennial changed over time. What were the different temporary titles used and how did the title Manifesta originate? We would like to know more about the implicit relationship that was set up between this title and something like Documenta. Is it true that there was the sense that the name should suggest a biennial meant to manifest art as opposed to documenting it?

Hedwig Fijen: The title of the biennial ranged from Jeugd biennale (the Dutch translation of the French Biennale des jeunes) to European Manifestation for Young Artists and European Art Manifestation. During the January 1994 meeting, René Block finally proposed the title Manifesta, and members of the advisory board accepted it in March of that year. For René, it was also important to include in the title the dual sense of making the present visible and nomadism, thus it derived from *manifestus*, Latin for "clear or palpable." It also resonated with *movēre*, Latin for "to move," and he additionally made the association with the notion of an art event as a manifest (statement) or manifesto.

René Block: It was obvious that the project needed a handier title than its initial working titles. The simpler Manifesta seemed more appropriate. I admit that we nodded toward Documenta. We thought the title should be a demonstration and suggest the biennial's aims: to be young, dynamic, international...

Katalin Néray: As far as I remember, we all felt that Manifesta was the right title for what we wanted to do, since we wanted to manifest rather than just document the new situation in Europe, without being Eurocentric, but also show the multicultural face of Europe and to involve non-European artists living and working on the Continent.

Generally speaking, for the art world of the 1990s, the impact of globalization was increasingly important. Western hegemonies met with multicultural perspectives and peripheries supplanted the centers, as the focuses of interest. Given these conditions, one might say that it would have been irresponsible for any serious international event not to take this reality into consideration. How did Manifesta deal with new geographical conditions, like the relationship of periphery to center? And why was it necessary for Manifesta to limit itself to the European continent at that very moment?

Hedwig Fijen: My understanding is that the positive experience Gijs van Tuijl had while he was involved in the Paris Biennial was based on the fact that it was not limited to Europe and was an international project dedicated to young artists from all around the world who collaborated with a group of international, independent curators. So the initial inspiration for Manifesta was a truly international project.

Nevertheless, the effect of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 brought about a euphoria regarding the potential for new structures of cooperation as well as new forms of communication and exchange with the organizations in a so-called Pan-European context, focusing on the exploration of the identity of a new Europe, encompassing the former Warsaw Pact countries and those formerly comprising Western Europe, the latter of which still at that time dominated the art world.

The advisory board discussed the fact that Manifesta needed to differentiate itself from other existing biennials, such as those in Sydney, Istanbul, and São Paulo, and the dramatic geopolitical changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s were seen as justifiable reasons for imagining the creation of a new European biennial. However, an essential idea underlying Manifesta was the principal of maintaining non-national representation based on a mutually shared

financial construction in which all partner organizations were supposed to support Manifesta financially with a fee of five thousand Dutch guilders every two years. Furthermore, art organizations were sometimes meant to pay without having a so-called national artist represented in the event. Not all organizations eagerly accepted the arrangement. For example, Andrea Rose, director of the British Council, reacted by writing a letter stating that she did not intend to send a blank check to Manifesta 1 and allow others to select an artist from the United Kingdom. And so this model never entirely worked. Although more than twenty countries paid their participation fee for the first Manifesta, an equally balanced and shared budget was never possible, and the majority of the finances were organized through the Dutch foundation.

And even though the Dutch organized the event, it was presented as a new European initiative supported and financed by a wide range of national, international, and European arts organizations, including the new SCCA network.

How did Manifesta deal with issues of national representation? For instance, how have the number and origin of those artists who can or cannot participate in a "European biennial" been determined? And if there are no protocols, how can one avoid a potential inconsistency between the decisions of a curatorial team and the institutional ambition of Manifesta to represent Europe?

Katalin Néray: From the outset, the board decided that Manifesta would not be based on national representation. There were no quotas determining either the number of artists per country or the countries themselves that had to be included. In the case of the first edition, we were particularly aware of this problem and tried to do as much research as possible within a relatively short time, sharing the

responsibilities based on our respective backgrounds and previous experience. The curators of later editions were even more radical in this respect. A possible conflict was inscribed in the system because Manifesta was initiated as a European biennial, which European Union (EU) and other governmental funds financed. However, despite its compromises, I remain convinced that Manifesta's itinerant model as well as the growing importance of the local context where its editions take place are important ways of overcoming this.

Hedwig Fijen: The inconsistency between the decisions of the curatorial teams and the so-called institutional ambitions of Manifesta were never actually experienced because Europe at large was included on many different levels: in the network, in the research methodology, or in the financial construction of the event, as I mentioned earlier.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Manifesta responded to the new geographical condition of Europe and its newly defined relationships between center and periphery by establishing a multinational curatorial team, which for Manifesta 1 included, among others, Katalin Néray from Budapest as chief curator and Viktor Misiano from Russia as one of the co-curators. The fact that we conceived and composed such a team was quite atypical at that time. It was the first curatorial team to do extensive research in Central and Eastern Europe, which at that time, in 1994–95, was not a very common practice for large contemporary art events. It even seems unheard of today. The curators of the first edition were not asked to follow quotas, as there were none, but they retained a general concept that took into account artists residing in Europe, including non-Europeans. Jolie van Leeuwen and I encouraged the curators to take research trips to the most remote places in the new Europe, which sometimes created hilarious situations, like



the famous trip of the first curatorial team to Viktor Misiano's dacha outside of Moscow in the summer of 1995. Another interesting aspect in this context was the methodology of the Open and Closed Houses, which were organized in ten places in Europe to help the curators of Manifesta 1 set up forums with many different professionals from the international art world. The format was sometimes misinterpreted, but during these meetings, the curators of Manifesta 1 sought suggestions from local communities about the topics they should concentrate on in the exhibition instead of conceptualizing a theme.

It has sometimes been argued that Manifesta resembles the European Cultural Capital project, but this has never been a true comparison. Manifesta was not initiated by the EU, but is instead a concept that emerged from a close collaboration between national arts organizations throughout Europe. This was reflected in the initial nominations to the advisory board, the members of which were representatives of these organizations and as such were often responsible for and commissioners of their respective national participation at various biennials, the model of which they wanted to change.

Manifesta did not adopt the common model of a singular curatorial voice. Instead, from the start, it provided a collaborative working platform for curators, which Manifesta selected and organized for the first five editions. It is no secret that this created some conflicts between curators who were forced to find a way to develop a coherent project with other curators with very different backgrounds, experiences, or aesthetic tastes. Indeed, one can understand this collaborative situation as putting more emphasis on the process and dialogue between curators than on the exhibition itself. In the latest selection of curators for the sixth edition, Manifesta has stepped away from this model. Can you speak

about why this change came about and in what ways it will impact future editions?

Hedwig Fijen: As project manager, I was involved with the process of selecting the curators from the very beginning. I recall the basic ideas behind letting the board as well as the coordinators of the host cities select the individual curators and compose a curatorial team for them. It was intended as a learning enterprise, bringing together individuals from different generations and cultural backgrounds, encouraging the mutual collaboration of individuals with different professional experiences—either from institutions or as independent curators—and also allowing younger curators to work on an important project with a considerable budget early in their careers. The idea was to provide these professionals with a platform to create a network that could be of importance to their future careers. Last but not least, instead of creating a structure of consensus, we imagined that the possible confrontations that might emerge within the curatorial teams could be productive and in fact lead to new perspectives and working methodologies.

This original collaborative model caused some difficult situations between the curators, it is true, and not only because of the lack of an adequate explanation about how and in what ways they were supposed to set the parameters of collaboration. Manifesta is a changing event that involves setting up a new structure every two years, so the transfer of information and working structures from one edition to another are complicated to organize. Unfortunately, it was not always as efficient as it might have been.

Now, with the preparation of the sixth edition in Nicosia, we have stepped away from Manifesta's original procedure for forming the curatorial team, deemed by some as too artificial. We hope to give international professionals more space to invent their own structures and

modes of collaboration within a broader interdisciplinary context. The positive experience we had with the architects and urbanists of the Rotterdam-based Berlage Institute, who played an important role as creative mediators in the last edition in Donostia-San Sebastián, influenced this decision. The fact that we chose Nicosia as the next location for Manifesta—a clear attempt to create relationships with Europe's immediate neighbors—stimulated the idea of involving a more diverse group of art professionals, including academics, writers, or, for example, political activists.

Henry Meyric Hughes: It might be added as well that in the beginning, we all felt that there were large gaps in our knowledge. Communications between different parts of Europe had been so poor for so long that it was necessary to offer a variety of different perspectives and above all give a voice to some of our younger colleagues working on the margins of the art-world economy. Moreover, this was not just an opening up in one direction, from East to West. It should not be forgotten that the Young British Artists (YBA) phenomenon had barely begun—they burst into public consciousness in 1992—and “the Nordic miracle,” as Hans-Ulrich Obrist called it, still lay ahead. Throughout the 1990s, the process of globalization quickened, new programs with courses in curating were started, and the role of the independent curator took off. It should not be supposed, however, that the curatorial model remained static, from the first edition of Manifesta to the fifth. Rather, it was subtly modified on each occasion, partly due to chance and partly to take account of the reality that more young curators were more familiar with each other's work and that more open, collaborative forms of working were becoming the norm. Of course, none of this detracts from the observation that a fundamentally new curatorial model has been introduced with the sixth edition of Manifesta in 2006.

Why was the creation of a network so important to Manifesta and so often promoted in its self-presentation? How did the network that Manifesta created relate to other networks, such as the Open Society Institute (and its numerous Soros Centers), already established in Eastern Europe? How did the idea for it relate to other developments at the time, like the rise of the Internet, debates about an “open society,” or the situation that Manuel Castells later described in *The Rise of the Network Society*?

Hedwig Fijen: Something that has not yet been said is that the initial studies on creating a European biennial clearly suggested that a new biennial model should be based upon an innovative administrative structure, free from the traditional relations between Western European arts councils and the former official organizations in Central and Eastern Europe that usually represented state sanctioned artists. Using the Open Society Institute's model, we hoped to form a new structure, including all the old and new European countries that were invited to participate on an equal basis, not only artistically but also financially, as mentioned above. This was groundbreaking, and it was the Open Society Institute at the time that was actively setting up local offices in all the former Eastern bloc countries. The rise of its contemporary art network in 1992, with its SCCAs, made this possible. In my opinion, the EAM would never have developed into the current Manifesta biennial without the crucial support from such a powerful organization.

When we decided to publicize the concept of the EAM to all its potential European partners, the main question was who was representing whom? In this respect, at the first public meeting in 1994, all the representatives were invited to create a consensus between all the representatives and to guarantee the idea of a multi-funding organization based on a democratic principle. We

also specifically needed the commitment of an institution able to bring an equal financial share to the table, and Suzanne Meszoly, as the overall coordinator of the Soros Centers, guaranteed this and confirmed that all the SCCAs would wholeheartedly support the EAM.

Each SCCA had quick access to essential information and the ability to act as a guide to visiting curators, which made it possible to complete intensive research throughout Europe in the 1990s. The SCCAs also had their own budgets for artistic production. Therefore, artists from all the regions involved could be funded by their own organizations, thereby avoiding the “colonial” attitude of having Western arts councils pay for their colleagues from Central and Eastern Europe. As far as I know, this was the first time that Eastern Europe was profoundly involved in a Pan-European art project, even though the original democratic concept did not completely succeed. Only twenty national organizations from former Eastern countries, among them the SCCAs, co-produced Manifesta's first edition in Rotterdam.

In the press releases, catalogues, and public statements that accompanied the first few editions, there was curiously little said about the reasons why Manifesta is itinerant, despite it being such a remarkable feature of the biennial. How and why did the idea to make Manifesta itinerant come about?

René Block: In Stuttgart, we decided upon the itinerant aspect as one of the hallmarks of the Manifesta concept. There is a little anecdote to tell about it: In the middle of the 1980s, the French artist Robert Filliou had the idea for a biennial that would travel with each edition through the north, south, east, and west of Europe. Filliou, who had this idea before the fall of the Berlin Wall, was planning to call it the Art of Peace Biennial. Using the more deliberate title *Approaching a*

Biennial of Peace, the first edition took place in 1985 in Hamburg. The biennial didn't continue after Filliou's death in 1987, but as he had planned for a second edition to take place in Amsterdam, there was instead a conference that took place three years later. The idea of a traveling biennial thus traces its roots to Filliou. When I was invited to think about a new biennial for Europe some years later, I suggested the idea as the model that Manifesta could develop.

Henry Meyric Hughes: I like René's anecdote, which is very fitting, but the idea of an itinerant biennial was also discussed at our first meeting in November 1993, when Svenrobert Lundquist raised this possibility (maybe because we already knew that Rotterdam would only host the event once) and was, of course, supported by René, among others. We sometimes do not like to admit this, but the idea of the European Cultural Capitals (first launched in 1985 by Melina Mercouri, then the Greek minister of culture) also played a part in our early discussions, though we consciously maintained a critical distance from this model. There was also a belief that it might be possible to gather fresh sources of financial support by moving around, coupled with a realization that it would be necessary to establish a firm administrative base somewhere, ideally in the Netherlands—something we finally achieved when the International Foundation Manifesta (IFM) was set up in June 1999.

Hedwig Fijen: One might ask: How can we continue to justify the nomadic character of Manifesta? The nomadic aspect of the biennial came about also, in part, because the project was established as a collaborative endeavor among European countries. The idea was that every European country should potentially be able to have the chance to host the biennial at least once. But does the term "nomadic" now exist as an illusion, or

was it merely a easy metaphor for a traveling art show, superimposing the vastness of European thought onto a willing local community? Some believe that neither perception is valid today, since each host city seems to strictly control and negotiate this nomadism. They see Manifesta as a tool in their own cultural marketing, and they attempt to outbid the competition with higher and higher starting budgets. Manifesta is aware of these machinations. So it has become proactive, seeking sites that display an extra, conceptual framework to further distance the biennial from the European Cultural Capitals project. Manifesta looks for places (cities or regions) that may not have a strong infrastructure or offer massive funding, but have an artistic breeding ground in which small communities are experimenting with new ideas. We also recognize that it might even be necessary to select a site where regional funding organizations do not necessarily wholeheartedly welcome the biennial. Politicians and their expectations need not be feared, but dealt with.

Recurrent exhibition events often attract the professional art world but also typically build a broader audience over time. How was Manifesta's itinerant model envisioned so that it would establish a continuing dialogue with a public beyond the international art world?

René Block: An itinerant biennial, it goes without saying, follows different rules than classical, recurrent ones. An itinerant biennial is, by definition, a singular guest performance and as such it is often less effective, in terms of influencing the local art scene over time, than a perennial exhibition attached to a certain place. On the other hand, it is my impression that the art professionals observe Manifesta more than most of the conventional biennials.

Hedwig Fijen: I agree with what René stated about the difference between itin-

erant and classical biennials. Manifesta's first editions were largely attended by professionals and had around thirty thousand visitors. The biennial is sometimes compared to other large events attracting cultural tourists, but it must be stated that its first five editions cost a fraction of most other major biennials. It started out as a smaller alternative project with different rules and never strived to compete with the attendance figures of other large-scale events. By the way, it has only existed for ten years so far, so Manifesta remains quite a young project. The fifth edition in Donostia-San Sebastián was an exception in terms of public turnout. More than 120,000 visitors attended, a majority of whom came from the region and local communities. According to its organizers, this was mainly due to the active two-year involvement of the regional media, Manifesta's positive reception in the press in general, and the efforts of local guides and volunteers.

The selection of a host city for Manifesta has often been compared with the bidding process for the Olympic Games. What are the criteria for judging which city will be able to appropriately accommodate a Manifesta edition, and how have those criteria changed over time?

Hedwig Fijen: The criteria for judging the host cities have indeed changed over the years. In the early years of development, we were looking for cities and regions that showed a specific dynamic character in terms of their artistic milieu, as could be seen in the mid-1990s in the Nordic countries. The artistic context of its community was the most important factor, followed by an innovative approach towards reinventing the model and a willingness and capacity to create a structured context for the curators, allowing them their freedom and integrity.

René Block: My wish would have been to get more offers and invitations from Eastern Europe. But admittedly, Manifesta is a relatively expensive biennial, as you have to build a new infrastructure every time.

Henry Meyric Hughes: We all wanted Manifesta to visit some of the more peripheral centers, which had fewer opportunities for international events and exchanges, and we achieved this with Ljubljana in 2000, after suffering disappointments with our failed efforts to have Manifesta in Warsaw and Budapest, among other cities. In the early days, we had to accept that only the major financial centers with an adequate infrastructure and a stable political administration, such as the Luxembourg City and Frankfurt, would be able to offer us the support for a sustained burst of activity. There were even certain advantages for artists coming from the periphery to a region that was accessible to the Western media and market and, in the case of Frankfurt, at the hub of an international network of communications. However, Manifesta has gained confidence over the years, and its reputation is such that smaller cities and regional centers have felt emboldened to take a chance and submit bids. Last year's event in Donostia-San Sebastián was something of a breakthrough with its high attendance in this host city, the smallest of any of the previous locations. (Free admission to the public must have been a factor here). In the meantime, the IFM has also learned to accept the needs and limitations of the local situation. With the move first to Donostia-San Sebastián and to Nicosia in 2006, it has been reminded, perhaps just in time, of the virtues of flexibility and a really close engagement with a specific social and political reality.

History has shown us that art has at moments decisively influenced the way exhibitions are made. In the 1960s, peo-

ple like Lucy Lippard and Seth Siegelaub began mounting exhibitions that directly responded to the conceptual strategies of the work they were showing. And for Harald Szeemann's Documenta 5, the catalogue's form and the sprawling in-process show itself tried to take a form appropriate to the work being shown. How did Manifesta's exhibition model provide a platform to reflect the particularity of the art being produced in the 1990s? It has often been said that Manifesta did not in fact present "grand works (masterpieces)," but instead it showed the "artifacts (traces, information, media, re-coding) of a culture." Do you think this is a result of Manifesta's particular model, or conversely, was this Manifesta's response to the specificity of the art of the period?

Henry Meyric Hughes: There is no easy answer to the first question, in that Manifesta has clearly both been influenced by the artistic ideas of the moment and had a significant influence on them. Manifesta has always tried to be a site for primary research. Indeed, one of our board members calculated that at least seventeen artists in Harald Szeemann's first Venice Biennial (1999), *dAPPERTutto* (APERTO over All), had been included in the first and second editions of Manifesta. Symbolically enough, Maurizio Cattelan's work *Ulivo* (Olive Tree, 1988) made an effortless transition from the Casino Luxembourg to the atrium of the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. And from an organizational point of view, Francesco Bonami's *Dreams and Conflicts: The Dictatorship of the Viewer* for the Venice Biennial in 2004 represented a wholesale transfer of curatorial ideas onto the large screen, as it were, in that Bonami himself was a curator of Manifesta 3 and is a current board member of the IFM. And some nine or ten former or current board members curated different aspects of that Venice Biennial!

How would you say the Manifesta model contributed to the individual development of artists' careers and their practices?

Hedwig Fijen: The ways in which Manifesta has been able to support artists in their careers by commissioning new works and by creating a context in which they are able to develop their own thinking and work (in relation to curators and other artists) is one of the measures of its true success. For many artists, it was also the first time they participated in a large-scale international event, and for others, it was the confirmation of a career that was still in its early stages. But in either case, it seems that Manifesta provided the exposure and the context from which their artistic practices could develop in interesting ways. If we look at the significant impact Manifesta has had on the internationalization of some of their careers, we can be proud. Moreover—and this is not a negligible detail—most of the curators and artists are still in contact with each other and continue to work together on different projects that have nourished the working methods of everyone involved. Something like a Manifesta family seems to have developed...

Why, despite the proclaimed importance of creating a real and equal dialogue between East and West, has a former Warsaw Pact country never hosted Manifesta? The only edition to take place in a city in the former East was in Ljubljana, the flourishing cultural and economic capital of Slovenia which was itself the most economically prosperous region of the former Yugoslavia, never attached to the Soviet Union or part of the Warsaw Pact. Its relatively bloodless ten days of war before gaining its independence from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s also made it an exception in many ways to the recent history of nearly the entire surrounding region. All of this made it an unusual choice for Manifesta, given its stated ambitions with regard to the former East.

Katalin Néray: After the Rotterdam edition, we looked into Budapest as a possibility for the next host city. I tried my best to convince the Hungarian cultural ministry about it. Unfortunately, this coincided with the changing of government, and the new people had no courage to take the financial responsibility. It was a big mistake: The budget of Manifesta was relatively high compared to local art exhibitions, but not more than the budget for, say, a medium-sized feature film. Contemporary art never had the same reputation in our countries as literature, music, and film. So the reason was both conceptual and financial. It is a real pity because the original idea was indeed to organize Manifesta in the former Eastern bloc countries as well. I know that Anda Rottenberg made similar efforts in Poland, without success.

Hedwig Fijen: Earlier, we spoke of Manifesta's itinerant nature, and here we might speak concretely of the reality of that exhibition model since reality does not necessarily always represent our desires or even our best intentions. At times, it has been the result of a logic of survival and continuation for the biennial. It is true that since its inception, Manifesta has predominantly taken place in Western cities, with the exception of Ljubljana, host city in 2000 of Manifesta's third edition. Attempts were made to hold Manifesta in places in the southern and eastern Mediterranean, but this has only recently been achieved with the selection of Nicosia in Cyprus. Similarly, Manifesta made many serious efforts so that an edition could be held in a former Warsaw Pact country, and candidates included Budapest as the run-up for the third edition, Warsaw as the run-up for fourth edition, and Tallinn as the run-up for the fifth edition. All these cities made it to the final stage of the selection process.

By the time the first edition opened in Rotterdam in 1996, the second edi-

tion was already slated to be held two years later in Stockholm. And as has become the custom, the next host city was announced at the opening ceremony. But when the Swedish initiators saw the first edition, they hastily withdrew their support, saying that Manifesta was not something they were interested in after all. Luxembourg City graciously took its place at the last minute, and so the second edition was held there. But Sweden's last-minute withdrawal suggests how much a biennial with a focus on young artists and experimental practices as well as an organizing institution with a reputation not yet established were perceived as a real risk for potential host cities. In the years that followed, numerous Eastern and Western European cities were invited to consider hosting Manifesta. Oslo, Helsinki, Belgrade, and the joint ventures between cities such as Bari and Tirana or Saint Petersburg and Prague were serious contenders to host Manifesta. Additionally, several unexpected Western cities including Dublin, Newcastle (Gateshead), Manchester, Palermo, and Syracuse were also seen as serious options. None of these materialized. Why, exactly? In the early days, local financial investment accounted for seventy-five percent of the Manifesta budget. (Today, more than fifty percent of the budget comes from international funding and sponsorship). When the continuity of Manifesta at large was at stake, sometimes feasibility won out over wish fulfillment.

Henry Meyric Hughes: The advisory board was keen to open up new possibilities for artists, curators, art professionals, and young people from all over Europe who felt marginalized by the art market, established international events, and the sclerotic structure of organized bilateral artistic exchange mechanisms. Manifesta was always intended to be something more than a biennial exhibition, and the challenge was to open up a multilateral network

at a variety of different levels and to bring on new people with fresh ideas. After 1989 and all that, this meant emphasizing the East-West dimension above all, of course, but we were also aware of the severe deficiencies in north-south exchanges as well. Our colleague Svenrobert Lundquist spoke for Scandinavia as a whole, when he described this region as "only a background player and nobody's watching when we score the goals." There was an urgent need to give some of the players a chance to move up to center field. From the beginning, what mattered more were our efforts to achieve a broad geographical distribution of roles between the members of the advisory board and the changing venues and teams of curators. Economic factors coupled with political uncertainties elsewhere and occasional problems with the local infrastructure prevented Manifesta from straying far from the center of Western Europe (the Europe of Charlemagne) in the initial stages, but this was not we didn't try. Indeed, negotiations with Budapest and Warsaw respectively were taken to a very advanced stage on different occasions, before they fell out of the running for one reason or another. We also took very seriously the cautionary warnings by a number of our colleagues that artists from the geographical periphery were much more interested in gaining exposure to and contact with the markets and media in the West than in conducting a muted conversation among themselves. Finally, it could be argued with a degree of plausibility that getting to a city such as Frankfurt, at the economic and transport hub of an expanding Europe, was always going to be cheaper and easier for young visitors from all over Europe than many of the major cities in countries outside the borders of the European community.

With five editions and more than a decade of development behind it, Manifesta seems to be embarking on a

decisive series of changes. Earlier, we spoke briefly about the shifts that can be seen in the curatorial and structural models that will be employed in the sixth edition, but additionally, there is a geographic shift as well. The Cypriot city of Nicosia will host the sixth edition, and it has been stated that it was chosen for its capacity to guide Manifesta towards a new investigation of the geographical and conceptual frameworks of Europe, in particular with regard to its relationship to the Middle East and North Africa. The geographical placement thus suggests that this will be the first Manifesta edition to engage Europe's colonial and postcolonial history. Although it would be premature to ask you much about the sixth edition at this stage, could some of you speak briefly about how Nicosia's geographic reality is meant, at least from an institutional point of view, to respond to the complexity that is "Europe" and also what it might mean for Manifesta's future?

Henry Meyric Hughes: I think the changes are striking and dramatic, but not what I would call structural. Sometimes, we have played it safe with location and taken risks with the curatorial process, and sometimes it has been the other way round. The important thing has always been to try to arrange the right kind of creative environment for the curators and artists and enable them to actively engage with an audience. The choice of location has frequently been a determining factor, as in the case of Ljubljana in 2000 and Donostia-San Sebastián in 2004. But the curators and their new partners, rather than the board, will decide whether or how to deal with specific issues (you mention postcolonialism as an example). As I see it, the three most notable features of Manifesta 6 are the decision to match the budget and scale of events more closely to the local potential; the decision to appoint a self-selected curatorial team (albeit on the basis of a

competitive call for proposals), instead of throwing together a number of individuals who have never worked together before; and the choice of a team that emphasizes the processual nature of the event, involving a close engagement with the issue of public space and the plans for the creation of a school or academy. The geopolitical situation of the island of Cyprus and its position at the crossroads of a wide range of cultural influences have also, quite clearly, played an important role for all concerned. In general, I would say that as long as Manifesta can remain lightweight and responsive, it will continue to meet its primary objectives, and it may even sustain a reputation for unpredictability!

Hedwig Fijen: I was quite keen on the selection of Nicosia as the host of Manifesta 6 because of its complex identity: The West defines it as being at the furthest reaches of the geographical limit of our renewed European Union. At the same time, Nicosia's past reveals, on one hand, its immediate relationship with the Middle East, and on the other, its continuous determination to preserve its own identity, after two thousand years of coexistence with its close neighbors and invaders. From the earliest discussions, it was clear to the entire board that if Nicosia became the host city for Manifesta 6, it would enable Manifesta to continue and extend its reflection on the geographical and conceptual framework of Europe, specifically with regard to Europe's relationship to the Middle East and North Africa, not to mention its own complex colonial and postcolonial history.

In a larger context, I would say that the IFM, in taking a step away from the recent overtly political obsession with global issues in contemporary art, aimed to temporarily embed itself in precisely that area of Europe currently in a process of re-identification and reconciliation with its immediate and more distant neighbors. The decision to bring

Manifesta 6 to Nicosia was intended as a challenge to Manifesta to renew itself on many levels, change its specific format, and create a more intensive and binding relationship with local and regional collaborators as well as with the artistic community by emphasizing long-term, educational priorities. Despite the fact that Nicosia is a divided city, with UN troops present along the so-called Green Line, Manifesta, even while it will be set within and respond to this context, does not intend to serve as mediator for the more than thirty-years of conflict.

To me, the notion of cultural diversity is very much alive in this region and will play a decisive role in rethinking the future of European integration. In this respect, Manifesta might be able to play a modest role in developing new cultural partnerships, not only within the new Europe, but between Europe and its immediate neighbors, something we have initiated in the last year with many institutions in the region.

NOTES

1. The now defunct, Hague-based Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst (Netherlands Office for Fine Arts) (1985–1997) was an independently run arts organization separate from the Ministry, the various departments of which oversaw all the tasks related to conserving, presenting, and promoting Dutch art (a bit like the Association française d'action artistique in France). *Ed.*

2. The first Biennale de Paris: manifestation biennale et internationale des jeunes artistes, also known as the Biennale des jeunes, opened in 1959 at the Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris and was held at regular intervals thereafter until its demise in 1985. André Malraux inaugurated the biennial in his capacity as minister of culture, and reserved its participation to artists less than thirty-five years old. Conceived at a time when the United States was perceived to be in the process of "stealing" the position of artistic dominance so long held by France, the event was also an attempt to sustain Paris's continuing relevance on the international art scene. While the biennials in Venice and São Paulo paid homage to established artists whose influence had already marked the art of their time, the Paris Biennial chose to focus on the emerging generation and artistic experimentation. *Ed.*

3. Jean-Hubert Martin attempted to direct the Paris Biennial in a more thematic direction in the final years of its existence. His *Magiciens de la terre* (1989) was originally conceived as just such a biennial exhibition but it was ultimately mounted as a museum show.

4. When speaking of the early years of Manifesta, it is important to distinguish between the membership of the board, which dissolved itself shortly after the end of Manifesta 1, and that of the International Advisory Board (later known as the Board), composed, then as now, of senior international curators. Both bodies were constituent elements of the original European Art Manifestation (EAM) in 1993. The first EAM board included Robert de Haas, director of the Netherlandish Office for Fine Arts, Amsterdam, Wim van Krimpen, soon-to-be director of the Kunsthall, Rotterdam, Martijn Sanders, collector and director of the Concert Gebouw, Amsterdam, and Rob Scholte, an Amsterdam-based artist. *Ed.*

5. The project still bore the name European Art Manifestation (EAM). *Ed.*

6. The expression "new Europe" was first defined in 1990 at the Paris summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Following the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the countries at the CSCE used the term to refer to their participation in a new era of democracy, peace, and unity in Europe. They included: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, the Principality of Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, USSR, United Kingdom, and the United States. *Ed.*

7. Miško Šuvaković, "The Ideology of Exhibition: On the Ideologies of Manifesta," *PlatformaSCCA*, no. 3 (January 2002), available online at <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma3/suvakovicengp.htm>.

A TALE OF TWO CITIES: MANIFESTA IN ROTTERDAM AND LJUBLJANA

Thomas Boutoux

In a series of radio lectures broadcast in 1967 on the BBC as part of the annual Reith Lectures Series, British social anthropologist Edmund Leach reflected on the culture of intellectuals and warned that they were likely to soon become "petrified observers of a runaway world."¹ The idea of a "runaway world" captured well the moods of optimism and fear that characterized the 1960s, as established structures, norms, and values appeared to be quickly breaking down, while a much more pluralistic pattern of relationships among the world's peoples seemed to be emerging in forms that remained ominously indeterminate. The pressing issue for Leach lay in the commitment of intellectuals from all disciplines to invent new forms of practice and social engagement and to reconnect their projects to the democratic impulses of a world then emerging from a phase of state dominance originating in World War I.

Though not immediate, answers to this appeal were forged in the decades that followed. Among the intellectual fields, anthropology and contemporary art are two that unmistakably have tried to adapt to the thorough economic and political interconnectedness of the world, especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union after which these changes have moved at an increased pace. As fields that have defined themselves as motors for the production of knowledge and as bridges between individuals and the world in which they live, anthropology and contemporary art have both been struggling to cope with the sense of dispersion, particularity, complexity, and decenteredness that the accelerated integration of world society induces. Moreover, they have strived to overcome the difficulties of discerning the implications of the analysis of culture, of how people see things, so as to respond to and judge them. However, the two fields have responded to the post-1989 shifts in highly different ways: Whereas anthropology plunged into years of epistemological crisis and anxious introspection, contemporary art can be said to have inaugurated an unprecedented era of vitality and expansion.²

Throughout the 1990s, the anthropological world found itself in a quandary, when asked to explain how it contributed to the understanding of the world in which we live. Anthropology was caught up in endless debates regarding the repercussions of integrated globalism, spurred by flowing capital, people, and culture, on its practices, its distinctive method of inquiry, its typical mode of writing, and above all its definition as social praxis.³ Practically every newly elaborated epistemological remedy was tried out to treat this disciplinary febricity, including post-positivism, postmodernism, poststructuralism, cultural studies, postcolonialism, and globalization theory.⁴ Anthropologists fumbled in every possible direction, while still trying to project the coherence and unity they imagined the field once had—a global view of human life, at once social, cultural, biological, and historical. The only tie that bound this wide range of contemporary attempts to integrate epistemology, practice, and politics within new anthropological research seemed to be a shared concern crystallized by questions such as: What role can anthropology play in the multipolar, globalized, postcolonial world we now inhabit? How should anthropology respond to the shifting political determinations of representation and the production of knowledge?⁵

During the same period, the contemporary art world enthusiastically embraced “the global,” taking this new phenomenon as an opportunity to reinvent itself. Rather than being shaken, like anthropologists, by the size and power of emergent global circulation, the art world’s protagonists were impressed by the pervasive raggedness of this new world, focusing on global coherence and using it as leverage to integrate sites of artistic production previously considered marginal to Western modernism.⁶ For the art world, the desire to establish an intimate connection between a variety of artistic contexts around the globe marked the 1990s. The art world radically transformed itself from a universe principally organized around a few Western centers and metropolises, virtually excluding contributions of individuals (artists, curators, art critics, and historians) from the Americas, Asia, or Africa, into a remarkably dense international web of institutions within which professionals from all continents and almost all nations move about, work, and debate the role of art in the larger world.⁷

As curator Okwui Enwezor has demonstrated, the antiquated model of the Exposition universelle has inspired this restructuring of the art world on a global scale, in the form of large-scale contemporary art exhibitions, often organized in the context of contemporary art biennials and triennials.⁸ In the pioneering tradition of the Venice Biennial (1895), the Whitney Biennial (1932), the São Paulo Biennial (1949), and the Biennale of Sydney (1973), such a model cropped up with remarkable success around the globe, especially in the 1990s in non-Western cities (Shanghai, Johannesburg, Istanbul, Gwangju, Havana, Dakar, Taipei, Sharjah, Cairo, Yokohama, Tirana, Moscow) and in the West at the periphery of traditional art centers (Lyon, Liverpool,

Berlin, Oslo, Valencia, Prague, Santa Fe, San Diego, Brisbane). To this list should be added Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, which has been hosted in five “peripheral” European cities since 1996 (Rotterdam, Luxembourg City, Ljubljana, Frankfurt, Donostia-San Sebastián). These new biennials form a common universe.⁹

A more interesting shared feature among these geographically remote art manifestations is the fact that they have assumed the unique position of both reflecting globalism as a reality and adopting it as an idea or theme. Under such an umbrella, a variety of works produced by artists from a plethora of geographical and cultural locations have been combined to address either the programmatic advancement of an integrated globalism or the effects of globalization, its sprawling prolixities, and numerous related processes.¹⁰ The emergence of a new generation of curators accompanied and fuelled this trend; they quickly assumed a crucial role in the organization of the global art world and redefined the parameters of exhibition making. Nomadic and independent, or at least without too many constraining institutional ties, the curator of the 1990s traveled the world without respite, recording the changes in the many new sites of artistic production and embracing the model of the large-scale exhibition and the international biennial in particular as the most appropriate means by which to reflect on globalism.¹¹

During the 1990s, despite the semblance of very different reactions towards globalization in the disciplines of contemporary art and anthropology, numerous intersections between these fields were elaborated. In part, the same concerns raised in anthropology during this period have preoccupied the art world in its attempt to reflect on globalism, concerns regarding how to go about understanding the rapidly expanding (art) world in which traditional criteria no longer apply, how to invent new means of producing knowledge in such a context, and how to provide critical insight into the processes of globalization. The hyper-reflexive stance in recent anthropology, with its seemingly boundless ability to reinvent itself, or seemingly so, its *modus operandi*, and constituencies, has been valued as highly promising and regenerative for the art world. In the 1990s, contemporary artists increasingly were praised and evaluated for their roles as expert witnesses and analysts of the macro-social transformations induced by phenomena such as globalization, “diasporization,” or “creolization,” tendencies that explicitly followed the trend in anthropology toward postcolonial and globalization studies. The number of anthropologists contributing to contemporary art exhibition catalogues or references to recent anthropological research in the footnotes of curatorial essays grew exponentially in the second part of the 1990s, when the art world turned its interest to globalism as a topic.¹² This process of (self-)identification did not touch only artists, but also art critics and curators. As Francesco Bonami recently admitted in a guide to curating, “The role of the curator today involves such enormous geographical diversity that the curator is now a kind of

visual anthropologist—no longer just a taste maker, but a cultural analyst.”¹³

Practitioners of anthropology, though, seem to have ignored completely the fact that anthropology has been introduced into discussions of the contemporary art world during the last decade, as a way to articulate changes in the nature of contemporary transnational cultural flows and the turn towards globalism. As a result, in recent years, the affinities or intersections between the practices and concerns of contemporary artists, curators, and critics and those of anthropologists have been consistently elaborated within the art world, but only marginally explored by anthropologists themselves. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology* (1995), a book of essays edited by George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, has been the only substantial attempt to explore the overlaps of the two fields from the anthropological point of view. However, the research it presents was carried out mostly in the late 1980s and very early 1990s and thus does not fully address the most recent and radical transformations of the art world. In this book, as well as in much of the anthropological writing produced on contemporary art since, the principal focus centers on questions like: How did (tribal and now contemporary) art produced in non-Western societies enter the (supposedly fixed) Western art market and become part of its discourse of aesthetic judgment? Or, how do curatorial practices lead to the de- and recontextualization of artworks in museums and exhibitions? Recently, the discussion has also touched upon how contemporary artists use the anthropological notion of fieldwork as well as quasi-anthropological research to “engage with and represent events, experiences and others.”¹⁴ Still, such studies have only very superficially or inadvertently addressed the contemporary art world *itself*, its transformations through the process of globalization and how, through these evolutions, it has contributed to the understanding of the contemporary world.

Anthropologists have, with few exceptions, completely overlooked how the art world's rules have changed, even while this evolution offered an almost perfect model of the multifold, globalized, postcolonial contemporary world that anthropologists try to grasp and describe. Today's contemporary art world provides a useful subject for anthropology, especially with regard to, among other things, the recent, wide-scale development of an international community of professionals forming a truly global network of scenes and actors; a community representing one of the very few real and homogeneous global and well-traveled social groups in today's world; a structural organization based on a distinguishable set of evolving power relations between various subgroups within a global community (artists, curators, critics, art historians, dealers, and collectors); and a common culture that has undergone profound changes as it has become more and more event-driven (through the phenomenon of biennials and art fairs).

The comparison between the expansiveness of contemporary art and the inwardness of current anthropology may be flattering to the art world, but it should serve as a wake-up call to anthropologists. Much of the debate on contemporary artistic practices within anthropology has tended to take an absolute position, with critics either celebrating the mobility of culture or mourning the loss of authenticity. The melancholic disposition that weighed heavily in the classical anthropological imagination confined its engagement with hybridity as evidence of damaged or weakened cultures. The art world's enthusiasm for hybridity privileged innovation over authenticity in order to reinscribe its own narrative of progress and succession. At both ends, the critical dimensions of hybridity were neutralized. Hybridity was defined as either the cultural problem for authenticity or the historical force of innovation. Either way, it was separated from its complexity, and this binary obscured the vital links between aesthetics and ethics.

Art is never, however, outside of or above the dynamic field of social change; it never develops in a purely autonomous manner. I would also stress that art is never entirely determined by its social context, for while it appropriates symbols from across the cultural spectrum, it remains a critical vector in the representation of contemporary society. However, the manner of its engagement within this field needs further clarification.

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The art world constitutes an ideal site for investigation, a field in which to develop an anthropology that could “study up,”¹⁵ while remaining tied to what used to be the main locus of anthropology—the peripheries of the Western world; a field to track down and analyze, among cultures long characterized by their geographical or political isolation, any “frictions” (manifestations of conflicts, misunderstandings, and reappropriations) sparked by their abrupt entry into the new economic and cultural circuits of today;¹⁶ a field by which to conduct an ethnography of “complex connections” that requires the field-worker to be mobile and multi-sited in his or her research trajectory;¹⁷ and, last but not least, a field where sophisticated attempts at understanding and representing ways of seeing and acting in the world are elaborated and in which understanding could potentially be highly profitable to anthropology's redefinition of the role it wishes to play in today's world.

Taking Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art as a Case Study

Manifesta, European Biennial of Contemporary Art represents a particularly interesting case study for an anthropological investigation of the recent changes in the contemporary art world. The perennial exhibition's theoretical links to the post-1989 changes in Europe, its beginnings as an idea in 1991, concrete foundation in 1993, and first public exhibition in 1996 embody many art-world developments in that period. Manifesta's structure—iterant, conceptualized as a network—but also its rhetoric, its insistence on being more than just a showcase of new art, its desire to be a response to and a tool of reflection for the political, social, and cultural changes that took place in Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, and ultimately an instrument to transform East-West relationships in the realm of artistic production and public culture define the Manifesta project as a particularly interesting subject for anthropological examination.

The definition and goals of Manifesta were probably best articulated in the catalogue of its second edition published in 1998. In the preface of this catalogue, under the signature of the International Advisory Board of Manifesta, the project of this new biennial was stated in the following way:

The original idea for Manifesta, was to create a new type of itinerant event with a flexible organization structure. Each successive edition was to be held in a different city and put together by a team of curators from different parts of Europe. Manifesta's complex task was to set up an alternative event, whose aim is to explore the mental and geopolitical boundaries of the new Europe, as well as the cultural interrelationships between different regions. It is important to mention that Manifesta is an ongoing process, whose impact is cumulative and is carried over from one edition to the next. Each successive edition of Manifesta will be reshaped

by the regional cultural context in which it temporarily becomes embedded. In addition to promoting an exhibition in different European cities every two years, Manifesta is in the process of developing a dense network of information and exchange. This cultural web is accessible to everyone and ensures the continuing growth and development of Manifesta, as an idea and as a living entity.¹⁸

Manifesta is characterized by its ambulatory nature, which offers the possibility to conduct fieldwork in several of the locations where it took place; such fieldwork could thus examine how such a contemporary art event has reflected as much as it has contributed to the transformation of the art world during the 1990s, as seen primarily through the optic of the activity of an increasingly inter-scenic community of professionals. The fact that each exhibition edition occupies a different location allows for an investigation that looks at a variety of cultural contexts across Europe, analyzing the effects of practical encounters across difference or the frictions between a newly established circuit and different local situations. With Manifesta, these local situations range from Western European contemporary art centers, with relatively strong institutional histories and support structures (as was the case when Manifesta was held in Rotterdam and Frankfurt) to more peripheral and institutionally less well-equipped sites (like Ljubljana, Donostia-San Sebastián, and Nicosia, where the sixth edition will be held in 2006).

In what follows, I examine these encounters and frictions, focusing on the reception of Manifesta within artistic communities in Rotterdam, where the first Manifesta took place in 1996, and Ljubljana, where Manifesta 3 was held in 2000. These two sites of research were chosen for their distinctive qualities. It seemed important to study how the inauguration and experimentation of Manifesta in Rotterdam was remembered by that city and its inhabitants, nearly a decade after the exhibition first opened, while Ljubljana was the only Eastern European city to host Manifesta. It also seemed important to investigate how Manifesta was remembered and retrospectively evaluated in these two contexts and to understand and assess what lasting effects Manifesta has had both on the development of the local art scene and on its relationship with other sites of production in Europe.¹⁹

Since its founding in 1993, the project to construct a "network," to enable "artistic cooperation" and "international dialogue" has been essential to the definition of Manifesta as well as a means by which to distinguish itself from existing art events, such as Documenta or the other European contemporary art biennials, including the Venice Biennial, the Paris Biennial, or even the Lyon Biennial (organized for the first time just a few years earlier). One of Manifesta's initial purposes was both to extend the scope and change the nature of the European art world. From some of its earliest internal documents, one discovers that it was founded on the grounds that "the abolition of the political division between Eastern and Western Europe created untold

opportunities for co-operation between the various members of the entire artistic community" and that "such co-operation is crucial not only to the development of artists but also to the vitality of the international dialogue regarding contemporary art."²⁰ Manifesta was thus initiated to serve "as a stimulus to the free exchange of people, ideas and works of art" and as such it meant to "organise a more continuous dialogue about the current mentality in the European state of the arts."²¹ Most of these initial goals have remained at the core of Manifesta's evolving self-definition.

Besides its itinerant nature, several other parameters in the organization of Manifesta were imagined to assist in attaining these objectives: Each edition was to be conceived by a team of curators from different parts of Europe, working together collaboratively and without necessarily knowing each other prior to their appointment; alongside them, small- and large-scale institutions in each host city would serve as local organizers of the event, thus allowing the possibility for the chosen curators and local institutions to conceive the exhibition or its accompanying events in relation to the particular needs of the context.

The financial model for the Manifesta biennial—to count on the collegial support of the different Ministries of Culture or Foreign Affairs without that support being tied to specific artists—was novel in a world of biennials-as-national-showcases and ultimately short-lived. This utopian financial model, initiated for the first edition in Rotterdam, had to be abandoned for further editions, and ever since Manifesta has had to rely primarily on the interest and investment of a city willing to host the event. Not only did this evolution change the organizational nature of the biennial, which then became less a shared project sponsored and "cared for" communally every two years no matter in what country the exhibition opened, but it also changed the nature of the international links—from diplomatic to more circumstantial—that form between each city, from one edition to another. All of the interlocutors interviewed in Rotterdam and Ljubljana, despite the nature of their professional affiliation with Manifesta—from a participating artist to a director of an institution and a local political official—shared the same assessment: The network Manifesta established during its ten-year history is not one between countries or even cities, but rather between people.

"On the level of the city government, officials, city halls, politicians, etc., Manifesta didn't have much effect," confided Kees Weeda, former Rotterdam cultural administrator. "There hasn't been a big spin-off. But in my opinion, it's very seldom that these things can happen between cities today." It also appeared very clear that the art institutions that hosted the Manifesta exhibitions have not really fostered preferred relationships with other institutions in other cities that hosted Manifesta. In Rotterdam, for instance, none of the institutions involved, including the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Witte

Capital produces goods and also subjectivities; both are produced naturally enough. Instead of political subjects, we get "prosumers" (from pro[ducer] and [con]sumer), caught in a pathological *circulus vitiosus* of contemporary global capitalism in which producing and consuming coincide. The prosumer (pace Antonio Conti) presents a

deadly hybridization that allows us to say that we are not political subjects at all, but mere prosumers. The prosumer is the positivization of contemporary evacuations of the political subject, its radical art practices, and its histories. In such a situation, creativity and resistance in contemporary art are pulled apart, dissociated one from the other.

In light of this, rather than analyzing two Manifesta exhibitions with reference to anthropology, I suggest adopting something like Beatriz Preciado's specific genealogy of power, the body, and capital liaisons analysis. In her text "Gender and Performance Art" (2004), Preciado calls for "genderology," a specific genealogy of the field of gender in order to understand the institution of capitalist power pressuring and cannibalizing it (and anthropology is precisely about genealogy). I propose then to think about Manifesta in terms of "Manifestology," a genealogy of a specific global capitalist condition that produces such exhibitions. I thus recommend not simply clarifying the origins of Manifesta and its connections to the European Union, but also tracing the emergence of specific discourses and exhibition platforms in relations to capital, art markets, and precarious labor conditions. Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana, as I argued in 2000, was an international multiculturalists' legitimization of the internal, enlightened technocrats of post-socialism. Manifesta's presence there was a sign of the approval of the international community, a kind of Schengen agreement in art and culture, demonstrating, furthermore, that Slovenia could play the game. It showed a radical discord between the potentials of resistance and the institutions and mechanisms of power that provoke them, as well as the complicity of power, private capital, and thought with mastery.

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de With, the Kunsthal, the Nederlands Fotomuseum, and the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, have established new forms of cooperation with institutions in the cities where later editions of Manifesta were held. Very few of their staff members (unless directly committed to Manifesta as board members of the International Foundation Manifesta) have even visited the subsequent editions of Manifesta, unless specifically invited. The same is true for the officials involved in the cultural departments of the different cities.

It seems obvious that Manifesta's initially stated wish to institute and develop novel forms of cultural institutional partnership within the new Europe and to sustain a dialogue necessary for investigating and improving the exhibition's process have not been fulfilled, at least not from one edition and one host city to the next. And with this failure, a real opportunity has been missed. In this sense, Manifesta has not really distinguished itself from the common criticism of biennials as "sizzling commodities that every city desired to create [or host] in order to boost their profile in search of a place on the map of global art tourism and the creation of cultural currency."²² However, if we shift the focus from the city-to-city agencies—cultural departments or art institutions—it is obvious that Manifesta, more than any other existing biennials maybe, has strongly favored the creation and the development of relationships between the different cultural sites where it took place, but through a person-to-person network.

"In the 1990s, Rotterdam started to be known as a great city for young artists and Manifesta was very important in building up this reputation, and I would say that the most important spin-off of Manifesta was for a small number of local artists who were brought into the international network then: Jeanne van Heeswijk, the artists Bik Van der Pol, Joep van Lieshout.... They all made important contacts with curators through Manifesta," explained Thomas Meijer zu Slochteren, director of TENT, Centrum Beeldende Kunst in Rotterdam.²³ In Ljubljana, the same analysis was also made but in a less clear-cut way. As the Slovenian independent curator Natasa Petresin stated: "I think Manifesta clearly raised the awareness of the artists, suggesting that Slovenia would now be on the map, that international curators would have a more attentive eye on them from now on. But as for careers, clearly it didn't have much impact. Most of the Slovenian artists that are known today were already internationally known before Manifesta 3, and most of these artists were not so involved in Manifesta here. On the other hand, the Slovenian artists who were in Manifesta in Ljubljana aren't so visible today." In previous editions of Manifesta, curators exhibited the work of artists already well known in the host countries, such as the IRWIN group and Tadej Pogačar in Manifesta 1 in Rotterdam, Marko Peljhan and Apolonija Šušteršič in Manifesta 2 in Luxembourg City, and Marjetica Potrč in Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana. The latter certainly played a role in enhancing the international reputations of artists with work on display in Ljubljana, but it nevertheless seems to have

benefited local curators more than local artists, in terms of connections with the international art world, as certain analyses corroborated. Borut Vogeljik of the IRWIN group claims: "Manifesta was very, very positive in terms of a network for Igor Zabel and several curators from here. They became internationally connected, and so it's through their activity here afterwards that we could sense the effects of Manifesta, maybe." Petresin confirmed: "I think Manifesta here did a lot for the international visibility of local art professionals, especially curators. This is probably the main difference with events such as Venice and Documenta. There, no one really meets the local art world professionals, whereas here we were constantly solicited; I made a lot of contacts during Manifesta." Slovenian curator Igor Zabel, who was a member of Manifesta's board and helped coordinate the exhibition in Ljubljana, acting as liaison between the local art world and the international curators responsible for the artistic direction of the event, acknowledged this shortcoming and confirmed that Manifesta essentially helps trigger professional encounters:

It's something that we should not forget: Manifestas are not made for locals, they're international projects, and they succeed when they work as an interface between the local and the international realms. Regarding the participation of the art scene here, there was this criticism that Manifesta didn't involve the local potentialities enough. Part of this was true, but it wasn't so essential, I think. It was much more important for the art scene that Manifesta established a point or core of interest that could be used by anybody around. They could use Manifesta. The top of the art world was here.

According to Petresin, this is not only the case at the local level, but internationally: "I think Manifesta is much more than an exhibition, in the sense that it brings all these connections. When I went to Frankfurt or to San Sebastián, coming from Ljubljana, I had this kind of Manifesta passport that gives us Slovenian art workers a certain instant credibility. I have this sense of 'being part of it,' although at the time I wasn't directly involved in Manifesta."

Acknowledgement of Manifesta as a potentially productive interface between the local and the international art worlds is generally shared both in Rotterdam and Ljubljana. But the issue of *how* productive the interface has been or could have been leads to a wider range of reactions, contestations, and problematizations. For many of the participants, it is not enough that Manifesta functions on a person-to-person basis, connecting local professionals to more influential ones who visit during the opening days of the event. Already foreseeing the danger of that possibility before the first edition and understanding a real need to activate the role of artists in a biennial, a group of Rotterdam artists, including Jeanne van Heeswijk, Wapke Feenstra, and Karin Arink, saw that connections between artists *themselves* could be missed with Manifesta. They initiated NESTWORK, an independent project backed by

the curators and aimed at triggering interaction between the various cultural workers in Rotterdam and the foreign artists taking part to Manifesta. Specifically, they conceived a project that operated throughout the duration of the exhibition and not only during the opening days, like so many other Manifesta networking opportunities.²⁴ It included *My House: Your Home* at the B.a.d Foundation, an artist-run studio complex in Rotterdam where twenty foreign artists exhibiting in Manifesta resided during their stay in the city. As Feenstra recalls, "It all started when the curators came here to explain their plans about Manifesta, and they were all talking about exchange and communication and the new Europe, etc. So we wondered: 'Is this supposed to happen only thanks to the artworks presented in the exhibitions?' We knew how it would work: Foreign artists come here, they go to their hotels, and we go to our houses. There's one opening, and we will all stare at each other thinking, 'Who is this guy?' And that's it, end of exchange. So we thought, 'Why not invite the artists to stay with us and really have the chance to spend a lot of time with them?'" For both the Dutch artists who initiated this program and the Slovenian artists who participated in it, interviewed almost ten years later in Ljubljana, this initiative was a success, as it created communal and networking activities substantially different from the ones traditionally offered during events such as contemporary art biennials. "It was really important to us," Arink revealed. "At that moment, we [the artists running B.a.d] were working rather traditionally; we were mainly painters and sculptors. The contact with the artists taking part in Manifesta, through those crazy days and nights when we all hung out together, that really opened our mind and influenced our practices as artists. Those weeks triggered several collaborations between artists afterwards and in relation to other exhibitions in other countries." Tadej Pogačar, one of the Slovenian participants in Manifesta 3 who happened to take part in *My House: Your Home*, also acknowledged the singularity of the project and the effects it had: "In the contemporary art world, it's very hard to make things change, but I think that the first Manifesta at least tried to make these changes. From the point of view of an artist involved in Manifesta 1, its greatest achievement was how it involved the local community of artists through the NEStWORK project and how it was all about communication and connection between artists from all different parts of Europe. And so this was another kind of economy. But it's something that the following Manifestas never achieved later."

In Rotterdam, the interviews I conducted strikingly reveal that the NEStWORK project was the only feature of Manifesta 1 distinctively remembered by everyone, ten years after the fact, whereas the general look of the exhibition, the names of the artists involved, the artistic projects presented, and issues presumably debated during Manifesta 1 were almost completely forgotten. The experience of NEStWORK as a central element in the inaugural edition of Manifesta stands today as a point of reference in assessing the

achievements or failures of subsequent editions of Manifesta. In Ljubljana, for example, some have recognized the failings or missed opportunities during Manifesta's presence there as not merely regrettable aftereffects, but as potential dangers to the local situation. As Pogačar attests,

The curators of Manifesta didn't collaborate with the existing independent art structures here, such as P74, Kapelica, and the Skuc Gallery. This was not only a missed opportunity, it even harmed their long-term commitment to the development of the art scene here. The reaction of the local politics, the authority of the town, and the Ministry of Culture, because basically they hate contemporary art, was: 'O.K. we are going to give money for Manifesta but no more after that.' Manifesta was somehow a good excuse to get rid of contemporary art. And obviously, the year after Manifesta, there was less money for the local scene, the independent art scene.

For several interviewees, the fact that Manifesta institutionalized itself after its first edition and hardly fulfilled its self-definition as more than another large-scale exhibition are significant problems. According to these critics, Manifesta quickly veered from its ambition to be an instrument in the actualization of the idea of "Europe" and the artistic development within it (as such, it occasionally was to take the form of a large-scale contemporary art exhibition, but only as *part* of its mission) to being just one among many comparable exhibitions, including the traditional biennials from which Manifesta initially wanted to stand apart. Slovenian artists were quite articulate about the shifts in Manifesta and the limits that such shifts imposed. As Pogačar said, "Since its second edition, Manifesta has become very shaped, very fixed, not an open-form institution or experimental manifestation anymore. In Ljubljana, it was much too rigid for here, too closed. Here, they missed the local history and the local politics and the local art world altogether." Vogelink added:

I think that the shift toward a more international openness that we all witnessed in the 1990s has principally brought pragmatics into the art world. Events such as Manifesta are the new salons. How can we understand it in any other way? This is their function. They are professional congresses. And expectations should be based on that. I'm not cynical, I'm realistic, and frankly there's nothing bad in it, and Manifesta is certainly a brilliant tool for this. And, of course, it wasn't a bad show. Of course, it didn't change the scene completely, but it was an important step in putting some professionals from Ljubljana on the A list, or rather on the B list, of the European contemporary art circuit. My expectations of Manifesta were not higher than this; I never believed that Manifesta would touch the most serious issues here in the Eastern European countries, which is the lack of discourse and of public dialogue on issues about art, and what people consider art art. But I don't think that Manifesta actually had the potential to do that, or that exhibitions

can change that; only discourse can do this, I believe. An exhibition cannot make a difference.

In the interviews conducted, Manifesta was perceived to have evolved along this line because of the dominant role of the curators. Like most contemporary art biennials in the 1990s, Manifesta became above all else a "curators' affair." As Pogačar put it,

I think that the first Manifesta was very successful because its curators had quite some experience already. They knew what they were doing. Ever since, the curators of Manifesta have been a lot younger. They don't have the experience; it's their first major exhibition, so they just try hard to show the whole world that they know the job and can make a correct exhibition. So they're not willing to take a lot of risks because they fear that if they fail, they will never get a job afterwards. And the position of the curators is really crucial for this type of project. Not to mention the fact that the curators keep fighting most of the time, because they are competing with one another rather than working together to produce something else or something more than what an exhibition can do.

One conclusion, although partial, can be drawn from my research: Manifesta unmistakably has fulfilled its initial goal of developing a dense network of information and exchange. While it connects curators (both those who organize the different editions and those who happen to visit) across Europe more than any other existing biennials, it has proven to be unable to genuinely help establish and foster intellectual or professional exchange in artistic communities between cities where previous editions have been held.²⁵

Manifesta embodies particularly well some of the main evolutions of the contemporary art world since the 1990s. Its considerable development as an international network of an increasingly mobile and well-connected elite of professionals certainly parallels recent developments in the art world at large and, to some extent, has been a driving force of such an evolution. It also echoes the changing role of curators, an unprecedentedly decisive and influential position in this professional world, thanks especially to the proliferation of biennials, but one that is often put into question within artists' circles. Above all, Manifesta illustrates how biennials, despite their regularly declared intent to stand as an adequate framework and platform to address and engage issues extending far beyond the realm of art, have acted more tangibly as an accelerator in the transformation of the art world into a mere cultural industry and its culture as more and more event-driven.

While biennials are recognized as successful and relevant artistic events almost exclusively on the international level, they consistently fail to meet local expectations.²⁶ As the biennial phenomenon increased during the second part of the 1990s, so did the great suspicion that they could produce mean-

ingful dialogues between local and international art worlds. But even if biennials are systematically criticized by the local communities in which they take place, this does not imply that they cease to magnetize attention, continue to attract more visitors than any other forms of contemporary art exhibition, and trigger fantasies as well as reflexive scrutiny in the professional art world. The fact that they disappoint, more often than not, does not seem to affect this phenomenon, as illustrated in Ljubljana. When it was announced that the city would host Manifesta 3, a group of Slovenians, consisting of critics, artists, curators, and researchers associated with the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts (now the SCCA-Ljubljana Center for Contemporary Arts) who were very aware of the shortcomings of such events, initiated the research project entitled *Manifesta in Our Backyard*, anticipating these kinds of tensions and seeking to encourage "a critical discourse on the contemporary art system and the institutionalisation of art."²⁷ The research unfolded through three issues of *PlatformaSSCA*, exploring various aspects of the influence of Manifesta on the Slovenian art world. Although frequently mentioned in the interviews conducted in Ljubljana, the content of *PlatformaSSCA* was only vaguely remembered, since all eyes, paradoxically, are never focused on Manifesta's past editions, but on future ones. The examination of the determinations and implications of this apparent contradiction would probably prove the most productive, in terms of analysis, for an anthropological study of the culture of the contemporary art world and its transformation as a cultural and tourist industry, an evolution that clearly derives from its global expansion as well as its attempts to grasp the larger economical, political, and cultural changes within which it is situated and situates itself.

NOTES

1. Edmund Leach, *A Runaway World?* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1968), p. 21.

2. Both a series of disturbing reflections on the entanglement of anthropology with colonial regimes during the heyday of imperialism and imperialism's problematic imprint on any anthropological research carried out in the post-independence era spurred the crisis in the discipline. This anxiety soon precipitated a more general crisis regarding the representation of "the Other" in anthropological discourse. In 1950, Michel Leiris ("L'Ethnologue devant le colonialisme," *Les Temps moderne* no. 58 [1950]: 357-74) published what is perhaps the first extended analysis of the involvement of anthropological research with colonialism. It is fair to say, however, that it is only in the 1970s that this reflexive turn surfaced in a series of publications, including *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Gérard Leclerc, *Anthropologie et colonialisme: essai sur l'histoire de l'africanisme* (Paris: Fayard, 1972); *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, ed. Talal Asad (New York: Humanities Press, 1973); *Anthropologie et impérialisme*, ed. Jean Copans (Paris: F. Maspero, 1975); and

Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

3. Anthropology's traditionally method of inquiry involves a long period of participation and study within another culture. The publication of *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) constituted something of a watershed in anthropological thought. It exhorted anthropologists to reject their traditionally authoritative, realist, and objective style and to develop new forms of representing their subjects, forms that might better include the multiple voices of those being represented and thus more aptly account for changes in the world on the eve of the twenty-first century.

4. Important publications that marked this period include *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1992); *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London: Sage Publications, 1994); Marc Augé, *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains* (Paris: Aubier, 1994); Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); and George E. Marcus, *Ethnography Through Thick and Thin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

5. See, for instance, *The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance to the Contemporary World*, ed. Akbar S. Ahmed and Cris N. Shore (London: Athlone, 1995); *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era*, ed. Václav Hubinger (New York: Routledge, 1996); *The Future of Anthropological Knowledge*, ed. Henrietta L. Moore (New York: Routledge, 1996); *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); *Critical Anthropology Now: Unexpected Contexts, Shifting Constituencies, Changing Agendas*, ed. George E. Marcus (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1999); *The Best of "Anthropology Today"*, ed. Jonathan Benthall (New York: Routledge, 2002); and *Exotic No More: Anthropology on the Front Lines*, ed. Jeremy MacClancy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

6. Of course, after the 2001 attack on the New York World Trade Center and the ensuing U.S. leadership in worldwide remilitarization, the story of an inevitable, peaceful transition to global integration has seemed more and more like the dream of a particular historical moment.

7. The exhibition *Magiciens de la terre* organized by Jean-Hubert Martin in Paris at the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Grande Halle de la Vilette during the summer of 1989 is commonly referred as the starting point of artworld globalization in the 1990s. Although it is certainly a simplification to consider the exhibition as such, its legacy was nevertheless crucial not because it contributed to the emergence of a new type of exhibition model (very few curators adopted Martin's approach toward and conception of art and internationalism), but because the exhibition gave rise to an unprecedented array of debates and reactions developed by both Western commentators and, for once, by a new

generation of thinkers, social theorists, artists, and curators from all continents.

8. Okwui Enwezor, *Grossausstellungen und die Antinomien einer transnationalen globalen Form* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2002). A revised and extended version of this essay was published in *MJ – Manifesta Journal 2* (winter 2003–spring 2004): 6–31.

9. While critics began to grapple with the biennial phenomenon in the early 1990s, they have done so more intensively in the last five years. For early criticisms, see Thomas McEvilley, "Arrivederci Venice: the Third World Biennials," *Artforum* 32, no. 3 (November 1993): 114–16; and Dominique Nahas, "Doubting Thomas: Incidents of Travel in the Contemporary Art World, Interview with Thomas McEvilley," *TRANS* 1, no. 1 (November 1995): 56–70. Other interesting analysis include Michael Brenson, "The Curator's Moment: Trends in the Field of International Contemporary Art Exhibitions," *Art Journal* 57, no. 4 (winter 1998): 16–27; Christian Hays, "Spin City," *Frieze*, no. 38 (January–February 1998): 48–51; and Ralph Rugoff, "Rules of the Game," *Frieze*, no. 44 (January–February 1999): 46–49. Lately it has become de rigueur to lodge criticisms more severely. See Paul Ardenne, "From Biennale to Banal? Schmooze and Globalization," *Art Press*, no. 291 (June 2003): 40–43; Jens Hoffman, "Running on Empty: The Biennial is Dead! Long Live the Biennial," *nu-e*, no. 1 (September 2003), available online at www.nu-e.nu; Eivind Furnesvik, "Phantom Pains" *Verksted*, no. 1 (2003): 17–57; and Eric Troncy, "A Future One Would Like to be Able to Defer," *Parkett*, no. 69 (2003): 194–96.

10. For a discussion on this issue between some of the main protagonists of this trend, see "Global Tendencies: Globalism and the Large-Scale Exhibition, A Roundtable with Francesco Bonami, Catherine David, Okwui Enwezor, James Meyer, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Martha Rosler, and Yinka Shonibare," *Artforum* 42, no. 3 (November 2003): 153–63, 206, 212. For another interesting analysis in the same issue, see, in the same issue, Pamela M. Lee, "Boundary Issues: The Art World Under the Sign of Globalism" (164–67).

11. This new generation of curators, including, among others, Hou Hanru, Okwui Enwezor, Francesco Bonami, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Rosa Martínez, Vasif Kortun, Yuko Hasegawa, Ute Meta Bauer, Ivo Mesquita, Carlos Basualdo, Adriano Pedrosa, Apinan Poshyananda, Charles Esche, and Barbara Vanderlinden, perfectly reflects the new globalism of the art world. Numerous publications have been devoted to the redefinition of curatorial practice and the accomplishments of this new generation of curators during the 1990s, such as *Stopping the Process: Contemporary Views on Art and Exhibitions*, ed. Mika Hannula (Helsinki: Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art, 1998); *Curating in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Gavin Wade (Walsall: New Art Gallery Walsall; Wolverhampton: University of Wolverhampton, School of Art and Design, 2000); *Words of Wisdom: A Curator's Vade Mecum on Contemporary Art*, ed. Carin Kuoni (New York: Independent Curators International, 2001); Carolee Thea, *Foci: Interviews with Ten International Curators* (New York: Apex Art Curatorial Program, 2001); *Curating Now: Imaginative Practice, Public Responsibility*, ed. Paula Marincola and Robert Storr (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibition Initiative, 2001); the B.Read series *The Producers: Contemporary Curators in Conversation*, ed. Susan Hiller and Sarah Martin, nos. 1–5 (Gateshead: BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, 2000–02); *Cream: Contemporary Art in Culture, 10 Curators, 10 Writers, 100 Artists*, ed. Gilda Williams (London: Phaidon, 1998); *Fresh Cream: Contemporary Art in Culture, 10 Curators, 10 Writers, 100 Artists*, ed. Gilda Williams (London: Phaidon, 2000); *Cream 3: 100*

Artists, 10 Curators, 10 Source Artists, ed. Gilda Williams (London: Phaidon, 2003); and *Men in Black: Handbook of Curatorial Practice*, ed. Christoph Tannert and Ute Tischler (Berlin: Künstlerhaus Bethanien; Frankfurt: Revolver, 2004).

12. See, for instance, the catalogues of such exhibitions as *Inklusion, Exklusion: Versuch einer neuen Kartografie der Kunst im Zeitalter von Postkolonialismus und globaler Migration*, ed. Peter Weibel (Cologne: DuMont, 1997); *Truce: Echoes of Art in an Age of Endless Conclusions* (Santa Fe, NM: SITE Santa Fe, 1997); *Cities on the Move*, ed. Hou Hanru and Hans-Ulrich Obrist (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje, 1997); *Documenta X* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Cantz, 1997); *Trade Routes, History and Geography: 2nd Johannesburg Biennale 1997* (Johannesburg: Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, 1997); *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999); *Kunst-Welten im Dialog: von Gauguin zur globalen Gegenwart*, ed. Marc Scheps, Yilmaz Dziewior, and Barbara M. Thiemann (Cologne: DuMont, 1999); *Laboratory: Continental Shift* (Maastricht: Bonnefantenmuseum, 2000); *Partage d'exotismes: 5e Biennale d'art contemporain de Lyon* (Lyon: Reunion des musées nationaux, 2000); *Unpacking Europe: Towards a Critical Reading*, ed. Salah Hassan and Iftikhar Dadi (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001); *Documenta11* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002); *How Latitudes Become Forms: Art in a Global Age* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2003); *Dreams and Conflicts: The Viewer's Dictatorship* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2003); and *Universal Experience: Art, Life, and the Tourist's Eye*, ed. Robert Fitzpatrick (New York: D.A.P.; Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, 2005).

13. Francesco Bonami, in *Words of Wisdom*, 32.

14. This was the theme of the symposium *Fieldworks: Dialogues Between Art and Anthropology* held at the Tate Modern, London, in September 2003 and organized by anthropologists Arnd Schneider and Chris Wright. See <http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/eventseducation/fieldworks>.

15. The notion of "studying up" comes from Laura Nader's pioneering appeal ("Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up," in *Reinventing Anthropology*, 284–311) to anthropologists to study "from the bottom upward, which is to say, the colonizers rather than simply the colonized, the culture of power rather than simply the culture of the powerless, and the culture of affluence rather than simply the culture of poverty."

16. See Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); and Jean-François Bayart, *Le Gouvernement du monde: une critique politique de la globalisation* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

17. George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117.

18. Chris Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art*, (Luxembourg City: Casino Luxembourg–Forum d'art contemporain, 1998), 5.

19. By no means is my research a thorough anthropological examination of Manifesta. Classic anthropological research requires long-term participation in and intense engagement with the field, two conditions that could not possibly be fulfilled in the context of this essay. Rather, this text was conceived as the beginning of an anthropological study of the contemporary art world. This is the reason why it deals principally

with the fallout of Manifesta. The research was based on a series of interviews realized specifically for this essay in Rotterdam and Ljubljana, respectively eight and four years after Manifesta took place in these cities, with a variety of individuals who had been involved with the organization of Manifesta or keen observers of the event, including artists, exhibition curators, and politicians. Within the text, all quotations lacking end-notes derive from these interviews.

20. "Foundation European Art Manifestation," 1993, box "Origins and Contents," Manifesta Archive, International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam.

21. "Manifesta: The Pan-European Art Manifestation," *ibid.*; and "Minutes of the Advisory Board Meeting in Stuttgart, IFA Institute in Stuttgart, 24 June 1994," *ibid.*

22. Hoffman, "Running on Empty."

23. In fact, Van der Pol and Van Lieshout did not even take part in Manifesta 1. They merely had shows that opened at the same time in the city. If one can attribute some of their increased profile to Manifesta, this suggests that, beyond connecting participating artists to curators within the official frame of the exhibition, an event such as Manifesta can bring international attention to local events and practitioners by ensuring a steady flow of curators, art professionals, and other visitors to a city.

24. See *NEStWORK Activities During Manifesta 1, Blueprint*, (Rotterdam: NEStWORK, 1996).

25. It is very indicative that *MJ – Manifesta Journal*, Manifesta's recently developed device for sustaining itself as a network in between editions, is explicitly addressed to curators, its subtitle being *Journal of Contemporary Curatorship*. Although co-published by the Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Ljubljana, and the International Foundation Manifesta, this quarterly is still virtually unknown in artists' circles in Ljubljana or in Rotterdam, despite having released four issues already. Other instruments for sustaining this activity include Manifesta's website, which recapitulates the previous editions of the project; the permanent office opened in Amsterdam, which serves as a documentation center; and the series of private symposia organized biannually in Liverpool under the name Manifesta Coffee Breaks.

26. This complaint is often waged against biennials, and their openings are often the occasion for heated debates among locals about what "their" biennial actually brings them. See, for instance, the very interesting, comparative analysis of the biennial phenomenon in Johannesburg and the Nordic countries (*Momentum*) recently published by Furnesvik, "Phantom Pains." Another important publication addressing this subject was produced in South Africa, in the aftermath of the second Johannesburg Biennial. See *Grey Areas: Representation, Identity, and Politics in Contemporary South African Art*, ed. Brenda Atkinson and Candice Breitz (Johannesburg: Chalkham Hill Press, 1999).

27. Urška Jurman, "Research Project Manifesta in Our Backyard," *PlatformaSCCA*, no. 1 (June 2000): 3.

THE RHETORICS OF MANIFESTA*

Camiel van Winkel

Biennials don't work, so why start another?¹ The inaugural statement or manifesto by the advisory board of Manifesta, published in the catalogue of Manifesta 1 (Rotterdam, 1996), contains all the rhetorical elements that today, almost ten years later, continue to make its premises rather paradoxical. Manifesta is an institution built on the critique of institutions. According to the 1996 statement, the existing "large-scale international exhibitions" were inadequate to respond to the political, social, and cultural changes that had taken place in Europe after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact in 1989. Manifesta was thus founded as an alternative to institutions like the Venice Biennial and Documenta, which were seen as slow, bulky, bureaucratic, inefficient, and implicitly nationalist. The advisory board stated that these large-scale periodic exhibitions too often hovered "somewhere between the average art-fair and the *sacro sanctum* of the museum, [so that] the real problems posed by these shows kept being covered up by the bedazzling merry-go-round: memory is short when it comes to these exhibitions—after all, there's always a next time."²

Even if Manifesta was to be a biennial event too, implying that there would always be "a next time," the members of Manifesta's advisory board saw their enterprise as radically different. Their aim was to disentangle the muddy relationships between economic and artistic forces, meaning, for instance, that countries would sponsor Manifesta without knowing in advance the names of the participating artists.³ Manifesta was launched with the ambition that the institutionalization of this new biennial would remain limited; it would never suffer from the inertia and massive scale of its counterparts in Venice and Kassel. The advisory board of Manifesta felt its responsibility was "not only to appoint the curatorial team and select future sites for Manifesta, but also to come up with a means of keeping the procedure open and flexible, and the organization as small as possible." For them, Manifesta was intended as an "ongoing process, one designed to clarify artistic and curatorial positions within Europe; it is definitely not an internal monologue, but rather aims to keep an open eye and mind to surrounding cultures."⁴

The stress on lightness and flexibility continued to dominate the official

rhetoric of Manifesta even after the organization, having survived its initial phase, had started to mature. Manifesta applies the critique of institutions to itself, or so it claims. It thinks of itself as an organization that continuously evolves and evaluates itself in a critical and open manner.⁵ This, in combination with its "nomadic" structure and international curatorial team, is perceived as the main distinction between Manifesta and other periodic, large-scale art exhibitions.⁶

Open Ends

The Manifesta organization has devoted itself to "the development of open-ended, democratic procedures" in a collaborative and communicative spirit.⁷ Democracy is one of the metaphors underlying the discourse of Manifesta. The ambition to create an atmosphere of openness and transparency—one of the main preconditions for democratic systems—is more important than a literal adaptation of democratic procedures.⁸ In this respect, Manifesta wants to connect to the antidogmatic nature of contemporary art production in general.⁹ Several of its additional aims, such as the creation of "closer connections and collaborations with new communities," likewise correspond to this democratic ideal.¹⁰

Given the link to the historical events of 1989, these objectives take on special significance. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, democracy in Eastern Europe had to be completely rebuilt. Manifesta could indeed be seen as the manifestation of this new democratic ideal of openness or glasnost in the field of the arts.¹¹ The board members of the International Foundation Manifesta (IFM) claimed to respect cultural diversity, seeking to bridge the gap between various European populations. "Manifesta was to provide a new platform for young artists who had been disenfranchised by the old political and economic divisions of the Cold War and who now became alienated as much by mediation in the West as by the lack of it in the East."¹² The format of an itinerant biennial was chosen in order "to create the means for responding flexibly to the needs of contemporary artists, the ideas that they wanted to express and the ways in which these might be communicated."¹³

In the official self-image of Manifesta, the metaphor of democracy is coupled with the metaphor of the *network*. Manifesta was conceived as an organically growing medium of exchange between artists, curators, cities, and local institutions, a medium for the exchange of ideas, knowledge, and information "between local configurations and external networks."¹⁴ However, it is not obvious that these metaphors fit at all. Networks are not inherently democratic. On the contrary, a network is exclusive rather than inclusive, built upon a set of privileged relations between selected individuals. What place does the public occupy in relation to the network? Manifesta's rather straightforward rhetorical trajectory typically leaves little room for such questions. The net-

work is described as simply open to the public, to "everyone": "Manifesta is in the process of developing a dense network of information and exchange. This cultural web is accessible to everyone and ensures the continuing growth and development of Manifesta, as an idea and as a living entity."¹⁵ The discourse is of such a general and abstract nature that any notion of privilege or exclusion evaporates. "If one perceives the world as an interdependency of forces, an intriguing weaving of structures, ideas and reactions, Manifesta aims to be the shuttle that moves through this fabric and network," the project office wrote in 1996.¹⁶ This notion of the network seems to group together rather diverse connotations, such as Deleuze's concept of the rhizome, George Soros's idea of the open society, Manuel Castells's theory of the network society, as well as the more mundane awareness of the importance of networking. (To what extent the ingredients of this mix of connotations have changed over the years would be an interesting topic for research.)

In the Manifesta language game, "democratic" means "open" and "inclusive" but also "open-ended." Both the IFM and its successive boards have promoted a process-based approach to exhibition making. Instead of deciding about matters in an authoritarian manner, so they claim, all options are kept open until the end. In 1996, the project office of Manifesta 1 approvingly wrote that its curators "kept the research process as open as possible, for as long as possible."¹⁷ The gathering, exchange, and evaluation of knowledge never stop, not even after the exhibition ends: "Manifesta is an ongoing process, whose impact is cumulative and is carried over from one edition to the next."¹⁸ The curators tend to produce a similar discourse. Katalin Néray, one of the curators of Manifesta 1, talked about "creat[ing] a process which at a certain moment appears in the form of an exhibition."¹⁹ Six years later, the curatorial team of Manifesta 4 (Frankfurt, 2002) stated: "We have been working with the idea of a project which is permanently under construction, capable at any moment to incorporate new individual and collective articulations and debates."²⁰

The members of the 2002 team—Iara Boubnova, Nuria Enguita Mayo, and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley—decided to start their research without any circumscribed concept and to attempt to stake out a collective trajectory as they proceeded. Afterwards, they did not refrain from saying that "doubt, displacement and conflict" characterized their experience, just as Francesco Bonami, curator of Manifesta 3 (Ljubljana, 2000), had suggested two years before them.²¹ In a process-based approach, the final result is valued less than the path followed in order to achieve it. With it, the possibility of failure can be openly acknowledged and even thematized. "It is...possible that our self-analysis has failed at many levels," Bonami admitted in the catalogue, "yet failure is an integral part of the process of understanding."²² Thus the built-in

The thing about rhetorics is that they are often plural; to select a sampling of rhetorics for examination, one runs the risk of missing the contradiction that is the reality of the project those rhetorics are meant to accompany. According to the director of the International Foundation Manifesta, for instance, that institution should inhabit "an in-between space, not only in the geographical sense, but institutionally, politically, artistically and commercially." From this, I understand that Manifesta squats a space that questions clear-cut dichotomies, a space of difference in the ways that it represents and speaks about contemporary art and curatorial practices. Other statements of purpose have led me to believe that Manifesta, as an ongoing project, seeks to be politically stimulating, while at the same time being conscious of its own involvement in the discourses and practices that are its focus. Rhetorics play an important part in this project's profile, though they cannot guarantee reflection regarding its own presuppositions. Manifesta's efforts to transform exhibitions into tools for analyzing today's geographical, institutional, and political situation question the politics of representation, which too often are left unquestioned. As a result, works of art presented at editions of Manifesta are always "heteronomous," to employ Adorno's term, and imposed with external constraints. They represent the complicated process of curating a biennial that has as its emphasis to "think differently," which is indeed very 1990s, but nevertheless remains a relevant and important issue today.

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option for curators to admit and elaborate their own "failure" paradoxically contributes to the rhetorical construction of Manifesta's success.

Metadiscourse

The curatorial team of Manifesta 4 decided to create an exhibit out of the files of all the nine hundred to one thousand artists they visited during their trips across Europe. The democratic ideal behind Manifesta received its most substantial incarnation in this administrative monument, for which the French artist Mathieu Mercier was commissioned to design a spatial setup. The curators wanted to create an atmosphere in which nobody felt excluded, not even the artists who hadn't made it into the show: "The logic of the archive...will make the exhibition less restrictive and more informative."²³ In his catalogue essay, Jochen Volz described the archive as an "attempt at radical transparency...based on a mistrust of the structures of the established exhibition system which is marked by the binary opposition of inclusion and exclusion." He added: "A making visible of the process of genesis, a laying bare of the structures of the exhibition, and a dialogue with the host city, Frankfurt, take the place of a well-defined thematic orientation."²⁴

With the possible exception of Manifesta 3, all curatorial teams have stated quite clearly their disdain for a thematic approach toward curating. They consider "themes" as equivalent to the one-dimensional blurbs and sound bites that the entertainment industry produces. Martin Fritz, general coordinator of Manifesta 4, wrote: "In contrast to the shiny surfaces of the world of commodities and the short-lived intoxication of an event, Manifesta 4 remains committed to contradictoriness and personal stimulation."²⁵ Enguita Mayo proclaimed her "aversion to the great curatorial ideas that reduce individual proposals to mere illustrations;" she objected to the tendency of curators to present artistic "propositions" along with "a theoretical alibi that encourages a quick, digestible reading."²⁶ Manifesta curators feel they are able to transplant the complexity of the artistic and cultural situation almost without modification or qualification into the space of the exhibition. According to them, the heterogeneity of contemporary art should not be squashed into a randomly chosen thematic container, as this would prematurely halt the process of dialogue and exchange. "Art exhibitions are made of complexity," Barbara Vanderlinden, curator of Manifesta 2 (Luxembourg City, 1998), wrote, "there are so many forces involved that it seems natural they should reflect this."²⁷ In a similar vein, Marta Kuzma, curator of Manifesta 5 (Donostia-San Sebastián, 2004), talked about "embracing a conflicting plurality of projects, relational points and possible futures" as well as "working with contingency."²⁸ Statements like these reveal the anti-authoritarian exhibition format for which Manifesta stands: the exhibition as a network of interconnected fields that the visitor can "shuttle" through, creating a highly personalized trajectory.

The contempt for the unequivocal is such that it has almost become unthinkable not only to work with themes, but also to make any final statement. According to Maria Lind, curator of Manifesta 2, "All attempts to put one's finger on the focal point of contemporary art are doomed to failure, because there is more than one focal point."²⁹ Subsequent Manifesta curators, ascribing the highest level of complexity to contemporary art, imply that any statement about it, by definition, is reductive and premature.

This refusal to say anything final about the art of their time has a remarkable effect. Manifesta curators take their commitment to the content of the creative process to such extremes that it paradoxically becomes pure form. They speak about process management, when they intend to speak about art. Indeed, the discourse of Manifesta is primarily a metadiscourse, a discourse about Manifesta itself, about networks and curating, about negotiating cultural differences; it refers only indirectly to the state of things in contemporary art. A formal discourse on process, procedure, and organization is presented as the epitome of an individual commitment to artistic "content."

Local/Global

Five editions of Manifesta have taken place since 1996, in Rotterdam, Luxembourg City, Ljubljana, Frankfurt, and Donostia-San Sebastián. Nicosia will host the sixth edition in 2006. Given the explicit link between the founding of Manifesta and the end of the cold war, it seems curious that, so far, not one edition has taken place in a former member state of the Warsaw Pact.³⁰ The reason for this has never been clearly explained. However, in texts published by the Manifesta organization, one can trace a gradual shift in geopolitical priorities.

The board announced this shift for the first time in the catalogue of Manifesta 3. The political and cultural context in which Manifesta operates, this text indicates, has never been invariable. "Since its inception, Manifesta has had to take account of the changing parameters of artistic exchange. Our initial emphasis on stimulating an East-West dialogue is gradually being replaced with a broader concern for negotiating the shifting borders between centre and periphery, wherever these happen to be located, at the time."³¹ The change of parameters responsible for this "broader concern" became clear two years later. In the board's introduction to the catalogue of Manifesta 4, Eastern Europe is definitively abandoned as a special priority:

Manifesta was founded almost ten years ago, in response to a specific moment in European history....Quite quickly, the initial goal of facilitating artistic exchanges between West and East Europe gave way to a realization that cultural marginalization and the stifling of individual expression were every bit as prevalent on the North-South peripheries as to the east of the Rhine or the Danube; it also lay at the

very heart of those western democracies, which had been artificially protected from the consequences of their own behavior.³²

A case, therefore, could be made on every part of the Continent for organizing an edition of Manifesta, with its "inclusive" approach and its "open-ended, democratic procedures." While the political objectives of Manifesta thus appeared to become more explicit—namely, countering "cultural marginalization" and advancing the freedom of expression—in fact, they lost their geographic focus and became more gratuitous than before.

Despite these shifting geopolitical priorities, the official agenda of Manifesta has always revolved around the same fundamental presupposition: the notion that cultural and geographic differences are crucial for a critical understanding of contemporary art.³³ The curators, however, tend to be less convinced by this idea, especially after having extensively traveled across Europe and having met with countless artists. On their trips, they are confronted with the fact that, in some respects, globalization leads to homogenization rather than diversification. The curators of Manifesta 2 were the clearest about this:

Certain generations of artists have always developed common sensibilities, but changes in political geography and developments within the media and information technology have today reinforced these shared elements. For the last fifteen years, street aesthetics and mass communication have indeed undergone a process of homogenization that even the Situationists could not have foreseen. From Tallinn to Lisbon, passing through Istanbul, one finds the same TV stations, similar shop windows in city centres, the same computers and the same materials. Former European peripheries, ranging from Bulgaria to Ireland, from Norway to Poland, are no longer remote, at least in terms of infrastructure and the possibility of exchange. Unlike during the 1960s, an artist today no longer needs to emigrate to become international.³⁴

Since 1991, when the initial idea for Manifesta was born, it has become easier for artists to travel and spend time abroad; international programs for artists' residencies have sprung up everywhere. Robert Fleck, one of the curators of Manifesta 2, stated that "the fundamental aesthetic differences between the various parts of Europe" has disappeared and that "typical" Eastern European art no longer exists.³⁵ "It is an outcome of the 1990s that the origins of artists no longer play any mayor role."³⁶ Speaking in the context of the same edition, Vanderlinden referred to "the erosion of a sense of place," stating that "the 'local' has disappeared."³⁷ But on the other hand, she added, "the simultaneous appearance of analogous concepts" in various European regions "should not be taken to imply that these things mean the same" everywhere. "It is exactly the 'slightly different' that [is] of interest."³⁸

As Vanderlinden's statement shows, the paradoxical notion that globaliza-

tion reduces the impact of local differences, while at the same time increasing the interest in those differences, is a recurring element in the curatorial discourse of Manifesta. In their exhibitions, Manifesta curators have wanted to investigate precisely this dual transformation. Depending on the context, they have stressed either the homogenization of the European cultural field (which allowed something like Manifesta to happen in the first place) or the diversity of artistic practices (which only something like Manifesta would be able to register). In this way, artists are simultaneously seen to be part of their culture and to float above it.³⁹

The Curatorial Position

Manifesta is an institution and, as such, it communicates more easily with other institutions than with individuals or unorganized groups. Major strategic decisions are made on the basis of institutional priorities. This weakens the position of the curators, as some of the most basic parameters of the operational process of Manifesta—not to mention the major geopolitical objectives—are beyond their control. By the time the curators appear on the scene, fundamental issues, such as the choice of the host city, have already been decided. They must follow the agenda established by the advisory board. The fact that they are grouped with colleagues with whom they have never worked before further marginalizes their position. Still, the institutional logic and the official self-image of Manifesta require that curators be selected for their independence and autonomy. Within the terms set by the board, the curatorial teams are completely free to determine the form and content of their exhibition projects.

Iara Boubnova has pointed out the underlying paradox: "It seems that we have been invited/contracted to be independent."⁴⁰ Others have also noted the contradictory and perhaps absurd aspect of the curatorial position. A critic reviewing the fourth edition of Manifesta evoked the ultimate "bigbrotherization" of the contemporary European art scene.⁴¹ He alluded to the fact that a largely male board had selected three young women, who were unknown to one another, and had given them the task of visiting, in an extremely brief period of time, more than one thousand young artists throughout Europe, creating a dossier on each of them, and bringing together work by a select group of them in an exhibition in Frankfurt. This comparison with specific formats of reality TV was partly unfounded, in the sense that the Manifesta board did not impose on the curators the task of visiting over one thousand European artists; the curators took it upon themselves, thus internalizing the official Manifesta rhetoric. On the other hand, the absence of a radically different selection procedure in all five editions of Manifesta suggests that, even if the curators were not pressured to conform to a pre-established model, they voluntarily acted as if they were under such pressure.

In an interview published in the catalogue of Manifesta 4, Moïsson Trembley described her personal experience of the curatorial scouting trips. "Often, it was like being at a casting session, in an absurd or superficial position, in unfamiliar contexts."⁴² She spoke about "the absurdity of this supposedly 'open' situation" and confessed some disappointment both with the artists whom she and her colleagues visited during their trips and with the small number of real discoveries they made. She also evoked the ineffectiveness of repeating the intensive trans-European survey that the curators of the previous Manifesta edition had performed only a year and a half before: "An art scene, or context, doesn't renew itself that quickly." The reader is struck by the harsh contrast between the glamorous image of contemporary curating and the banal reality of the actual job. "Often, I asked myself basic questions like, why invite a young artist who is manifestly strongly influenced by Fischli/Weiss when you can invite Fischli/Weiss?"⁴³ Moïsson Trembley confessed she had sometimes felt "pathetic," "an intrusive stranger acting on an assignment without knowing its contents."⁴⁴

Even if sending a number of young curators from different countries out together on a demanding expedition may bring to mind reality TV, the idea behind it was very serious: to have the groundbreaking geopolitical objective of Manifesta transform the organization itself. Only a collective of curators from various European regions would be a credible mediator of cultural differences.⁴⁵

Ironically though, if curatorial teams mirror the European context that they are supposed to probe, they risk being inflicted by the same political indecisiveness and cultural discord from which many believe Europe suffers. Criticism over the years of some Manifesta curators for lacking a clear concept and avoiding strong choices confirms this fact.⁴⁶ Regardless of the validity of this critique, the belief in networking that fuels the Manifesta organization plausibly tends to induce a state of self-centeredness. The curators of the fourth edition publicly pointed out this risk. "The pressure under which we have been working [can cause] our work [to] reflect only the echo of our own presences in the different contexts we have visited," Enguita Mayo remarked in the catalogue.⁴⁷ Compare this to a statement by one of the curators of Manifesta 2: "During our research we encountered the lifestyle of the new nomadic elite."⁴⁸ The danger to which Enguita Mayo referred is clear: No matter how many kilometers they travel, how many cities they visit, or artists they meet, Manifesta curators often bring home nothing but a confirmation of their own presumptions—and an echo of their own lifestyle. The institutional format of Manifesta has contributed to this curatorial tunnel vision.

On many levels, one can only agree with a text like Camiel van Winkel's. It is true that Manifesta has adopted a curatorial jargon that at times has verged on empty rhetoric. On the other hand, though, criticizing Manifesta for such a thing is a bit like criticizing the Romans for speaking Latin or attacking the surrealists for believing in

Freud. In its short history, Manifesta appropriated and deployed many of the concepts and ideas that were in the air at the time. The metaphors put forward by Manifesta's curators are deeply rooted in the culture of the late 1990s. Their language was spoken by almost everybody in the art world spoke then. The key words, slogans, and tics that so often resurface in Manifesta's catalogues circulated among a wide variety of artists, art professionals, critics, and curators. Even Documenta, which Van Winkel credits for its stronger political profile, on numerous occasions fell into the same linguistic traps as Manifesta. Moreover, one could easily argue that the third edition of Manifesta anticipated many of the premises of Documenta 11. Seen in this perspective, Manifesta reveals itself to be one manifestation of a particular phase in the recent history of contemporary art. Arguing that Manifesta was solely responsible for spreading and promoting a certain agenda is biased, to say the least.

It is also unjust to suggest that Manifesta's interest in democracy and openness is nothing but a pose. Certainly, too much emphasis has been put on democracy in the discourse surrounding Manifesta, especially considering that there is nothing particularly democratic about an exhibition based—whether we like it or not—on the idea of selection. In fact, it's fundamentally exclusionary. But then again, I don't know many institutions that would publish an essay as critical as Van Winkel's in a volume devoted to documenting the first decade of that institution's existence. Such an essay in such a book testifies to Manifesta's commitment to reevaluate its history. In other words, one could say that Manifesta has embraced self-criticism to an almost masochistic degree. I have no idea if this is a sign

Manifesta and the 1990s

Manifesta is a phenomenon typical of the 1990s. Both its flaws and its success, both its self-created opportunities and its blind spots, characterize a decade in which the fascination with the non-institutional became an institutional fascination itself. The proliferation of certain forms of politicized discourse in the art world had ironic repercussions for Manifesta. Since the mid-1990s, some of the big institutions that Manifesta wanted to prove obsolete, such as Documenta, have developed stronger critical and political profiles of their own. At the same time, more and more cities in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere founded biennials, thus increasing the visibility of peripheral regions on the mental map of the contemporary art world. These circumstances reduced the need for the alternative that Manifesta was then struggling to forge.

The strategy of Manifesta was based upon an extension of the model of local and small-scale initiatives, in which personal contacts outweigh grand reputations, to a European scale. In so doing, this model was made to carry a substantial representational load, which turned out not to be so easy to account for. Although Manifesta contributed to the conception of a "different" exhibition model in the 1990s, it proved less fortunate in elaborating that model or in supplying the discourse needed to give it some kind of theoretical validation.

Centered on the notions of openness and open-endedness, Manifesta's process-based curatorial model exemplifies what would eventually be called "relational aesthetics," a term coined in 2002 by the French writer and curator Nicolas Bourriaud.⁴⁹ Curators such as Hans-Ulrich Obrist and Barbara Vanderlinden, partly in the context of Manifesta, formulated and simultaneously put into practice this model, one that projects a material dissolution of the work of art into a flux of social activity and audience participation.⁵⁰ One could even say that it was already put to use as an exhibition model *before* its theoretical implications had been fully explored and elaborated: The theorization of this "new" aesthetic model was subordinate to its institutionalization. Independent curators developed this model as a means for opening up art institutions or for creating "different" institutions altogether.

Manifesta can be regarded as the incarnation of this double agenda. The favored metaphor of the network seemed to offer a model for holding on to the intimacy of the local, while allowing the exhibition to be realized on a larger international scale. This metaphor also promised to make manageable, for a small and idealistic initiative like Manifesta, the considerable economic interests at stake in the organization of an itinerant biennial (issues like city marketing, global competitiveness, etc.). As the geopolitical agenda of Manifesta gradually lost its focus, however, the network surfaced as a purpose in itself, and the discourse turned into a metadiscourse with defensive and celebratory undertones, creating the impression that the organization was mainly geared

of democracy, but it's certainly a clear example of openness.

Finally, Van Winkel urges Manifesta and its future curators to address the need to generate aesthetic experiences. Once more, one can only agree with Van Winkel and hope that in the coming decade Manifesta and contemporary art exhibitions at large will be deeply concerned with basic, fundamental questions, avoiding both self-referential discussions and curatorial blah blah. But again, it's quite unfair to assume that this hasn't been the main focus for all the artists, curators, individuals, and groups involved in Manifesta from the beginning. The memory of Manifesta is not simply contained in the forewords and introductions to its catalogues. Its history is, first and foremost, one of aesthetic experiences, visual revelations, and sometimes simply stunning works of art. While I have visited a few editions of Manifesta and even co-curated one, I must confess that I don't remember any of the curatorial essays or forewords. However, I vividly recall many of the artworks on view. Now, I don't know whether this means that Van Winkel is right or completely wrong. For sure, it means that Manifesta, with all its limits, has created a few spaces in which art and aesthetic experiences have flourished. Some might say that making space for art is not enough, but could you imagine dadaism without the Cabaret Voltaire? Massimiliano Gioni, artistic director, Fondazione Nicola Trussardi, Milan, curator of the fourth Berlin Biennial (2006), and co-curator of Manifesta 5 (2004)

toward self-promotion and self-conservation. Demonstrations of "real" openness were primarily staged for their rhetorical effect, even if in some cases, such as the personal confessions published by the curators of Manifesta 4, they proved embarrassing more than anything else.

In the first decade of Manifesta, "independent curating" has become a full-blown institutionalized affair. The abundant growth of contemporary art biennials all over the world has created plenty of professional opportunities for independent curators, the group that, during the 1980s and 1990s, built up the important role it plays today. While artists increasingly showed signs of a passive, even submissive attitude with regard to the institutional field and mostly refrained from producing (critical) discourse, curators were able to take over the avant-garde position, which artists no longer seemed to aspire to or find tenable. As a result of this, avant-garde rhetorics took on a new institutional bent. After all, it makes quite a difference whether it is Robert Smithson or Robert Fleck who speaks about "non-sites."

Today, mainstream critics perceive curators as powerful figures who tend to overshadow the artists they are supposed to serve. In reality, it would be more accurate to speak of a tiered system of instrumentalization: Curators may instrumentalize artists, but they are instrumentalized themselves by the (biennial) organizations that hire them. Both artists and curators mitigate this experience by circulating from one international art event to the next, thus building up their track records (and, of course, increasing the efficiency of the instrumentalization).

In their writings, Manifesta curators have often acknowledged and even appropriated popular objections against the dominance of the curatorial position.⁵¹ The result, as shown above, is a bizarre cocktail of modesty, delusion, and pomposity. This generation of curators barely alludes to the fact that curating entails showing works of art to an audience; they seem to be the more interested in other aspects of their job. The notion that curators are primarily mediators between artists and audiences might undermine the avant-garde rhetorics they use to define who they are and what they do.

This also explains why the desire to generate aesthetic experiences is completely absent from the Manifesta discourse. The curators see the aesthetic experience as a static and private moment that makes the process of dialogue and creative exchange—and thus the social dimension of the work of art—turn inward and evaporate. Manifesta has turned virtually every single aspect of the "industry" of contemporary art into a rhetorical object, except for the aesthetic experience, which may have been the most in need of such a transformation. If Manifesta wants to survive for another decade, the rhetoricization of the aesthetic experience and the pleasures it can provide, however "nomadic" the context, might be a crucial precondition.

* My analysis of the discourse of Manifesta is based upon a close reading of its official publications, specifically the introductions and statements published by the advisory board, the project office, and the curatorial teams in the catalogues of the first five editions of Manifesta (1996–2004). The relative homogeneity of these texts (and the coherence of their rhetorical elements) has allowed me to proceed as if there existed a single and unified Manifesta discourse. Wherever this presumed unity falls apart and gives way to clear differences in position or even to contradictions—for instance, between statements by curators and by the board—I have attempted to identify, contextualize, and, if possible, explain those cases in my text. My analysis has been limited to the written discourse; a critique of the exhibitions themselves is beyond the scope of this essay.

NOTES

1. I am paraphrasing the advisory board of Manifesta 1. See Els Barents et al., "Manifesto of the Advisory Board of Manifesta: Why Another Biennial Called Manifesta?" in *Manifesta 1, Foundation European Art Manifestation* (Rotterdam: Foundation European Art Manifestation, 1996), 12–23.
2. *Ibid.*, 14.
3. With international exhibitions, curators customarily first finalize the list of artists they want to invite and then approach the respective countries with a request to sponsor the participation of "their" artists. Whatever its merits, Manifesta's alternative model of fundraising was abandoned after the first edition.
4. Barents et al., "Manifesto," 22.
5. As recently as 2004, Hedwig Fijen ("Decoding Europe?" in *Manifesta 5, European Biennial of Contemporary Art: With All Due Intent* [Donostia-San Sebastián: Centro internacional de cultura contemporánea, 2004], 15), executive director of the International Foundation Manifesta, speaking on behalf of its board, referred to the need for "continual self-reinvention, re-examining [our] methodologies and adapting [our] critical apparatus."
6. The nomadic or itinerant nature of Manifesta would appear to be one of its crucial defining characteristics. Quite remarkably, however, the official introductory texts in the catalogue of the first edition do not mention this fact at all. The advisory board (Chris Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* [Luxembourg City: Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, 1998], 5) addressed this omission in the catalogue of the second edition, writing: "The original idea for Manifesta, The European Biennial of Contemporary Art, was to create a new type of itinerant event with a flexible organisational structure. Each successive edition was to be held in a different city and put together by a different by a team of curators, from different parts of Europe."
7. Chris Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 3, European Biennial of Contemporary Art: Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence* (Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, 2000), 9. The text (p. 10) notes that it is "based in part on an interview between Catherine Millet and Meyric Hughes which appears in the June issue of *Art Press* to coincide with the opening of Manifesta 3."
8. Martin Fritz ("The Yarn Game," in *Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* [Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002], 8) stated: "The focus remains on questions and on giving priority to an open process of dialogue as opposed to papering over all the cracks."
9. Barbara Vanderlinden ("Futurables," in *Manifesta 2*, 211) explained: "This...non-obedience [of art] to ideological tendencies expresses a deliberately chosen absence of dogmatism, indicating there is not one singular identity."
10. Fijen, "Decoding Europe?" 16.
11. This "democratic" approach implies that every single "point of view" will be represented. As Hedwig Fijen and Jolie van Leeuwen ("Project Office Manifesta," in *Manifesta 1*, 34) claimed: "Essential to a cooperative project like this one is to search for common ground, for a means of communication that includes all different points of view."
12. Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 3*, 9.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Fijen, "Decoding Europe?" 15.
15. Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 2*, 5.
16. Fijen and Van Leeuwen, "Project Office Manifesta," 28.
17. *Ibid.*, 31.
18. Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 2*, 5. Fritz ("The Yarn Game," 8) evoked this notion of open-endedness again in 2002: "The duration of the exhibition is only a further interval in a permanent process which began before the preparations for Manifesta 4 and which will continue to exist thereafter."
19. Katalin Néray, "Before and After," in *Manifesta 1*, 167.
20. Iara Boubnova, Nuria Enguita Mayo, and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley,

"Prologue," in *Manifesta 4*, 4.

21. Ibid., 5.

22. Francesco Bonami, "The Former Land," in *Manifesta 3*, 11.

23. Iara Boubnova, Nuria Enguita Mayo, and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley,

"Archive," in *Manifesta 4*, 54.

24. Jochen Volz, "Parachuted," in *ibid.*, 99.

25. Fritz, "The Yarn Game," 8.

26. Nuria Enguita Mayo, "Nuria Enguita Mayo in Conversation with Santiago Eraso," in *Manifesta 4*, 107.

27. Vanderlinden, "Futurables," 210.

28. Martha Kuzma, "The Staged Matrix," in *With All Due Intent*, 39-42.

29. Maria Lind, "The Biography of an Exhibition," in *Manifesta 2*, 199.

30. *The Art Newspaper*, 25 May 2002 (Manifesta 4 clipping file, Manifesta Archive, International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam) reported that the city of Warsaw had been a candidate to host Manifesta 4 but was beaten by Frankfurt, the German city offering 1.6 million euros.

31. Dercon et al., "Preface," in *Manifesta 3*, 9.

32. Bonami et al., "Preface of the IFM," in *Manifesta 4*, 12.

33. Fijen ("Decoding Europe?" 15) wrote: "Manifesta's concept originated in the growing synergy between, on the one hand, geographical and cultural contexts and, on the other, social and political environments."

34. Robert Fleck, Maria Lind, and Barbara Vanderlinden, "Introduction," in *Manifesta 2*, 6.

35. Fleck, "Art after Communism?" in *ibid.*, 194.

36. Ibid., 195.

37. Vanderlinden, "Futurables," 207.

38. Ibid., 211.

39. Moisdon Trembley ("Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley Interviewed by Eric Troncy," in *Manifesta 4*, 49) proclaimed: "From Istanbul to Porto to Reykjavik, young people are using the same tools, including English and the i-book, but in different ways. What is interesting is not to observe this alienation by global culture, but to see what is going on between cultures, the emergence of a third way, different kinds of modernities. And also to see how artists cope with the rules of consumption, how they turn all these dead ends into a space for play and negotiation. In fact, I do have the feeling that there is more heterogeneity, more difference, than ever before."

40. Iara Boubnova, "Iara Boubnova Interviewed by Alexander Kiossev," in *Manifesta 4*, 133.

41. Frank Hoffmann, "Auf dem Weg nach Utopia," *Freitag*, 7 June 2002, Manifesta 4 clipping file.

42. Moisdon Trembley, "Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley Interviewed," 50.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 49.

45. Fijen and Van Leeuwen ("Project Office Manifesta," 26) wrote: "Manifesta has been initiated as a pioneering project, building a relationship between east and west Europe, bringing together five curators from very different cultural and geographical backgrounds."

46. Critics especially attacked Manifesta 4. Newspapers like *FAZ* (25 May 2002, Manifesta 4 clipping file), *Die Welt* (27 May 2002, *ibid.*), and *SZ* (27 May 2002, *ibid.*) accused its curatorial team of lacking a clear vision, having taken no risks, and trying to escape responsibilities.

47. Mayo, 105.

48. Vanderlinden, "Futurables," 210.

49. Nicolas Bourriaud, *Esthétique relationelle* (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2002).

50. For a critique of relational aesthetics, see Claire Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," *October* 110 (fall 2004): 51-79.

51. See, for instance, Mayo, 107.

VI THE MANIFESTA ARCHIVE

THE ARCHIVE EVERYWHERE

Barbara Vanderlinden

The question of the archive is not a question of the past. It is not the question of a concept dealing with the past that might already be at our disposal. An archivable concept of the archive. It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise, and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive, if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come; not tomorrow, but in times to come. Later on, or perhaps never.

— Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*

The rapid global spread of biennials has undoubtedly and dramatically altered contemporary art and exhibition practices. And yet, despite the crucial role of these manifestations to artistic developments today, the paucity of archives and serious study devoted to them threatens an entire and crucial practice with oblivion. Like the larger history of exhibition practices, biennial and other large-scale perennial exhibitions raise questions about remembrance and the material conditions of the archivization of contemporary exhibition practices. Most exhibitions, as Mary Anne Staniszewski argues, have been "officially and collectively forgotten."¹ She sees this "disappearance" — of all record of the ways in which artworks were displayed, the relationships set up between pieces in a show, the spaces they occupied, the role of the architecture, and everything else that makes an exhibition what it is — as "symptom of larger historical amnesia."² The only way to avoid this for biennials as much as for museum exhibitions is to bring together and study the material traces of these irreducibly ephemeral events.

The documents of an exhibition should not be thought of as a dead mass of deactivated records or a closed history no longer of use. Even though they are the vestiges of past activities, exhibition archives can remain active resources for curators, artists, students, and researchers involved in exhibition projects to come. As Jacques Derrida has argued, the archive is "the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow."³ The aim of collecting, studying, and revisiting such exhibition documents is thus not only a question of representing the history of isolated, unrepeatable events, but is a question of a responsibility towards exhibition-making and biennial-making of tomorrow. Just as importantly, the archivization of an exhibition does not simply memorialize but as it implies an act of *re-experience*, it can be said to *produce* as much as it *records* the event in question. How we make exhibitions in the future is, then, in large part a matter of how we read different historical

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exhibitions of the past and use them to develop new languages for the exhibition-making to come.

One might say that this responsibility extends all the more to the realm of biennials and large-scale perennial exhibitions given their role as a crucial platform — both discursive and visual — for contemporary art practices today. Geographically diffused, and rapidly expanding in numbers, this exhibition context can be said to be nearly *everywhere*. Even as no single person can visit them all, and no single location can yet bring together an extensive overview of even a majority of the biennials held around the world, we are constantly made aware of them and the systems of ideas supporting them. The most recent emails in my inbox indicate no less than ten biennials opened in the past few weeks alone. The ideas, concepts, and themes that they put forth are made public through e-mail announcements, on Internet sites, and via other communication means that reach a vast network of art professionals and art audiences around the world. These means allow the biennial's plurality of local voices to be connected to a global art network. In fact, one might speak of biennials as comprising the largest contemporary art laboratory, one that thrives on the dramatic communication shifts of worldwide information networks. Still, these exhibition announcements cannot, of course, capture an accurate image of such large-scale events or provide a full understanding of the positions they wish to articulate. The relationship of a biennial to its local context and to other biennials into which it may want to be in dialogue — in short, those things that make a biennial specific and relevant to its time and place — cannot easily be expressed in communication processes. Thus, if we want to make this worldwide exhibition phenomenon available to a growing number of professionals, art amateurs, and students in any profound way, especially those that do not have the possibility to visit them all, then we will have to envision new acts of montage, which is to say, new means of piecing together the trail of history that these exhibitions leave behind.

With few exceptions, these archives are not housed in research institutions. The records that could constitute such archives are scattered around the world, with the largest and most important portions often belonging to curators and artists who have participated in the exhibition. My own curatorial research over the last decade has indicated that there is deep concern among curators about the fate of these archives. Indeed questions have frequently been raised about the historical dimension of the curatorial endeavor and about the constitution of a collection of the records of the exhibitions that make up this history. There is an intense need to know more about these internationally dispersed exhibition archives, but systematic research has not been done. Despite the fact that the contours of what has been called the "biennial phenomenon" is over a decade old, many archives are in danger of being lost forever in the basements of institutions, organizations, or museums that have no particular interest in them and are yet unable to imagine how to render this information public or useful.

Biennials and other large-scale perennial exhibitions need all the more for their traces to be recorded so that a true evaluation of their complex roles can develop. Such archives could become prominent platforms within this new specter of global exhibition practices, making available information that would facilitate the development and knowledge of this practice. Likewise, they could actually increase the access to these platforms and thus provide the possibility for a broader audience to engage with the art and different perspectives that are being proposed today. In order to fully respond to this unique history that is being created at the global level, new forms for the archiva-

tion of contemporary exhibition practices and new modes of rendering these accessible will have to be invented, which may also mean the creation of an archive which brings together the contents of multiple dislocated and dispersed archives. Obviously, a comprehensive history of mega exhibitions cannot easily be squeezed into a single archive, in part because the formation of these archives happens everywhere and is never final as a process, but perhaps even more so because the task of devising an ontology for geographically and culturally detached art archives is very daunting. Still, the insistence that the constitution of archives could serve as "the foundation for a new conceptual paradigm" for the fields to which they relate is applicable in the artworld no less than in the world of science.⁴

Although an understanding of the importance of exhibition archives has historically been central to an exhibition like Documenta from the start, the prevalent recognition by historians of the importance of exhibitions in the 1990s coincided with a similar recognition on the part of curators.⁵ This led to what has been called "the laboratory years" of curating—a moment in which many curators made exhibitions with self-conscious references to or even explicitly about previous exhibitions. Besides being the precious tools of historical and curatorial reflection on exhibition practice, archives may also be demonstrations of exhibition processes themselves. One might think of Hans-Ulrich Obrist's *Interarchive* project as an example of an exhibition of contemporary art information that came from everywhere. For the present purpose a short description is sufficient: The project started with the transport of thousands of boxes from Saint Gallen, where Obrist collected countless documents, put together from research for specific exhibitions he had been doing over the years. They were, as Beatrice von Bismarck notes in the introduction of the catalogue, "treated less as a source of research and more as an exemplary research object."⁷ The exhibition of "raw materials" became, as Obrist described it, "an example of how to deal with archives."⁸ The idea was "that of an archive between geographical locations...between other archives" based on the perception that, in the 1990s, what was most important was not the quality of a single archive as the setting up of a kind of network of different, very fragmented archives. Artist and curators were invited to connect their digital archive to a network without center, a virtual *archive without walls*, located only temporarily inside the exhibition. Barnaby Drabble and Dorothee Richter's *Curating Degree Zero* is another such project that explored the critical and experimental approaches to curating by means of a "traveling archive." Referencing Roland Barthes' text on writing, *Le Degré zéro de l'écriture*, the title of the project reflects the aim not to define "curating" but to observe practice in this field at "a sort of zero degree, pregnant with all past and future specifications."¹⁰ Launched in 1998, the project was devised as a mobile open source archive, which started at the occasion of a symposium in Bremen. Thereafter it became a resource tool in the form of a traveling exhibition, which from 2003 through 2005 was installed in numerous institutions throughout Europe.

In 1997, with my co-curators Robert Fleck and Maria Lind, we intensively traveled over ten months to prepare the second edition of Manifesta. Visits to artists' studios, cultural institutions, museums, galleries, alternative artists spaces, and archives allowed us to take stock of contemporary artistic practices across Europe. The art production of an entire geographic region but also its relationship to a particular moment in history was under examination and we were conscious of how the data we were gathering along

the way could provide a reflection of our methods. We thus decided to make this research public. We presented all of material we had collected in a section of the exhibition that we called an "Info Lab." It included countless exhibition catalogues, artists' books, artists' dossiers, difficult to find art history books, institutional guides, etc. "Info Lab" was conceived as a continuation of the exhibition, an archive in which one could trace the research that we did as curators, but also view the context within we worked, while also providing the foundation for the research of visitors. We were motivated by the idea that an exhibition such as ours at that particular moment in time needed to express a clear sense of the cultural context from which it emerged and also acknowledge the laboratory that every exhibition is by definition. Info Lab was a first statement in that direction.

On the occasion of the fourth edition of Manifesta in 2002 in Frankfurt/Main, the curators Iara Boubnova, Nürja Enguita Mayo and Stéphanie Moisdon Tremblay revisited the idea of the archive in a slightly different way. They invited the artist Mathieu Mercier to conceive what they thought of as a temporary "open construction site" to render public the heterogeneous documents they had assembled during the preparation of their edition of Manifesta. In the catalogue, the curators describe the importance of this project for a "public archive."¹¹ Its contents were composed of text, sound, and video recordings concerning every single artist they visited and consulted over the nine months of exhibition preparation, including those that were selected for the show and those that were not. The archive was the record of a process, which, as they put it, brought them to reflect on their approach and on the differences between them, to question their "criteria and methods," and to consider how "inclusion and exclusion" determine exhibition making but also art history.¹² With this archive in the public space of the exhibition, the trio of curators attempted to create the possibility for colleagues, artists, and the general public to partake in the process of exchanging and assimilating information about contemporary art and artists.

An Archive of Five Manifesta Editions

The pages that follow in this section of the book can be thought of as a series of condensed archives of the biennial exhibitions of Manifesta. As one of Manifesta's former curators, the research and *mise-en-forme* represented in this reconstruction of five editions intersects with questions I have been working through in diverse ways, practically through the making of exhibitions as well as through research and thinking about the nature and implications of artistic and exhibition practices historically. In seeking to interrogate the role that these practices have had in our social and political life, it seemed important to look again and closely at the different components of the exhibitions and their diverse presentation contexts to better understand how they contribute to making biennials and large-scale exhibitions the truly engaged and politically relevant platforms for our contemporaneity that they are. And although curatorial discourse, public reception, or local impact are all important means of gauging the significance of an exhibition, no inquiry of a biennial would be complete without acknowledging the aesthetic, spatial experience such an event evokes. Whether one speaks of a biennial or museum show, an exhibition narrates its message first and foremost through the artworks it brings together in a particular way, place, and time. Thus taking Manifesta as a case study meant revisiting, thanks to archival material, the incredible breadth and vari-

ety of artworks comprising the first five editions over the course of nearly a decade. It is my hope that the following documentation may challenge art and cultural historians to document, theorize, and discuss exhibition installations more readily. In addition, it might contribute to a strategy that avoids the amnesia that is characteristic of exhibitions, despite their being an essential part of the production of contemporary art, and one of the leading artistic forms of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The Manifesta at Home office at the International Foundation Manifesta (IFM) in Amsterdam, one of the few biennials with a publicly accessible archive and an active concern about how to record its history, was the starting point for all of this. It houses hundreds of cardboard boxes and thousands of digital files and folders containing installation shots of every artwork from each Manifesta edition, images of their production, as well as others illustrating the construction of the exhibitions. In addition, the office contains photographs and documentation relating to curators' research and travel, floor plans, project proposals, correspondence, board meeting minutes, calendars, city maps, organization charts, catalogues, budget proposals, flyers, announcements, invitations, press reviews, documentation of the symposia and lectures that accompanied each edition, video documentation, biographies, bibliographies, and portfolios for the two hundred and fourteen artists and seventeen curators who have participated in Manifesta thus far. While the IFM archive's extent could not be fully represented here, its many resources informed the following section, enabling one to plot almost a decade of Manifesta. It includes images and original texts describing some of the events that ran parallel to each exhibition edition, including the NEStWORK project for Manifesta 1, the Info Lab of Manifesta 2 as well as the reactions to and the impact of Robert Fleck's essay in the *Manifesta 2* catalogue, the Manifesta in Our Backyard project and *The Fifth Venue* for Manifesta 3, Gasthof for Manifesta 4, and the interventions of the Berlage Institute in Manifesta 5, all of which testify to the diverse ways the biennial inspired or otherwise involved local initiatives.

Because exhibition catalogues, including those of Manifesta, are usually published before new artworks can be completed or before exhibitions are actually installed, it seemed important to publish images of these artworks in their original exhibition contexts, which in most cases has never previously been done. Even though installation shots of all the artworks exhibited during the first five editions of Manifesta could not be included, a significant number of them have been assembled, along with views of the exhibition spaces and institutional venues. When an artwork is not reproduced, a written description of it is included. These descriptions concentrate less on the on physical record, but develop instead an enriched contextual understanding of the multiple interrelationships and uses of the artworks as well as the creative milieu of the exhibition for which they were produced. This certainly does not aim to focus on the romantic notion of the mastery of the artist, showing shots of him or her at work, to make the artistic craftsmanship visible and create an illusion of intimate participation. A contemporary version of the "grand old masters" is not of interest here. Instead, the pages that follow allow for a concrete understanding of the artworks, including what they physically looked like, sounded like, how they functioned, and how they were situated in relation to the conceptual frame of the exhibition. The texts were written and edited from existing ones in the Manifesta catalogues and on the websites devoted to each edition. In so doing, this section aims to acknowledge the research and writings of the exhibitions' curators, artists, and other Manifesta participants as well as to revisit some of the origi-

nal language that was used at the time to speak about the works and the issues they raised.

Placed in the frame of the diverse issues discussed in the book, the artworks and Manifesta exhibitions provide a lens through which to understand the concrete impact of and responses to the cultural developments and politics after 1989. Conversely, it is precisely this context that can help us to understand today how and why artists and curators were developing in the directions that they did. Indeed the result points to the diverse ways in which each edition may have defined, to invoke Thomas McEvilley's description of the potential of an exhibition, "a certain moment, embodying attitudes and, often, changes of attitude that reveal, if only by the anxieties they create, the direction in which culture is moving."¹³

Process rather than product, becoming rather than being, dynamic rather than static, context rather than text, reflecting time and place rather than universal absolutes—these have become the postmodern watchwords for analyzing and understanding science, society, organizations, and business activity, among others. They should likewise become the watchwords for archival science in the new century, and thus the foundation for a new conceptual paradigm for the profession.

— Terry Cook, "Archival Science and Postmodernism: New Formulations for Old Concepts"

NOTES

1. Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), xix.
2. Ibid.
3. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 36.
4. Terry Cook, "Archival Science and Postmodernism: New Formulations for Old Concepts," *Archival Science* 1, no. 1 (2000): 24.
5. Inscribed in its title, *documenting* was an essential aspect for Documenta. Its first edition in 1955 started off as a documentation project, "documenting" the art that the Nazis had suppressed for years. As one of his contributions, Arnold Bode, Documenta's founding director, initiated a comprehensive documentation of all aspects of Documenta, which as a result makes it probably the most well "documented" of the large-scale perennial exhibitions of all times. Its archives have since become permanently public in the *Documenta Archiv für die Kunst des 20. Und 21. Jahrhunderts*, a research center, which contains all the existing records of every edition of Documenta.
6. *Interarchive* is an exhibition curated by Hans Ulrich Obrist and Hans-Peter Feldmann and organized by the Kunstraum der Universität Lüneburg in 2002.
7. Beatrice von Bismarck, "Interarchive: Preface," *Interarchive* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, 2002), 417.
8. Ibid., 418.
9. Ibid., 419.
10. Cited from <http://www.curatingdegreezero.org/>. *Curating Degree Zero* is a project launched by the Basel-based organization plug.in. It started in 1998 with a three-day symposium and an ensuing pub-

lication; the project further focused on creating an expanding archive about curatorial practices, which has toured Europe as an exhibition, accompanied by a program of discussions.

11. *Manifesta 4: European Biennial of Contemporary Art* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2002), 54.
12. Ibid.
13. For the full list of those who contributed to the catalogues and websites, see the list that follows.
14. Thomas McEvelley, "Marginalia: Thomas McEvelley on the Global Issue," *Artforum* 28, no. 7 (March 1990): 20.

All textual descriptions in The Manifesta Archive section that follows are by Barbara Vanderlinden and largely based on the following resources:

Manifesta 1, Foundation European Art Manifestation (Rotterdam: Foundation European Art Manifestation, 1996); the website (<http://www.manifesta.org/manifesta1/index.html>), a Dutch Internet resource launched in 1996 and initially run by Manifesta, Foundation European Art Manifestation, and currently hosted by the IFM; titles and descriptions of the exhibitions and artworks included are based on texts by: Hedwig Fijen, Jolie van Leeuwen, Rosa Martínez, Viktor Misiano, Katalin Néray, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Andrew Renton, and Jeanne Van Heeswijk.

Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art (Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg City, 1998); *Manifesta 2: Short Guide* (Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg City, 1998); the website (<http://www.manifesta.org/manifesta2/>), a Luxembourgish Internet resource in 1997 by the Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg City and now hosted by the IFM; titles and descriptions of the exhibitions and artworks included are based on texts by: Robert Fleck, Maria Lind, and Barbara Vanderlinden.

Manifesta 3, Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence (Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, 2000); *Manifesta 3, Borderline Syndrome Short Guide* (Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, 2000); the website (<http://www.manifesta.org/manifesta3/index.html>), a Slovenian Internet resource launched by Cankarjev dom in 1999 and currently hosted by the IFM; titles and descriptions of the exhibitions and artworks included in "Manifesta 3 Archive" are based on texts by: Llaría Bonacossa, Francesco Bonami, Mária Hlavajová, Iztok Hotko, Ursa Kocjan, Karin Laansoo, Kathrin Rhomberg, and Igor Zabel.

Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art (Frankfurt: Künstlerhaus Mousontrum, 2002); the *Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art: Programme/Visitors' Information* (Frankfurt: Künstlerhaus Mousontrum, 2002); the website (<http://www.manifesta.org/manifesta4/>), an Internet resource launched by the IFM; titles and descriptions of the exhibitions and artworks included are based on texts by: Yael Bartana, Meike Behm, Marc Bijl, Pierre Bismuth, Bleda y Rosa, Iara Boubnova, Jasper van den Brink, Roberto Cuoghi, Nuria Enguita Mayo, Dirk Fleischmann, Annie Fletcher, Andrea Geyer, Vit Havranek, Jens Hoffmann, Uschi Huber, Jörg Paul Janka, Takehito Koganezawa, Erden Kosova, Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley, Oliver Musovik, NU & GU, Isabel Podeschwa, Rodrigo Quijano, Thomas Raab, Sal Randolph, Jean-Christophe Royoux, Gertrud Sandqvist, Bruno Serralongue, Demis Sinancevic, Måns Wrangé, and Jun Yang.

Manifesta 5... With All Due Intent, (Donostia-San Sebastián: Centro internacional de cultura contemporánea, 2004); the website (<http://www.manifesta.es/>), a Spanish Internet resource initially launched by the International Centre of Contemporary Culture in Donostia-San Sebastian and now hosted by the IFM; titles and descriptions of the exhibitions and artworks included are based on texts by: Cecilia P. Alemani, Paul W. Brewer, Massimiliano Gioni, Sebastian Khourian, Marta Kuzma, and Victor Palacios.

All the above resources are collected and publicly available at the Manifesta At Home office of the IFM, Amsterdam. All images included here are courtesy of their digital and analogue database.

**MANIFESTA 1
FOUNDATION EUROPEAN ART MANIFESTATION
9 JUNE-19 AUGUST 1996, ROTTERDAM**

Manifesta's inaugural edition was held in Rotterdam, the first venue for what has become an itinerant biennial exhibition. Manifesta 1 included more than seventy artists from over twenty-five countries with work shown in twelve venues, spread across the city's museum quarter. The project took collaboration as its starting point and announced itself as a joint endeavor in several ways. Five independent curators from five different countries (Rosa Martínez from Spain, Viktor Misiano from Russia, Katalin Néray from Hungary, Hans-Ulrich Obrist from Switzerland, and Andrew Renton from Great Britain) worked together to conceive the exhibition and subsequently initiated collaborations with all the cultural institutions in Rotterdam's museum quarter. These sites hosted works by a number of artist collectives. Other artists created works that directly responded to the space or context of the particular site in which they were exhibited. In diverse ways, the artworks on display were meant to engage and question the nature of contemporary Europe, including issues of migration, translation, and cultural identity. To achieve this and hoping to extend the notion of collaboration, the curators attempted to involve the public during the early preparatory stages, in what they called "the laboratory function" of making an exhibition. They organized numerous Open House gatherings, during which individuals in cities across Europe were asked to meet with one or more members of the curatorial team to exchange ideas about the expectations and the possible issues to be treated in the Manifesta exhibition.

CURATORS

Rosa Martínez, Viktor Misiano, Katalin Néray, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, and Andrew Renton.

OPEN HOUSE DISCUSSIONS

Contemporary Art Center (CAC), Moscow; Ludwig Museum Budapest, Budapest; Moderna Museet, Stockholm; De Unie, Rotterdam; De Beurs, Amsterdam; Museum voor Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (MuHKA), Antwerp; and the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts, Ljubljana.

PARTICIPATING ARTISTS

Martin Beck and Mathias Poledna, Patrick van Caekenbergh, Mat Collishaw, Maria Eichhorn, Róza El-Hassan, Olafur Eliasson, Entertainment & Co., Ayşe Erkmen, Vadim Fishkin, Bernhard Fuchs, Douglas Gordon and Rirkrit Tiravanija, Tamara Grcic, Joseph Grigely, Tommi Grönlund and Petteri Nisunen, Marie-Ange Guilleminot and Fabrice Hybert, Dimitrij Gutov, Jitka Hanzlová, Carl Michael von Hausswolff, Christine Hill, Carsten Höller and Rosemarie Trockel, IRWIN, Alexey N. Isaev, Siraj Izhar, Henrik Plenge Jakobsen, Robert Jankuloski, Piotr Jaros, Ivana Keser, Suchan Kinoshita, Koo Jeong-A, Renée Kool, Pavel Kopřiva, Oleg Kulik and Mila Bredikina, Yuri Leiderman, Rogelio López Cuenca, Tracey Mackenna, Esko Männikkö, Eva Marisaldi, Jenny Marketou, Roger Meintjes, Regina Möller, NeSTWORK, Maurice O'Connell, Roman Ondák, Valeri Podoroga, Tadej Pogačar, Liza

M1

May Post, Luca Quartana, Tobias Rehberger, Pipilotti Rist, Gerwald Rockenschaub, Arsen Savadov and Georgij Sencheko, Pit Schulz, Nedko Solakov, Soo-ja Kim, subREAL, János Sugár, Sam Taylor-Wood, Kathy Temin, Hale Tenger, Wolfgang Tillmans, Jaan Toomik, Didier Trenet, Mette Tronvoll, Uri Tzaiq, Paco Vacas, Eulàlia Valldosera, Lydia Venieri, Susann Walder, Catherine Yass, and Huang Yong Ping.

VENUES

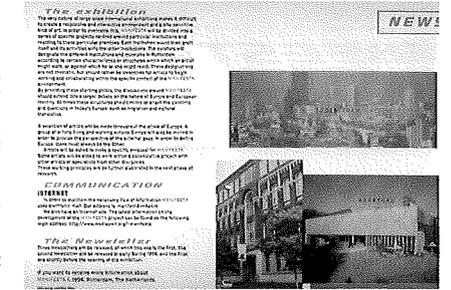
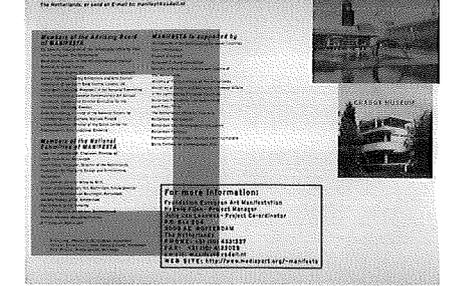
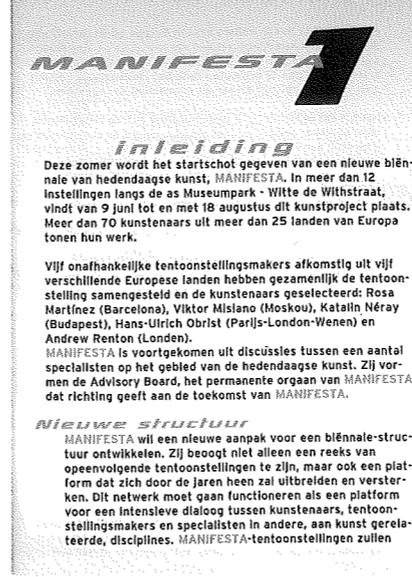
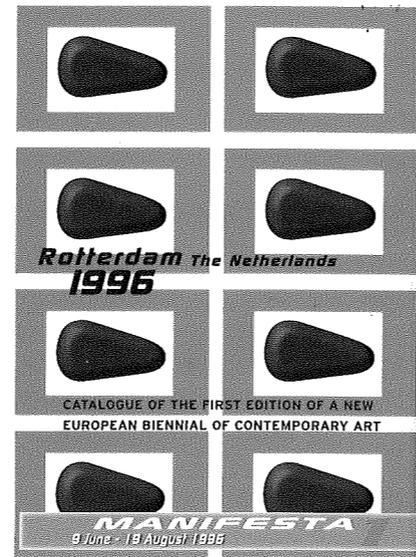
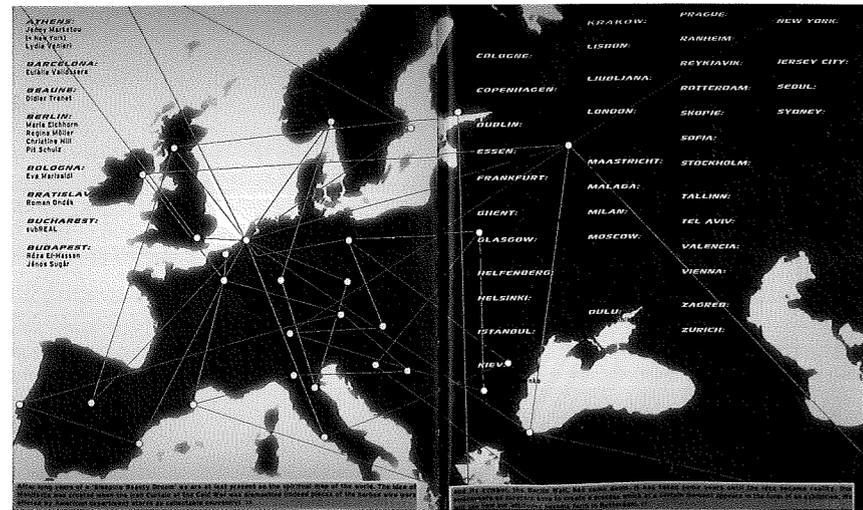
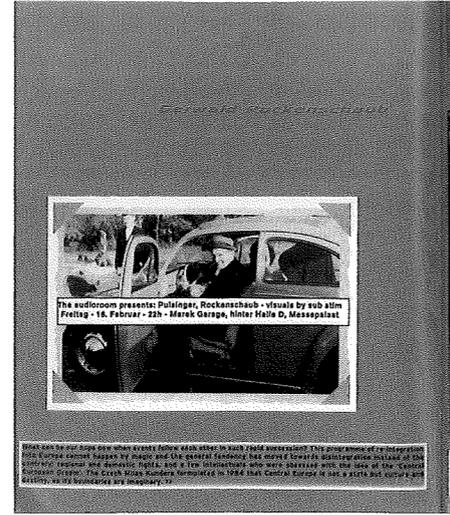
Natuurmuseum Rotterdam (Natural History Museum Rotterdam); Kunsthal Rotterdam; Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (Netherlands Architecture Institute); Chabot Museum; Villa Museumpark 9; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Kunstencentrum Rotterdam (Rotterdam Center for the Arts); V2, Institute for Unstable Media; Nederlands Fotomuseum (Netherlands Photo Museum); Witte de With, Centrum voor Hedendaagse Kunst (Witte de With, Center for Contemporary Art); Politiegalerij (Police Gallery); and Maritiem Museum Rotterdam (Maritime Museum Rotterdam).

ORGANIZER

Foundation European Art Manifestation, Rotterdam.

PROJECT COORDINATORS

Hedwig Fijen (project director) and Jolie van Leeuwen (project manager).



1. Front cover of Manifesta 1, Foundation European Art Manifestation (Rotterdam: Foundation European Art Manifestation, 1996).

2. Pages 164 and 165.

3. Back cover.

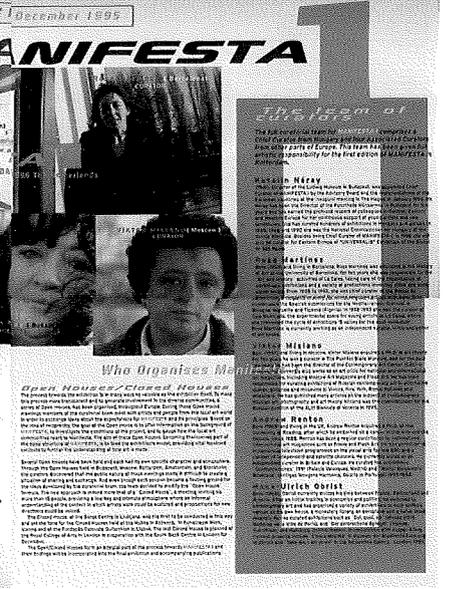
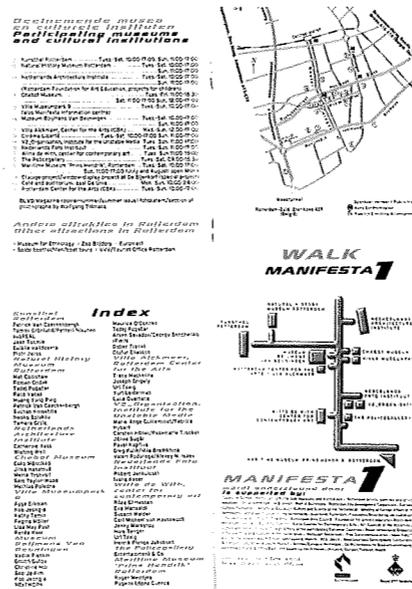
4. Pages 166 and 167.

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5



Announcement for the Open House.

1. Introduction, Manifesta 1 passe-partout, 1996.
2 & 3. Title page of Newsletter, no. 1 (1995).
4. Back cover.
5. Unfolded view of the inside of the Newsletter.
6. Museum Walk of Manifesta 1 passe-partout.



Press conference for Manifesta 1, Rotterdam, 1995.

1. Left to right: Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Marlene Dumas, and Joop van Caldenborgh during.
2. Left to right: Marlene Dumas, Joop van Caldenborgh, Chris Dercon, and René Block.
3. Left to right: Joop van Caldenborgh, Chris Dercon, René Block, and Hedwig Fijen.



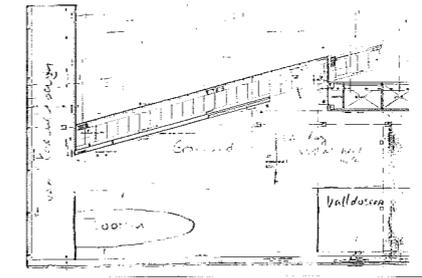
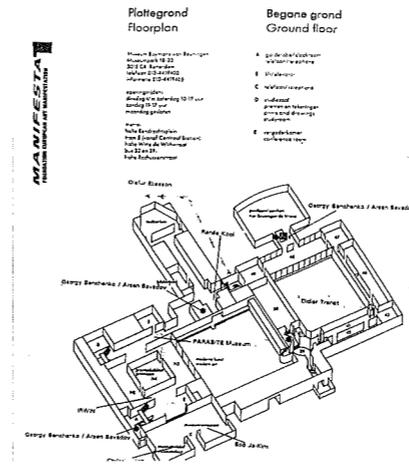
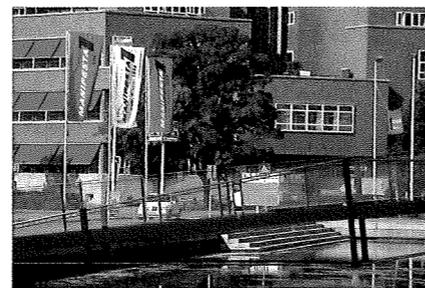
Press conference audience for Manifesta 1, 1996.

1. Left to right: Aleksandr Brener and Joop van Caldenborgh.
2. Left to right: Henry Meyric Hughes, Hedwig Fijen, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, and Andrew Renton.
3. Left to right: Rosa Martínez, Katalin Néray, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Hedwig Fijen, Henry Meyric Hughes, and Andrew Renton.
4. Left to right: Andrew Renton, Rosa Martínez, Victor Misiano, Henry Meyric Hughes, and Katalin Néray.
5. Press conference audience.

Manifesta 1, opening event with all participating artists, 1996.

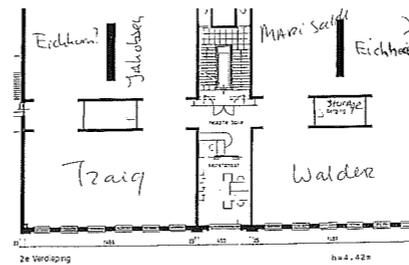
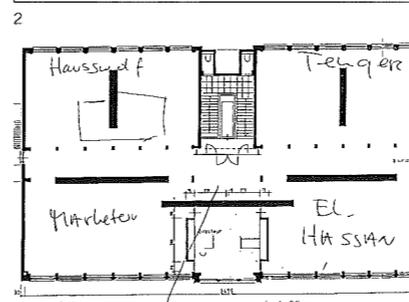
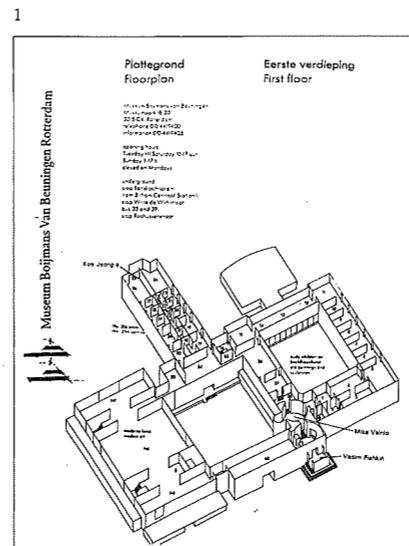


Manifesta 1 flags in the streets of Rotterdam.



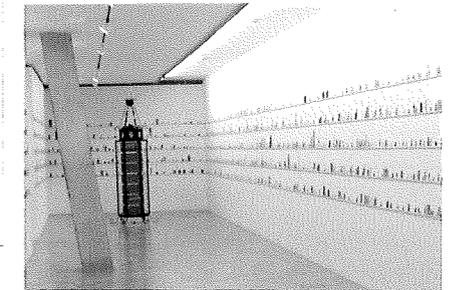
Exhibition plans for Manifesta 2.

1. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, ground floor.
2. First floor.
3. Witte de With, Centrum voor Hedendaagse Kunst, second and third floors.
4. Kunsthal, ground floor.



3

PATRICK VAN CAECKENBERG



Le Lampadaire + verzameling huidjes (The Lapidarian + Collection of Skins), 1991-93.

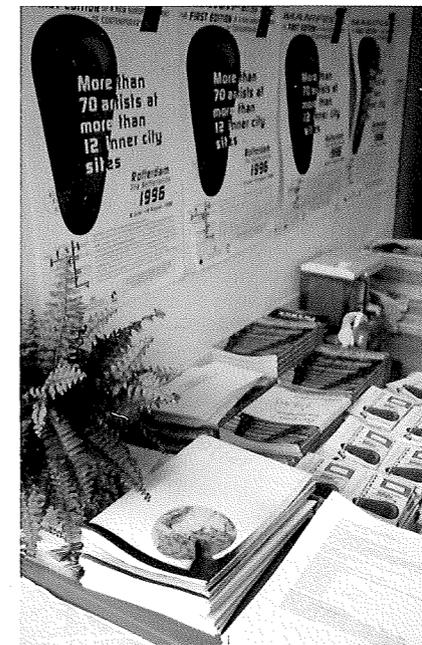
In his installation, *The Lapidarian + Collection of Skins*, Patrick van Caekenberg brought together hundreds of photographs of human skin culled from pornographic magazines over the past few years. Almost all the distinguishing bodily features had been left out, and only the most provocative and sensual aspects remained discernable. The resulting "collection" was an abstract representation.

MARIA EICHHORN

A poster documented the individual stages in Maria Eichhorn's *World-Country-City-Street-Address* (1996) project. First, she wrote down the names of all the countries in the world on separate cards. She then chose one of these countries and transcribed the names of all its cities, villages, and settlements on separate cards. She then drew one of these venues and copied down the names of all its streets and squares on separate cards. She then drew one of these streets or squares and catalogued all the house numbers running along it. Finally, she chose one of the houses and paid a visit.

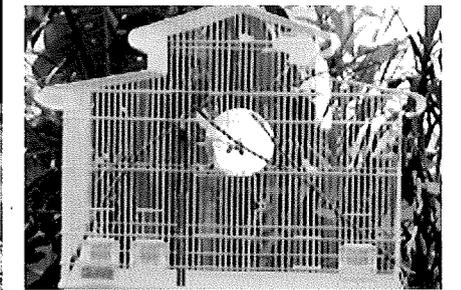
ARTISTS

MATHIAS POLEDNA AND MARTIN BECK



Envelope, 1996

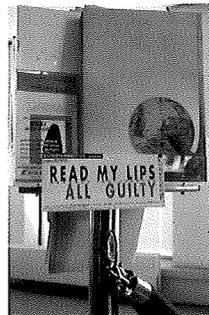
MATT COLLISHAW



Untitled, 1996

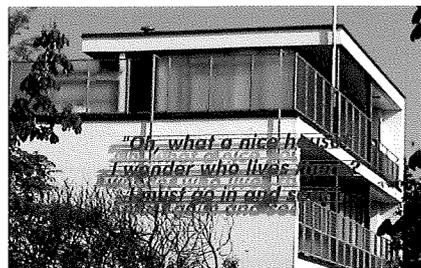
In his installation, Matt Collishaw presented a pseudo-experiment in behavioral science, using a pair of lovebirds, a breed of tropical parrot that enters into life-long monogamous relationships and cannot live without its mate. Partly based on Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Marriage* (1434), the work included a convex mirror in which the birds were able to view their deformed reflections.

ENTERTAINMENT & CO.



Project for the New Jail, 1996.

AYŞE ERKMEN



WOW, 1996.

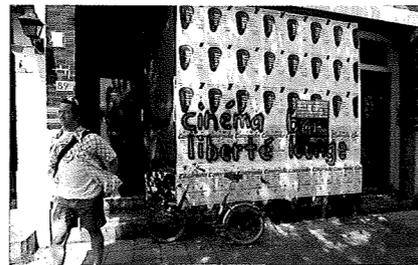
On the outer wall of the Villa Museumpark 9, Ayşe Erkmen inscribed a text from the fairytale Goldilocks: "Oh, what a nice house! I wonder who lives there? I must go in and see!" The citation playfully welcomed visitors into the building, while ironically commenting on its ambiguous function as villa and exhibition space.

VADIM FISHKIN



Lighthouse, 1996.

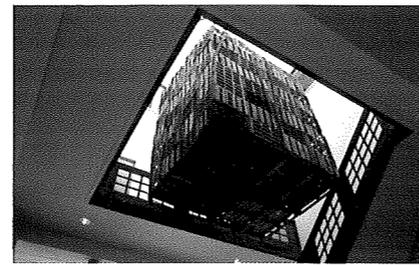
DOUGLAS GORDON AND RIRKRIT TIRAVANIJA



Cinema Liberté and Bar Lounge, 1996.

Cinema Liberté and Bar Lounge was a collaborative project between Douglas Gordon and Rirkrit Tiravanija. Gordon presented films that had been censored in the Netherlands. Visitors were invited to relax on large beanbags, sip beverages from the nearby bar designed by Tiravanija, and view the films in question.

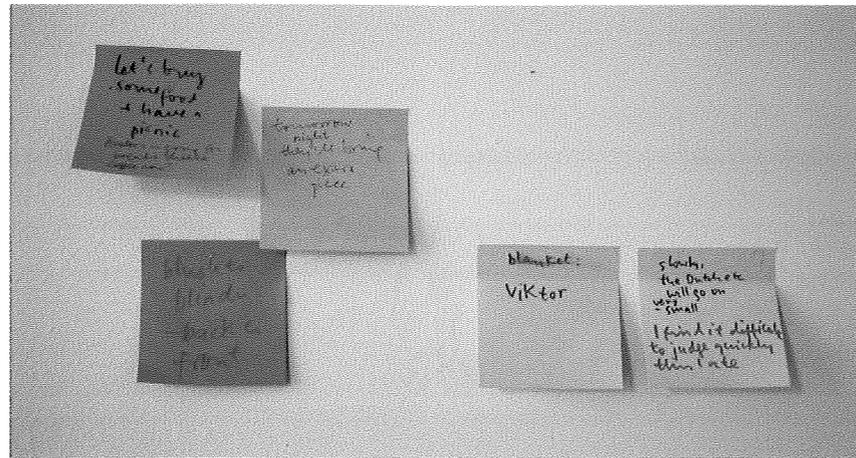
TAMARA GRČIC



Cages, 1996.

In this installation, Tamara Grčić suspended empty wooden fruit crates from the ceiling. These objects were hung in the area of the museum traditionally reserved for the skeletons of dolphins, thus mimicking the empty lifelessness of the remains of such sea creatures.

JOSEPH GRIGELY



Conversations in Rotterdam, 1996.

Conversations in Rotterdam was Joseph Grigely's written report of his daily conversations with people in Rotterdam about a whole range of subjects. Deaf since the age of eleven, the artist has consistently relied on the written word to communicate. The work, comprised on Post-its, was both a testament to his daily routine and a comment on human communication at the end of the twentieth century.

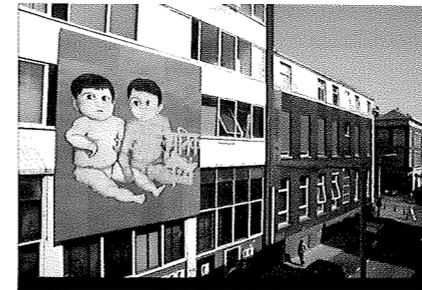
TOMMI GRÖNLUND AND PETTERI NISUNEN



Untitled, 1996.

The sound installation consisted of two parabolic ultrasound transmitters capable of transmitting sounds of forty kilohertz or more, none of which the human ear could detect. The soundwaves created interference perceivable only as vibrations. The listener, therefore, "heard" something without being able to locate its origin.

MARIE-ANGE GUILLEMINOT, FABRICE HYBERT



Baby, 1996.

Marie-Ange Guilleminot and Fabrice Hybert planned to make a "virtual baby," a creature they could instruct and educate to become an intelligent child. With a computer expert, they generated their own computer. When the baby was "finished," they cloned it and started anew. This process was videotaped and shown on the Internet.

DIMITRI GUTOV



Visitor Information to: It Is Possible to Become an Artist Only When You Enrich Your Memory with the Knowledge of All the Treasures that Were Created by Mankind, 1996.

Recording his observations on cassette tape, Dimitri Gutov offered his own personal tour of the permanent collection and various temporary exhibitions at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Visitors were able to go on his "grand tour," with help of a Walkman.

JITKA HANZLOVÁ



Rokytnik, 1990-94.

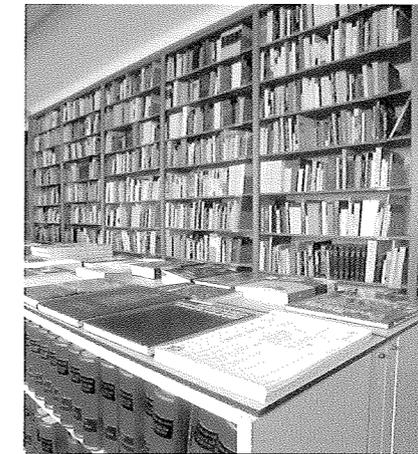
CARL MICHAEL VON HAUSSWOLFF



Serenius Canarius Domesticus, 1996.

In this installation, Carl Michael von Hausswolff exhibited thirty yellow canaries in a cage. These chirping birds, long used by European miners to protect themselves from gas leaks while underground, offered a biting commentary in the context of the exhibition, a new sacrifice "for a non-prepared monument wanting to be the Europe of tomorrow," as the artist proclaimed.

CHRISTINE HILL



Work in Progress, 1996.

Christine Hill traded books for works of art. The procedure was simple: The visitor filled out a form, sent it, along with a book, to the artist, and received a work of art in return. The forms were then placed in the museum's library.

CARSTEN HÖLLER AND ROSEMARIE TROCKEL



Mückenbus (Mosquito Van), 1996.

With their installation, the artists immersed themselves in experimental research focused on the communication and social behavior between mosquitoes and humans. Is any form of communication possible between "host" and "guest"? Can the host make clear to the guest that he or she is not welcome and that it is not to his or her advantage to "sting," as there is a good chance that he or she will die? Their findings were presented in an old Volkswagen van.

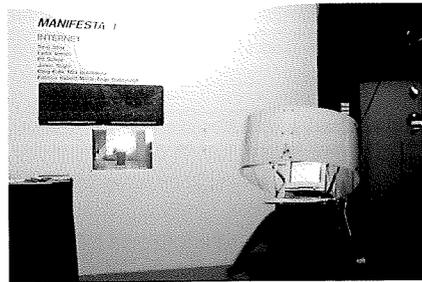
IRWIN



TRANSNACIONALA, Left, Right, Up, Down, 1996.

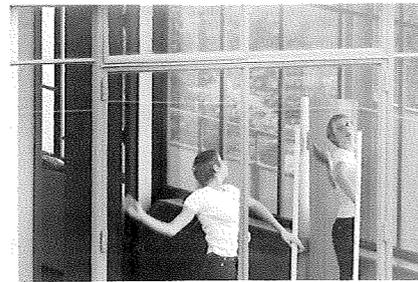
Using a small car equipped with four seats and a monitor, visitors were able to drive from one exhibition to another within the museum. In the process, they became acquainted with the members of the artistic collective IRWIN and other traveling companions.

SIRAJ IZHAR



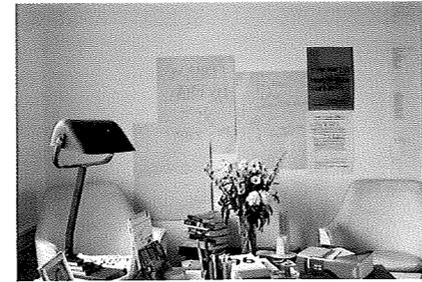
Internet Project, 1996.

RENÉE KOOL



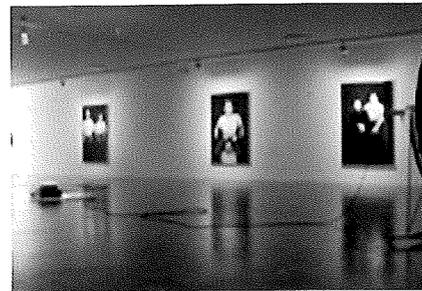
Au-delà (Beyond), 1996.

YURI LEIDERMAN



Untitled, 1996.

PIOTR JAROS

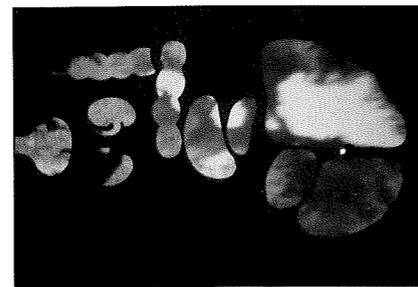


Urschleim (Embracing), 1996.

The larger-than-life black-and-white photographs in Piotr Jaro's series *Embracing* depicted people at once ordinary and extraordinary. While the relationships these people have with each other appeared tender, their sexual identities remained mysterious. Their staged poses suggested a certain ceremonial purpose that nevertheless remained ambiguous.

Via two security monitors, Renée Kool linked the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen to the private, modernist villa situated on the opposite side of the street. Visitors were allowed a glimpse the inner life of the villa.

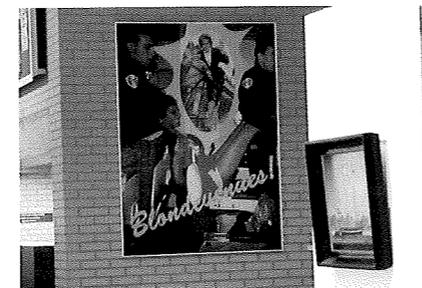
PAVEL KOPŘIVA



Significatio Interioris Fenestrae, 1994-96.

Yuri Leiderman made epitaphs for the inhabitants of Munich and Cologne buried between 1 December and 5 December 1995, totaling one hundred and sixty individuals. His Warumkroft Apparatus consisted of wooden boxes that held cards with the epitaphs written in several European languages.

ROGELIO LÓPEZ CUENCA



Blondvenues, 1994.

Rogelio López Cuenca's installation confronted the viewer with contemporary social problems, the phenomena of exclusion in our so-called "open" society being his central subject. Combining images from mass media with his own texts, he investigated the term "navigation" in all its senses—sailing, shipping, travel, traffic, and exile—as metaphors for trade, war, and imperialism.

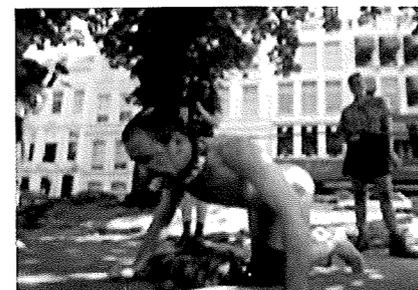
KOO JEONG-A



Les Maison flottantes (Floating Houses), 1996.

In one of her two works for the exhibition, Koo Jeong-a created structures composed of sugar cubes and other found materials. Modest yet highly intricate, the sculptures embodied poetic precariousness.

OLEG KULIK AND MILA BREDIKHINA



Pavlov's Dog, 1996.

For *Pavlov's Dog*, Oleg Kulik renounced his humanity, attempting to become a beast of reflexes rather than a person of reflection. For an entire month, he lived as a dog—eating, sleeping, bathing, biting, and walking on all fours like the canine he aspired to be. With the collaboration of Mila Bredikhina, he underwent experiments like those done with test animals, including the well-known behavioral and physiological tests that were part of Dr. Pavlov's "punish-and-reward" system.

TRACY MACKENNA



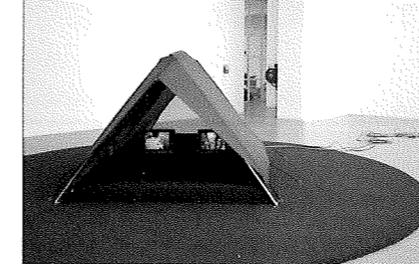
Chatting with the Boys "From the Verb 'To Chat'", 1996.

ESKO MÄNNIKÖ



Untitled, 1996.

JENNY MARKETOU



TRANSlocal, Camp in My TENT, 1996.

ROMAN ONDÁK



Eternal Sleep, 1996.

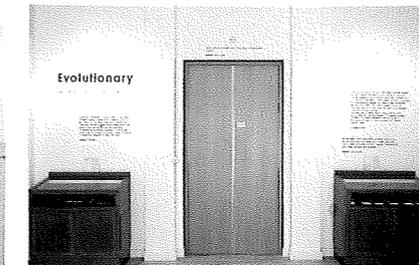
Roman Ondák preserved everyday objects, such as books, in formaldehyde and displayed them in glass showcases, like those found in natural history museums. Copying methods of classification from the hard sciences, he explored concepts of knowledge and cultural value systems. At the end of the twentieth century, Ondák drew attention to the isolation, alienation, and dehumanization at the base of the modern human condition.

HENRIK PLENGE JACOBSON



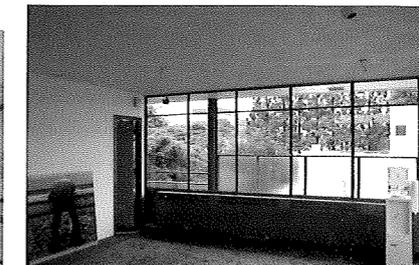
Everything Is Wrong, 1996.

TADEJ POGAČAR - P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. MUSEUM



Evolutionary. Notes on Human Behavior and Progress, 1996.

LIZA MAY POST



Untitled, 1996.

GEORGY SENCHENKO AND ARSEN SAVADOV



Welcome, 1995.

NEDKO SOLAKOV



This Is Me Too..., 1996.

In this video installation, Nedko Solakov represented himself slowly transforming into objects like those on exhibit in the Natural History Museum. "Me as a fossil, me as a stuffed duck, me as a snowflake, me as a arid flower from herbarium, etc." The work explored the potent desire and psychic drive so many humans have to be someone or something else.

SOO-JA KIM



Deductive Objects, 1996.

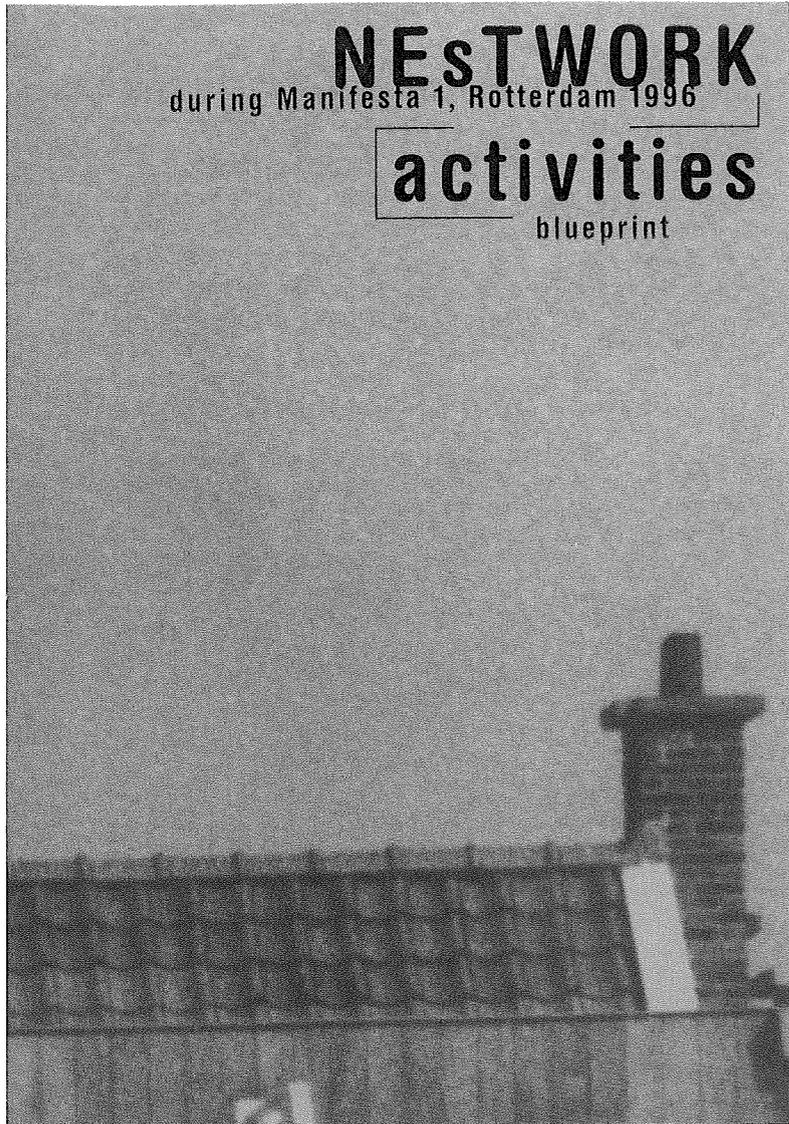
Soo-ja Kim dressed all the tables in the museum restaurant with colorful Korean draperies.

subREAL



Datacorridor, 1996.

The artist group subREAL constructed an installation of an ever-expanding art history archive based on their own experiences. *Datacorridor* transformed the architecture of the building in which it was housed; the curved hallways were meant to represent the movement of the world throughout history so that the visitor walked along the corridor and literally was surrounded by history, in sound and image.



NEStWORK
during Manifesta 1, Rotterdam 1996
activities
blueprint

GOING PLACES

Under the guidance of 'tour operator' Rob Beentjes, the public will be taken to a large number of locations, unknown places and non-existent worlds. In a programme lasting two or three hours, the idea 'place' will be mapped out in varied and entertaining ways. The show will comprise short lectures, interviews, films, slide presentations, computer installations, performances and more, which will drag the viewer into an experiential world of others. We wish you a pleasant ramble along the paths of the imagination, in places you would normally pass

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18 June

Invisible Cities

An evening about existing, imaginary and lost cities. The heavenly city of Jerusalem and the divided Jerusalem of today which drags the past along with it. Rome, Paris, New York. New York: these material cities of stone and cement are often overshadowed by the images we have of them. Cities appeal to our imaginations and thereby sometimes assume mythical proportions. Stories will be read about cities that only exist in books. With Nasim Khaksar (author), Alberta Partisani (artist) and Prof. A. van der Heide (Professor

The following text is an abridged version of a lecture given by Hans van der Sande during Going Places part 6: The Cell. It was accompanied by film fragments on video of people buried alive, love scenes in elevators, convicts and stylites.

Imagine...
You are locked in a small space.

You have been brought to a cell by a man in a uniform, a bare bulb illuminates a concrete space of one and a half meters wide and three meters long. The hissing sound of ventilation fills the space, the heavy door falls shut with a bang, you see all kinds of graffiti on the walls. 'Winner takes all', it says, 'Rasta', a drawing of a naked woman, two balls and a prick. You smell the stench of your predecessor's shit and his predecessor and his, and his, and his, a deeply primitive human smell. It's somewhat chilly, the walls feel rough and cold to your touch. You are alone.

Whereas before you could receive everything from the world, now your input is limited. You no longer take part in everything. Your senses receive fewer stimuli, your spirit and your stomach less food, your soul less comfort. But... you also receive less damage: ridicule, derision and scorn pass you by, you are no longer distracted, you have no more pain, no more sadness, no more envy, no more want of appreciation.

Whereas before you could freely bring into the world everything you produced, thought of, or made, now your output is limited. Your contribution to everything is lost, no one sees you, hears you, notices you. What's left for you is to digest everything you took with you from the world. Still, you can recreate it all. It stays sterile: no new impulses enter, no products of your hands or head reach others. But... there are advantages here, too. You are your own audience.

Excerpt, NEStWORK Activities During Manifesta 1, Blueprint, (Rotterdam: NEStWORK, 1996).

NEStWORK (Karin Arink, Edwin Janssen, Menna Laura Meijer, Kamiel Verschuren, Ruud Welten, and Jeanne van Heeswijk/Wapke Feenstra) formed as an initiative of Rotterdam-based artists and in order to ensure the collaboration of local artists with the new biennial. Questioning the relationship between the local and the international, between artists and institutions, and between artistic practice and artwork networking, their project stressed the importance of "giving information, encouraging reflection, unravelling strategies, and offering hospitality" and did so through the publication of manifestos and newsletters, the organization of discussion forums and other events, as well as the conception of MY HOUSE: YOUR HOME. The latter project, executed in collaboration with the artists' initiative B.a.d., gave artists participating in Manifesta the opportunity to live, work, and exchange ideas with Rotterdam-based artists during the installation and for the duration of Manifesta 1.

JÁNOS SUGÁR



Monstrance Model, Face-to-Face, 1996.

HALE TENGER



Cross Section, 1996.

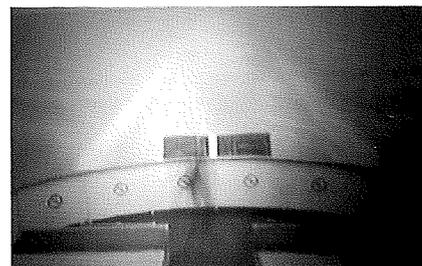
SAM TAYLOR-WOOD



Five Revolutionary Seconds IV, 1996.

In her photo installation, Sam Taylor-Wood presented a tantalizing view of domestic life, a 360-degree view of a microcosm in which emotionally loaded scenes take place between individuals in toilsome, unstable relationships. The scene is at once alien and familiar.

JAAN TOOMIK



Dancing Home, 1996.

METTE TRONVOLL



With these photographs, Mette Tronvoll presented two very different groups of women—one of New Yorkers in the prime of their lives and the other of elderly women in a Norwegian farming town. Highlighting differences in age, ethnicity, and lifestyle, the artist created a modern-day multicultural vanitas.

URI TZAIG



Nothing Is Wrong, 1996.

EULÀLIA VALDOSERA



The Fall (Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire), 1996.

With her installation, Eulàlia Valldosera investigated the narrative power of quotidian objects and mundane actions such as eating, sleeping, cleaning, and talking. She used light projections to create a cohesion between objects of very different natures. In so doing, she hoped to reveal a hidden symbolic order of the everyday.

SUSAN WALDER



Zombie Transit, 1996.

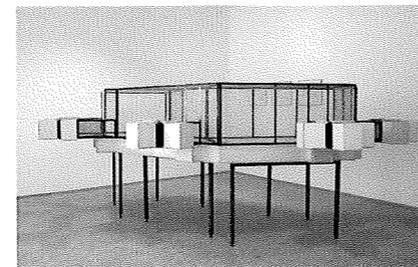
CATHERINE YASS



Group Portrait: Nederlands Architectuur Instituut with the National Council of Manifesta 1, 1996.

Catherine Yass's contribution was made in twilight, when the sky is saturated with color and artificial lights are often in use. In her photographs, which she presented in light boxes, the individuals portrayed here – the organizers of Manifesta 1 – blended with their architectural surroundings, producing a hallucinatory effect without totally obscuring their identities.

HUANG YONG PING



Terminal, 1996.

Huang Yong Ping's sculpture presented a model of Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam. As a center for arrivals and departures, the airport, in this context, is a metaphor for life and death, phenomena writ large in natural history museums. With this work, Ping suggested an intimate connection between cultural developments and natural processes.

MANIFESTA 2 EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART

28 JUNE–11 OCTOBER 1998, LUXEMBOURG CITY
Luxembourg City hosted the second edition of Manifesta, which included the work of forty-seven artists from across Europe. Rather than defining the exhibition's scope according to a specific theme (e.g. migration, identity), the curators (Robert Fleck from Austria, Maria Lind from Sweden, and Barbara Vanderlinden from Belgium) deemed that this edition of the new biennial should be the result of extensive field research about contemporary art practices throughout Europe. The research thus served as a conceptual hinge for the exhibition and the diversity of the selected artworks evidenced the complexity of European artistic practices. The two years of curatorial preparation for the event took public form in an Info Lab that included an accessible library of countless catalogues, dossiers, and research material related to artists, art academies, exhibitions, and institutions. The Info Lab also hosted a series of workshops and discussions between art professionals from across the Continent. Thanks to both research and debate, the curators questioned the reduction of "Eastern Europe" into a singular, general concept and focused the exhibition on a new generation of young artists whose creativity, as Fleck encapsulated in his catalogue text, bore signs of being an "art after communism."

CURATORS

Robert Fleck, Maria Lind, and Barbara Vanderlinden.

ARTICIPATING ARTISTS

Eija-Liisa Ahtila, Kutlug Ataman, Orla Barry, Emese Benczúr, Christine Borland, Eriks Božis, Maurizio Cattelan, Alicia Framis, Dora Garcia, Dr. Galentin Gatev, Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster, Felix Gonzalez-Torres, Pierre Huyghe, Carsten Höller, Sanja Iveković, Inessa Josing, Krištof Kintera, Elke Krystufek, Peter Land, Maria Lindberg, Michel Majerus, Bjarne Melgaard, Deimantas Narkevičius, Fanni Niemi-Junkola, Honoré d'O, Boris Ondreicka, Tanja Ostojčić, Marko Peljhan, Dan Perjovschi, Franz Pomassl, Antoine Prum, Tobias Rehberger, Jeroen de Rijke and Willem de Rooij, Bojan Sarcević, Eran Schaerf, Tilo Schulz, Nebojša Šoba Šerić, Ann-Sofi Sidén, Andreas Slominski, Sean Snyder, Apolonija Šušteršič, Sarah Sze, Bert Theis, Piotr Uklański, Gitte Villesen, and Richard Wright.

VENUES

Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain (Casino Luxembourg-Forum for Contemporary Art); Musée d'histoire de la ville de Luxembourg (History Museum of the City of Luxembourg); Musée national d'histoire et d'art (National Museum of History and Art); Centre de production et de création artistique (C.P.C.A.) (Center for Artistic Production and Creation); and various outdoor venues.

M2

ORGANIZERS

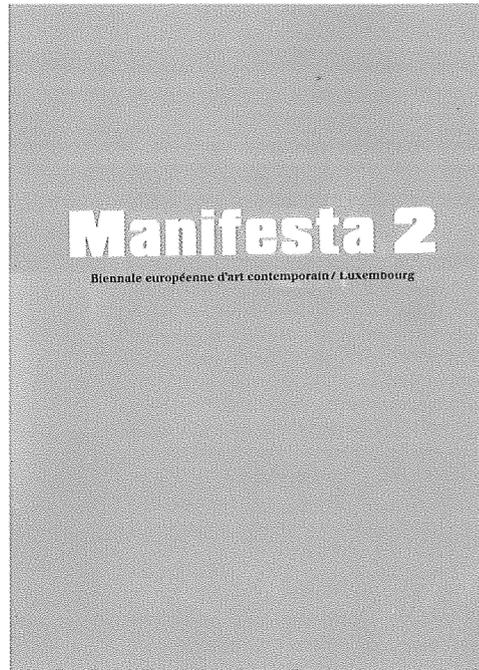
Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain (Luxembourg Casino-Forum for Contemporary Art), Luxembourg City, and International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam.

COORDINATOR

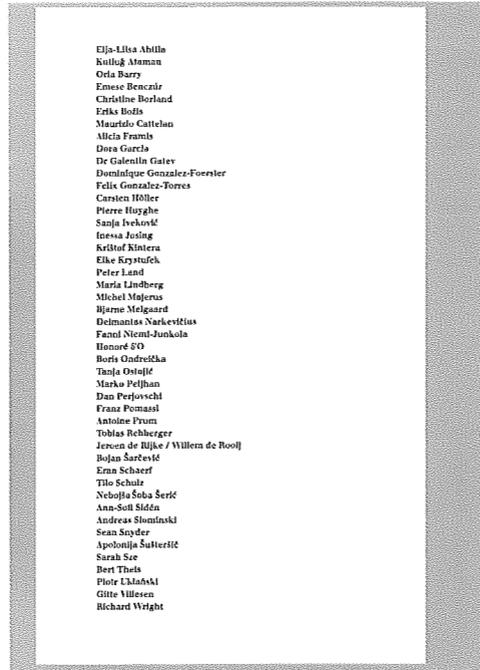
Enrico Lunghi



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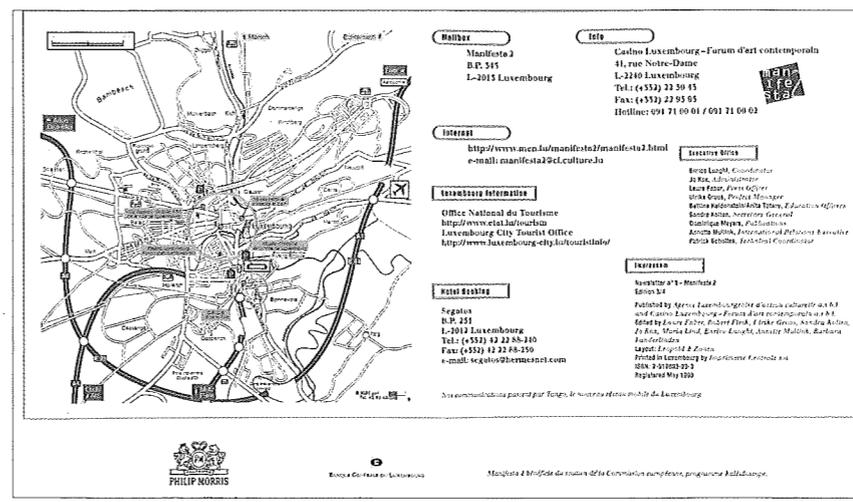
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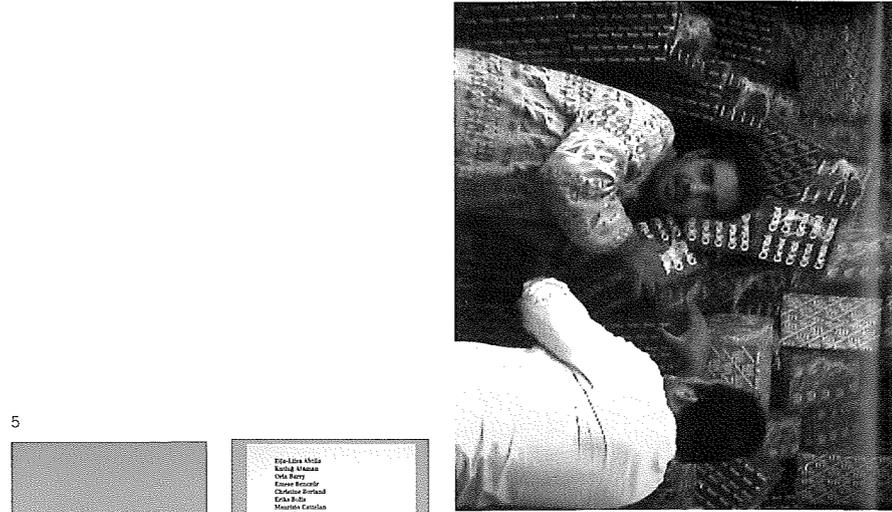
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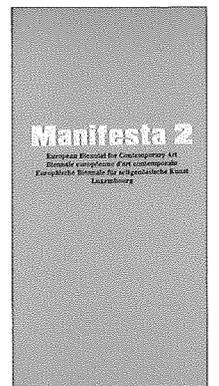
Front and back cover of Manifesta 2 Passe Partout (1998).



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women to women
7.00 pm to 7.00 am

5



252



4

1. Signage for Manifesta 2, Luxembourg City.
2. Front cover of Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art (Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg City, 1998).
3. Back cover.
4. Pages 148 and 149.
5. Front and back cover of Manifesta 2: Short Guide (Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg City, 1998).

no exhibition

Manifesta 2, the second edition of a new European biennial of contemporary art, is held in the grand Casino Luxembourg from 20 June to 10 October 1998.

After entering the European continent and making over long European countries, within a geographical vicinity, the three capitals - Robert Rauschenberg, Hans-Ulrich Obrist and Barbara Vanderlinden - have eventually selected 17 artists to participate in Manifesta 2.

These artists will be the most pathbreaking works specifically for Manifesta 2, in the form of a series of European exhibitions, each in a different city, but all representing the same artist. In each city, the artist will create a site-specific inventory reflecting the research undertaken by the curators during the visit to their city and the European continent.

As early as now, it becomes noticeable that many of these works appear very different to the form of European art, as well as to the traditional European art of the end of the century. It is one of Manifesta 2's goals to give account of the artistic preoccupations of artists, still frequently internationally unknown, living and working throughout Europe at the very moment. Another idea in the exhibition will be to show that in the professional era there are increasingly fewer distinctions between the artist and the audience, and that the artist's work is increasingly influenced by the audience. It is an aim of the exhibition to show that the artist's work is increasingly influenced by the audience.

4

Manifesta 2 is a travelling exhibition, taking place every two years in a different European city. Before its presentation, Manifesta 2 is a project in progress, continuously enriched by the national curators in each city, creating a rich and dense network of exhibitions. The European continent is the only continent where this is the case. Manifesta 2, which took place in Luxembourg during the summer of 1998, was a unique opportunity to meet with the artists of a new city and its significance.

7. Bucharest. Dan Perjovschi in his atelier.



5

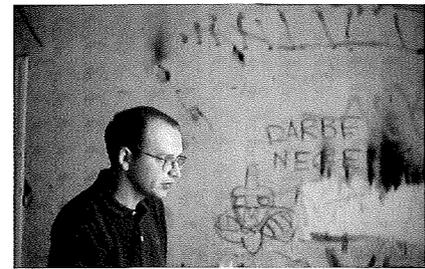
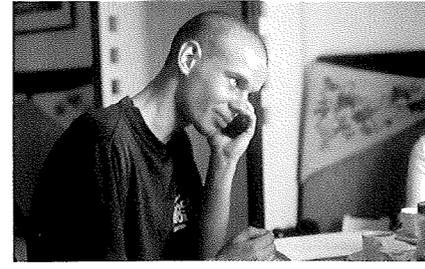


6



7

- 1, 2, 3 & 4. Pages from the Manifesta 2 Newsletter, no. 3 (1998).
- Images from curatorial research trips.
- Tallin. Center: Inessa Josing.
- Luxembourg City. Left to right: Barbara Vanderlinden, Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Maria Lind, Jo Cox, unidentified, Enrico Lunghi, unidentified, and Hedwig Fjjen.
- Bucharest. Dan Perjovschi in his atelier.



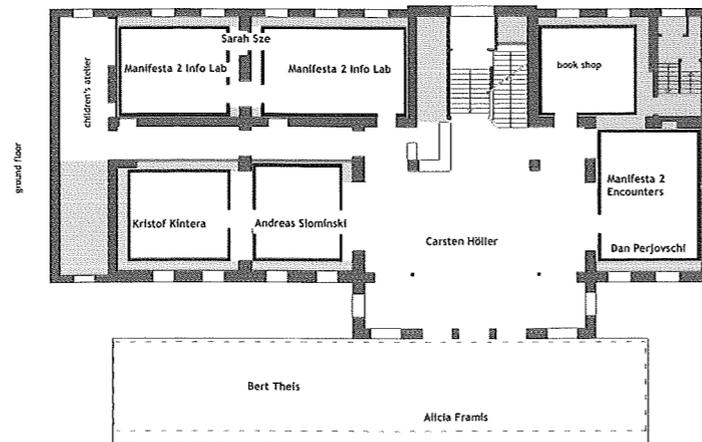
Images from curatorial research trips.

1. Berlin. *Left to right:* Maria Lind.
2. Tallin. Robert Fleck.
Photograph by Barbara Vanderlinden.
3. Vilnius. *Left to right:* Barbara Vanderlinden, unidentified, and Liutauras Psibilskis.
4. Lodz. *Left to right:* Barbara Vanderlinden, Maria Lind, and unidentified.
5. Prague. Kriřtov Kintera.
6. Vilnius. Deimantas Narkevicius.
7. Train station in Riga.
8. Warsaw.
9. Berlin. *Left to right:* Maria Lind and Barbara Vanderlinden.

All photographs by Robert Fleck unless otherwise mentioned.

Partial exhibition plan of Manifesta 2, Casino Luxembourg–Forum d'art contemporain, first floor, Luxembourg City.

28 June - 11 Octobre 1998



INFO LAB

Manifesta 2 situated a documentation center and workshop space at the heart of the exhibition. Research materials collected during the curatorial research and preparation for the biennial were made public in the form of an open-stack library. A series of discussions, lectures, and workshops were also held in the Info Lab during the exhibition.

1–3. Workshop during Manifesta 2 in the Info Lab. All photographs by Christin Mosar.



ARTISTS

EIJA-LIISA AHTILA



A Quest for a Woman—A Work in Progress, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

In her film installation, Eija-Liisa Ahtila presented a study based on Aki, a fictional character who experiences a paranoid delusion and decides to embark on a search for the ideal woman whom he imagines is named Anne. With a little help from an array of fantasy guides, the work poignantly charted the futility of Aki's quest, a reality reflected formally and spatially in this multi-screen film installation.

KUTLUG ATAMAN



Kutlug Ataman's Semiha B. Unplugged, 1997.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Kutlug Ataman's film portrayed a woman painter, Semiha Berksoy, living in Istanbul. Her aura, both attractive and repulsive, captivated the viewer and endowed the exhibition space with an almost surreal air. Her personal recollections and even memory itself receded into the background.

ORLA BARRY



A Tear for a Glass of Water, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Orla Barry's work functioned like a three-dimensional diary, documenting her private sphere. In this installation, she used various genres, like portraiture and short stories, traversed different fields, like art and literature, and mixed mediums, like photography, video, and drawing.

EMESE BENCZÚR



Should I Live to Be a Hundred, 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

This textile installation included 27,000 manufactured cloth labels on which were inscribed "DAY BY DAY." Emese Benczúr also embroidered the phrase "I think about the future" on one of these labels every day. The artist intended to repeat this compulsive gesture for one hundred years.

CHRISTINE BORLAND



5 Set Conversation Pieces, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Christine Borland cast bones of an anatomical model in porcelain, a material manufactured in part from bone ash. The artist then decorated these pelvises and fetal skulls with blue-and-white Oriental patterns borrowed from eighteenth-century English bone china, which during this period was a symbol of wealth and, as such, often present in portraits of upper-class families.

ERIKS BOŽIS

This site-specific intervention *Untitled* (1998) occurred in the historic, stucco rooms of the museum. The artist installed light boxes with photographs depicting decorative details of these same rooms, each of which presented the patterns either enlarged or reduced. The images communicated with the surrounding space.

MAURIZIO CATTELAN



Untitled, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

For this installation, Maurizio Cattelan transported a fragment of Italy to Luxembourg, namely an olive tree and the earth entangled in its roots. In so doing, the artist revealed his interest in the extraction of reality and its transference, as well as the possibilities of sculpture thirty years after arte povera.

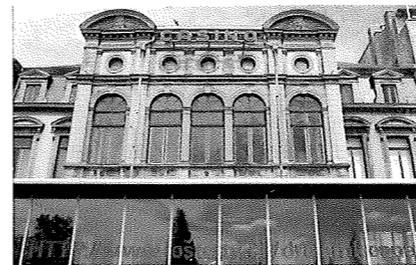
HONORÉ D'O



Script for the Treasurer, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

In the entrance hall of the museum, Honoré d'O constructed a voluminous, site-specific sculpture, consisting of all the artwork he has ever made. Visitors could actively participate, using the elements fixed on a central platform to make the work move, eventually transforming it into a "living sculpture." Tinged with humor and concerned with extreme situations, the work also expanded the notion of sculpture.

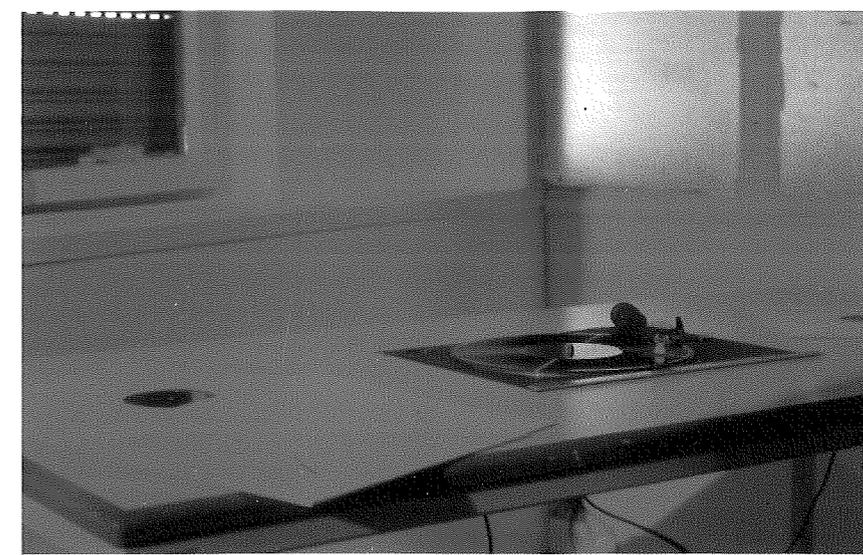
ALICIA FRAMIS



Dreamkeepers, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

In her performance, Alicia Framis invited visitors to sit down with her, have tea, and chat. She offered to watch over their dreams at their homes or in a hotel room, to talk to them before they fell asleep. She took on the role of their "dreamkeeper."

DORA GARCIA



DJ Los Muertos, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Dora Garcia's sound installation included various elements, among them a table, a chair, and a recorder-amplifier. The artist recorded all the sounds from a previous music performance and combined them with the sounds in the surrounding exhibition space. The resulting creation became a kind of background music, blending elements from the artist's memory with surrounding elements.

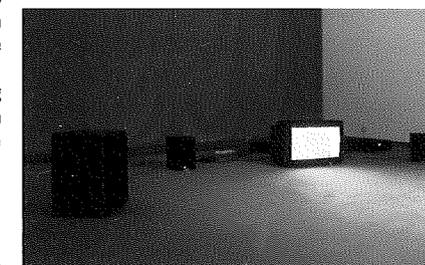
DR. GALENTIN GATEV



Motor Engines with a Regional Purpose, Evidence, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Over a period of several months, Dr. Galentin Gatev, an oncodermatologist, contemporary art collector, and curator turned artist, followed four priests on an automobile journey in a region near Sofia. He filmed their trip, including the various problems they faced due to the technical deficiencies of their vehicles. (At the time in Bulgaria, only businessmen and priests employed private transportation.) The artist was concerned with the "daily madness" of life in post-communist Bulgaria. Excerpts of his film were projected in different parts of this underground parking garage.

DOMINIQUE GONZALEZ-FOERSTER



Home Cinema Lux, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Curtains, a carpet, a television set—such apposite elements created a hushed ambience and defined a space designed for living and watching films. In *Home Cinema Lux*, Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster questioned the relationship between fictional and domestic space: The re-created domestic space became fictional, while the films on display were largely autobiographical.

After “Art after Communism?”

Robert Fleck

Commenting on a text that one has written is a tricky task. In the case of the text I wrote that eventually was published in the catalogue of Manifesta 2 in 1998, the chore is even trickier, as the main project was to produce an exhibition. A text cannot translate an exhibition into words nor bear adequate witness to the preparatory experience involved in organizing such an event, even if, as in this case, it allowed me to say something that I felt was essential about both the experience and the exhibition but that I could not say otherwise. The principal idea behind the exhibition – as defined during research trips with my co-curators, Barbara Vanderlinden and Maria Lind – was to support and confirm the work of promising or important artists across the Continent and further their visibility. As such, the experience was one of the most decisive of my adult life. The research for the exhibition with my co-curators and our unflinching engagement in favor of artists in whom we believed followed a precedent put forward by several of the great exhibition curators of the preceding generation, including Harald Szeemann, Jean-Christophe Amman, and Kasper König, the work of whom I was lucky enough to be able to follow as early as the late 1970s. Barbara and Maria, both of a younger generation than I, reinforced this commitment to artists whose work – either because of immediate passion or a longer acquaintance – one is convinced will last and make sense in the present and in the future. These kinds of choices guided Manifesta 2, which was comprised of our “ideal list” of artists, with many of whom we have continued to work, developing a subsequent loyalty.

The reflections in “Art after Communism?” were the result of this intense and unforgettable investigative research. (In the course of one year, we visited hundreds of studios throughout Europe and, in my case, thirty-five countries.) My text was written at the end of this process and became one of the three curatorial introductions to the exhibition printed in the catalogue. The extended field research in preparation for Manifesta 2 made it very clear to us that the period during which the occidental world only dealt with itself was definitively over. As a result, I chose the title “Art after Communism?” which was, first of all, a rather simple pun on Joseph Kossuth’s “Art after Philosophy,” a text that seemed to come out of the closed-off world of cold war, occidental academic thought. By entitling my text “Art after Communism?” I meant to imply that philosophy was no longer enough and that a threshold had been crossed. Above

all, I wanted to talk about the powerful experiences that we had all undergone in what were, by then, the countries of the former Soviet bloc. The main idea was this: The whole of art was changing with the end of communism. Not only was the very idea of art undergoing a profound evolution in former communist countries, but also this geo-cultural revolution promised to further modify the idea of art as such. Even occidental artists were about to realize that they belonged to a post-communist era, with respect to their artistic practices. To a certain extent, I still believe that today’s artists – whether they live in the older or newer countries of the European Union – have to come to terms with this historical condition. We live in an era in which communism needs to be confronted. No one can escape this pre-contemporary history of the present world.

Many people in former communist countries with whom I have spoken since “Art after Communism?” was published have told me that my text offended them. I did not mean to offend anyone. I only meant to say that communism – one of the greatest utopian ideas of the twentieth century as well as one of its longest dictatorships – was such a phenomenon and that the confrontation between the capitalist world and the communist world was certainly the defining factor of the second half of the twentieth century. In former Socialist countries, one senses a strong desire to try to forget or even censor any thought about their communist past. As early as 1989 and on both sides of the iron curtain, it was as if communism had never existed. Forgetting is one of the most dangerous acts of history, thus the title “Art after Communism?”

Yes, we are still there.

Art after Communism?

by Robert Fleck

It is possible that the present-day art of the 1990s will one day be generalised as of the “post-communist era”. Such an observation may at first sight seem exaggerated. The disappearance of communism from the cultural and political map has deeply influenced recent art throughout the world. Since the 1990s, the environment is no longer divided between conflicting alternative social systems. Today’s artists need no more take positions in the ideological battle, which marched through the European landscape from 1917. It is, however, no longer possible to choose between different perspectives. The art of the 1990s can be regarded perfectly well as an ensemble of countless ways and strategies, in this situation to reconstruct and to restore the added value of aesthetics.

It would be absurd to wish to ask of recent art that it expressly reflect the radical change of geopolitical conditions, to which we were witness. That would be to misunderstand the nature, the motives, and the scope of freedom in art. In Belgrade, there is currently a good art scene, since there has been a strong tradition since the 1970s, and the embargo, like the hostility of their own government, forced younger and older artists alike to exhibit together in precarious situations. The only older international critic star, who journeyed to Belgrade during the UNO embargo against Serbia, left behind mere astonishment with his question, why then do young artists not explicitly select war as a central theme in their works. The art of the 1990s is interesting on the whole for political, social, and individual power mechanisms, and for conditions for the appearance of works of art in very concrete situations. Despite this, in some respects aesthetic manner of looking at the problem, which is not altogether without danger, the important artists hardly resort to “historical experience” in the 19th century sense, when historical pre-impressionist art could actually be believed to portray the historical processes of its day. On the other hand, for younger artists in this decade, it is becoming natural almost everywhere, to move within the new environment, which one can describe with Deleuze as the “era of integral capitalism”. The reconstruction of the critical content of art was altogether the constant matter for concern in this decade. Alongside it, then, the important works of this time can be described coherently. The new social situation, with the absence of any fundamental alternative, was often treated convincingly. In the currently observed “second” generation of the 1990s, there arises a specific melancholic excitement, which had already appeared with Felix Gonzalez-Torres, the greatest secret example of this era. The striving generation which first studied art in the second half of this decade, today shows another air, uninfluenced by the media and consumer world. Thus, regional differences have in no way been blurred. In the works of the six artists in *Manifesta 2*, who originate from the former Yugoslavia, the only European region which suffered a war during the 1990s, the experiences of the war are clearly to be perceived underground – certainly not at the simple level of portrayal.

Despite the lucidity of Robert Fleck’s text, we do not agree with its premises and didn’t at the time it was first published in 1998. But we welcomed it, as it clearly expressed the more or less unspoken thoughts found in both the East and the West. At least declaratively, both sides had, and still have, the aspiration to wipe out the differences separating them as quickly as possible in order to establish “normal” conditions. In short, they hoped that an event of monumental proportions – the more than fifty-year division of Europe – would affect as little as possible the positions of dominance both “here” and “there.” In this sense, Fleck’s text is politically correct. What’s more, it is not mere wishful thinking on his part that will be confirmed or rejected in the future; wishful thinking actively participated in diminishing differences in the name of unity, instead of treating those differences, gained at the cost of so many victims, as a quality. (Serge Eisenstein suggests in his theory of cinematic montage that our common ground is to be found less in the convergence of these images than in the unbridgeable space that holds them apart. The third meaning is not a dialectical synthesis that nails meaning down but, as Susan Buck-Morss suggests, a space of freedom, of creative cultural production that keeps meaning on the move.) As a result, the very system meant to support artists from the East has impoverished them, and they have been encouraged to accept the “international style” as the only horizon in the framework by which they are able to be critical. “Criticism is no longer universally expressed,” Fleck said, “but made explicit to specific points, pictures, and processes.” In other words, he suggests that artists in the East should first globalize before being able to participate in anti-globalization movements.

IRWIN, Ljubljana-based artist collective

Manifesta came into existence itself at the beginning of the 1990s, clearly out of the post-communist context. Immediately after the Eastern European revolutions of 1989 and the opening of the Soviet hemisphere to the capitalist art trade, exhibitions took place in many museums of Western Europe and North America of older and more recent art from "the other half of Europe". Younger and older artists from these countries were invited in huge numbers to travel West and to exhibit. Those concerned were amazed or even incredulous of the sudden interest in their work. But three years later the wave had passed. Today, this short-term interest in Eastern Europe in the years 1989 to 1992 can be recognised as the first of three great waves of fashion in the 1990s, before the British and the Scandinavian waves.

The idea of *Manifesta*, interestingly enough, came about around 1993, that is to say at exactly that point in time when the interest for Eastern European art in the West was levelling out. The basic idea of *Manifesta* was that the radical geopolitical changes of the 1990s were too important and too permanent to be no more than a short-term fashion phenomenon of this sort. *Manifesta* was created by pioneers of art agency, who, in the European 1960s within a relatively open situation between East and West, North and South, had struck up lasting connections, and now recognised the opportunity in the 1990s, finally to build a trans-continental network, which as early as the years 1963 to 1968 seemed possible despite the borders of social systems. This explains the deliberately reduced infrastructure of *Manifesta*. The only parameters of this exhibition have been, from its first showing in the summer of 1996 in Rotterdam, that *Manifesta* has to include artistic topicality each time at the highest international level on the entire European continent and that the biennial has to take place at a different location every two years. By "travelling", it is to be "light" and free of the constraints of conventional major exhibitions, and the fact that it is a curatorial exhibition involves that it should not, from a diplomatic standpoint, be subjugated to the specific representative items of individual countries. It is a nomadic biennial, which as such has to deal with the continent of Europe, without the term "Europe" being more precisely defined. It concerns far more than the area of the European Community, namely the traditional geographical definition of Europe, "from Iceland to the Urals", or other possible definitions. In any event, *Manifesta* is a typical child of the "post-communist era". Previously, such a free exhibition, with artists from the entire continent, would hardly have been possible.

If one wishes to define the second showing of *Manifesta*, then the disappearance of the fundamental aesthetic differences between the various parts of Europe in recent years stands out. Two or three years ago, a generation of artists entered international artistic circulation, which no longer knew the communist era in its studies. The clearest result is the extensive non-differentiability of artistic works which come from Eastern or Western Europe, Northern or Southern Europe. There is no typical "Eastern Art" any more, whereas in the earlier communist states the development progressed with extreme rapidity. And "Western Art" appeared, on the reconstruction of a critical art concept, in an age in which there is no longer any alternative social model to capitalism. Southern and Northern Europe similarly benefit from the fact that the 1990s in Europe, with the dualism of Berlin and Cologne in a re-united Germany, and other factors, now has a decentralised situation not experienced since the 1920s.

Whoever, today, travels all parts of the continent, determines no fundamental difference in the aesthetic paradigms of younger artists from the various regions.

This development can be demonstrated by certain anecdotes. The Polish Solidarity Movement can be regarded as a benchmark. In 1981 Joseph Beuys drove his family in his own VW Bus to Łódź, gave the Museum of Modern Art there a collection of all his works, and arranged them himself. It was actually a return to normality. The Museum in Łódź is the oldest Museum of Modern Art on the European continent. It was established by protagonists of the second wave of modern art in the inter-war years, when a constant travel and exhibition activity all over the continent for artists of the "Classic Modern" was natural. Then, in the second half of the 1930s, national-socialist Germany tore the continent permanently asunder from an artistic point of view. In 1981 Beuys' gift to Łódź, for the artists of the communist hemisphere, after the regime of Jaruzelski – actively tolerated as it was by Western states – became a symbol of resistance. And this Beuys ensemble formally influenced the Eastern European avant-garde aesthetic of the 1980s, whereby, from the dissident scene of the preceding decade in most countries of the communist hemisphere, there arose some strong positions in independent art, which clearly contrasted with the Western aesthetic.

Of this "typical Eastern aesthetic", which was observed from the second half of the 1980s in Western countries, there are no longer any traces in the former communist countries. At least artists under 40 have hardly anything to do with the formal use of ruin and poverty, which was held out by the Eastern post-conceptual artists in the 1980s as the official picture of advanced progressive society. A year ago I heard, from a young artist in Warsaw, the following stunning but typical answer. "I never experienced communism. In 1981, with Solidarity, I was seven years old. I only know communism by hearsay from the stories of my parents." Artists of the younger generation in these countries were leaving school at a time when the communist system was breaking down. They studied in a post-communist society. The same advertisements, the same television channels, and the same social values and dreams as in the West, were for them the only concrete experience. So in *Manifesta 2*, even for the well-informed visitor, it is not easy to determine the geographical origins of the individual artists from the phenotype of their works. That is incidentally no news, but a return to the normality of this century. In the 1920s, one had to be a specialist, in order to geographically classify works by Moholy-Nagy, Russian constructivists, Frederick Kiesler, Fernand Léger, and members of "de Stijl". It is an outcome of the 1990s, that the origins of artists no longer play any major role. For most artists from Northern, Southern, and Eastern Europe this represents, subjectively and objectively, a genuine liberation.

A second current phenomenon of the 1990s is the formation of an "international style", which in the second half of the decade dominated the art world, just as abstract painting had done in the late 1950s, and concept and performance art in the 1970s. This phenomenon had hardly anything to do with the first, and it would be inappropriate to mix the two. The current "international style" has rather to do with certain basic aesthetic concepts, which characterise the 1990s. It is interesting, retrospectively to ascertain how severely Western art of the 1980s – at the highpoint of the

Robert Fleck's essay is, I think, very important for several reasons, one being his understanding of the post-communist situation as determinate for both Western and Eastern Europe. His most significant argument is that the differences between Eastern and Western European art have disappeared in the work of a new generation of artists. We cannot properly understand the nature of the most recent Eastern European art or European art in general without recognizing this development. I think, however, that we should also understand East-West relations in Europe over the last fifteen years as a more complex dynamic process, including not only integration, but also the reformulation of (cultural and other) differences. The transformations that Fleck describes are essential to this process, but they are also connected to different and often contradictory processes in which East-West differences have been reestablished anew. Seemingly similar forms or practices can nevertheless have different meanings in different contexts. Since 1989 in the West and East, (young) artists have reacted to basically the same mass cultural products, making their art appear quite similar. But there are, nevertheless, important, if not very obvious, differences in understanding and appreciating such mass culture that affect the character of art too.

Igor Zabel, senior curator, Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Ljubljana, and coeditor of *MJ – Manifesta Journal*

Cold War, which then broke off rather abruptly and changed into its opposite – became capitalist, even formal, until the market inroad of 1990/91. Since the middle of the 19th century, the modern age has bore detachment from middle-class commercial society as a constitutive feature of its artistic will. In the 1960s and 1970s, the denial of the trading value of art, of commercial art dealing, and the legitimising function of museums, belonged to the basic understanding of avant-garde. When, in the 1980s, through various circumstances, heavy money penetrated contemporary art, a complete generation of artists and dealers threw these fine principles overboard. In contrast, the influential artists of the 1990s attempted to restore art again as a setting for criticism. This succeeded to a broad extent, whereby the post-communist line-up on the whole forced a change in the concept of critical art. Michel Foucault's distinction between the "universal intellectual", like Voltaire and Sartre, who defended universal values by legal argument, and the present-day "specific intellectual", who, on the basis of special capabilities regarding problems which concern all of society, intervenes as an expert, is a good example of the change from the classic avant-garde to the critical expression of art in the 1990s. Surprisingly, younger artists have adjusted to this over the course of the 1990s through all regions of the continent. Criticism is no longer universally expressed, but made explicit to specific points, pictures, and processes.

The "children of the implosion of communism", for whom there is no longer any alternative to capitalism, have over recent years in formal aspects taken an opposite standpoint to the social environment. This includes the accentuation of procedural as against object, picture, or product-related moments in the work of art. Closeness to the American debate on political correctness, is explained in part by the fact that, for the American Left, thought bounded by horizons without fundamental social alternative had already been the normal case for several decades, whereas in Europe it had been inconceivable since the appearance of the communist idea in the late 18th century. Criticism as artistic content can in this context be built up by the uncovering of social processes, by own or fictitious biographies, by forms of self-examination and self-portrayal, by scientific methods, and by a criticism of the media picture. Without representing a theoretical exhibition, *Manifesta 2* covers all these fields as an exhibition of artistic topicality.

When we spoke of the phenomenon of an "international style" at the end of this decade, then this concerned a certain move to self-imitation, and to formal emulation within a comparatively narrow framework, which, within this critical, post-conceptual art towards the end of the 1990s, is not to be denied. A certain formal grammar of agreement to social and medial phenomena has established itself, and indicates that a part of this way of looking at problems has been exhausted, especially where it places itself in the path of temptation from a monumental media picture. A series of comparatively "wild" and politically "incorrect" works, charged in the most varied ways, in this situation account for the assumption that the paradigm of recent and current art can change extremely radically over the years to come.

It was the basic idea of the creators of *Manifesta* to bring about an exhibition which moved permanently in a hybrid position. *Manifesta* confers upon the curators, who

change each time, the task of creating an international exhibition with a total continental echo. In this sense, *Manifesta* is fundamentally distinguished from the East-West exhibitions of a diplomatic character, which some years ago, and partly triggered by the success of *Manifesta 1*, arose in the local and regional contexts of different countries. *Manifesta* has the destiny to be a great informative exhibition on more recent works at a high level, but as a nomadic biennial it is meant to avoid the economic and media-social constraints of some major exhibitions. If it should succeed against this challenge, then such an exhibition has the opportunity to represent a pithy balance sheet of artistic topicality in an almost "extra-institutional" context. In the discussion, which has been continuing for decades over the sense and purpose of major exhibitions of contemporary art, *Manifesta* takes a position which can be closely involved with the concerns and themes of art in the 1990s.

Notes:

1. In Eastern and Southern Europe, that is not least of all the achievement of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art, the network of which – as ever to be criticised – achieves epochal fundamental work for a free art concept in these countries, and provides concrete conditions for communication, travel and information on an international level.

Robert Fleck assumes that with the fall of the Berlin Wall ideologies, as we knew them, disappeared, but we know that this was the illusion of victorious capitalism. One ideology is as strong as ever – neoliberalism – and in Eastern Europe it advances under the slogan of "normalization," which hides a chronic lack of political imagination. Fleck argues against "fundamental aesthetic differences" between Eastern and Western European art as well as the idea that the origin of an artist plays a major role. In a seemingly innocuous way, this expresses a hegemonic position. Since when is contemporary art defined solely by "aesthetic paradigms?" Even if we were to accept that there are no "fundamental aesthetic differences," in the most superficial sense, this still doesn't mean that art and artists from Eastern and Western Europe are in the same (political, social, economical, market...) position or that their work sends the same messages. And this is as true now as it was when he first wrote his text. What, How, and for Whom (WHW) (Ivet Ćurlin, Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić, and Sabina Sabolović), Zagreb-based independent curatorial collective

FELIX GONZALEZ-TORRES



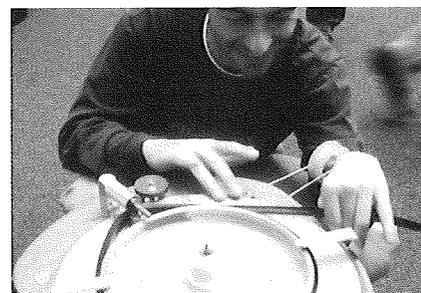
Untitled (America), 1994-95.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

The late Felix Gonzalez-Torres's *Untitled (America)* could be seen on Rue Philippe II, next to the Luxembourg Casino. *Untitled*, a self-portrait, was also installed in the first staircase of the Musée national d'histoire et d'art. Imbuing simple found objects with poetic and metaphorical signification, Gonzalez-Torres often explored themes of AIDS, sexual and racial violence, and the role of art in contemporary society.

CARSTEN HÖLLER

Carsten Höller's sculpture *Joining Forces* (1998) was at once a coat rack, a portal, and a signpost. Like a neon sign, numerous light bulbs displayed the word "Manifesta." This huge multifunctional structure on wheels could be moved to any location in the exhibition.

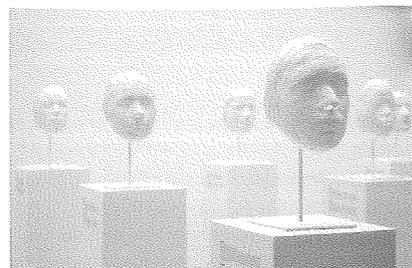
PIERRE HUYGHE



Pierre Huyghe working on his *Dialogue avec un produit de consommation*, (Dialogue with a Consumer Product), 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

In *Dialogue avec un produit de consommation*, Pierre Huyghe filmed a French person sleeping for three hours. Even though the reference to Andy Warhol's celebrated film *Sleep* (1963) was obvious, the artist was mainly concerned with asserting how film aesthetics are engraved in our optical subconscious, thus submitting the film image to critical analysis.

SANJA IVEKOVIĆ



Women's Room/Frañnhaus Project, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Sanja Iveković's project was the result of discussions between the artist and women's associations in both Croatia and Luxembourg. The outcome was an installation that questioned the relations between the ideals of beauty and violence. On the museum's glass front, she marked the names of abused women. Inside the museum, the artist installed casts of these women's faces along with their personal life stories.

INESSA JOSING



Healthy Window, 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

Relying on her skills as a window dresser and interior decorator, Inessa Josing staged interventions in store windows throughout Luxembourg City. With the consent of each shop owner, she used merchandise meant for sale. Rearranging the mannequins, she tackled conventional decorating practices, while enhancing them with both eccentricity and provocation through a focus on themes like sexuality, religion, and politics.

KRIŠTOF KINTERA

While ordinary electronic appliances are designed to enhance the quality and practicality of everyday life, Krištof Kintera's animal-like electronic creations *I Live with "It"* and *"It" Lives with Me* (1998) fulfilled no particular function whatsoever. Existing between modern ergonomically designed objects and purely organic forms, his objects are hybrids.

ELKE KRSTUFEK

I Am Your Mirror (1997-98) comprised a few hundred photographic self-portraits of the artist. This large body of work faced a series of mirrors by the Canadian artist Ken Lum. A third part consisted of a video projection displaying a self-portrait of Krstufek during an earlier visit to Luxembourg City.

PETER LAND



The Staircase, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

In the basement of the C.P.C.A., Peter Land created a video installation. In one part, a man (the artist himself) was seen repeatedly falling down a flight of stairs. In the other part, a starry sky was visible, suggesting long-term temporality. Seriousness and moralizing gestures were abandoned in favor of humor, self-mockery, and a keen eye for the situation of humankind at the end of the twentieth century.

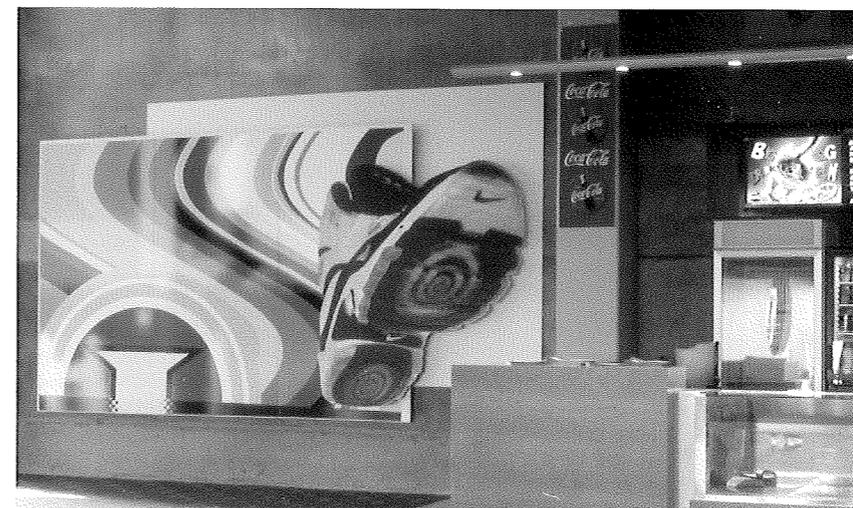
MARIA LINDBERG



Maria Lindberg in her exhibition space.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

The series of drawings Maria Lindberg presented in Manifesta 2 were made between 1997 and 1998. Each of these thirty-one objects represented an independent work in itself; but installed together, they formed a women's chronicle of everyday life in contemporary society.

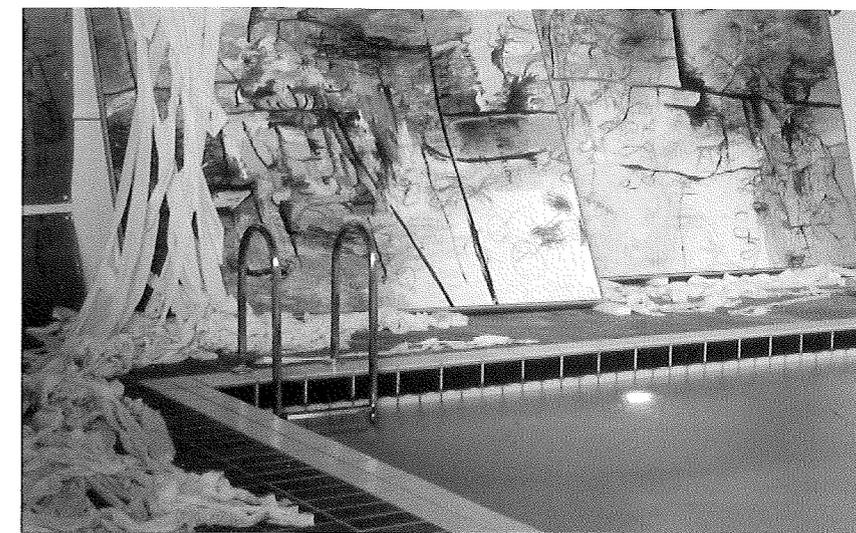
MICHEL MAJERUS



Yet Sometimes What Is Read Successfully Stops Us with Its Meaning, 1998. Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Michel Majerus's works are generally meant to be assembled in specific locations, forming large painted collages. Here, he conceived a painterly installation for one of the walls of the C.P.C.A, a former warehouse and cold storage depot. His innovative use of space established a dialogue between the architecturally transformed exhibition space and the pictorial field of his painting.

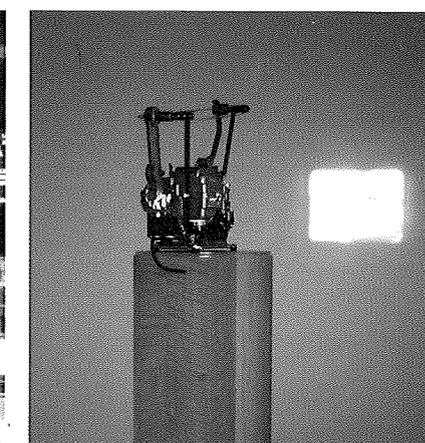
BJARNE MELGAARD



Artist in Search of God within His Own Limitations (An Indoor Swimming Pool for Yolanda, the Jack Smith Penguin), 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Bjarne Melgaard created a stage prop for *Artist in Search of God...* that tried to locate myths about artistic genius and suffering in a specific individual's biography. The piece was also a mental reconstruction of the moment when Yolanda, the Jack Smith penguin, watched Moses applying fake eyelashes to a dead goat.

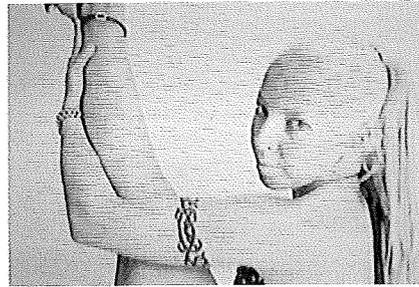
DEIMANTAS NARKEVIČIUS



His-story, Geography, Fate, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Deimantas Narkevičius's large-scale installation consisted of three films. Like their potent titles, they fluctuate between history and storytelling, as well as between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, Russia and Europe, personal and collective history. The projector and other technical materials Narkevičius chose for his installation are Soviet, and his filming technique was reminiscent of a hand-held camera.

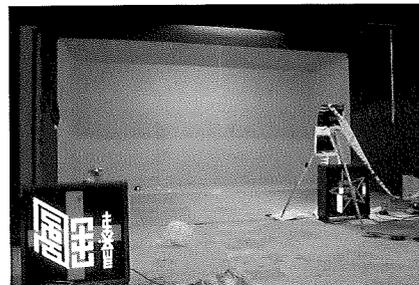
FANNI NIEMI-JUNKOLA



Untitled, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Fanni Niemi-Junkola's video showed scenes recorded at the Kings Kakadu nightclub in Helsinki, an establishment renowned for its cabaret and striptease performances. Projected on several video screens throughout the exhibition space, it gave the spectator the impression of participating in the show.

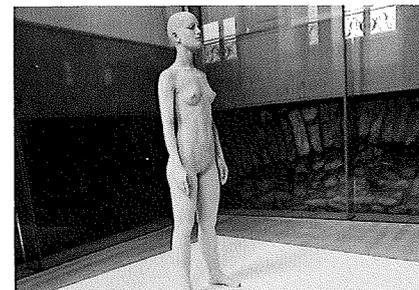
BORIS ONDREIČKA



Egon Grabstein's Helpless Joy, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Boris Ondreička's work was shown in a basement room of the C.P.C.A., which remained almost unaltered, on his request. In his installation, he combined disparate elements from a story and the media. It was virtually impossible to interpret and connect the pieces in the room. Concerned with the fragmented presence of reality in the media and the environment it acts upon, the artist searched for a critical and political conception of art and the artist.

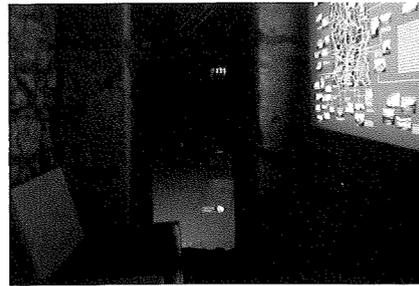
TANJA OSTOJIĆ



Personal Space, 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

Tanja Ostojić staged a performance in the elevator of the museum, during which she covered a square surface as well as her shaved body and head with white marble dust. For one hour, she stood the white square, motionless, statue-like, while the elevator carried her up and down.

MARKO PELJHAN



Operation Est Sundown, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Luxembourg is one of the major historic fortresses of Europe, its history shaped by its military function. Making subversive use of the Internet, Marko Peljhan offered visitors detailed information on how to conquer Luxembourg militarily and how to assume Luxembourg's function as the central flight control station in Europe. The artist rendered the cockpit conversations of planes flying over Luxembourg City public via radio broadcast.

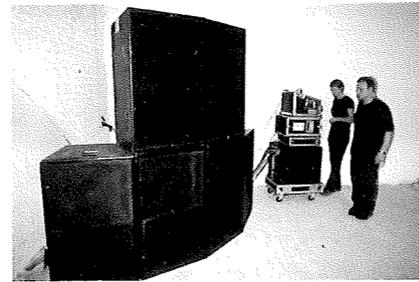
DAN PERJOVSCHI



Dan Perjovschi installing Newsdrawings, 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

Dan Perjovschi is a painter, conceptual artist, and contributor to the weekly 22 in Bucharest, the main press organ of the intellectual and cultural communities in Romania, the title of which refers to 22 December 1989, the date of the revolution against the dictatorship of Ceausescu. Throughout Manifesta 2, the artist worked with two Luxembourg newspapers, the daily *Tageblatt* and the weekly *d'Lëtzebuurger Land*. The collection of drawings resulting from this collaboration was shown during the exhibition, presenting a diary of Manifesta 2.

FRANZ POMASSL



Production of Franz Pomassl's Trail Error, 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

Franz Pomassl, a painter who works with electro-acoustic machines and devices, transformed the acoustic, spatial, and physical experience of the rooms situated on the ground floor of the C.P.C.A. *Trail Error* was an audio CD that comprised 76:42 minutes of feedback, system breakdowns, and freely developed rhythms and effects produced by the sound machine itself—irritating, paradoxical, and contradictory digitized elements produced by wave lengths that the human ear cannot detect. Amplifiers, the sound machines, and loudspeakers were the only visible elements of his installation.

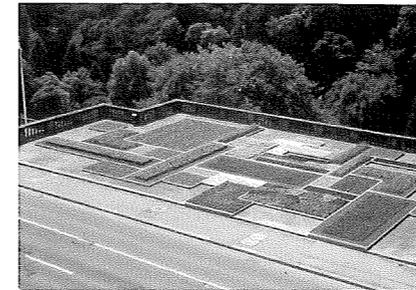
ANTOINE PRUM



La Cour des miracles (The Court of Miracles), 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

With *La Cour des miracles*, Antoine Prum addressed certain conflicts that haunt the apparently healthy social body of Luxembourg City. He used an underground tunnel as the cornerstone of his work, reflecting upon the feelings of attraction and repulsion triggered by violence. He disclosed hidden aspects, disturbed the well-established peace of mind, introduced doubt and suspicion, raised questions, and used art as a revealing force as well as an outlet for social phenomena.

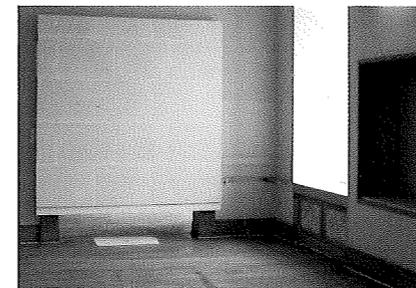
TOBIAS REHBERGER



Within View of Seeing (Perspectives and the Prouvé), 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Opposite the Luxembourg Casino, Tobias Rehberger transformed a prominent platform into a flower garden. The rigid planting structure strongly contrasted with the ephemeral character of the arrangements. Seen from above, the flat and carefully arranged flowerbeds suggested a painting. Rehberger's installation offered visitors a place of calm and rest, the opportunity to relax on a bench in the midst of greenery.

BOJAN SARCEVIĆ



Untitled, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Bojan Sarcević deliberately chose to work in a room in the museum no longer used as an exhibition space. He introduced several minimal interventions: a false wall and ceiling, which modified the room's volume, as well as paint on the walls, which slightly altered its color. He then filed all the room's tiny cracks with toilet paper, sealing it off hermetically. With this series of nearly invisible alterations, Sarcević performed an authentic metamorphosis.

Ann-Sofi Sidén during the production of Who Told the Chamber Maid? 1998.
Photograph by Thorsten Arendt/artdoc.de.

ERAN SCHAERF

For his work *Scenario Data (War and Peace in the Dictionary)*, (1998) the artist asked each of the three curators to translate an English text he had written especially for the occasion. He then recorded eight versions of his text, in German, English, French, Italian, Luxembourgish, Flemish, Russian, and Swedish. The installation referred to the multicultural identities of the artist, the participants in the international exhibition, and the inhabitants of Luxembourg.

TILO SCHULZ



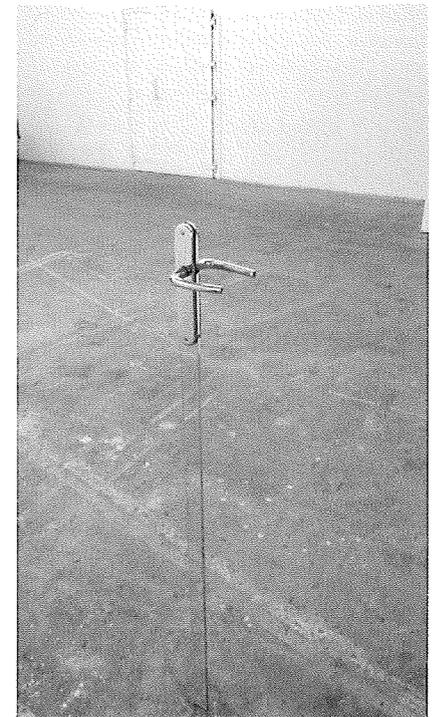
Untitled, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Throughout Luxembourg City, Tilo Schulz staged a fragmented discourse, employing texts and signs on bus stops, bars, signposts, etc. With their particular graphic design, each established a distinct relationship with its location.

ANN-SOFI SIDÉN



NEBOJŠA ŠOBA ŠERIĆ



Untitled, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Nebojša Šoba Šerić's work referred to the history of the Villa Vauban in which the Grand Duke and Duchess resided during the restoration of the ducal palace. In the garden of the Villa Vauban stands a leftover prop of a gate. The prop still holds the former safety lock on both sides of the now vanished gate. In the same spirit, the artist exhibited a door handle in the C.P.C.A., which does not lead anywhere either.

Ann-Sofi Sidén filmed a series of performances in a Luxembourg hotel, a venue in which one can look behind the scenes of public life and discover human experience within the private sphere of a room. The location thus became both scenery and script. The recorded scenes were presented as unmitigated reality, in an installation depicting the control room of a security surveillance system.

ANDREAS SLOMINSKI



The Ladder, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

In his work for the exhibition, Andreas Slominski attempted to enter one of the rooms in the Luxembourg Casino with a horizontally positioned ladder. As the doorway was too narrow, the only solution was to cut shapes resembling the ladder into the wall and pass it through them. Once the ladder was inside the room, the wall was repaired. The sound recording and video projection of this action triggered reflection regarding the production and reception of an artistic process.

SEAN SNYDER



Arriving and Transferring Passengers FIM Airport, 1998.
Gibraltar of the North Project, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

Because of the historical importance of its fortress, Luxembourg City is known as the Gibraltar of the north. Nowadays, Gibraltar, like Luxembourg, is renowned for its banks, tourism, and tax-free shopping. Sean Snyder's work established links between both cities and countries, while submitting their urban structures to a critical structural analysis. In the video, the artist was seen distributing posters of photographic collages of specific places in both Luxembourg City and Gibraltar.

APOLONIJA ŠUŠTERŠIČ



Juice Bar Installation, 1998.
Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

With her installation, architect and visual artist Apolonija Šušteršič explored the effects of the building on the surrounding neighborhood as well as its everyday life, emphasizing both its constantly changing identity (from a fruit and vegetable store to a carpentry workshop and eventually an exhibition space) and its corresponding transition periods of emptiness.

SARAH SZE

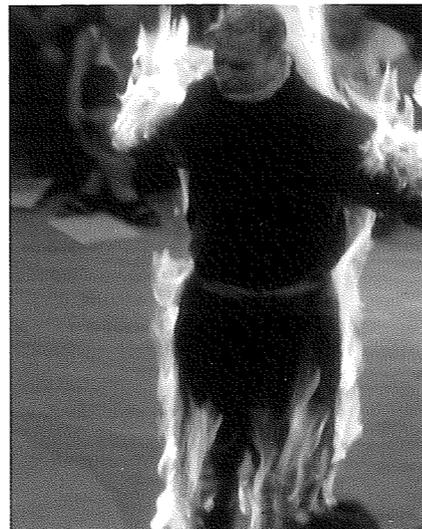
Sarah Sze's installation *Independent Sub-Curator Project*, (1998) was composed of small herds and heaps of objects as well as video footage of groups of people filmed from above and projected at such a reduced scale that viewers were obliged to look down at these people, while they performed mundane acts.

BERT THEIS

In a humorous and unpretentious manner, *Independent Sub-Curator Project* (1998) questioned the experience of art and the role of the museum. The project consisted, on the one hand, of a workshop about Manifesta 2 and art making. On the other hand, the artist organized the so-called *Dialectical Leap*: A thirty-minute trip in a shuttle bus that transported visitors to the Karl Marx House in Trier, Germany, in other words, from Manifesta 2 to the birthplace of the author of *The Communist Manifesto*, from Luxembourg to Germany, from the city of banks to that of the author of *Das Kapital*.

PIOTR UKLAŃSKI

On the day of the official opening of Manifesta 2, Piotr Uklanski staged a performance entitled *The Full Burn* in the entrance hall of the Luxembourg Casino. For it, a film stuntman hired by Uklanski was set on fire. The event was, according to the artist's instructions, documented on video and in photographs.



The Full Burn, 1998. Photograph by Roman Mensing/artdoc.de.

GITTE VILLESEN

In her video installation *Kathrine Makes Them and Bent Collects Them* (1998), Gitte Villesen called into question hidden social issues. She remembered that when she was fifteen years old a relative had told her that she would be married by the age of twenty-nine, have children and a secure job, and that art would be nothing more than a hobby. Villesen contacted this individual again and interviewed him as he analyzed the reasons for his original prophecy.

RICHARD WRIGHT



In three different venues in the museum, Richard Wright executed mural paintings that responded to the spatial environment and the neighboring artworks on display. His series sensitively illustrated the possibilities for a contemporary painter to forge a complex dialogue with other artworks in a group exhibitions.

MANIFESTA 3
EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART
BORDERLINE SYNDROME: ENERGIES OF DEFENCE,
23 JUNE–24 SEPTEMBER 2000, LJUBLJANA

The first of the Manifesta editions to be explicitly thematic, Manifesta 3 was also the first edition to be held in a former Eastern European city. Mounted in the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana, a city both close to raging ethnic turmoil at the time and known for its cosmopolitan refinement and reputation as the most "western" of Eastern European metropolises, the exhibition aimed to respond to this geopolitical situation by exploring the paradox of borders. The title of the exhibition, *Borderline Syndrome*—a term borrowed from the field of psychology—played on the notion of borderlines, both geographic and psychic. And as the show's subtitle, *Energies of Defence*, suggested, the curators (Francesco Bonami from Italy, Ole Bouman from the Netherlands, Mária Hlavajová from Slovakia, and Kathrin Rhomberg from Austria) made the effort to shield culture from political, economic, and cultural homogenization, an additional theme addressed in the exhibition and in local discussions. As the curators attested, the resulting project tried to interrogate the social and political ambiguities of territory for global culture at large and, in particular, artistic production in light of the transformations in Europe. The work of fifty-nine artists or collectives was shown in several outdoor sites and four institutional venues. A fifth venue, initiated by RTV Slovenia, brought elements of the exhibition to viewers of Slovenian television.

CURATORS

Francesco Bonami, Ole Bouman, Mária Hlavajová, and Kathrin Rhomberg.

PARTICIPATING ARTISTS

Adel Abdessemed, Paweł Althamer, Maja Bajević, Simone Berti, Ursula Biemann, Roland Boden, Agnese Bule, Phil Collins, Joost Conijn, Josef Dabernig, Colin Darke, Michael Elmgreen and Ingar Dragset, FAT, Urs Fischer, Nayia Frangouli and Yane Calovski, Marcus Geiger, De Geuzen, Amit Goren, Veli Granö, gruppo A12, Pravdoliub Ivanov, Ivana Jelavić, Daniel Jewesbury, Ian Kiaer, Šejla Kamerić, Koo Jeong-a, Edward Krasiński, Darij Kreuh, Denisa Lehocká, Alexander Melkonyan, Matthias Müller, Paul Noble, Anton Olshvang, Roman Ondák, Anatoly Osmolovsky, Adrian Paci, Manfred Pernice, Diego Perrone, Susan Philipsz, Marjetica Potrč, Arturas Raila, rasmus knud and Søren Andreasen, Anri Sala, Bülent Sangar, Sanna Sarva, Tomo Savić-Gecan, Schie 2.0, Ene-Liis Semper, Stalker, Simon J. Starling, Škart, Nika Špan, Nasrin Tabatabai, Joëlle Tuerlinckx, Sarah Tripp, Francisco Tropa, Sislej Xhafa, Jasmila Žbanić, and Gregor Zivčić.

M3

VENUES

Moderna galerija Ljubljana (Ljubljana Museum of Modern Art); Mednarodni grafični likovni center (International Center of Graphic Arts); Narodni muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia); Cankarjev dom; RTV Slovenia; and various outdoor venues.

ORGANIZERS

Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana, and International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam.

COORDINATOR

Igor Zabel



Do you suffer from a borderline syndrome? Where do YOU draw the line?

- Artists list including Adel Abdessemed, Pavel Althamer, Arevik Arevshatyan, ARSLAB, Maja Babić, Simone Bertè, Davide Berlocchi, Ursula Biemann, Roland Boden, Francesco Bonami, Ole Bouman, Lonnie van Brummelen, Agnese Bufo, Massimo Cacciari, Phil Collins, José Conijn, Pier-Paolo Corò, Critical Art Ensemble, Josef Dabernig, Liviana Dan, Colin Darke, Michael Elmgreen & Ingar Dragset, FAT, Urs Fischer, Nayla Frangouli & Yane Galovsk, Marcus Geiger, De Geuzen, Amit Goren, Veli Granó, Elisabeth Gröbl & Manfred Gröbl, Siebren de Haan, Mária Hlavajová, Pravidlou Ivanov, Ivana Jelavić, Daniel Jevčević, Ian Kier, Selja Kamerić, Koo Jeong-a, Edward Kashiński, Anders Kruger, Darij Kreuh, Luisa Lambri, Dennis Lehocký, Viktor Lenz, Alexander Melkonian, Matthias Müller, Zoran Naskovski, Paul Noble, Olesya Turkina, Hans Ulrich Obrist, Anton Olshvang, Roman Ondák, Vito Tražem, Anatoly Osmolovsky, Adrian Paci, Manfred Pernice, Diego Perrone, Susan Philipsz, Marijka Potić, Liulauras Pitsilikis, Arturas Rata, Hannele Rantala, rasmus knud & Søren Andreasen, Kathrin Rhombert, Dieter Roelstraete, Anri Sala, Düfent Šangar, Sarra Sarva, Tormo Šavč-Gecan, Schie 2.0, Ene-Liis Semper, Stalker, Simon J. Starling, Škart, Nika Špan, Nasrin Tabatabai, Joëlle Tuerlinckx, Sarah Tripp, Francisco Tropa, Yahit Tuna, Kai Vöckler, Sissy Xhafa, Ventsislav Zankov, Gregor Žvič, Jasmina Zhančić, Slavoj Žižek

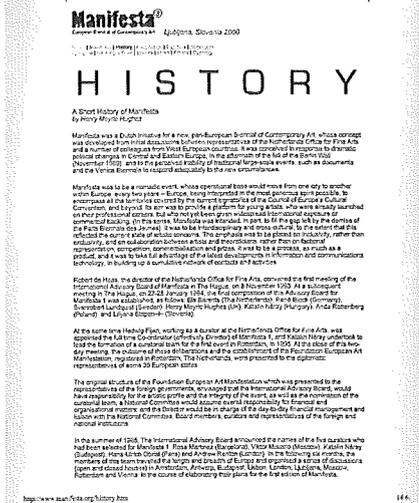
Preface

Manifesta 3, in Ljubljana, marks a turning point in the organization's history - a coming of age, as well as a changing of the guard. This follows the legal registration of the International Foundation Manifesta, Rotterdam, in April 1999, with its own international supervisory board and signatory administrative structure (secretariat, website and archive). The original idea of a new European Biennial was born in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the profound changes which affected the political and cultural landscape - dramatically, in the East and by stealth, throughout the rest of the continent. Manifesta was to provide a new platform for young artists, who had been disenfranchised by the old political and economic divisions of the Cold War and who now became alienated, as much by tradition, in the West as by the lack of it, in the East. Long-established events, such as the Venice Biennale and Documenta and the traditional international support structures for artists, proved inadequate to satisfy the thirst for fresh information and artistic exchange. The entire demise of the Paris Biennal des Jeunes had also left a gap, as one removed from the increasingly lively, but commercially orientated art fairs in Basel and Cologne and (from 1989) the 'Aperto', in Venice. Why an illustrious Biennial? There were theoretical and pragmatic arguments for creating an event which would not become generally identified with a given audience or location. To take the theoretical arguments first: The basic rationale was to create the means for responding flexibly to the needs of contemporary artists, the ideas they wanted to express and the ways in which these might be communicated. To this end, we intended Manifesta as an interactive workshop, as much as a freestanding exhibition - hence, the cumulative importance of the Internet and the zine, in mediating between artists, theoreticians and a wider public. On the pragmatic side, we realised, early on, that local sources of funding were unlikely to be renewable, in the absence of a firm commitment from European institutions, and that it would take some time for the latter to catch up with the reality we had created. Since its inception, Manifesta has had to take account of the changing circumstances of artistic exchange. Our initial emphasis on extending an East-West dialogue is gradually being replaced with a broader concern for negotiating the shifting borders between centre and periphery, wherever these happen to be located, at the time. Diversity is integral to the concept of Manifesta, and reflects the broad range of Europe's history and cultural traditions. Features among Manifesta's objectives have been developing, as appropriate, to new forms of artistic practice, experimenting with new curatorial methods and exploring new audiences for contemporary art. All this was to be achieved through the development of open-ended, democratic procedures, which emphasised the values of collaboration and interactive communication. Special aspects of Manifesta 1, in Rotterdam (1999) included the immense amount of reconnaissance and preliminary research undertaken by the team of five curators, culminating in a series of public debates ('open' and 'closed houses'), in a dozen cities across Europe. This initial research played an important role, in enabling them to develop an appropriate methodology for the exhibition, which involved an unusual number of collaborative projects and opportunities for collective experimentation ('laboratories'). Approximately one third of the 72 artists came from the Eastern half of Europe and were exhibiting in the West for the first time. The exhibition was spread over 16 museums and institutions in Rotterdam, in addition to more than 30 outdoor public and private places, and was enjoyed by the presence, at one stage or another, of approximately 40,000 participants, from a total of 30 countries.

Interview with Massimo Cacciari

Hans Ulrich Obrist: The expansion (largely) continues to develop - but for irreversible economic and commercial reasons. The deepening (oppression?) implicates a reflection (Zurück-Jahren) of Europe on itself, a gegen-schlag, as Nietzsche said, with respect to the ideology of 'progressives' that characterized it for at least the past centuries. Of this reflection I do not see a trace. Massimo Cacciari: The expansion (largely) continues to develop - but for irreversible economic and commercial reasons. The deepening (oppression?) implicates a reflection (Zurück-Jahren) of Europe on itself, a gegen-schlag, as Nietzsche said, with respect to the ideology of 'progressives' that characterized it for at least the past centuries. Of this reflection I do not see a trace. Hans Ulrich Obrist: In your new book Differenz und Harmonie - Geophilosophie Europas, you elaborate a model of both unity and difference. How do you see the possible role of Europe in the world? Homi K. Bhabha sees the figure of Europe in terms of a third space. He sees European history delimited by the aggression caused by projections to the other, the colonial history being one of the outcomes of this projection. Would Europe as a third space help us to go beyond oppositions? Massimo Cacciari: Unity can only be a unity of different elements, and the 'different' can call themselves that only if they recognize their 'deeper' unity. If this relationship is forgotten, the unity will be nothing more than universal homogenisation, violence and an end to the 'reductio ad unum', or the distinction will be pure antisocial aggression. Can Europe still reflect upon itself as a unity which bears opposition and opposition that bears unity? This is the question we do not know how to answer today. Hans Ulrich Obrist: European history has been the history of art and artistic projects for the construction of the European house? Isn't the European Community in danger of being driven purely by economic forces without any cultural vision? The scenario of multinational companies colonising the world and driving ever increasing wedges between the rich and the poor. Massimo Cacciari: There is not a single problem concerning the European spirit that has not been also expressed in its artistic manifestations. Hans Ulrich Obrist: European society is about to transform itself into an information society. The communication and the new forms of networking like the Internet lead to an ever increasing globalisation. At the same time there are strong forces of decentralisation. Massimo Cacciari: The current process of globalisation inevitably evokes 'earthy' feelings of nostalgia. These feelings alone will remain quite harmless. The problem does not lie in reacting to the globalisation, but in living the process whatever our differences, bringing to it our own identities and characters... and our own gods. Hans Ulrich Obrist: Paul Virilio told me in a recent discussion that he sees the city as the last territory (le dernier territoire). He talks about tele-ports, airports... How do you see the importance of cities as dynamic centres of exchange for the future?

Hasimo Cacciari's Yes. Today I believe in fact the city to be the 'territory' that can 'give roots' and be in relation with the other, to host and be hosted at the same time. European history has mostly been a history of cities, of big cities 'on the move', always mobile, always in danger, but always capable of taking care of themselves. Hans Ulrich Obrist: The year 1989 plays a very central role in your new book. The fall of the wall in Berlin has given birth to a much more fluid Europe. How do you see the notion of migration in Europe in 1996? Massimo Cacciari: Freedom to cross borders has always been a part of the European spirit. Today, how can we speak of freedom? Surely not for the great streams of migrants, I doubt if we can even speak of freedom in terms of the great tourist floods drawn by the picturesque images of the tour-operators. Once borders were crossed also by hoplites, now, it seems, only by enemies or esau! (ex-solum: uprooted people). This interview was made during the opening of Manifesta 3 in Rotterdam on the 23rd of June 2000. The text is published in the book 'Differenz und Harmonie'.



1. Front cover Manifesta 3 catalogue, Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence (Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, 2000).

2. Back cover. 3. Preface. 4. Page 146. 5. Page 270.

6. Page 271.



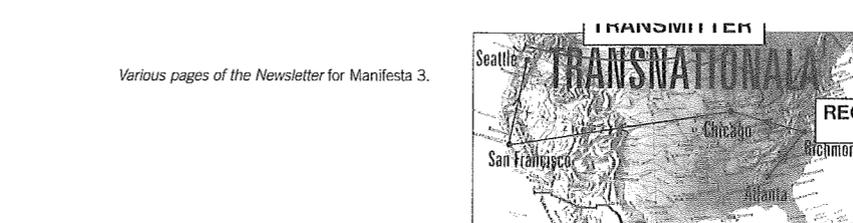
Poleti 2000 bo v Ljubljani odprt tretji Bienale sodobne umetnosti Manifesta. Odrtje Manifeste 3 bo 23. junija, razstava pa bo na ogled do 24. septembra 2000.

Zaradi novega bienala se je ponovila na Nizozemskem v zgodovinskih lokacijah, ki so zaradi poteka po namenu oživile, ki bi omogočile drugačen pogled na Evropo in svetovni razvoj v zgodovinski in geografski perspektivi. Poletje tega leta je bilo za vse evropske in svetovne umetnike, ki so se odločili, da bodo na evropski točki potovanja prišli v Ljubljano. In polje Slovenije in ni postalo del evropskega umetniškega prostora, ampak je postalo del evropskega prostora, ki je bil v Ljubljani. To je bilo priložnostno, da se v Ljubljani odpre tretji bienal sodobne umetnosti Manifesta. Odrtje Manifeste 3 bo 23. junija, razstava pa bo na ogled do 24. septembra 2000. Manifesta 3 je bil priložnostno, da se v Ljubljani odpre tretji bienal sodobne umetnosti Manifesta. Odrtje Manifeste 3 bo 23. junija, razstava pa bo na ogled do 24. septembra 2000.



In the summer of 2000 the third edition of the European Biennial of Contemporary Art, MANIFESTA, will take place in Ljubljana. Manifesta 3 opens on June 23 and will be hosted by the Slovene capital until September 24, 2000.

The idea of a new Biennial was born in the Netherlands in the middle of the 1990s out of the need for a new platform from which to look at Europe and its artistic developments in another way, and each time from a different geographic perspective in a different city. Having raised these issues, we turned to the question of what contemporary European art is and how contemporary artistic practices react, comment or transcend its environment. Each time, with specific geographic reference through the dialogue between a local artistic and cultural situation and the broader context of international contemporary art. As curators of Manifesta 3, we have decided to view European currents through the prism of the 'borderline syndrome'. Such a metaphor, borrowed from the field of psychology, has seemed an appropriate one for our times, as issues of identity, migration or defence, protection and resistance have shaped a number of recent happenings on every continent. The city of Ljubljana, and the position of Slovenia, naturally have emerged in the context of the 'European east', especially since the end of the Communist era. However, Ljubljana is on the brink of participation in the European 'borderline syndrome'. It is close to ethnic struggles, yet has the potential of an international dialogue.



Various pages of the Newsletter for Manifesta 3.

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Borderline Symptoms

"Don't ask what Europe can do for you; ask what you can do for Europe!"

"People build walls around themselves to bring order and borders closer to their bodies."



What Do We Do to Ourselves When We Want to Do Something For "Europe"?

What do we do to ourselves when we want to do something for "Europe"? This is the question that has been asked in the context of the European Biennial of Contemporary Art, Manifesta 3, which is taking place in Ljubljana, Slovenia, from June 23 to September 24, 2000. The question is particularly relevant in the context of the current process of globalisation and the challenges it poses for European identity and culture.

TRANSMITTER

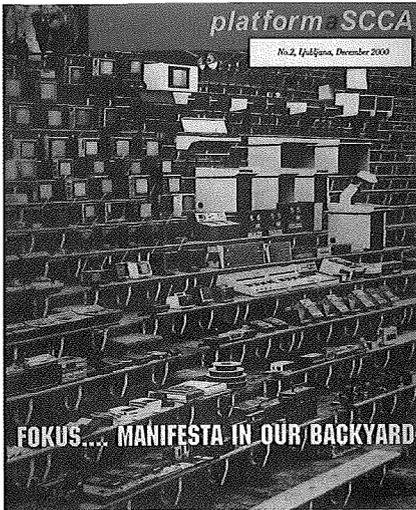
TRANSMITTER: The group itself was a longer process on the Slovenian art scene. With few exceptions, the spirit of the event was one of cooperation and dialogue between Slovenian art and the rest of the world.

RECEIVER II. Rotterdam

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RECEIVER I. Atlanta

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1. Front cover of PlatformaSCCA (Manifesta in Our Backyard), no. 3 (January 2002).

PlatformaSCCA is a platform for the presentation of contemporary art in the city of Ljubljana. It is a project of the City of Ljubljana, initiated by the Mayor's Office and the City Council. The platform is a space for the presentation of contemporary art, both in the city and in the surrounding area. It is a space for the presentation of contemporary art, both in the city and in the surrounding area. It is a space for the presentation of contemporary art, both in the city and in the surrounding area.

2.-8. Misko Šuvakovc, "The Ideology of Exhibition: On the Ideologies of Manifesta," in PlatformaSCCA, no. 3, pages 11-17.

THE IDEOLOGY OF EXHIBITION: ON THE IDEOLOGIES OF MANIFESTA
Misko Šuvakovc

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10. Misko Šuvakovc, "The Ideology of Exhibition: On the Ideologies of Manifesta," in PlatformaSCCA, no. 3, pages 11-17.



11. Press conference for Manifesta 3, Ljubljana, 22 June 2000. Participants: Curators of Manifesta 3, Francesco Bonami, Mária Hlavajová, Kathrin Rhomborg, and Ole Bouman; Igor Zabel, coordinator of Manifesta 3; Henry Meyric Hughes, president of the international board of Manifesta 3; Jozef Skolc, minister of culture of the Republic of Slovenia and president of the national committee of Manifesta 3; Mitja Rotvnik, director general of Cankarjev dom; and Teja Alic, project manager of Manifesta 3.



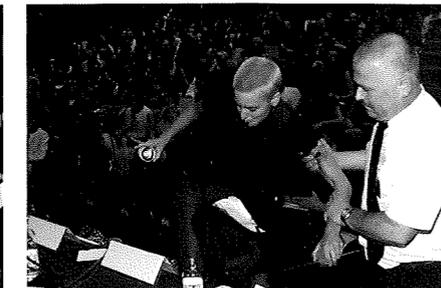
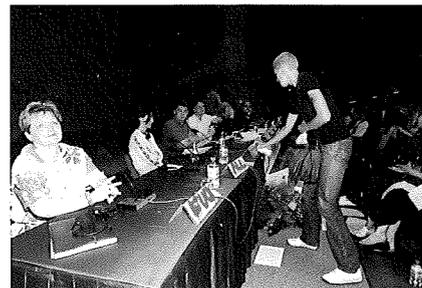
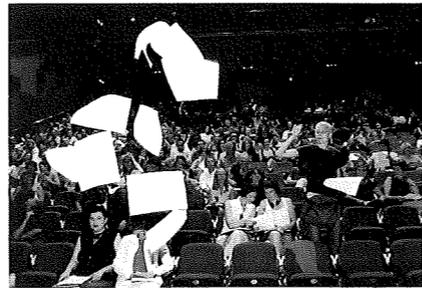
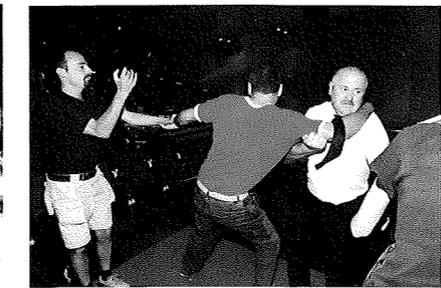
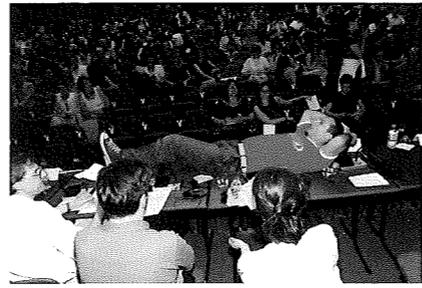
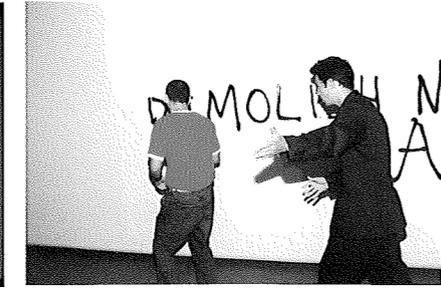
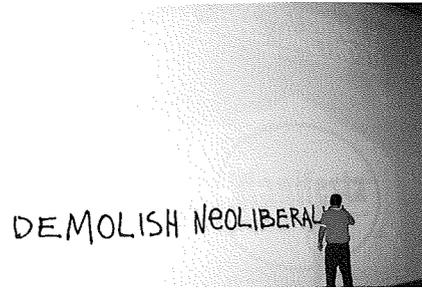
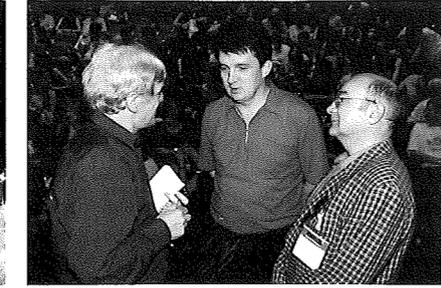
12. General view.



13. Left to right: Unidentified, Igor Zabel, Henry Meyric Hughes, and Mária Hlavajová.



14. Mária Hlavajová (left) and unidentified.



Public protest action *Demolish Neoliberalism, Multiculturalist Art-sistem* by Russian artists Aleksandr Brenner and Barbara Schurz at the opening press conference for Manifesta 3, Ljubljana, 22 June 2000.

1. Press Conference general view of speakers. 2. *Left:* Henry Meyric Hughes and unidentified. 3. Aleksandr Brenner approaching the conference table. 4 & 5. Brenner spraying the phrase "Demolish Neoliberalism, Multiculturalist Art-sistem." 6. Brenner at the press conference table.

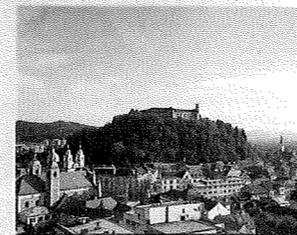
7 & 8. Brenner being forced out of the press conference. 9. Barbara Schurz throwing manifestos. 10. Schurz spray painting. 11. Schurz being forced out of the press conference. 12. Continuation of the press conference.



City view, Ljubljana.

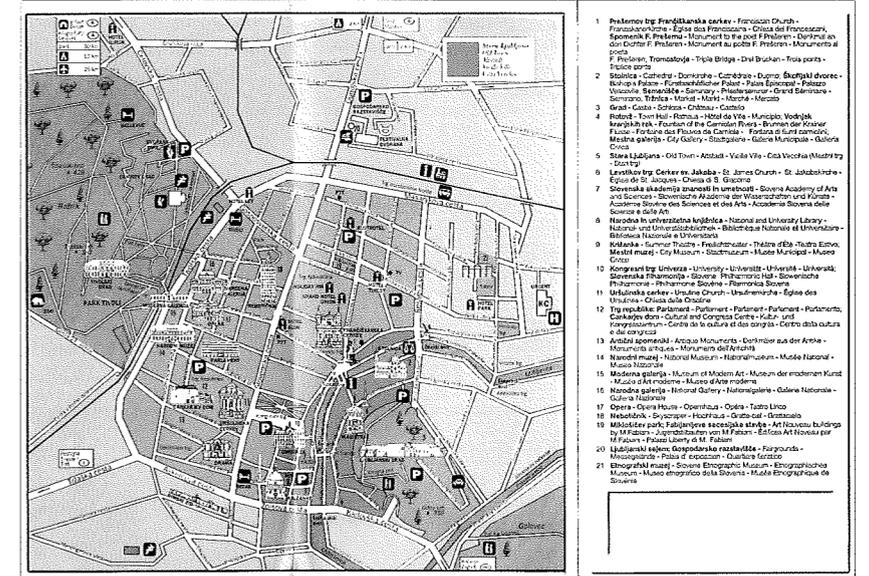
LJUBLJANA

GLAVNO MESTO REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE
CAPITALE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE SLOVÉNIE
CAPITALE DELLA REPUBBLICA DI SLOVENIA
CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
HAUPTSTADT DER REPUBLIK SLOWENIEN



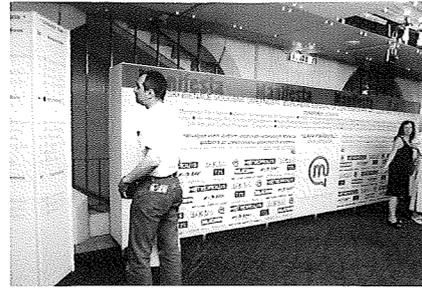
PROMOCIJSKI CENTER LJUBLJANA
P.O. Sotlarjeva / Sotlarjeva, Ljubljana, Slovenija, tel. +386 (0) 1 251 215, fax 204 201

Tourist folder of Ljubljana.





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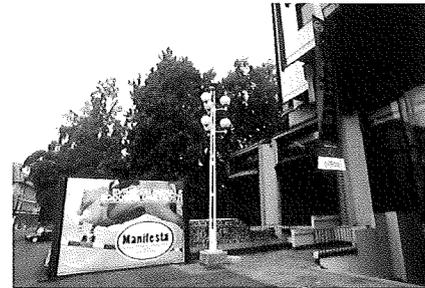
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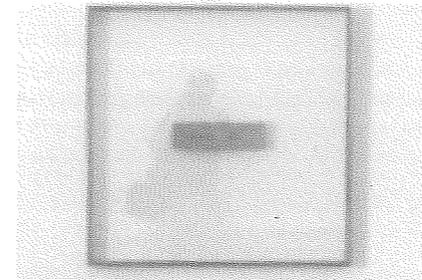


12

Manifesta 3 exhibition locations in Ljubljana: 1-5. Manifesta 3 poster campaign, Ljubljana. 6. Mednarodni grafični likovni center (International Center of Graphic Art). 7. Narodni muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia). 8. Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana. 9 & 10. Moderna galerija Ljubljana (Ljubljana Museum of Modern Art). 11. Narodni muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia). 12. Mednarodni grafični likovni center (International Center of Graphic Art).

ARTISTS

ABDEL ABDESSEMED



Mohammedkaripolpot, 2000. Photograph by Igor Lapajne.

The work of Abdel Abdessemed referred to three figures who changed the world order: the Muslim prophet Muhammad, the German philosopher Karl Marx, and the Cambodian dictator Pol Pot, all of whom attempted to purify the structure of human existence. Combining these three figures into one, Abdessemed invented a new kind of trinity where spirituality, materialism, and violence coalesced into a unique belief system. Isolated in its space, this simple, framed name was transformed into a mysterious contemporary icon.

PAWEŁ ALTHAMER

The film *The Motion Picture* (2000) by Paweł Althamer recorded a performance in a bustling, crowded square near Ljubljana's central market. Eleven film and stage actors, some of them well-known public figures, performed a play each day for approximately thirty minutes. The roles were various but totally ordinary—a tramp, an old man, a television personality, two very young girls, a policeman, a homeless person, a couple in love, a tourist with a camera, a skateboarder, a street musician, and others. At the end of the play, all the actors immediately vacated the stage. With this work, Althamer interrogated the border between reality and fiction.

MAJA BAJEVIĆ

Maja Bajević's video *Women at Work* (1999) recorded an artistic action carried out during the renewal of the National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, part of a series of projects entitled *Under Construction*. Five refugee women performed the piece. Over the course of five days, each woman wove her own pattern on a net that covered or was stretched over the scaffolding of the building. The women occupied the gallery and combined the recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the past represented inside the gallery itself. The use of handicraft symbolized the revival of the home and the feminine presence in the public sphere.

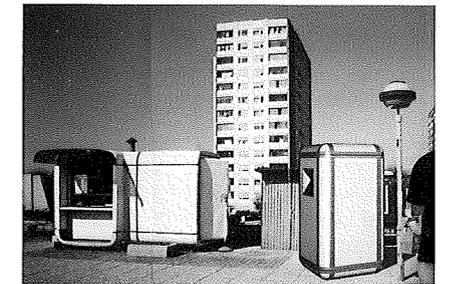
SIMONE BERTI



Untitled, 2000.

The protagonists in Simone Berti's photographs were positioned and then photographed while standing within complex metal structures, emphasizing the severity of their poses. The compositions were particularly reminiscent of photography's early years, when photographic techniques demanded that subjects remain perfectly still for extended periods of time, often with (hidden) props holding subjects in place. Such conditions also echo the process of portrait painting. With *Untitled*, Berti questioned the degree to which any human can remain physically or mentally still.

ROLAND BODEN



Urban Modular Shelter Units (UMSU), 2000.

Urban Modular Shelter Units (UMSU) offered an ironic look at public space. The work represented a series of standardized safety systems, which can be configured into different combinations for different locations. Appealing in their design, the computer-generated units were not meant to be actual units. Their integration into a public space responded to its organic structure, suggesting typical urban design.

URSULA BIEMANN



Performing the Border, 1999. Photograph by Igor Lapajne.

Ursula Biemann's video essay represented the border as a critical metaphor for marginalization and the artificial maintenance of the subjective lines of division. The video examined the gender discrimination experienced by the women of the Mexican city of Ciudad Juárez, as reflected in employment policies, prostitution, the entertainment industry, and male violence in the public sphere.

AGNESE BULE



Discover Latvia, 1999.

Agnese Bule's video *Discover Latvia* reflected upon the human condition in contemporary Latvia and in post-communist Eastern Europe in general. She did so by employing a familiar set of images and symbols to present the mythical origin of Latvia, including the tree of the world, the creation of man, a barrel, a flag, and a river. Bule linked the "reality" of ancient and modern-day myths, both of which remain part of Latvian culture.

PHIL COLLINS

Phil Collins presented two films: *How To Make A Refugee* (1999), filmed in Skopje, Macedonia, and at the refugee camps in Stenkovec and Chegrane during the conflict of May 1999, and *Simple Instrument* (1999), filmed in Belgrade during Christmas. Both films and the accompanying prints consider the camera and artist as ambivalent, complicit critics, revealing how we as viewers often find ourselves implicated as collusive witnesses of images for political and aesthetic consumption. In a more general sense, the works also reveal the tacit shame we experience as ineffectual political bystanders.

JOOST CONIJN

Joost Conijn is fascinated by transportation and his travel experiences, so much so that he obtained his flying license. This formed the point of departure for the video *Airplane* (2000) he presented at Manifesta 3. It started with an uncontrollable urge to fly. In 1999, he decided to build an airplane. *Airplane* records his adventures during this process—from the design of the craft and its installation on the rooftop of De Fabriek in Eindhoven to testing and transporting it to the Sahara desert, where he first flew it.

JOSEF DABERNIG

Dabernig's eight-minute film *Wisla* (2000) depicted two male actors following the fictional progress of an important football match as though they were coaches. The camera focused on them exclusively, as they sat in the coach's box and gesticulated like two men involved in a conflict. Juxtaposed against the empty Wisla Stadium in Kraków were sound recordings of two Italian Serie A football matches at the Friuli Stadium in Udine. From this combination, Dabernig created a complex structure of dualities. The actors' gestures became metaphors for social activity, an ambivalent expression of conflict and impotence.

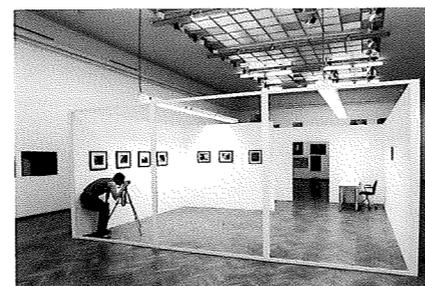
COLIN DARKE



Stilts and Crutches, 2000.

Colin Darke's work has a strong political orientation. *Stilts and Crutches* was a work in progress, examining the relationships between concrete historical events, political texts, and certain artistic productions that alluded to them. It involved his redrawing of French painter Charles Landelle's *Republic* (1848–49). In the drawing's white border, Darke inscribed excerpts from Leon Trotsky's 1924 lecture "Class and Art," which expressed the essence of Darke's project: "While the class-motivated political writing hurries along on stilts, artistic endeavors lag behind, limping on crutches."

MICHAEL ELMGREEN AND INGAR DRAGSET



Powerless Structures, Fig. 88, 2000.

In this series, the artistic duo challenged conventional perceptions of space and proposed possible changes to social, architectural, and even exhibition conditions. *Powerless Structures, Fig. 88* constituted a private gallery within the context of Manifesta 3. In this box-shaped room, art-dealing activities took place. However, the curatorial team of Manifesta did not select the exhibitions presented. Rather, a team of young, local gallerists was given the job, launching their professional careers. In the pre-existing exhibition hall of the Moderna galerija Ljubljana, the gallery itself became a sculptural object.

URS FISCHER



The Membrane, 2000.

Using mixed media, Urs Fischer questioned the borderline separating ugliness from beauty through both the artistic process and the finished product. He reveled in the potential of objects and materials to create complex meanings and sensations, while attacking the purity of thought, discarding artistic order, and embracing non-elitist cultural hierarchies.

NAYIA FRANGOULI AND YANE CALOVSKI



Common Denominator, 2000.

Nayia Frangouli and Yane Calovski's installation and performance piece was composed of two independent, autonomous parts. The first was a CD compilation of Macedonian and Greek music with distinct nationalistic and political overtones. The second was a stand filled with fresh fruit, pieces of which they offered to visitors during the exhibition. Macedonia and Greece share the same history as well as numerous unresolved problems due to their cultural, religious, and linguistic differences. Aware that both nations distrust and fear one another, Frangouli and Calovski wondered whether such destructive sentiments could be overcome.

MARCUS GEIGER

Marcus Geiger's project *Untitled* (2000) for Manifesta 3 involved covering the area between Cankarjev dom, the largest Slovene cultural center, and Nova Ljubljanska Bank with pink paint. The colored surface referred both to the public space and the site of the work, highlighting the dramatic contrast between the activities of both institutions and their consequent distribution of power (organization of cultural production versus the surveillance of economic capital). This in-between space was charged with signification.

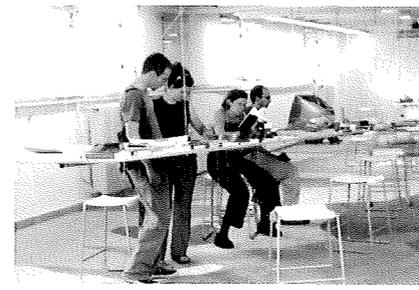
AMIT GOREN



Your Nigger Talking, 1999.

Amit Goren's dual video documentary addressed the complex and contradictory attitudes toward immigrants who live and work in Israel, focusing specifically on Nana Opoku Agyemang, an illegal worker from Ghana. Of the thousands of children under the age of eight born in Israel to illegal foreign workers, only a handful are registered in the public school system. In response to the growing demand for kindergarten and primary school education within the community, Agyemang opened a private school for children of foreign workers in his own apartment.

DE GEUZEN



A Temporary Archive 2.2, 2000.

De Geuzen is a foundation for multimedia research. For Manifesta 3, it created an archive, addressing issues of border delineation. The materials (books, magazines, websites, other visuals) were organized according to selected themes, such as mapping/cartography, nation, culture, identity, gender, body, and economy. This temporary archive was a platform for critical inquiry, reflection, production, and exchange, available to the visitors of the exhibition.

VELI GRANÖ



A Strange Message from Another Star, 2000.

Finnish American Paavo Rahkonen was fifteen at the time of World War II. Thinking the conflict would lead humanity to self-destruct, he decided to try and leave the Earth and settle on another planet. Granö's film explored this utopian dream and the extreme dedication Rahkonen has exhibited trying to realize it, including the decades of independent research he conducted which culminated in the development of rocket designs and space shuttle fuel for NASA.

GRUPPO A12



empty/SUMI, 2000.

Gruppo A12 is a Milan-based collective of artists, urbanists, and architects, the core interest of which lies in the transformation of the contemporary city. At Manifesta 3, the group completely redesigned the interior of Sumi Bar. Windows were removed and everything but the inscription "Chubby was here" was whitewashed. The whitewashing was repeated four times during the exhibition. A radio set was also set up in the space and the locale remained opened continuously throughout the exhibition.

PRAVDOLIUB IVANOV



Transformation Always Takes Time and Energy, 1997–98.

Pravdoliub Ivanov's installation *Transformation Always Takes Time and Energy* touched on the absurdity of contemporary existence. The work included some thirty teapots and pots filled with water, sitting on burners, lazily boiling, and wasting energy. As such, the artist highlighted the inanity of certain advances in western civilization. Having borrowed all the receptacles from family and friends, he also called attention to the problem of ownership of readymade objects.

IVANA JELAVIĆ

One (1997) documented Ivana Jelavić's street performance in front of a local government building in Split. The performance opened with the artist drawing a white-chalk spiral on the ground, representing the progression of personal development even while, in the course of its creation, it came into contact with other people. Taking interactivity and communication as her themes, the artist explored her desire to develop her personal universe as well as her need to communicate with fellow human beings.

DANIEL JEWESBURY

Daniel Jewesbury's feeling of unease as a citizen of "righteous" Europe inspired him to conceive *Exchange 2000* (1999–2000) a sound project, which consisted of four radio receivers broadcasting a discussion between six people on the problems of immigration, racial prejudice, multiculturalism, and the meaning of national affiliation. At first, the discussion seemed spontaneous. However, when one of the participants began to speak in his native tongue and the moderator immediately began to translate, the listener realized that the program was minutely scripted. In *Exchange 2000*, Jewesbury questioned the objectivity of radio as a medium.

IAN KIAER



Brueghel Project/Casa Malaparte, 1999.

Ian Kiaer's installation for Manifesta 3 had very complex sources, Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Curzio Malaparte and their respective relationships to the Italian landscape. In 1552, Bruegel journeyed across the Alps to Rome and then on to Sicily. His vivid *Battle off the Port of Naples* (c. 1558) is proof of his visit to the region. In 1933, Mussolini exiled the Italian writer and journalist Malaparte to the Aeolian island of Lipari, off the northern coast of Sicily. In his work, Kiaer ruminated on the travel and isolation as defining moments.

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ



EU/OTHERS, 2000.

Šejla Kamberić chose a bridge in the center of Ljubljana for her outdoor intervention. She placed the signs "EU" and "OTHERS" on the bridge, creating an environment similar to an actual European border crossing where individuals are separated by nationality. In so doing, Kamberić questioned whether borders are the place where one discovers who one really is.

The Fifth Venue

Melita Zajc

The Fifth Venue (Peto prizorisce, in Slovenian), the Manifesta 3-related exhibition-television project of RTV Slovenia, was the result of my strong belief in the vital role of public-service broadcasting and the visual arts in providing quality audiovisual content for the majority of the population. The need for quality public-service broadcasting is proverbial, so the idea of offering a public TV program as an outlet for contemporary visual arts was both quite ordinary and also utopian, given the long-standing antagonism between media artists and broadcasters. Media arts and video art became possible with the advent of portable, affordable television equipment in the 1960s. Their rapid development was stirred by a crisis in the traditional visual arts and the growing dissatisfaction with existing broadcast television. In the case of television, the dissatisfaction grew into an antagonism that remains to the present day. It was a consciousness about this past as well as a desire to look toward the future that lay at the heart of the idea to show media art on Slovenian public television, to the benefit of both.

With the advent of the new millennium, the borders between traditional activities became fluid and many old divisions obsolete. Take the division between global and local: Indeed, new digital technologies are being used globally, yet they are often used within audio-visual industries, including broadcasting, for locally produced content. Another example might be the synergy between film and art: While the film industry's system of distribution is progressively forcing the closure of spaces for the screening of art films, the use of digital technologies within the arts has transformed galleries into screening venues for films, and films themselves are taking forms unlike the stereotypical feature-length movie. With digital shooting and editing, the distinction between film and video has become obsolete, and in the 1990s some of the best films were produced within the visual arts.

Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana, one of the first large-scale European art exhibitions to take place on this side of the border between (the never really former) East and West, promised and anticipated both—a celebration of locally produced content and the development of the visual arts within the new digital media of moving images. Public television seemed just the right venue in which to achieve this,

much more so than traditional galleries and museums. That's how I presented the project to my colleagues, when I joined RTV Slovenia as head of the Arts and Culture Department in May 2000. Everyone welcomed the idea. Drago Pecko, senior adviser to the program director, coined the title, while the production team fully supported the project, despite having only one month to work on it (which is very different from its general mode of operation). A small creative team, led by the young art historian Vanesa Cvahte, also engaged itself fully in the project. The artists and organizers of Manifesta 3 granted rights and provided copies of the works, while curators and guests participated in interviews. The works and the interviews comprised the main parts of the program. Our creative ambitions had to be constantly adjusted, in accordance with what was actually feasible. But there were two rules of which we never lost sight: first, we screened artists' films and videos in their entirety, and second, contrary to the common dilemma pitting quality against popularity, we strove to achieve both at the same time. The project consisted of three parts, each approximately one hundred minutes long and broadcast once a month during the exhibition. The public was delighted, but the art world was less enthusiastic. Historical antagonisms remained, and many perceived *The Fifth Venue* as just another commentary on the exhibition rather than part of it.

Following Manifesta 3, *The Fifth Venue* remained on the air as part of *Terminal*, a monthly show dedicated to screening the best artworks from all over the world, soon developing a global reputation. To quote the editors of the French magazine *Transversales* (affiliated with *Le Monde diplomatique*), "the programs such as *Terminal* are the pride of the public television service."¹ At a certain point, even such nice words weren't enough to stop the tide that blew us all away. Looking back, the project of having artists create public TV programs was utopian. Looking ahead, it seems the only way to go.

NOTE

1. Philippe Merlant, letter to the author, 28 May 2002.

Manifesta in Our Backyard: Reflections on a Research Project

Barbara Borčič and Urška Jurman

The 1998 public announcement that Manifesta 3 was going to be held in Ljubljana in 2000 almost immediately generated reactions and high expectations in our local context. At first, the majority of contemporary art protagonists in Slovenia rather positively received the idea of a Manifesta edition in Ljubljana; they perceived the event as a great opportunity and saw it as an acknowledgment of their work (both from the international community and from Slovenian officials). The decision of the Slovenian government to support Manifesta 3 was generally understood as an indicator of the interest of official cultural policy makers in contemporary artistic practices. Therefore, it was hoped that Manifesta 3 would resolve the quagmire of the National Cultural Agenda and its relatively minor support for contemporary art and thus finally provide for the artistic infrastructure the city lacked.

Within this context, the project *Manifesta in Our Backyard* was conceived. On the one hand, it aimed to avoid a passive, uncritical acceptance of Manifesta 3 (and what the exhibition represented: a contemporary art event established within a Western art system) and, on the other hand, to avoid the a priori rejection of it. Manifesta offered itself as a particularly ideal model for analysis of contemporary art's representational strategies, since the European biennial hoped to become an alternative version of the dominant forms of contemporary art presentation. Moreover, its aspiration, which the Manifesta 3 curatorial team stressed, was to connect with the local scene in vital ways. Manifesta 3 thus served as an opportunity for critical reflection and analysis of the institutionalization of art and a contemporary art system imbricated in market mechanisms and the often-imperialist ideology of globalization.

We began with a working thesis (meant to be confirmed or rejected through research findings) that used the metaphor of a parasite for Manifesta—an institution that would use all available sources and constitute its own model of operation in a host city. We were interested in whether the local art community would have the chance to take part meaningfully in the shaping of Manifesta 3, and vice versa. The project was also envisaged as one of observation and analysis of the concrete dynamics and effects on Ljubljana of a large international exhibition. Within this context, we collected data on the projects that were (or, symptomatically, were not) on view at the time of Manifesta 3, including the "alternative," nonprofit gallery spaces that had contributed importantly to the development of contemporary art in the city of Ljubljana in the 1990s but were being overlooked by Manifesta 3. Through collected statements, we presented a comparison between the expectations and actual experiences of some of the major "alternative" players in the local art scene (published in the first issue of *PlatformaSCCA*, which was printed to coincide with the Manifesta 3 opening in June 2000).

With the project, we also wished to encourage self-reflection on the part of the protagonists in the local art scene, including ourselves (through observing Manifesta, we also observed ourselves; Manifesta played the role of the Other in relation to which we could see ourselves more clearly). This is why the project turned away from its original "research" foundation and positivistic-objectivist intentions in order to publish the results of our research only after the conclusion of the Manifesta 3. Such "objectivity," i.e. "distance," soon proved to be illusory and certainly problematic, since like any analysis of a social system, the observer is always part of the same system that he or she is observing and analyzing. Our goal was also to present and encourage individual models of operation within the art system—models that would emerge from the specific needs of the milieu in which we were working. In this context, our research seemed to

make particular sense because in 2000 the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts (SCCA) in Ljubljana ceased to operate within the framework of the Open Society Institute Slovenia and the resultant new Center for Contemporary Arts (retaining the acronym SCCA-Ljubljana) was trying to forge a different way of working in the field of art and culture. We were eager to find out whether there was the potential in Slovenia to introduce different models of functioning and actively shape international systems of contemporary art, evolving from the very particular conditions of production and reception in a former socialist country. The project was also meant to stimulate and support local writers, especially younger ones, to analyze and interpret individual works of art, since it was felt that in large-scale art events, the works of art themselves elude in-depth analysis. As a result, a number of critical texts were commissioned and published in the second issue of *PlatformaSCCA* (December 2000). Throughout this whole process, various activities were part of the project, including regular meetings of a core group; visiting contemporary art exhibitions in Slovenia and the 1999 Venice Biennale (to analyze works of art and develop working methods based on "terrain experiences"); reading and discussing different texts; administering a questionnaire (in June 2000 we sent a questionnaire to one thousand different arts protagonists in Slovenia); conducting interviews with local arts professionals and Manifesta curators (published in *PlatformaSCCA*), facilitating semipublic discussions in which artists, curators, and theoreticians participated and which helped shape the further development of the project; creating a short-lived online discussion forum; and commissioning art projects from Moira Zoitl and Ralf Hoedt, as well as from Tadej Pogačar, for *PlatformaSCCA*.

The ambition of *Manifesta in Our Backyard* was to proceed from observation, archiving, mapping, and analyzing toward "concrete" (artistic) actions and through this to try to overcome the frequent perception of the project as a kind of public relations campaign for Manifesta 3. The project, however, narrowed, largely focusing on the publication of *PlatformaSCCA*, the editorial policy of which reflected the intentions and goals of *Manifesta in Our Backyard*. Since the journal was well received locally and abroad and since contemporary art theory and criticism in Slovenia previously had been insufficiently presented and supported, we continued our publishing endeavor even after Manifesta left Ljubljana. Thus for the third issue of *PlatformaSCCA* (January 2002), we focused on the relation between art, theory, and ideology. Looking back at the journal now, we see that the Manifesta that had landed "in our backyard" was both the specific object of our study and a timely pretext and catalyst to examine larger issues for which it was little more than a symbol.

Manifesta in Our Backyard was produced by SCCA-Ljubljana (Center for Contemporary Arts, formerly the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts) and supported by the Soros Centers for Contemporary Arts Network Regional Program titled Network Research and Education in Contemporary Art in the Region.

Duration:
1999-2002

Project director:
Barbara Borčič, Director of SCCA-Ljubljana

Coordinator:
Urška Jurman

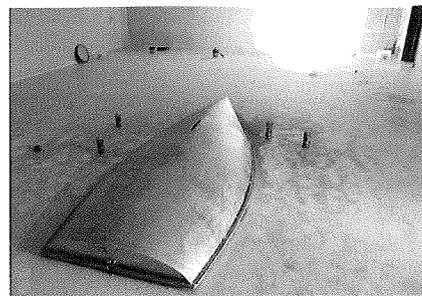
Initiating group:
SCCA-Ljubljana team (Barbara Borčič, Saša Glavan, Alenka Pirman, and Igor Španjol) as well as Jože Barš and Urška Jurman.

Main working group:
Jože Barš, Barbara Borčič, Saša Glavan, Urška Jurman.

Contributors and collaborators:
Ivanka Apostolova, Vanesa Čokl, Eda Čufer, Maša Gedrih, Petja Grafenauer, Jeanne van Heeswijk, Wapke Feenstra, Ralf Hoedt, Moira Zoitl, Lev Kreft, Slavko Kurdija, Bogdan Lesnik, Rastko Mocnik, Tanja Pesko, Tadej Pogačar, Marjetica Potrč, Alenka Pirman, Sandra Sajovic, Sabina Salamon, Andreja Slavec, Igor Španjol, and Miško Šuvakovič.

The three issues of *PlatformaSCCA* are available online at <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma/index.htm>.

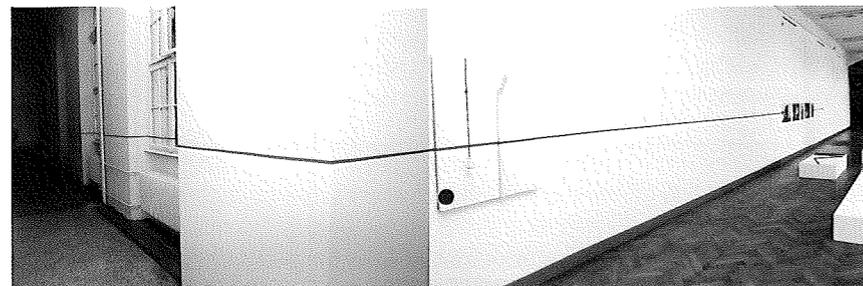
KOO JEONG-A



Untitled, 2000.

In her work, Koo Jeong-a performs discreet, almost invisible interventions in already existing spaces, reshaping the world of mass produced objects with an extremely delicate touch. She creates a tension between aestheticized found objects and everyday informal arrangements. Koo Jeong-a's installation at Manifesta 3 precipitated a certain vulnerability in the spectator, through a slight shift of perception vis-à-vis the chosen space. It resonated with the keen and patient focus she brings to her art through idiosyncratic and highly effective environments.

EDWARD KRASIŃSKI



Plastic Tape Scotch Blue, 19mm Wide, 2000.

Edward Krasiński described his installation as follows: "I stick it [Scotch Blue tape] everywhere and on everything, in a horizontal direction at the height of 1.30 meters. It appears on everything, and I can reach everywhere with its help. It may appear everywhere. I do not know whether it is art. But for sure, it is Scotch Blue, width nineteen millimeters, length unknown."

DARIJ KREUH

The interactive installation *Barcode—III* (1999). Immersion was a second-generation cybernetic project, belonging to a trend in cybernetic art primarily concerned with the organizational and control processes of society. Its basic premises—autopoiesis, self-application, and self-organization—all suggested this. The work could be upgraded on the Internet and offered various possibilities to users who took part in the life of a complex community of virtual agents (clones). Users' identities in cyberspace were determined according to their actual height and weight.

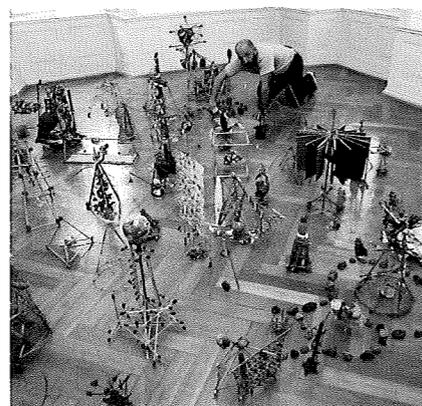
DENISA LEHOČKÁ



Untitled, 2000.

Denisa Lehočká's installation for Manifesta 3 was a kind of catalog of ordinary objects that the artist arranged across the space, suspended on walls or simply placed on the floor. She employed a seemingly arbitrary system, the logic of which was evident only to her. She fashioned a fragile web of allusions, mental relationships, and thoroughly random links of communication, all of which defined the visitor's perception.

ALEXANDER MELKONYAN



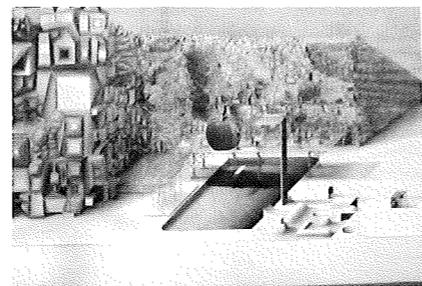
Armenian Emotional, Logical, Victorious, Instinctively Suicidal Ancient—Armenian Urban Archetype in the Last Capital of Armenians, 1999.

Alexander Melkonyan's installation was composed of small sculptural objects, encircled and separated from one another by basalt-rock boundaries. Based on archaic building methods, this construction suggested a guerrilla-like operation. In this work, the artist, a former army officer, alluded to his native region in the Caucasus Mountains, a zone stigmatized by a frontier syndrome and the military conflicts that arise from it.

MATTHIAS MÜLLER

In his video *Vacancy* (1999) Matthias Müller used an unconventional narrative strategy to tell the story of Brasilia, which Umberto Eco called the "city of hope" and the "last utopia of the twentieth century." Brasilia is an example of 1950s utopian urban planning. Residents, however, have experienced the metropolis differently. Müller's film explored this gap between the architects' expectations and the reality faced by the inhabitants. He juxtaposed original footage of the construction with scenes he filmed in 1998. The former documented the emerging "perfect" city, while the latter recorded the scars left behind.

PAUL NOBLE



Lidonob, 2000.

Since 1995, Paul Noble has been drawing the fantastical urban landscape of an imaginary city called Nobson Newtown. His elaborately detailed drawings, of which *Lidonob* is one, have consistently waged ironic commentaries on modern urbanization. His motto in "building" this metropolis has been: "no style, no technique, no accidents, only mistakes."

ANTON OLSHVANG



Battle Field, 1999–2000.

Anton Olshvang exhibited a series of amateur photographs found in small photo labs across the Soviet Union. Exhibited as a kind of peepshow, these private snapshots took the visitor into the intimate daily life of anonymous Russians. From the mass of accumulated images, the monolithic structure of a former common culture emerged, not a system of shared values, but the product of a collective subconscious.

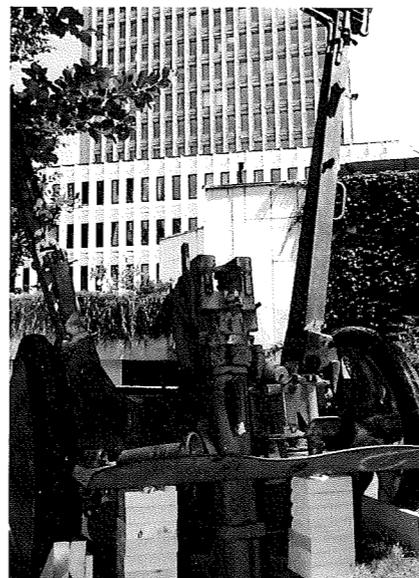
ROMAN ONDÁK



Common Trip, 2000.

In *Common Trip*, Roman Ondák established a specific relationship with individuals whose lifestyles were rather different from his own. After having travelled to numerous places in search of thoughts, ideas, and a visual understanding of each locality, he recounted stories of his different journeys, described the cities he visited, and the people he met. His companions were then asked to visualize these places. *Common Trip* addressed changes in the perception of reality as well as the translation of the visual into the verbal, and vice versa.

ANATOLY OSMOLOVSKY



The Monument to the Brilliant and Victorious NATO General Dr. Freud, 2000.

Anatoly Osmolovsky's urban installation included a military gun implanted vertically in a sewerage grate, transforming it into an absurd metal flower. With this ridiculous monument, the artist alluded to the NATO bombings of Serbia. According to him, these bombings were actually the personal sexual drama of former President Bill Clinton. "Ten milliliters of Bill Clinton's sperm," according to Osmolovsky, "are equivalent to thousands of liters of blood of Serbs who were killed."

ADRIAN PACI

Adrian Paci's video *Albanian Stories* (1997) was made in the landmark year of 1997, during which political circumstances led to civil war in Albania and eventually a state of total chaos and anarchy. The work dealt with the so-called Albanian "boat people" who fled the war in terror. The subtle mood of the film was achieved with minimal intervention. He simply recorded the testimonials of his young daughter Jola as she played. The child managed to convey the trauma and ravages of the war.

MANFRED PERNICE



Klagenfurt u. A, 2'00, 2000.

Manfred Pernice's architectural installation and sculptural arrangement for Manifesta 3 influenced the proportions of the room in which it stood and determined how the viewer experienced that space. Pernice covered the surfaces of his installation with fragments of text by the writer Ingeborg Bachmann, small collages, and photographs. A text describing the emotional conditions of a contemporary man presented unexpected associations in this architectural environment.

DIEGO PERRONE



As if Fascinated by What Remains Still in the Background, 1999.

Perrone's photograph depicted an old lady seated in front of a heap of discarded car tires, clutching two massive antlers on her lap and staring directly into the camera. Her stance recalled the motif of the virgin and the unicorn. According to legend, the unicorn could only be captured by a virgin. The confident, confrontational pose of the elderly woman suggested feminine vindication, her steady grip on the antlers diffusing their phallic power.

SUSAN PHILIPSZ



The Internationale, 1999.

A single loudspeaker broadcast an audio recording of the artists singing the "Internationale," a revolutionary workers' anthem. The song's meaning can be interpreted either as a dirge or a call to political action.

MARJETICA POTRČ

In her work *House for Travelers* (2000), Marjetica Potrč tells stories of modern cities with emphatic emotion, calling visitors' attention to them in her writings: "They are either frightening or beautiful." Her installation *House for Travellers* focused attention on the urban void at the center of planned metropolises. Like favelas, these areas present enormous challenges to their residents. Potrč's piece presented her field research.

ARTURAS RAILA

In addition to the long-term effects of Soviet-era isolation, education is a central theme in Arturas Raila's video *The Girl Is Innocent* (1999). He showed footage of a teachers' conference held almost a decade ago at the Vilnius Secondary School of Fine Arts, where the artist taught at that time. The video documented anti-Western sentiments, usually hidden from public display.

RASMUS KNUD AND SØREN ANDREASEN

This artist collective's mixed media installation *2nd Ambition and Instrument* (2000) included booklets, sound, and video. It addressed social paradigms like interaction, communication, and identity. The walls were covered with wallpaper, the pattern of which consisted of the UO movie script, a fantastic narrative based on the practices and speculations of Jacques Tati, early-twentieth-century radicals, and the artist collective.

RTV SLOVENIA

Manifesta 3 presented its artists and their works on Slovene television in order to disseminate art to the home of every viewer. Three programs were broadcast in July, August, and September 2000.

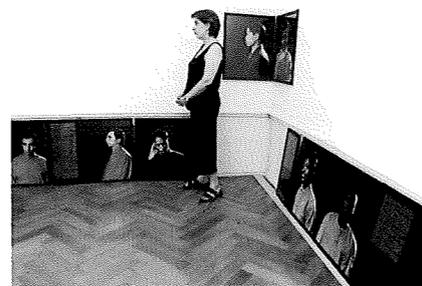
ANRI SALA

Anri Sala presented a short film *Nocturnes* (1999), the story of which echoed certain events of the Balkan war. This conflict profoundly affected the Albanian artist. *Nocturnes* featured two intertwined stories, one about a man who lives alone among some two thousand pet fish and another about a young former UN soldier.

BÜLENT ŞANGAR

The Turkish artist Bülent Şangar created a photography-based installations *Untitled* (1996–2000) comprised of two kinds of images: broad views and recomposed scenes of Istanbul as well as tableaux vivants, serial images of himself, his partner, and his family. These works established a tension not only between the private and public spheres, but also between the radically opposed Muslim and secular ideologies that regulate both spheres.

SANNA SARVA



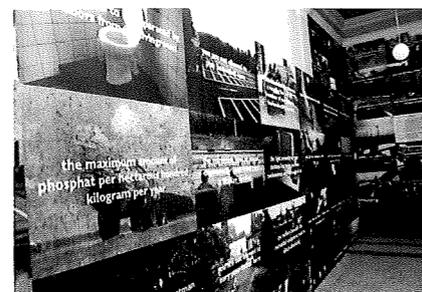
Untitled, 1996–2000.

Sanna Sarva's installation examined the theme of immigration. Photographs and texts from interviews with immigrants were displayed in an immigration office. Another work told the story of a Ghanaian man traveling from Africa to Finland, in form of artist books that were deposited at the reception desk of a hotel in Helsinki.

TOMO SAVIĆ-GEČAN

Tomo Savić-Gecan's installation *Untitled* (1995–2000) was a completely empty, white space. The visitor, however, could not perceive that the space was actually in constant flux, its dimensions varying slowly over time. Emptiness, whiteness, and absence are standard elements in Tomo's work, which strives to alter established spatial and perceptual relations.

SCHIE 2.0



Holland Is a Well Regulated Country, 2000.

Schie 2.0 is a group of Dutch designers that grapples with the issues of public space. The project they present at Manifesta 3 addressed the Dutch tradition of rules and regulations. Everything in Dutch society is flawlessly organized and well thought out; nothing is left to chance. Schie 2.0 suggested that the result of this phenomenon is a lack of personal freedom, loss of creativity, and passivity, all of which will ultimately lead to the downfall of Dutch society.

ENE-LIIS SEMPER

As its title indicates, the *FF/REW* (1998) was based upon the most elementary and fundamental technical characteristics of the medium of video: fast-forward and rewind. It served as a commentary on the

medium itself, one capable of manipulating time, breaking down and reshuffling the linear and narrative structures of events. Taking herself as the subject, Semper created an ironic self-portrait, comprised of an endlessly reversible chain of theatrically stilted suicides.

NIKA ŠPAN

Ljubljana by Heart (2000) consisted of two videos synchronized on a two-minute loop. In both, Nika Špan presented aerial scenes of Ljubljana. The first video showed the actual city, while the second offered bird's-eye views of a bronze model of Ljubljana's Preseren Square. The parts of the Slovenian capital that were visible depended on the computer-generated clouds present in both videos. With this work, Špan posed a fundamental question: How different can the same journey be?

SIMON J. STARLING



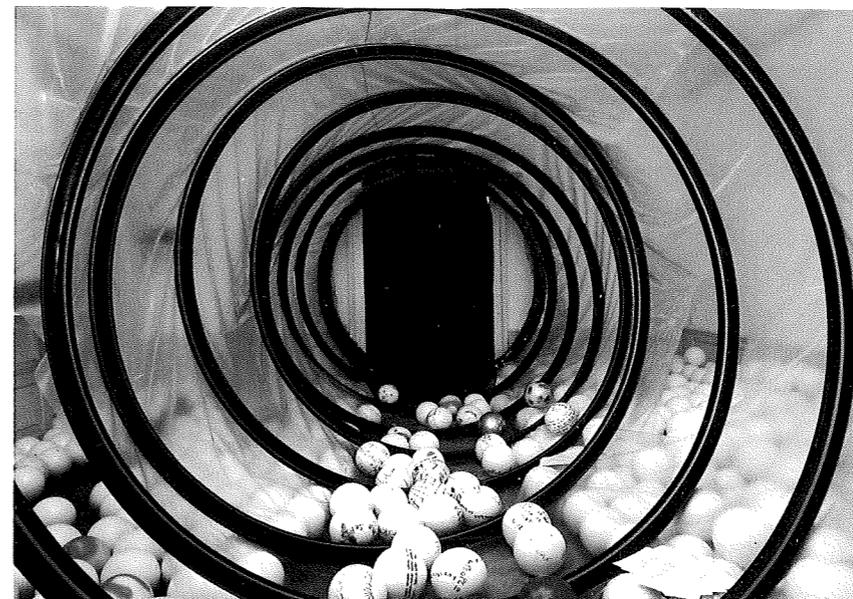
Rescued Rhododendrons (Production Stills), 2000.

Rescued Rhododendrons (Production Stills) consisted of a series of photographs documenting the artist's journey from the north of Scotland to the southernmost tip of Spain. He followed the same route, but in the opposite direction, as the Swedish botanist Clas Alströmer who in 1763 discovered *Rhododendron ponticum* growing on Gibraltar and Cádiz and brought it to Great Britain. After discovering that a number of these plants, encroaching on the fragile Scottish ecosystem, were to be destroyed, Starling set out to return them to their ancestral homeland.

SONNENSCHIEIN

Sonnenschein was concerned with geographical shifts. Its starting point for *Pleñik Union* (2000) was a small hill built in the 1890s by pioneering aviator Otto Lilienthal and from which he launched his experimental gliders. Here, Starling harnessed solar power in a heavy battery. The battery was then transported by plane to various locations around the globe, creating a web of connections back to one of the birthplaces of aviation. Finally, the battery was employed to illuminate a light bulb, a fleeting tribute to Lilienthal's legacy.

STALKER



Transborderline: Habitable Infrastructure to Support the Free Movement of the Public, 2000.

Unbreachable spirals of barbed wire are the most potent symbol of a border. With *Transborderline*, the artist collective Stalker proposed a new kind of border, one that maintained its spiral shape but was also transformable into a ludic space, simultaneously navigable and habitable thanks to the removal of its barbs and a progressive widening. A prototype for a possible future public space resulting from the "unfolding" of borders, this creation presented an ideal occasion for diverse exchanges. Featuring thousands of soccer balls on which were inscribed the names, stories, and desires of individuals living on the borders of Europe, the installation represented an imaginary infrastructure transcending the divisions between East and West.

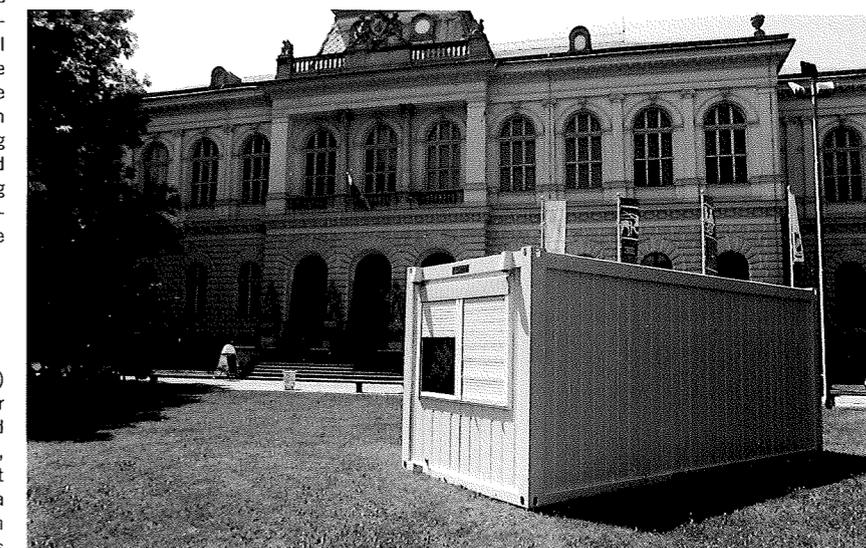
NASRIN TABATABAI

Nasrin Tabatabai shot her video *Old House* (1999) at the request of Hacı Ceyhan, a Turkish shop owner in Rotterdam who wanted to show his adopted homeland to his family back in Turkey. In the film, Ceyhan presented the city in such a way that it would appeal to both a Turkish audience and a casual tourist. Tabatabai did not dwell on her own ideas. Rather, she tried to realize the shop owner's intentions, the completed product becoming a symbol of cooperation, the embodiment of a working method in which boundaries were obliterated in favor of genuine relationships.

SARAH TRIPP

In her documentary film *Anti-Prophet* (1999), Sarah Tripp embarked on a pilgrimage through various social groups and communities, hoping to answer the central question: "What do you believe in?" Through interviews conducted in her subjects' homes or offices, the artist offered a metaphorical voyage, spanning numerous religious and secular belief systems.

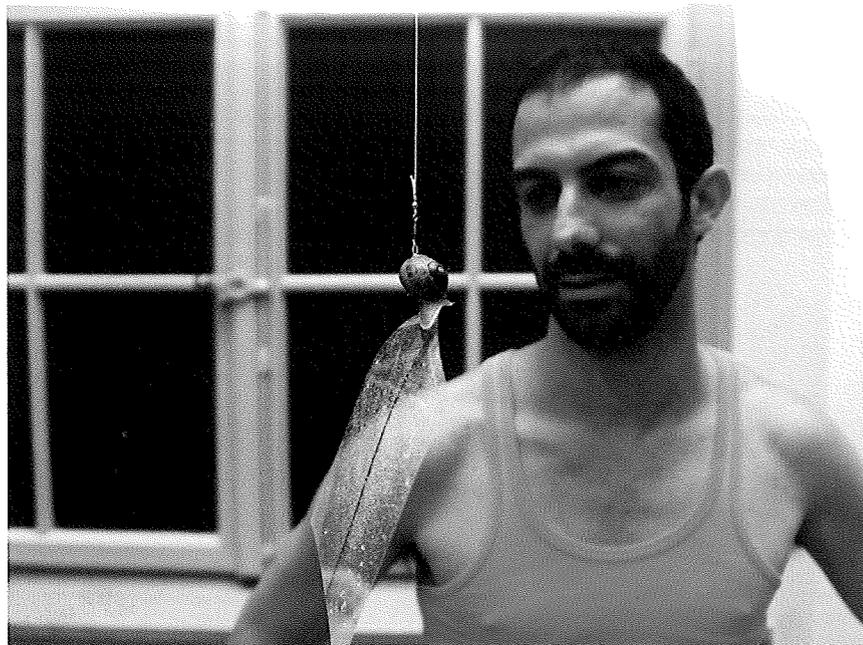
JOËLLE TUERLINCKX



CombiNight, 2000

With *CombiNight* (2000), Joëlle Tuerlinckx introduced an "island of night" to the exhibition, a systematic emptiness. A white box-shaped container was placed in a park in Ljubljana. Its one entrance and window were covered with a dark film to create the impression of nighttime, a "room of the night." The complexity of the work lied in its total suspension of the perceivable world, the fabricated image of night seeming even more "real" than reality.

FRANCISCO TROPA



Snail, 1996.

Francisco Tropa's work *Snail* (1996) included a snail inching along on a clear piece of plastic, defying gravity. The mollusk did not perceive the difference between bottom and top; the Earth was attached to its belly. In this piece, Tropa turned the rules of the game on their head, like the Italian artist Piero Manzoni in his pivotal work *Socle du monde* (1961), a steel base mounted upside down. Tropa, however, added something that evoked the history of his country, Portugal. The snail symbolized a world of inverted hierarchies, one in which nature is not something to be conquered but rather the conqueror, the explorer, the sailor. A snail as an organic Vasco da Gama.

SISLEJ XHAFA

Sislej Xhafa's performance piece, *Stock Exchange* (2000), attempted to respond to the social transformations caused by the mass migrations of southern and eastern populations to the West. At Manifesta 3, he performed in the Ljubljana railway station. Looking at the departure and arrival notice boards, he announced the details of each train in a style and dress reminiscent of a Wall Street stockbroker.

JASMILA ŽBANIĆ

After, After (1997) was a video about a young, first-grade girl who survived two and a half years in the occupied territory of eastern Bosnia. The work followed the child, traumatized and speechless, to Sarajevo, where she tried to adapt among her peers, who were also traumatized by the war. Jasmila Žbanić asked these children what they were afraid of. Their answers proved that the war lives on in their psyches.

GREGOR ZIVIĆ

Gregor Zivić's photographs, *Untitled* (2000), depicted the artist as the sole actor in minutely choreographed situations in interiors he created for the purpose. What seemed to be movements fixed on film were actually states of inaction meant to evoke sculptural qualities. All of Zivić's photographs featured his oil paintings, and in the background of every photograph the entrance gate of his parents' house in Vienna was visible. The artist's precise integration of biographical details, painting, sculpture, installation, and performance into a kind of imaginary living space revealed his uncanny aesthetic acumen.

MANIFESTA 4 EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART 25 MAY–25 AUGUST 2002, FRANKFURT

Frankfurt hosted the fourth and, to date, the largest edition of the biennial, with over ninety artists or artist collectives. The exhibition eschewed an overarching theme or topic. Instead, its curators (Iara Boubnova from Bulgaria, Nuria Enguita Mayo from Spain, and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley from France) made the mobility, process, and interaction of their extensive international research the focus of the show. They responded to the different ways artists were rethinking the classical relationship between time and space, grappling with issues of urbanity, travel, exile, memory, and history. As part of the exhibition, the curators publicly displayed the dossiers of all the artists they had considered for the show, including those that were not selected. They also involved a radio station and numerous Internet practitioners. A series of cultural organizations, an ethnological institute, and an independent art publisher were all invited to organize individual aspects of the exhibition. The exhibition's vast and varied topography allowed for the display of artworks across Frankfurt, in various public and institutional spaces as well as along the city's riverbanks and in its subway stations. Additionally, a collaboration with Staatliche Hochschule für Bildende Künste, Städelschule, the art academy in Frankfurt, allowed hundreds of art students to be lodged in ad hoc living quarters in the academy from which they could easily visit the exhibition.

CURATORS

Iara Boubnova, Nuria Enguita Mayo,
and Stéphanie Moisdon Trembley.

PARTICIPATING ARTISTS

0100101110101101.org, Halil Altindere, Daniel García Andújar, Apsolutno, Ibon Aranberri, Olivier Bardin, Yael Bartana, Massimo Bartolini, Elisabetta Benassi, Marc Bijl, Pierre Bismuth, Bleda y Rosa, BLESS, Lionel Bovier, Luchezar Boyadjiev, Fernando Bryce, Gerard Byrne, The Construction and Deconstruction Institute, Roberto Cuoghi, Jonas Dahlberg, Kathy Deepwell, Dagmar Demming, Branislav Dimitrijević, Esra Ersen, Jon Mikel Euba, Jeanne Faust, João Fernandes, Zlatan Filipović, Christoph Fink, Nina Fischer and Maroan el Sani, Dirk Fleischmann, Andreas Fogarasi, Luke Fowler, Andrea Geyer, Alonso Gil, Lyudmila Gorlova, Davide Grassi, Pia Greschner, Igor Grubić, Anna Gudmundsdottir, Natascha Sadr Haghighian, Alban Hajdinaj, Lise Harlev, Jens Hoffmann (in collaboration with Natascha Sadr Haghighian and Tino Sehgal), Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie, Takehito Koganezawa, Erden Kosova, Andreja Kulunčić, Antal Lakner, Franck Larcade, Anton Litvin, Gintaras Makarevicius, Ján Mančuška, Líga Marcinkevica, Mathieu Mercier, Suzana Milevska, Gianni Motti, Ivan Moudov, Oliver Musović, Olivier Nottellet, Ohio, Maria Papadimitriou, Florian Pumhösl, Tobias Putrih, Radek Community, Sal Randolph, Revolver Archiv für aktuelle Kunst, Gianni Romano, Pia Rönicke, ROR Revolutions on Request, rraum-rraum02-ideoblast, Hedwig Saxenhuber, Hans Schabus, Tino Sehgal, Kalin Serapionov, Bruno Serralongue, Erzen Shkolli, Sancho Silva, Monika Sosnowska, Laura Stasiulytė, Mika Taanila, Nomedas and Gediminas Urbonas, Jasper van den Brink, Edin Vejselović, wemgehoert-

M4

diestadt, Måns Wrangé, Haegue Yang, Jun Yang, Zapp, and Artur Zmijewski.

VENUES

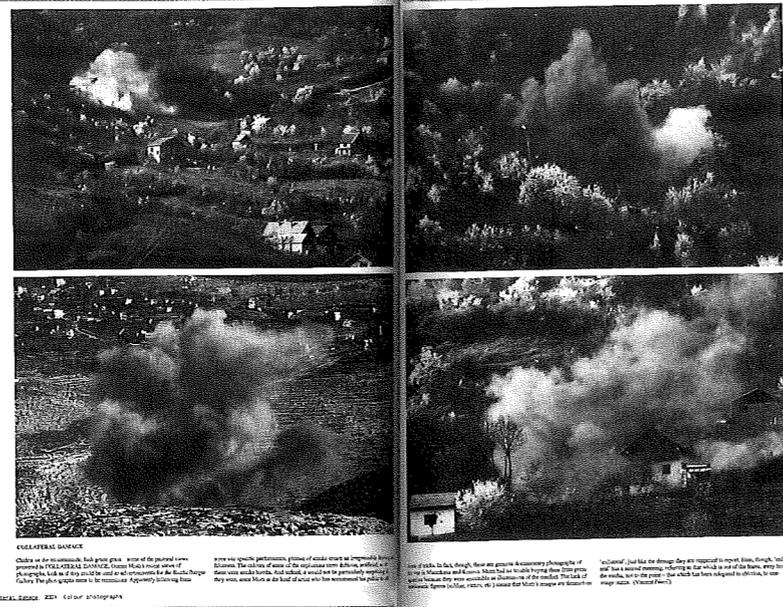
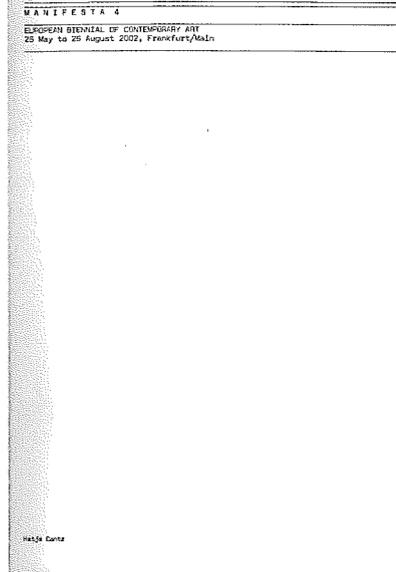
Frankensteiner Hof; Frankfurter Kunstverein; Schirn Kunsthalle; Portikus; Städtisches Kunstinstitut; Main riverbanks; Frankfurt airport; Infoscreeens; Finger; rraum02; Radio X; hr2 Radio; hr TV; Offener Kanal Offenbach; various city venues; and the Internet.

ORGANIZERS

Künstlerhaus Mousonturm, Frankfurt, and International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam.

GENERAL COORDINATOR

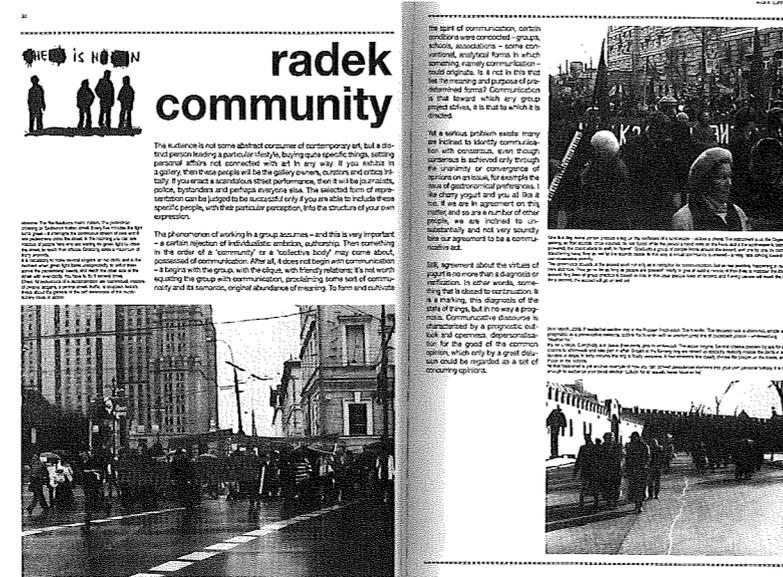
Martin Fritz



1. Front Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002).

2. Page 118 and 119.

3. Page 30 and 31.



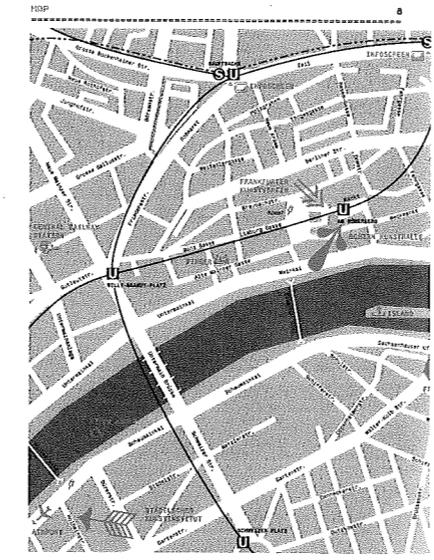
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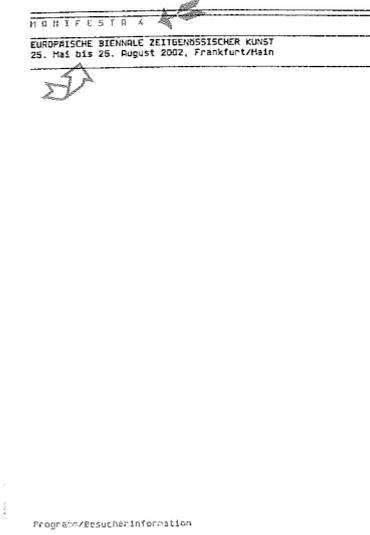
1 & 2. Front and back covers of Manifesta 4, European Biennial of Contemporary Art. Programme/Visitors' Information (Frankfurt: Künstlerhaus Mousonturm, 2002).

3. Page 8.

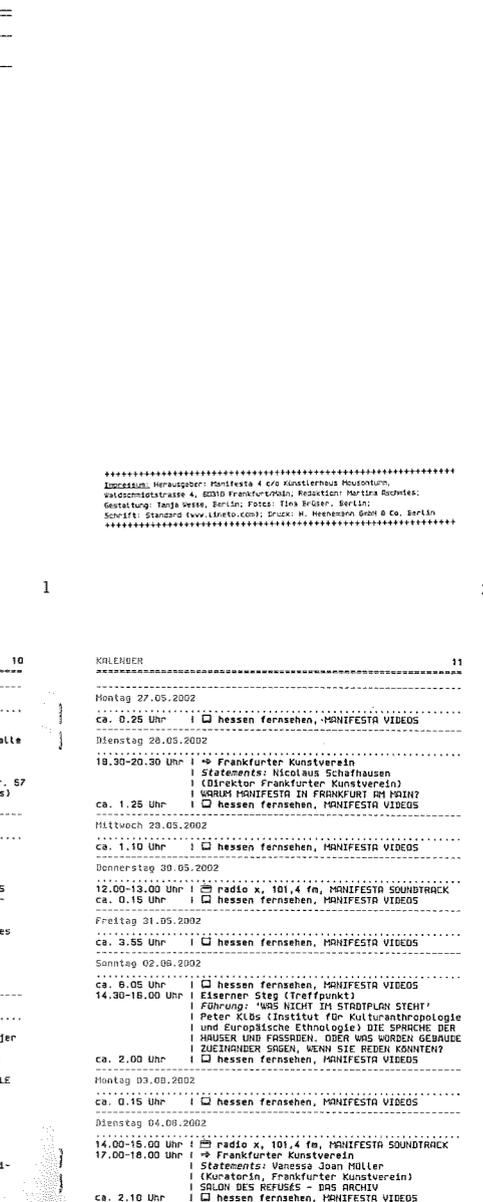
4. Pages 10 and 11.



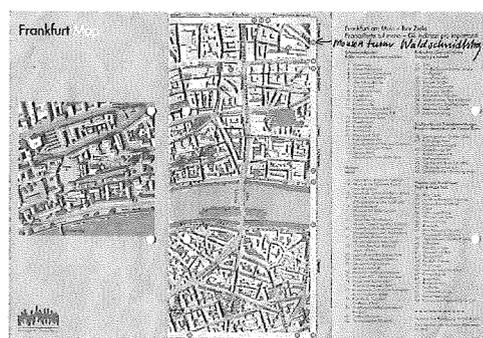
Map of Frankfurt.



4



3



ARTISTS

0100101110101101.ORG



VOPOS, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

VOPOS exploited and combined three different kinds of data and communication networks: telephone, satellite, and Internet. The two anonymous members of 0100101110101101.org wore a GPS transmitter that continuously sent its geographic coordinates to their website, via cellular telephone. Software then mapped their precise location. *VOPOS* is part of a larger project entitled *GLASNOST*, which makes vast quantities of personal data in contemporary society available to the public.

HALIL ALTINDERE



I Don't Like Long Goodbyes, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

For *I Don't Like Long Goodbyes*, Halil Altindere filmed various people after they landed at an airport. Holiday travelers, business people, couples, and families were seen holding cellular telephones to their ear. All of them bowed their heads, ignoring their immediate surroundings and concentrating on their conversations. Altindere edited the filmed sequences one after the other, without comment, and presented them on a monitor at Terminal 1 of the Frankfurt Airport. The work drew attention to the alienation that results from our so-called new global connectedness.

DANIEL GARCÍA ANDÚJAR



Trespassing Space, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Daniel García Andújar's *Trespassing Space* was an online infrastructure that provided a platform for reflection on several of the issues proposed by artists and curators of Manifesta 4. As such, it aimed to contribute to the discussion, criticism, and debate around this biennial exhibition, something Andújar has done frequently in the past in his support and design of independent Internet platforms for artists.

APSOLUTNO



The Apsolute Sale, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

The Apsolute Sale was an Internet project that ironically commented on Eastern European artists' relation to the Western art market. The piece simulated an auction in which visitors played the role of potential buyers. The sale, however, was constantly postponed, mimicking both the stalled integration of Eastern European countries into the European Union and the chronically unstable market for artists from this region.

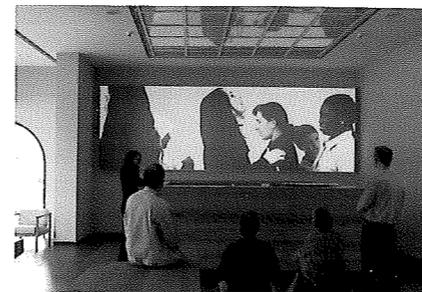
IBON ARANBERRI



Untitled, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

In his work, Ibon Aranberri alters the iconographic, historical, and perceptual meaning of references in the intensely mediated collective imaginary. *Untitled*, a large-scale reproduction of Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* (1937) in a bus stop-like shelter on the banks of the Main river, emerged from the sociopolitical and cultural conditions of its local context.

OLIVIER BARDIN



Fatouhanalucienmarianasimanataliasadiyesona, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Olivier Bardin often creates works that entrap visitors, leading them in without their knowing really where or how.

Fatouhanalucienmarianasimanataliasadiyesona is no exception. Approaching the work, visitors were captured by the eye of a camera and their movements projected in slow motion onto a screen, along with other images. This installation aimed to create an environment for the display of social identity.

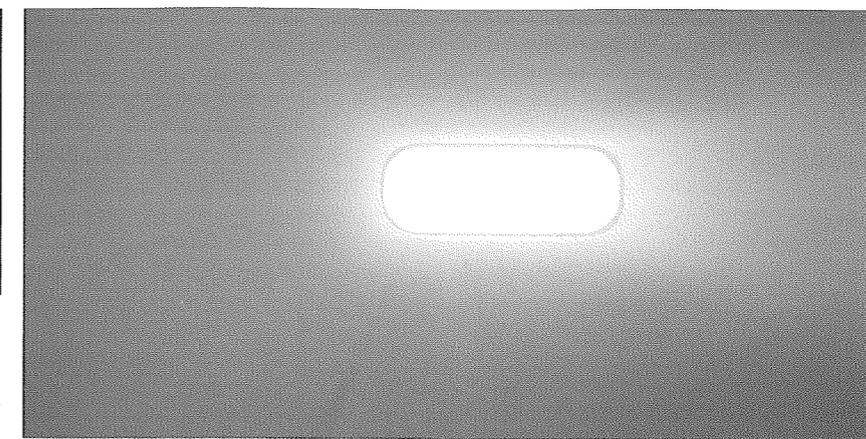
Yael BARTANA



Trembling Time, 2001. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Yael Bartana's video was filmed in Tel-Aviv on Yom Hazikaron (Memorial Day). As so often in her work, she translated the mundane rhythms of everyday life into an innately poetic video. As the artist stated: "State organized memorials, ceremonies, and military events define tradition and shape national identity. They are powerful and, therefore, dangerous phenomena that perpetuate patterns of loyalty and ignorance." The video quietly exposed these dynamics of the state, their related belief systems, and the individuals involved in them.

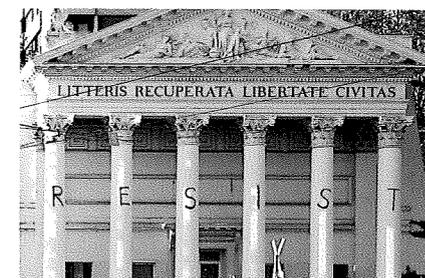
MASSIMO BARTOLINI



Two Horizons, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Bartolini fashions evocative physical environments, often using light and sound, in order to elicit opposing impressions—the cozy and the sublime, objective reality and idealism—that act as metaphors for dreams, memories, obsessions, and nostalgia. *Two Horizons* occupied a space inside the Frankensteiner Hof, the original purpose of which was unknown and not easily detectable. The artist transformed the venue, offering a suggestive counterpoint to certain artistic practices that try to explain and employ direct references.

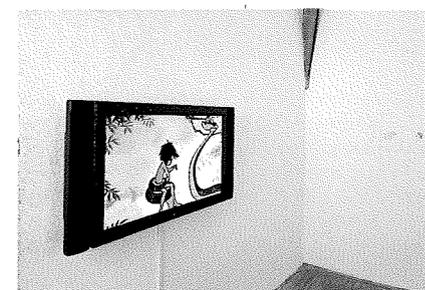
MARC BIJL



Resist, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

For *Resist*, Marc Bijl sprayed the word "resist" in black paint across the neoclassical façade of the Portikus, one letter per column. Ambiguous as it was, the semantically disembodied phrase functioned as a critique of such language. In deconstructing the myth of meaning, Bijl's phrase, in a twist of logic, became a potentially political statement.

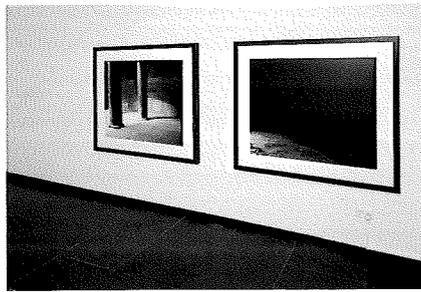
PIERRE BISMUTH



The Jungle Book Project, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Based on the Walt Disney animated film *The Jungle Book* (1967), Pierre Bismuth's work of the same title combined various dubbed versions of the film, assigning a different language to each character. The result was at once strange and strangely familiar. In the midst of our globalized world, Bismuth's Tower of Babel proved to be an equalizer without borders.

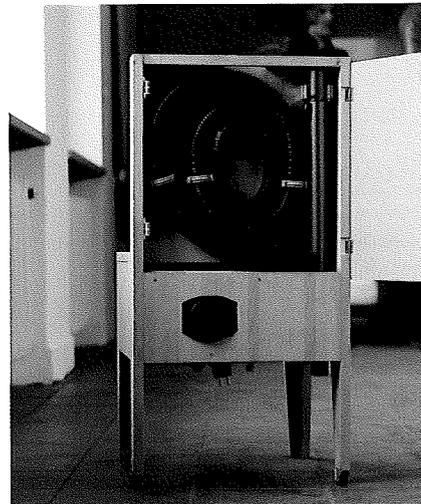
BLEDA Y ROSA



Installation view with *Anfitrite, Bulla Regia* (2001) and *Hall de las columnas, Cnosso*, 2001.

For years, Bleda y Rosa have been making artwork exploring the vestiges left by different settlers throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Their photographic record documented the existence of Celtic, Phoenician, Greek, and Roman settlements in the region.

BLESS



Design Relativators 2: Vacuum Cleaner, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann

In their work, the design collective BLESS proceeds from the principal that the obtrusive design of everyday products is omnipresent. They believe that the outward appearance of most common objects, such as telephones, blow dryers, clothes irons, and vacuum cleaners, illustrates their inadequacy to aesthetically satisfy users. With its series *Design Relativators*, BLESS aimed to visually adapt certain everyday objects to users' needs.

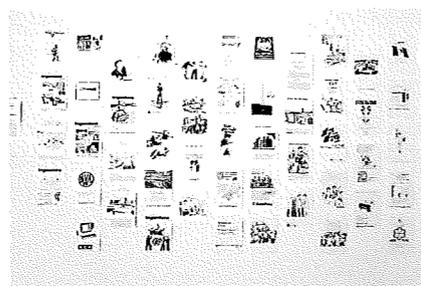
LUCHEZAR BOYADJIEV



I Want You for M4, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

In *I Want You for M4*, Luchezar Boyadjiev gave people the opportunity to have their portrait done in exchange for payment. The artist became a service provider, inverting the economic processes and features of art. The project responded to the paucity of images of anonymous individuals who are the true actors in any city. The result was a mix of fact, fiction, and desire.

FERNANDO BRYCE



Atlas Perú, 2000–01. Photograph by Alex Stephan.

Atlas Perú traced twentieth-century Peruvian history, particularly as perceived by Peruvians via the mass media. It included important events social, political, and cultural events, narrating the successes and failures of various figures important to the Peru. The result was a massive portrait of the country, destabilizing chronological linearity and quietly recalling other twentieth-century "atlas" projects, like those of Aby Warburg and Gerard Richter.

GERARD BYRNE



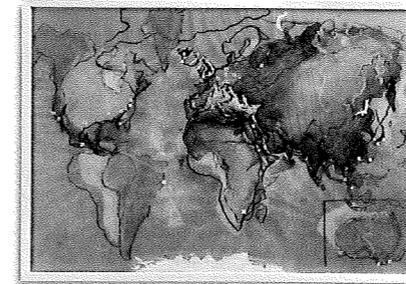
Why It's Time for Imperial...Again, 1998–2000. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

In 1980 in an issue of *National Geographic*, Chrysler published an advertisement for one of its new luxury cars. It centered on a conversation between two all-American icons, Frank Sinatra and Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca. Inspired by Bertolt Brecht's treatise "The Street Scene," Gerard Byrne worked with filmmakers and actors to recreate this conversation in his video *Why It's Time for Imperial...Again*.

THE CONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION INSTITUTE

On the public square between the Frankfurter Kunstverein and Schirn Kunsthalle, the Construction and Deconstruction Institute, a private Romanian cultural institution established in 1998, placed a walk-in container. The newspaper *An Issue From The Container* available inside the container told visitors about *One-Way Ticket—World Wide Travel* (2002), a mock business venture that critically and ironically commented on EU migration regulations.

ROBERTO CUOGHI



Senza titolo (Mappamondo) (Untitled [Map of the World]), 2003.

The video *Foolish Things* (2002) by Roberto Cuoghi portrayed a seemingly endless and imperceptibly changing sunrise and sunset over the sea in the company of a sweet melody. The work offered a simple metaphor for the vain attempt to overcome finiteness. In a related gesture, Cuoghi adopted his father's persona, sporting the elder's hairstyle, clothes, weight, health problems, and behavior. Like the movement of the Sun in *Foolish Things*, his efforts triumphed when they were not perceivable.

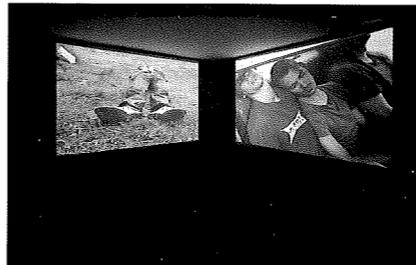
JONAS DAHLBERG



One Way Street, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Jonas Dahlberg's work showed unending spatial formations or architectural fragments, as if perceived from a panoptic viewpoint. This omnipotent gaze also unsettled the visitor. Strange and disorienting, the work reflected on issues of surveillance, social control, artistic manipulation, and the limitations of perception.

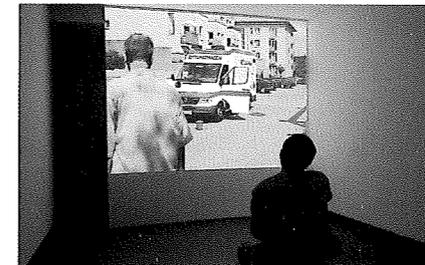
JON MIKEL EUBA



K.Y.D: Kill 'Em All, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

K.Y.D: Kill 'Em All traced its origins to a greguería, a poem, by Ramón Gómez de la Serna. As the video gradually unfolded, the meaning of the poem was both revealed and concealed. As with so much of Euba's work, image and text presented an ambiguous narrative in which recurring fragmented actions took place in landscapes transformed into abstract icons through infinite repetition. The artist's personal archive, film stills, sentences, and found literary passages served as a starting point for the generation of new cinematic texts.

JEANNE FAUST
(IN COLLABORATION WITH JÖRN ZEHE)



My Private Satellite, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

In her photographs and films, Jeanne Faust examines the space between the real and its re-presentation, constructing narratives that combine cool and distant staged action with underlying emotion. *My Private Satellite* was filmed in Neu-Allermöhe, a new suburb in Hamburg, Germany. By means of careful observation, Faust carefully restaged what she witnessed before the camera, employing a script. The work complicated the notions of documentary film and fiction.

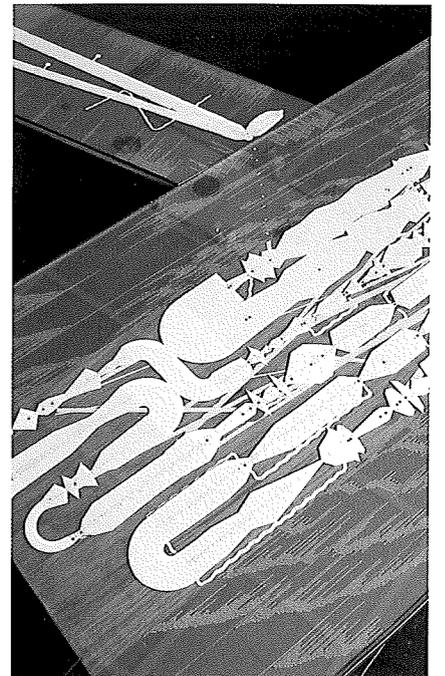
FINGER



Evolutionary Cells, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

A working group of the Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (New Society for Fine Arts), Berlin, the members of Finger include Martin Brandt, Florian Haas, Claudia Hummel (since 2002), Martin Schmidt (up until 2000), and Andreas Wolf. In 2002, they initiated the competition *Evolutionary Cells* to promote the "self-commissioned design of social perspectives." Anyone with an idea for creatively reshaping society could apply. Finger hoped to draw conclusions about present-day society and its developmental trends, whether artistic, political, religious, or economic, using everyday observations.

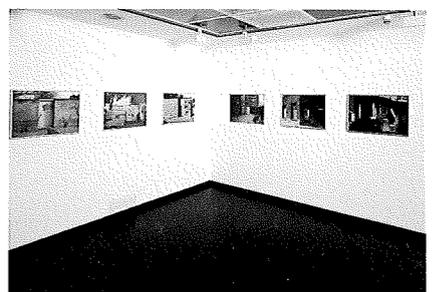
CHRISTOPH FINK



Movement No. 52, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Whether on bicycle, train, airplane, or by foot, Christoph Fink calls his journeys "movements." His work records the experiences that transpire between his point of departure and his destination. Along the way, he engages in research, raising questions and recording information and observations. These journeys take form in installations of photographs, drawings, diagrams, and sculptures, such as *Movement No. 52*, which included a dizzying inventory based on measurements and figures, exploring time, space, and the relationship of humans to their environment.

NINA FISCHER AND MAROAN EL SANI



Phantomclubs, 1997. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Nina Fischer and Maroan el Sani are Berlin-based artists and filmmakers. Their photographic series *Phantomclubs* depicted the entrances to clubs and bars in the central neighborhood of Berlin-Mitte. Almost nothing in these photographs, taken during the afternoon, suggested the city's active nightlife.

MANIFESTA 4 FILM PROGRAMS

The curators of Manifesta 4 created a film program that grouped a selection of artists' videos according to shared themes and affinities. Films from each program were simultaneously projected on large hanging screens in the exhibition spaces of the Städtisches Kunstinstitut. **Program 1** was organized around the themes of strangeness, opposition, and tension. In Pia Greschner's films, for example, images of nature, the city, and people appeared in surreal dimensions, on the edge of the void, almost suspended. Olivier Nottellet's work, on the other hand, was built around the gaze, producing frames, obstructions, and slippages between the surface of drawings and other found images. **Program 2** included works that investigated juvenile behaviour in specific urban contexts. Although all of the videos in the program featured adolescents and children, each displayed a very distinct emotional tempo. Using documentary approaches, the selected videos portrayed a wide picture human types and societies. **Program 3** brought together video works about the urban environment. In some instances, the city was the backdrop for artistic actions, while in other cases it functioned as either subject or metaphor. The example of the Radek Community's video documenting the group's staged demonstration testified to a shared fascination among the artists in the program for the street as the potent site of artistic production and contestation. **Program 4** included a range of artistic responses to social problems. Exposure of different societal issues to incite the viewer's reflection was the shared purpose of the videos.

Program 1

Pia Greschner, *Blue Hours*, 1997.
Olivier Nottellet, *Not Scared*, 2000.
Elisabetta Benassi, *Exodus*, 2000.
Pia Greschner, *I Dream About You All the Time*, 2000.

Program 2

Esra Ersen, *This Is Disney World*, 2000.
Artur Zmijewski, *Singing Lesson*, 2001.
Liga Marcinkevica, *I Want to Be...*, 2000.

Program 3

Radek Community, *Manifestation*, 2001.
Ivan Moudov, *Traffic Control*, 2001.
Alonso Gil, *An Error Occurred*, 2001.
Lyudmila Gorlova, *Happy End*, 1999.

Program 4

Gintaras Makarevicius, *Hot*, 1999.
Davide Grassi, *Problemmarket.com*, 2002.
Erzen Shkotolli, *Hey You...*, 2002.

Clockwise from top left. Photographs by Axel Stephan.

Zlatan Filipović, *ReStart*, 2000; Jun Yang, *From Saliiman to Superman*, 1998–2002; and Elisabetta Benassi, *Exodus*, 2001.

Gintaras Makarevicius, *Hot*, 1999; Pia Rönicke, *Architectural Landscape*, 1998–2001; and Jeanne Faust, *Rodeo*, 1999.

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DIRK FLEISCHMANN



The Bistro, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Since 1998, Dirk Fleischmann has worked on *The Bistro*, a project in the form of a small-scale, diversified corporation. As he explained, he “searched for solutions intended to explore micro-economic structures on an interventional scale through an evaluation of gaps in specific local contexts of business, the service industry, and production.” During the exhibition, results of his research were presented in lectures and documentary materials, in an attempt to comment on society’s economic structures.

ANDREAS FOGARASI



Europark, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Europark, an installation, interrogated the changes in the perception and use of European cities during the 1990s. The transformation of resentment used by a mixed populace into controlled areas for recreation, tourism, and consumerism underlies Fogarasi’s work. *Europark* investigated the competitive struggle between cities for visitors and inhabitants as well as their marketing strategies to this end.

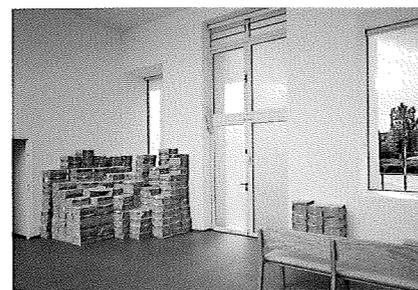
LUKE FOWLER



What You See Is Where You're At, 2001.

Luke Fowler’s film *What You See Is Where You're At* was based on the Kingsley Hall experiment (1965–69) conducted at the initiative of R. D. Laing, the Scottish psychiatrist. One of the most radical experiments in psychology at the time, it aimed to create a model for non-restraining, non-drug therapies for individuals suffering from serious schizophrenia. The film, a combination of found and archival sound and film recordings, offered insight into the experiences of the residents at Kingsley Hall, reassessing the experiment’s relevance to contemporary society.

ANDREA GEYER



Interim, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

The work of Andrea Geyer stresses the possibility of defining complex fluid identities in opposition to those mechanisms that strive to form and control static collective ones. In his newspaper *Interim*, Geyer used New York as his privileged site for projected images and fantasies, a city of diverse political, ethnic, religious, and social elements. Employing photography and writing in an often-personal tone, the artist posited links between the individual, the cultural, the universal, and the political, all of which constitute human experience.

DAVIDE GRASSI



Problemmarket.com, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Problemmarket.com is a joint stock company formally created at the beginning of 2000 and operational since 16 November 2001. Davide Grassi is president of the management board, and Igor Stromajor is chairman of the supervisory council. The company’s primary objective is to ensure the development of managed markets, maximizing liquidity, transparency, and competitiveness, while at the same time pursuing high levels of efficiency and profitability.

IGOR GRUBIĆ



Buy and Send, Be a Friend!, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Two events—the outbreak of the war in his homeland of Croatia and his study of philosophy and psychotherapeutic education—have determined Igor Grubić’s artistic trajectory. The results have been site-specific interventions in public spaces, socially committed projects, and human rights activities. A trademarked logo printed on posters, coffee mugs, and notepads, *Buy and Send, Be a Friend!* parodied the language and aesthetics of corporate culture, advocating for a “creatively sustainable future.”

ANNA GUDMUNDSDOTTIR



One-Way Vision Screen, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Anna Gudmundsdottir’s *One-Way Vision Screen* was comprised of large-format wall drawings. In her signature comic-strip style, she confronted viewers with playful, ironic ruminations on political, social, cultural themes arising from real as well as imaginary sources. Her imagery included oversized animals, graphic human anatomy, emblematic signs, cartographic elements, fairytale-like beings, and comic strip balloons containing slogan-like statements.

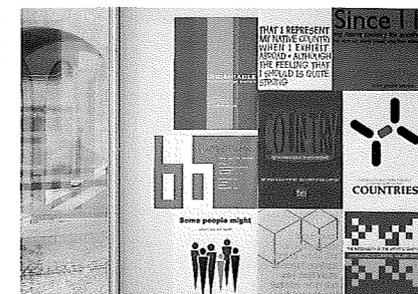
ALBAN HAJDINAJ



Triptych, 2000. *Salad Bowl*, 2000 Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Alban Hajdinaj’s art combines found objects and images of objects. *Triptych* comprised three oil paintings, each showing a porcelain statuette of an amorous couple sitting in the middle of a road with a truck headed ominously straight for it. *Salad Bowl*, a kitsch readymade container with a base consisting of two recumbent ballerinas, invoked the kind of bad taste that often rules in domestic interiors. Contextualizing quotidian objects in incongruous or dangerous situations, while appropriating others of unpalatable styles, the artist called into question the notion of a domestic ideal.

LISE HARLEV



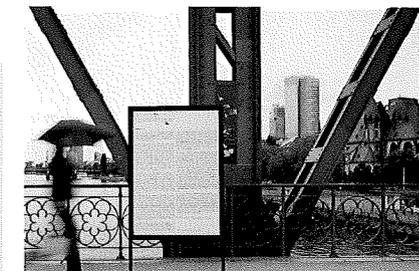
To Represent the World, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Utilizing easily accessible media, such as posters, brochures, and leaflets, Lise Harlev’s work examines cultural prejudices, national stereotypes, and problems of communicating identity. Her poster series *To Represent the World* addressed the ways in which artists represent their native countries at international exhibitions, including contemporary art biennials like Manifesta. The project presented different views on the subject, in the form of slogans, ultimately critiquing the art world’s preoccupation with national identity.

JENS HOFFMANN
(IN COLLABORATION WITH NATASCHA SADR HAGHIGHIAN AND TINO SEHGAL)

Curator Jens Hoffmann was invited to create a project incorporating the three components of a curator’s work—an exhibition, an essay (see catalogue), and a lecture. The exhibition portion included a contribution in the form of interventions by Natascha Sadr Haghighian and Tino Sehgal. Haghighian focused her attention on exhibition methods in contemporary zoos, particularly the problems of visibility and authenticity, using the celebrated Frankfurt Zoo as her case study. Sehgal’s work, as it often does, dealt with the relationship between artistic to economic production, juxtaposing dance and visual art. He choreographed *Instead of Allowing Some Thing to Rise up to Your Face* *Dancing Bruce* and *Dan and Other Things* (2000), based on movements in films by Dan Graham and Bruce Nauman, for museum guards; it was danced in the exhibition space throughout the duration of Manifesta 4.

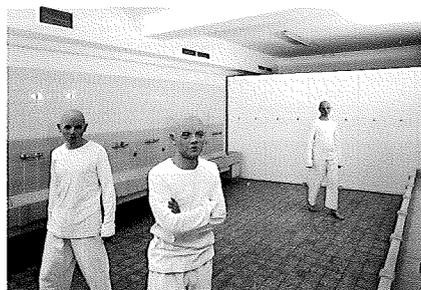
INSTITUT FÜR KULTURANTHROPOLOGIE UND EUROPÄISCHE ETHNOLOGIE



Reconsidered Places, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Ina-Maria Greverus founded the Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie (Frankfurt Institute of Cultural Anthropology and European Ethnology) in 1974. It continued the long folkloric tradition at Frankfurt University but also broke new ground based on advances in international social and cultural anthropology and broadening its focus beyond Europe. Greverus introduced the multi-semester student research projects that constituted a central element of the institute’s curriculum, and they have been further developed since 1998, when Gisela Welz was appointed professor.

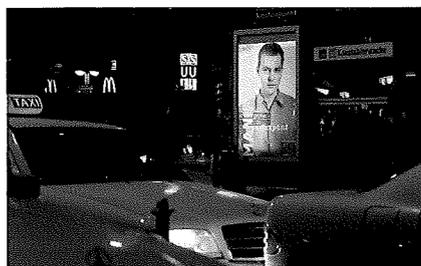
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Superficial Blackhole, 2002.
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Takehito Koganezawa extended his preoccupation with the body in *Superficial Blackhole*, a film presented in a bathroom and representing a performance by masked men filmed in situ. The enigmatic figures were meant to draw attention to preconceptions about both art and corporeality.

ANDREJA KULUNČIĆ



Untitled, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Andreja Kulunčić's projects are often socio-political investigations of transitional processes, including the social status of citizens after the economic transformation in the former Eastern Europe. Kulunčić printed the results of a survey about the income gained by artists participating in Manifesta 4 on posters and placed them throughout Frankfurt. In some cases, the vast discrepancy between the average national salary and that of artists generally or the discrepancy between the artists' earnings in different nations rendered public something that few talk about.

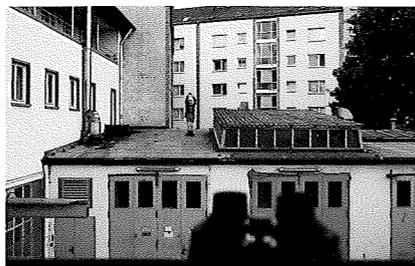
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Antal Lakner, *The Icelandic Army*, 2002.
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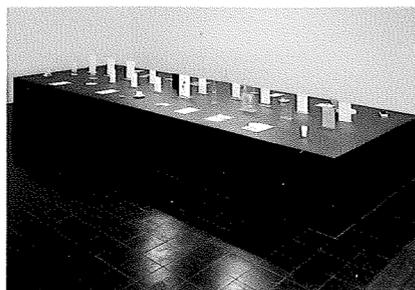
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Population Next, 2002.
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Anton Litvin's work questions art and its role in society. As cofounder of the Moscow-based Escape Art Group, he appropriated one of the group's central strategies, staging unassuming events in front of unprepared observers to redirect their attention and initiate their involvement. *Population Next*, a sculpture of a boy staring at the sky that was placed on the roof of a neighboring building, demanded that visitors look beyond the insular exhibition environment and into the real world.

JÁN MANČUŠKA



The Conference, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Ján Mančuška's installation *The Conference* achieved its particular aesthetic effect thanks to its handcrafted quality. The artist fashions his artworks out of the simple stuff of everyday life—Q-tips®, plastic bags, straw, paper, soap, wax—which he imbues with potent signification through their selection and careful display. Mančuška's interest in the authenticity of production relates to his fascination for socially charged venues, including kitchens, bathrooms, housing projects, and weekend cottages.

MATHIEU MERCIER



Manifesta 4 Archive, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Manifesta curators approached Mathieu Mercier to create a space to house the exhibition's archival material. The result included wooden archival containers called *Archive Modules*, which could be moved or combined like children's building blocks. Several examples of Mercier's *Folding Lamp* (2002), an air compressor attached to an adjustable metal structure from the top of which fan fluorescent tubing reminiscent of palm fronds, accompanied the modules. The ensemble sat uneasily between hi-tech futurism and a bygone industrial aesthetic.

GIANNI MOTTI



Liberate Öcalan, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Gianni Motti's *Liberate Öcalan* is an overlooked white concrete cell located on Frankfurt's publicly inaccessible Main Island. The work is an authentic copy of the thirteen square meters cell in which the Kurd leader, Abdullah Öcalan, is being held in Turkey. Motti has created an inconspicuous memorial to the Kurd leader and the inhuman conditions of his imprisonment, but also poses general questions concerning human rights and memorialization.

Gasthof

Daniel Birnbaum

A strange question perhaps, but hardly a superfluous one: What is an art academy? As the official pedagogical institution responsible for disseminating the methods of proper art making, the art academy has always operated according to rules negotiated, agreed upon, and ultimately written by the relevant authorities. Which rules apply today? How can an academy find ways—even if temporary—to reinvent itself and how it disseminates knowledge? With the Gasthof project, the Staatliche Hochschule für bildende Künste, Städelschule, the art academy in Frankfurt, undertook an institutional experiment in collaboration with Manifesta during the run of Manifesta 4 in Frankfurt in 2002. Two hundred and fifty young artists from all over the world stayed for a week in the academy, living communally and sharing their diverse experiences. What happens when two totally different kinds of institutions (in this case, an art college and an inn) are morphed into an entirely new entity? Art academy + hotel = ?

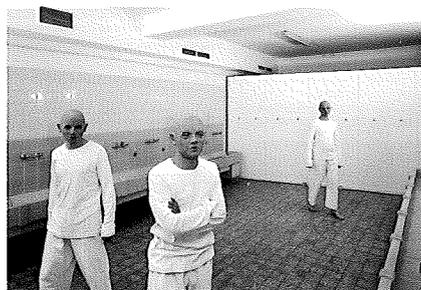
In a recent book about art education in Germany, one writer contends: "The art academy, that state-maintained refuge for art teachers and art students which enjoys much freedom, has long ceased being as undisputed and uncontroversial as many a Sunday sermon may suggest." He then cites German art historian Wieland Schmied: "The academy today—and it has long been so, although not since its early beginnings—is a contradiction in itself."¹ The identity of today's art academies is by no means easy to delimit, but their vagueness and flexibility are not only problematic. They can also be assets, as they are in other interesting centers of exploration, reflection, and production, such as think tanks and laboratories. One can therefore conclude: "Art colleges have no institutional identity a priori; rather they tend to exist in a kind of institutional contradiction—and yet do draw a substantial part of their existential justification from this."² A contemporary art college must take this transdisciplinary situation seriously. To insist stubbornly on the importance of disciplines is anachronistic, yet to give up all awareness of historical development and traditional artistic skills are perhaps even more problematic. After all, we have traveled far since Cennino Cennini (c. 1370–c. 1440) advised young artists that they should not begin their work before grinding their colors, one at a time and with great care.

More than most other institutions, art colleges are always local. No matter how large and international the city, the local art academy will always display traits that one will not find in other places. On the one hand, this is positive. Who, if not the young artists studying in a city and the professors teaching them, should define the local art situation? On the other hand, colleges can easily become closed microcosms, provincial enclaves cut off from the rest of the world. The ambition to open up an art college to the entire international community would also lead to anonymity. An art academy is not an international art fair, nor is it a contemporary art biennial, even if Gasthof demonstrated that an art academy could temporarily forge a connection with one. To function in an interesting way, an art academy must remain in contact with the local culture and find its own identity in the paradoxical mix of the local and the global. During one week in the summer of 2002, we created a special international compound comprising international ingredients and local conditions. Art academy + hotel = Gasthof.

NOTES

1. *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Deutschland*, ed. Christian Bode, Werner Becker, and Claudius Habbich (Munich: Prestel, 2001), 63.
2. *Ibid.*

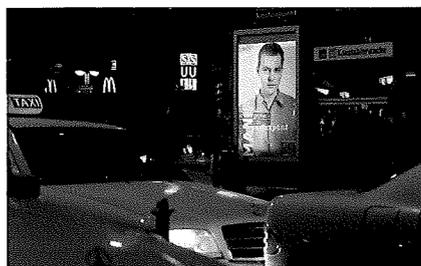
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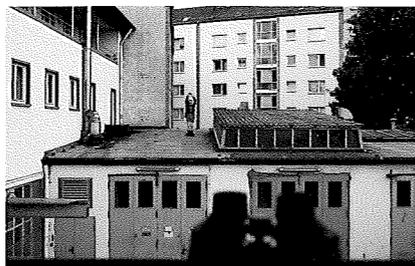
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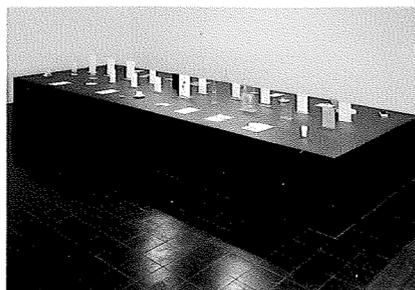
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Gasthof

Daniel Birnbaum

A strange question perhaps, but hardly a superfluous one: What is an art academy? As the official pedagogical institution responsible for disseminating the methods of proper art making, the art academy has always operated according to rules negotiated, agreed upon, and ultimately written by the relevant authorities. Which rules apply today? How can an academy find ways—even if temporary—to reinvent itself and how it disseminates knowledge? With the Gasthof project, the Staatliche Hochschule für bildende Künste, Städelschule, the art academy in Frankfurt, undertook an institutional experiment in collaboration with Manifesta during the run of Manifesta 4 in Frankfurt in 2002. Two hundred and fifty young artists from all over the world stayed for a week in the academy, living communally and sharing their diverse experiences. What happens when two totally different kinds of institutions (in this case, an art college and an inn) are morphed into an entirely new entity? Art academy + hotel = ?

In a recent book about art education in Germany, one writer contends: "The art academy, that state-maintained refuge for art teachers and art students which enjoys much freedom, has long ceased being as undisputed and uncontroversial as many a Sunday sermon may suggest." He then cites German art historian Wieland Schmied: "The academy today—and it has long been so, although not since its early beginnings—is a contradiction in itself."¹ The identity of today's art academies is by no means easy to delimit, but their vagueness and flexibility are not only problematic. They can also be assets, as they are in other interesting centers of exploration, reflection, and production, such as think tanks and laboratories. One can therefore conclude: "Art colleges have no institutional identity a priori; rather they tend to exist in a kind of institutional contradiction—and yet do draw a substantial part of their existential justification from this."² A contemporary art college must take this transdisciplinary situation seriously. To insist stubbornly on the importance of disciplines is anachronistic, yet to give up all awareness of historical development and traditional artistic skills are perhaps even more problematic. After all, we have traveled far since Cennino Cennini (c. 1370–c. 1440) advised young artists that they should not begin their work before grinding their colors, one at a time and with great care.

More than most other institutions, art colleges are always local. No matter how large and international the city, the local art academy will always display traits that one will not find in other places. On the one hand, this is positive. Who, if not the young artists studying in a city and the professors teaching them, should define the local art situation? On the other hand, colleges can easily become closed microcosms, provincial enclaves cut off from the rest of the world. The ambition to open up an art college to the entire international community would also lead to anonymity. An art academy is not an international art fair, nor is it a contemporary art biennial, even if Gasthof demonstrated that an art academy could temporarily forge a connection with one. To function in an interesting way, an art academy must remain in contact with the local culture and find its own identity in the paradoxical mix of the local and the global. During one week in the summer of 2002, we created a special international compound comprising international ingredients and local conditions. Art academy + hotel = Gasthof.

NOTES

1. *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Deutschland*, ed. Christian Bode, Werner Becker, and Claudius Habbich (Munich: Prestel, 2001), 63.
2. *Ibid.*

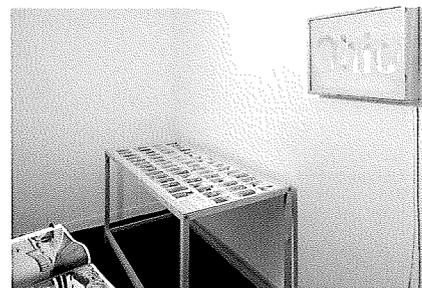
OLIVER MUSOVIĆ



Neighbors 2: The Yard, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Neighbors 2: The Yard was a series of photographs and texts, a sequel to a similar project about a housing complex in the working-class suburb of Skopje, where the artist resides. The images depicted scenes from the yard of an apartment building, a shared space shaped by and for its tenants. Documenting the traces they left behind (but not their actual presence), the artist, much like the photographer of a crime scene, minutely explored a single urban social system.

OHIO (USCHI HUBER AND JÖRG PAUL JANKA)

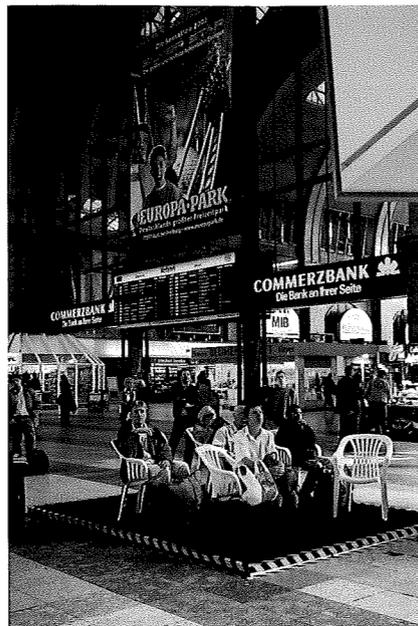


Ohio, 1995–2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Ohio, first published in January 1995, is a non-commercial art project in the form of a magazine, a mobile exhibition space for photographic imagery. In its pages, *Ohio* brings together existing images—daily press photos, commercial advertisements, fashion shots, archival pictures, amateur photography, the work of invited artists, etc.—selecting, recombining, and re-presenting them without accompanying text. Samples of the magazine were displayed in Manifesta 4.

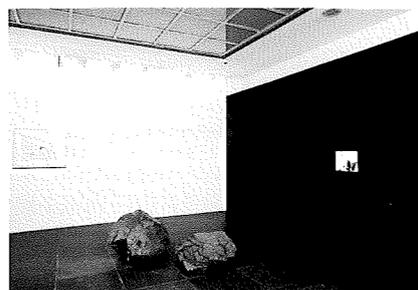
MARIA PAPADIMITRIOU

T.A.M.A./Sentimental (T.A.M.A. being short for Temporary Autonomous Museum for All) was based on respect for special cultural sensibilities, attention to flexible institutional structures, and inventiveness. In this way, what was “temporary” was established as an “autonomous” field of creativity and the “museum” as a platform for real activities for “all.” The work epitomized this effort through its large-screen video monitor, chairs, and ad hoc platform set up for public use in the middle of the Frankfurt train station.



T.A.M.A./Sentimental, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

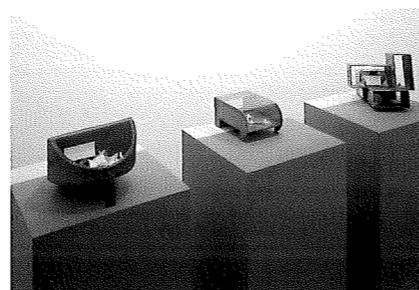
FLORIAN PUMHÖSL



You Have Several Times Been Paralleling or Anticipating Some (as Yet Not Fully Appreciated) Recent Developments in Exact Science—of Which You May Not be Fully Aware (Few Are), 2001. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

In the installation *You Have Several Times...*, Florian Pumhösl appropriated the formal language of modernity, suggesting that abstraction was the forgotten canon of image production. In so doing, he ironically staged the naive analogy between the natural sciences and their alchemistic counterparts in art.

TOBIAS PUTRIH



Harmony, Berger, Cineplex, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

In his art, Tobias Putrih grapples with the distortion of perception and its effects. *Harmony, Berger, Cineplex*, a trio of maquettes for architectural structures crudely constructed from cardboard and packing tape, represented spaces impossible to build or move through. Like his other “protospaces,” they referred to earlier utopias as well as the idealist conceptions of art by the likes of the Bauhaus, Robert Smithson, and Chris Marker. Resurrecting the vestiges of this history, Putrih questioned the notions of perfection, resolution, and the model.

RADEK COMMUNITY

The Radek Community, a Moscow-based group of young artists, musicians, and art critics, was founded in 1997 and has been collaborating on activist performances and exhibitions ever since. The filmed action *Manifestation* (2001) brought dozens of them together in the Moscow streets. Amidst other pedestrians, they unfurled a banner on which was emblazoned: “Another World Is Possible.”

SAL RANDOLPH



Free Manifesta, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

Artist and exhibition organizer Sal Randolph's *Free Manifesta* project was the result of her being the high bidder in an eBay auction organized by Christoph Büchel in which an invitation to participate in Manifesta 4 was sold. For \$15,099, Randolph effectively purchased a space within the larger context of the exhibition, the use of which she controlled. She eventually opted to introduce an unjuried exhibition, open to any artist wishing to participate.

REVOLVER ARCHIV FÜR AKTUELLE KUNST



KIOSK—Modes of Multiplication, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

KIOSK—Modes of Multiplication, initiated by the publishing house Revolver Archiv für aktuelle Kunst and its director Christoph Keller, is a traveling archive of projects on contemporary art. The presentation attempted to provide an overview of the various models of multiplication and distribution of artistic work as well as the diverse strategies and programs of the roughly sixty participating publishers. The principal focus was not on artist's publications, but the working methods of publishers and editors.

PIA RÖNICKE

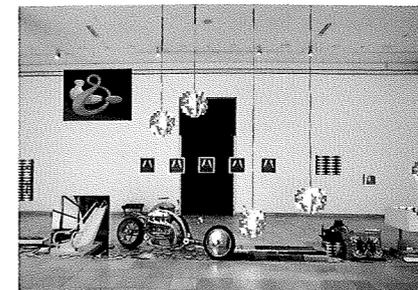


A Place Like Any Other, 2001. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

In her video *A Place Like Any Other*, Pia Rönicke extended her series dealing with the architectural landscape and its effects on everyday life. Collages of heterogeneous sounds and images, her films comment on urban structure as well as the modernist conception of the city and the environment. As a permanently evolving composition, each video remains autonomous, while contributing to her larger narrative on the relationship between nature and culture, architecture and life.

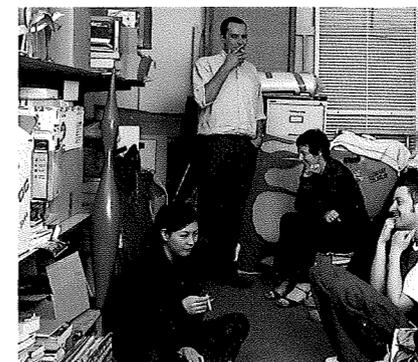
ROR (Revolutions on Request)

The Finnish artist collective ROR (Revolutions on Request) was founded in 1998. Its members include Klaus Nyqvist, Jiri Geller, Karoliina Taipale, and Panu Puolakka. For *Piece by Piece* (2001), they fashioned everything themselves, from the individual artworks to the elaborate exhibition environment and its accompanying graphics. They also curate their own exhibitions, featuring other artists who share their nihilist-utopian conception of the world and their ironic, revolutionary aesthetic spirit mixing the handmade and the technological.



Piece by Piece, 2002.
Photograph by Axel Stephan.

RRAUM-RRAUM02-IDEOBLAST

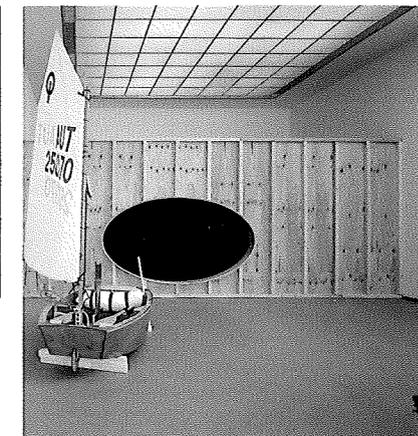


Untitled, 2002.
Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Raum Meike Behm, rraum02, and ideoblast are interrelated cultural initiatives in Frankfurt. Raum was established in 1995 as a self-financed exhibition space in the private apartment of Meike Behm and Peter Lütje. In 2001, rraum02, an exhibition space, and ideoblast, a public event platform, were opened in the studios of Haegue Yang, Christoph Blum, Claus Richter, Bianca Rampas, and Peter Lütje. The focus of these three forums goes beyond traditional cultural communication. They are above all meeting places for a circle of friends, which continues to grow.

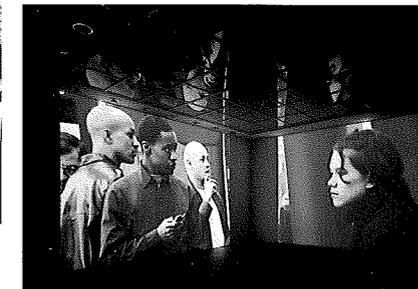
HANS SCHABUS

Another Try for a Room for “Western” (2001), a darkened room with an oval opening through which visitors entered, Hans Schabus offered a video of himself sailing through the sewers of Vienna, New York, and Frankfurt in a collapsible boat called *Forlorn*, which had been fitted with wheels to transit land.



Another Try for a Room for “Western”, 2001 and *Forlorn*, 2002.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

KALIN SERAPIONOV



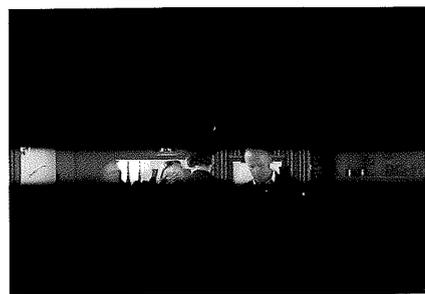
Unrendered, 2001.
Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

In his work, Kalin Serapionov explores the possibility of finding a place in a dispersed and globalized world, as an artist, a citizen, and a subject. As he explained in relation to *Unrendered*, “the transitory and uncontrolled situation of overcrowded, open public spaces is captured and translocated into the closed system of a laboratory-like setting, where the unrendered, documentary material becomes an object of controlled observation.”

BRUNO SERRALONGUE

Bruno Serralongue's photographic series *Hostile: Environments and First Aid Course* (2002) took social inequality as its subject, thus echoing the rest of his oeuvre. Attending media and other events (concerts, demonstrations, political rallies, meetings of the World Social Forum) with his large-format camera in tow, the artist refuses press privileges and attempts to capture views of the occasion that escape mainstream press photographers and their narrow interest in sensationalist images.

SANCHO SILVA



Gazebo, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Gazebo was a typical example of Sanchos Silva's work—corridors and architectural extensions that transform modes of access and disorient the gaze, displacing the objective parameters of place (often the museum) toward the terrains of emotion and subjectivity. The artist's background in philosophy and mathematics was manifest in *Gazebo*, a structure incorporating both the exterior and the interior of its own space and thus interrogating the discrepancy between the visible and the intelligible. This unexpected and odd annex led to a dead end that not only interrupted visitors' mobility, but also impeded their visual observation.

MONIKA SOSNOWSKA



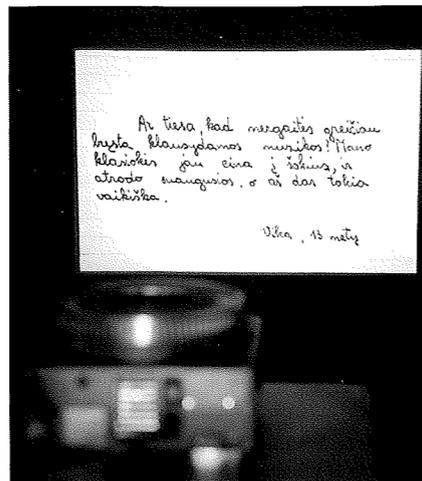
Untitled, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Like so many of Monika Sosnowska's architectural interventions, *Untitled* unsettled the visitor's perceptions. She confounded one's sense of orientation by confusing corporeal and visual sensations. While her projects are nearly always site-specific, the results are often ironic commentaries on specificity. By multiplying the possibilities of a given space, in *Untitled*, she interrogated the established logic of movement inside a room.

STÄDELSCHULE (LECTURES)

Between January and May 2002, Lionel Bovier, Kathy Deepwell, Dagmar Demming, Branislav Dimitrijevic, João Fernandes, Erden Kosova, Franck Larcade, Suzana Milevska, and Hedwig Saxenhuber all presented lectures.

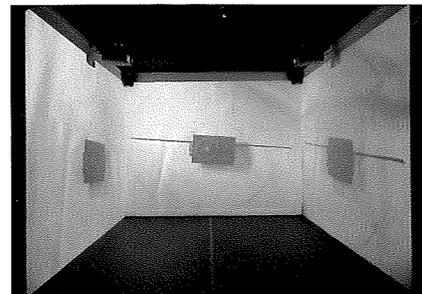
LAURA STASIŪLYTĖ



From the Life of Young Ladies, 2001–02. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

From the Life of Young Ladies included a series of slides featuring handwritten note cards on which appeared both questions Laura Stasiulytė asked teenage girls on the streets of Lithuania and their responses. The project was an interrogation of Lithuanian society and its attitudes toward sexuality. But it also alluded to broader political and cultural changes in the country where, for instance, a vocabulary for sex, beyond medical terminology or derogatory slang, only developed in the 1990s and was mainly communicated through teen magazines, mostly in a question-and-answer format.

MIKA TAANILA



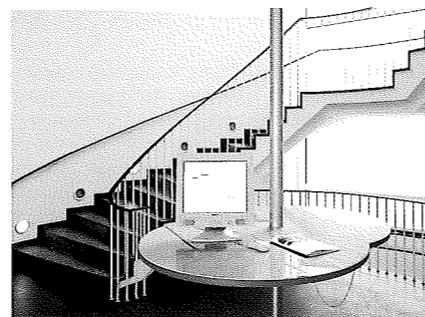
Fysikaalinen Rengas (Physical Ring), 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Artist, filmmaker, and documentarian Mika Taanila explores representations of modernity and progress through futuristic techno utopias. *Fysikaalinen Rengas* was a film based on raw found footage from an anonymous Finnish experiment that took place in the 1940s, the original purpose of which remains unknown. Through her careful editing techniques, Taanila transformed this inanimate research recording into a kinetic cinematic fantasy.

TV PROGRAM

A television program included works by Halil Altindere, Elisabetta Benassi, Gerard Byrne, Roberto Cuoghi, Esra Ersen, Jon Mikel Euba, Jeanne Faust, Zlatan Filipović, Luke Fowler, Alonso Gil, Lyudmila Gorlova, Davide Grassi, Pia Greschner, Gintaras Makarevicius, Līga Marcinkevica, Ivan Moudov, Olivier Nottellet, Radek Community, Pia Rönicke, Erzen Shkololli, Mika Taanila, Jun Yang, Zapp, and Artur Zmijewski.

NOMEDA AND GEDIMINAS URBONAS



TRANSmute, 2002. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

TRANSmute was concerned with the fast-paced social and political ruptures in Lithuania following the fall of communism. The duo Nomeda and Gediminas Urbonas set up a computer terminal and monitor in the entrance of the Frankfurter Kunstverein on which they displayed the recollections of successful Lithuanian women regarding past Soviet propaganda and its impact on their view of the world. While *TRANSmute* described the situation in a small country, its symbolism echoed collective and individual struggles taking place around the world, between the past and the future.

JASPER VAN DEN BRINK



Oranges, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

Jasper van den Brink explored the possibilities for art to infiltrate daily life. From an orange wooden shed set up on the banks of the Main river and open daily during the run of the biennial, pieces of citrus fruit made their way through a construction on the back of the hut, eventually popped up in the river. Each piece of fruit drifted downstream and was caught in a net. Fished out of the water and collected in a crate, the fruit was carried back to the shed, and the circuit began all over again.

EDIN VEJSELOVIĆ



Get Free, 2002. Photograph by Bernd Bodtländer.

Get Free displayed the precision of technique as well as the use of a wide variety of materials common to Edin Vejselović's installations. It sought to represent reality in its most minute details, while also creating a highly individual, symbolic vocabulary.

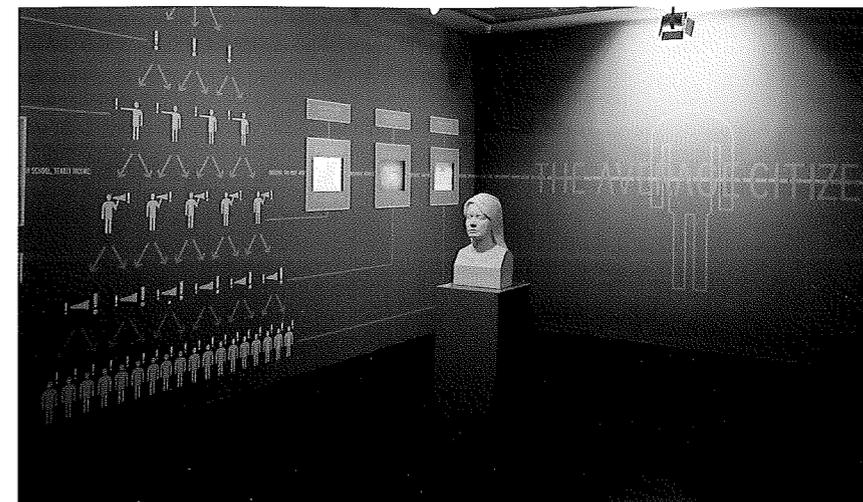
WEMGEHOERTDIESTADT



Pudel Club (Poodle Club), 2002.

The artists, disk jockeys, and musicians who make up the collective wemgehoertdiestadt organized a discussion forum to address the role business interests ascribe to artistic and subcultural milieus. They also used this opportunity to collect revolutionary urban projects by artists whose creative imaginations are unencumbered by the problems of feasibility.

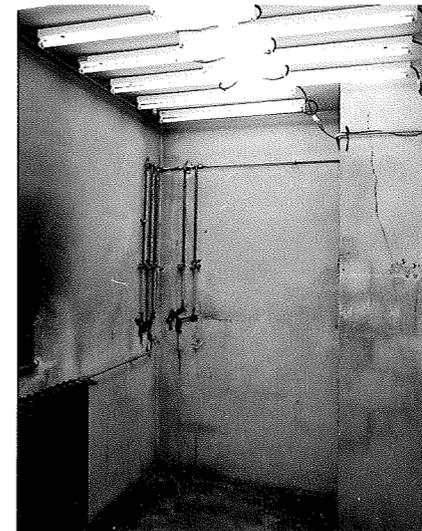
MÅNS WRANGE



The Average Citizen Lobbying Project, 1999–2000. Photograph by Axel Stephan.

For *The Average Citizen Lobbying Project*, Måns Wrangé assembled frequently used statistical averages in order to create the "average citizen profile." He then located an individual fitting the statistical profile. This "average citizen" was subsequently given access to the same sophisticated methods of professional opinion making and lobbying that special interest groups use to influence the public. Some of most influential people in Swedish politics, popular culture, and the media were contacted and invited to employ one of the average citizen's opinions in a context where public opinion played a major role. To date, the average citizen's opinions have reached millions of people on hundreds of occasions.

HAEGUE YANG



Between Reason and Critique, 2002. Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

JUN YANG

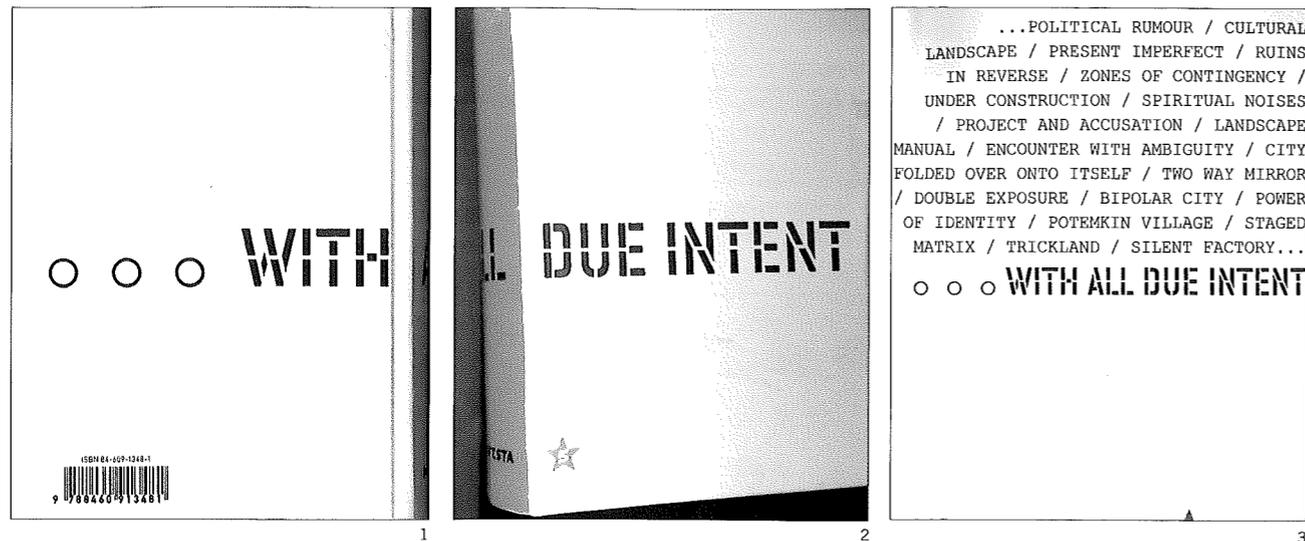
Jun Yang and Soldier Woods, 2002.



Photograph by Jörg Baumann.

The video *Jun Yang and Soldier Woods* traced the immigration of the artist's family from China to Europe. The narration mused on the power of chance and destiny, pointing out how, for example, the family's arrival at one destination as opposed to another (in this case, Vienna rather than Brussels) radically determined so much of what followed in their lives, from the food they consumed to the language they spoke.

In her work, Haegue Yang confronts systems of order and everyday objects. For *Between Reason and Critique*, she rearranged neon office lighting in a repetitive, regular pattern to illuminate a neglected and useless corner. Such small changes to objects liberate them from their functional context and highlight the basic assumptions and behavioral expectations attached to them.



M5

MANIFESTA 5 EUROPEAN BIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART
WITH ALL DUE INTENT
11 JUNE–30 SEPTEMBER 2004,
DONOSTIA–SAN SEBASTIÁN

The city of Donostia–San Sebastián, historical seat of the politically tumultuous Basque region, hosted the fifth edition of Manifesta. Manifesta 5 aimed to respond to a region that the curators (Massimiliano Gioni from Italy and Marta Kuzma from the United States) termed a “zone of contingency,” enabling, as they suggested, complex interpretations of Europe. The project involved a collaboration with architects and urbanists from the Rotterdam-based Berlage Institute in which one of the city’s most impoverished areas was the focus of study and an old factory rehabilitated for use as an exhibition space. The fifth edition broke with Manifesta’s practice of concentrating mainly on the work of emergent artists, placing an additional focus on several important and overlooked works by artists from the 1970s and 1980s who were active both in Europe and beyond. These artworks, alongside the contemporary creations of over fifty artists, were displayed across the city and its outlying areas. The resultant project offered a variety of interpretive paths organized by the curators in rubrics with the following titles: Political Rumor, Cultural Landscape, Present Imperfect, Ruins in Reserve, Zones of Contingency, Under Construction, Spiritual Noises, Project and Accusation, Landscape Manual, Encounter with Ambiguity, City Folded over into Itself, Two-Way Mirror, Double Exposure, Bipolar City, Power of Identity, Potemkin Village, Staged Matrix, Trickland, and Silent Factory. To the end of this list, they appended the exhibition’s title, *...With All Due Intent*.

CURATORS

Massimiliano Gioni and Marta Kuzma.

PARTICIPATING ARTISTS

Bas Jan Ader, Victor Alimpiev and Sergey Vishnevsky, Hüseyin Alptekin, Micol Assaël, Sven Augustijnen, Zbyněk Baladrán, John Bock, Michaël Borremans, Sergey Bratkov, Marcel Broodthaers, Carlos Bunga, Duncan Campbell, Cengiz Çekik, Iliya Chichkan and Kyrill Protsenko, D.A.E. (Donostiako Arte Ekinbideak), Jan de Cock, Angela de la Cruz, Jeremy Deller, Andrea Faciu, Iñaki Garmendia, Geert Goiris, Kim Hiorthøy, Laura Horelli, Külli K. Kaats, Johannes Kahrs, Leopold Kessler, Mark Leckey, Maria Lusitano, Mark Manders, Asier Mendizabal, Boris Mikhailov, Office of Alternative Urban Planning, Oksana Pasaiko, Anu Pennanen, Garrett Phelan, Kirsten Pieroth, Paola Pivi, Marc Quer, Daniel Roth, Michael Sailstorfer, Silke Schatz, Markus Schinwald, Conrad Shawcross, Eyal Sivan and Michel Khleifi, Hito Steyerl, Misha Stroj, Patrick Tuttofuoco, Vangelis Vlahos, Amelie von Wulffen, Gillian Wearing, Cathy Wilkes, Yevgeniy Yufit, Olivier Zabat, David Zink Yi, and Darius Žiura.

VENUES

Museo San Telmo (San Telmo Museum); Koldo Mitxelena; Kubo Kutxa Kursaal; Soto del Aquarium; Casa Ciriza; Ondartxo; and various outdoor venues (“Rape Alley” Trintxerpe, Topo Herrera; the central boulevard; Plaza Zuloaga; and Arteleku, 14 Idazkaritza Kristobaldegi).

ORGANIZERS

International Foundation Manifesta, Amsterdam, and the Centro internacional de cultura contemporánea (CICC) (International Center of Contemporary Culture operated by the Basque Government, the Territorial Council of Gipuzkoa, and the Donostia–San Sebastián City Council).

COORDINATORS

Lourdes Fernández and José Miguel Ayerza.



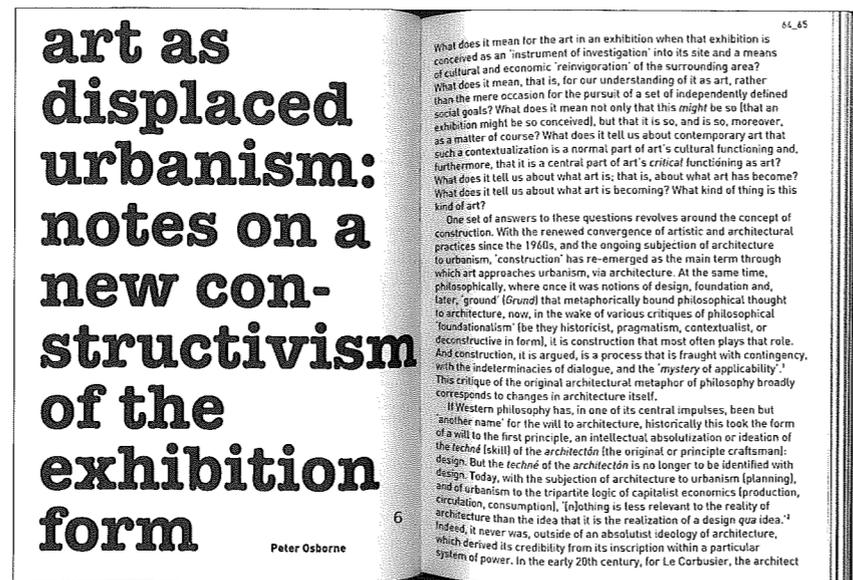
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International Foundation Manifesta
Donostia-San Sebastián, Spain

Manifesta 5
11 June–30 September 2004

EXTRA SCHENGEN
Special Route
DJs Dorbastler and Sokolov (pl) &
Radio Eurasia (pl) &
Gogol Bordello (pl)



art as displaced urbanism: notes on a new constructivism of the exhibition form

Peter Osborne

64_65

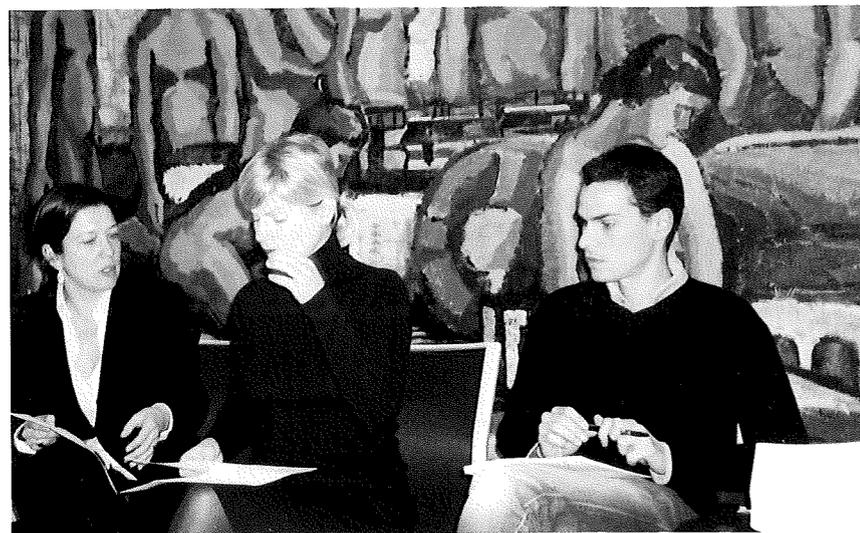
What does it mean for the art in an exhibition when that exhibition is conceived as an “instrument of investigation” into its site and a means of cultural and economic “reinvigoration” of the surrounding area? What does it mean, that is, for our understanding of it as art, rather than the mere occasion for the pursuit of a set of independently defined social goals? What does it mean not only that this might be so (that an exhibition might be so conceived), but that it is so, and is so, moreover, as a matter of course? What does it tell us about contemporary art that such a contextualization is a normal part of art’s cultural functioning and, furthermore, that it is a central part of art’s critical functioning as art? What does it tell us about what art is, that is, about what art has become? What does it tell us about what art is becoming? What kind of thing is this kind of art?

One set of answers to these questions revolves around the concept of construction. With the renewed convergence of artistic and architectural practices since the 1960s, and the ongoing subjection of architecture to urbanism, “construction” has re-emerged as the main term through which art approaches urbanism, via architecture. At the same time, philosophically, where once it was notions of design, foundation and, later, ground (Grund) that metaphorically bound philosophical thought to architecture, now, in the wake of various critiques of philosophical “foundationalism” (be they historicist, pragmatist, contextualist, or deconstructive in form), it is construction that most often plays that role. And construction, it is argued, is a process that is fraught with contingency, with the indeterminacies of dialogue, and the “mystery of applicability.”¹ This critique of the original architectural metaphor of philosophy broadly corresponds to changes in architecture itself.

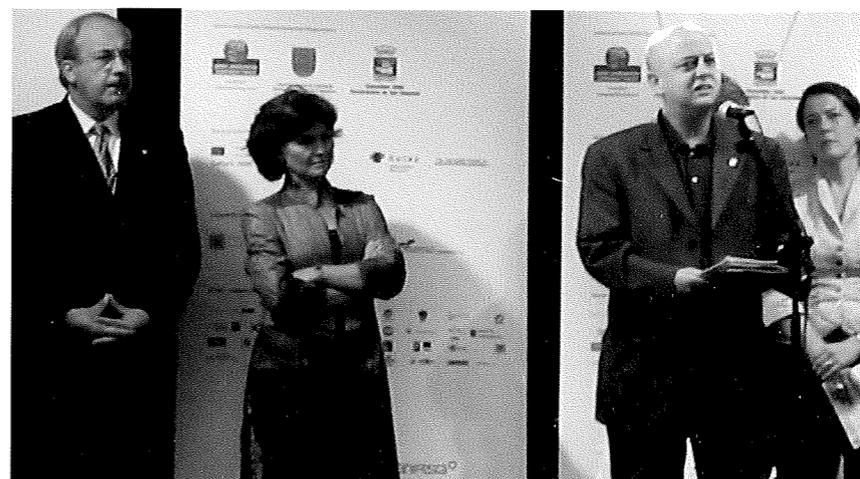
If Western philosophy has, in one of its central impulses, been but “another name” for the will to architecture, historically this took the form of a will to the first principle, an intellectual absolutization or ideation of the *techné* (skill) of the *architectón* (the original or principle craftsman): design. But the *techné* of the *architectón* is no longer to be identified with design. Today, with the subjection of architecture to urbanism (planning), and of urbanism to the tripartite logic of capitalist economics (production, circulation, consumption), “[n]othing is less relevant to the reality of architecture than the idea that it is the realization of a design *qua* idea.”² Indeed, it never was, outside of an absolutist ideology of architecture, which derived its credibility from its inscription within a particular system of power. In the early 20th century, for Le Corbusier, the architect

4

- 1 & 2. Back and front cover of *...With All Due Intent*, (Donostia–San Sebastián: Centro internacional de cultura contemporánea, 2004).
3. Title page of *...With All Due Intent*.
4. Pages 64 and 65 of *...With All Due Intent*.
5. Front and back of invitation for Manifesta 5.
6. Logo for Manifesta 5.



1. Left to right: Unidentified, Marta Kuzma, and Massimiliano Gioni. 2. Left to right: Massimiliano Gioni, Marta Kuzma, and Joxe Juan Gonzalez de Txabbarri during the opening press conference for Manifesta 5. 3. Henry Meyric Hughes (left) and Miren Karnele Azcarate. 4. Left to right: Lourdes Fernández and Hedwig Fijen. 5. Massimiliano Gioni (left), and Marta Kuzma. 6. Left to right: Martin Fritz, unidentified, Hedwig Fijen, Igor Zabel, unidentified, and Lourdes Fernández. 7. Vincente Todolí (left) and Lourdes Fernández.

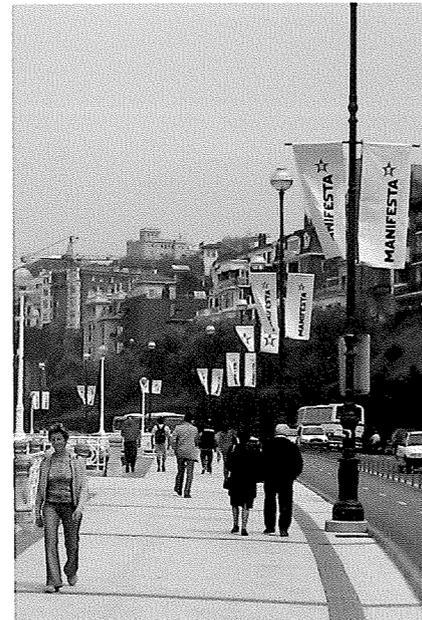


Manifesta may have emerged as a collective endeavor to provide a new experience of viewing art in response to the political changes in Eastern Europe, through the transparency of its production and openness to its own internal critique. Nevertheless, it also arrived at a point when theoretical discourses of the 1980s and 1990s existed at the intersection of disciplinary transformations in geography, urban sociology, political economy, anthropology, architecture, and cultural theory. As a result of the morphing in the treatment of site, the pursuit of alternative spaces throughout the city, this urban-bound biennial was branded by its first edition in Rotterdam. It arrived in future venues not only as a presentation platform, but as a comprehensive site integral to the curatorial concept of project production, encompassing the changing spatial and temporal forms of contemporary art connected with the geopolitical conditions of existence as well as to the dynamics endemic to the experience of the city. Manifesta evolved into a new historical form and reflected what Manuel Castells referred to as a “network society.” Manifesta also became an “international space of flows” within an emergent global economy, where a single modernity or the hegemony of Western capital alone no longer dominated global modernity. Cities formerly peripheral to Europe—Ljubljana, Donostia–San Sebastián, Nicosia—vied to become hosts to these mega symbols of international culture, which provided the appearance of “being part of the modern world.” In this way, the bureaucratic armature both of the host institution and of Manifesta’s changed international advisory structure, which strived to locate “openness” and “transparency” as rhetorical positions, increasingly influencing its role in relation to the city. While Manifesta was founded on the need to implode institutionalism, its survival has relied on the stabilization of its own institution, which required a new relationship to the city and its overall longer-term strategies in the area of contemporary art as a marketing mechanism. Marta Kuzma, Amsterdam-based independent curator, critic, and co-curator of Manifesta 5 (2004)

1. Opening speeches for Manifesta 5. 2. Left to right: Massimiliano Gioni, unidentified, Henry Meyric Hughes, and unidentified. 3. Left to right: Unidentified, Joxe Juan Gonzalez de Txabbarri, and Lourdes Fernández.



Views of Donostia-San Sebastián.



BERLAGE INSTITUTE

The organizers of Manifesta 5 collaborated with the Berlage Institute, a postgraduate laboratory for research and development in architecture, urban planning, and landscape design to reflect on the possible interaction between the social, political, and historical complexity of Donostia-San Sebastián's urban context and a large-scale cultural event. A research studio dedicated to this project was thus created under the name, The Office of Alternative Urban Planning (TOOAUP), led by Sebastian Khourian and Alejandro Zaera Polo, and involving the students of the Berlage Institute's second year advanced research program. The tangible results of the TOOAUP project included the rehabilitation of the Casa Ciriza, a defunct warehouse in the district called Pasaia as well as the demolition of adjacent warehouses, which created the possibility of progressive reorganization of the harbor area for public use. The Casa Ciriza served both as symbol and catalyst for reimagining the uses of social space in one of the Basque regions most impoverished areas. Portions of the research material for this process were presented in the context of Manifesta 5 as an installation utilizing a customized version of the software Datacloud 2.5 (developed by V2 institute for unstable media), a street billboard and temporary construction featuring the proposal for the area and meant to function as a site for discussion, and finally, as a series of street posters aimed to incite a debate about urbanity.

CONSTRUCCION DE LAZOS DE ATENCION + TRANSFORMACION DE 8 Y LAZOS EN CIUDAD BOULEVARD

2 CUALIFICAR TEJIDO

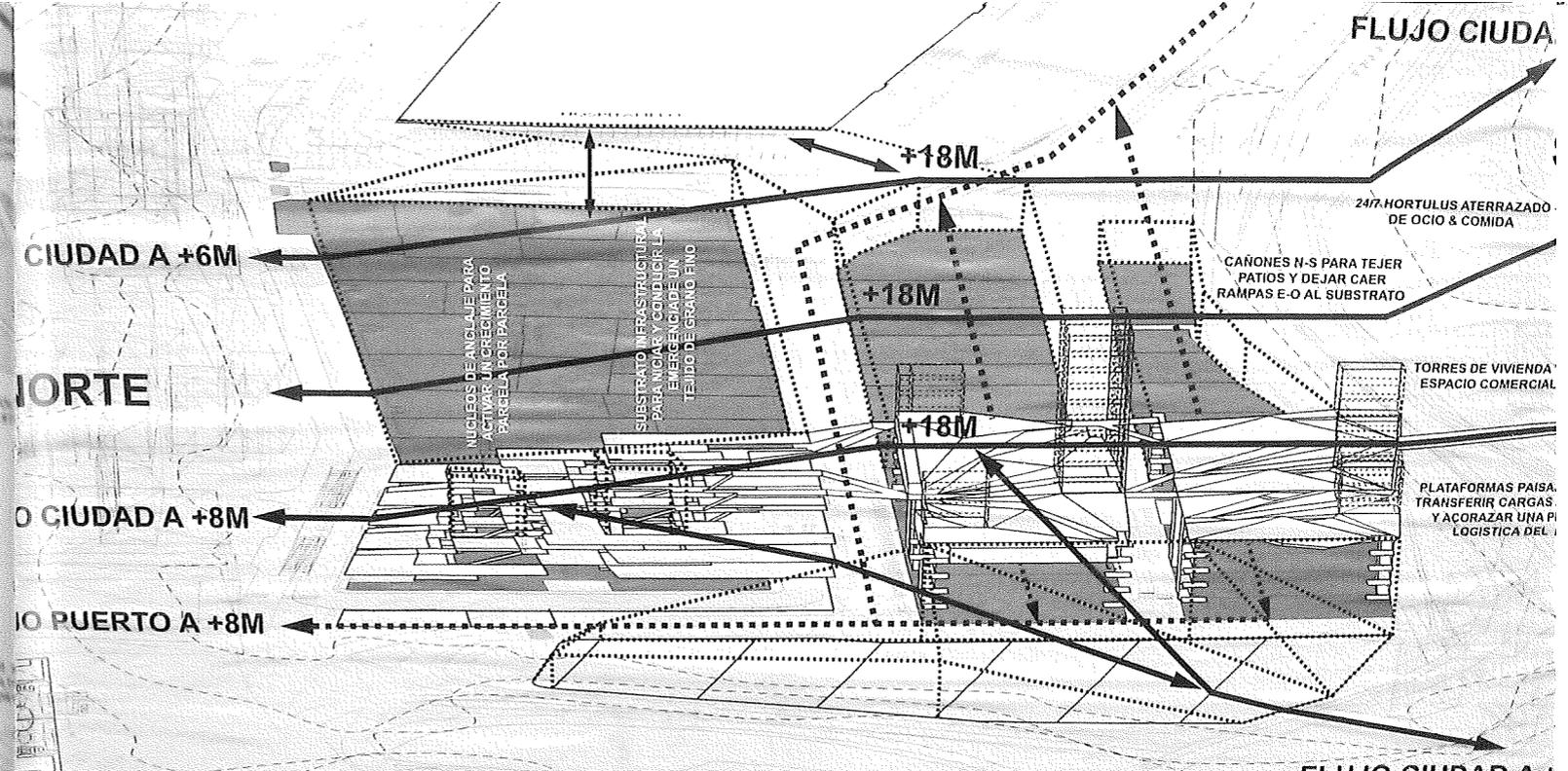
2 VACIAMIENTO PROGRESIVO

1 CONSTRUCCION DEL BYPASS-A8

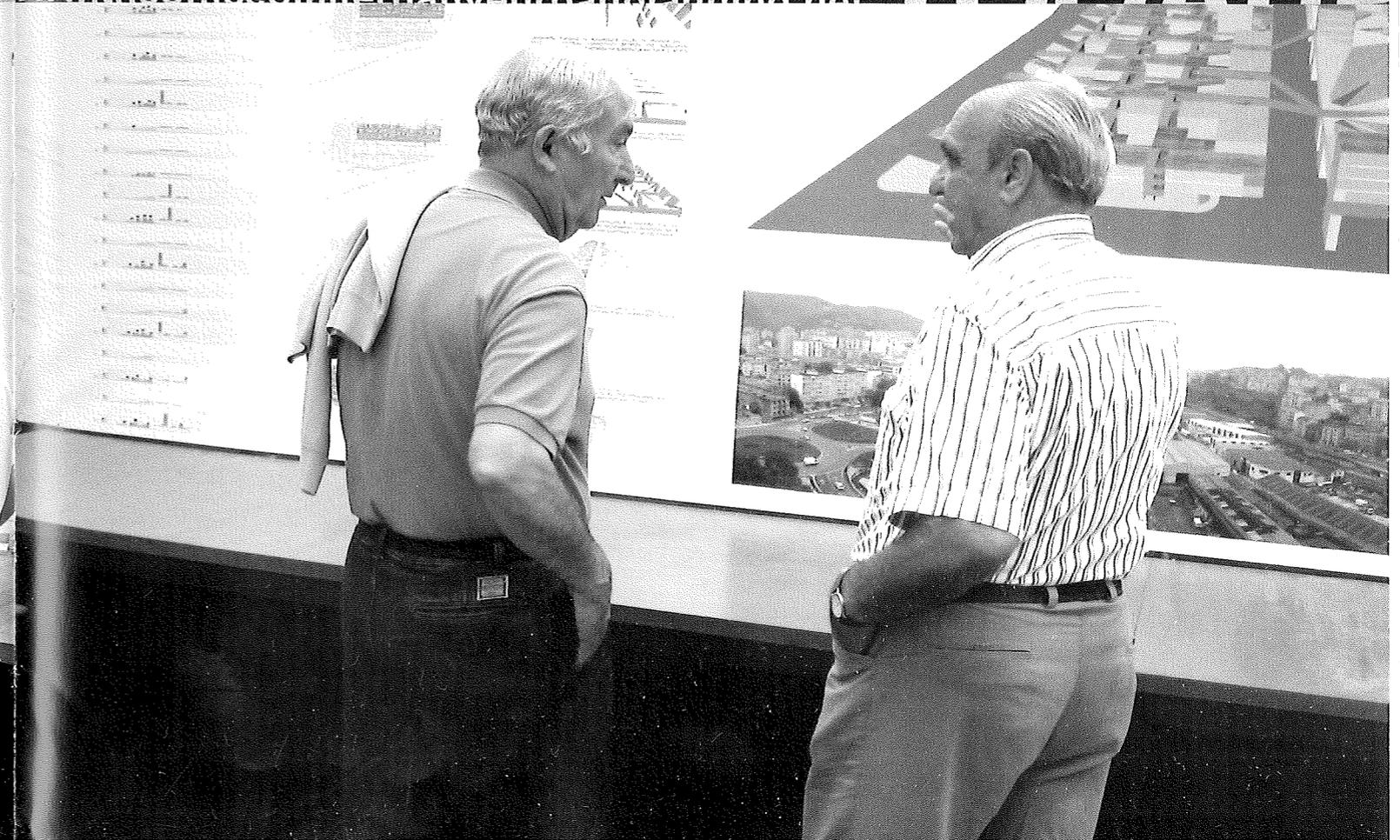
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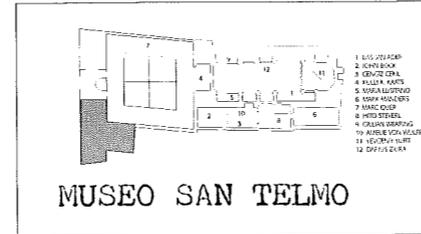
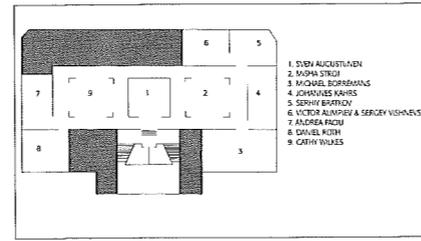
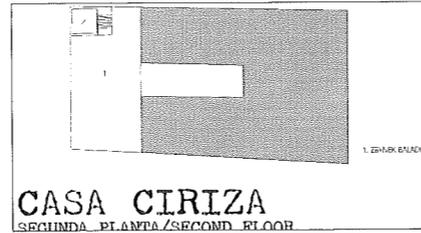
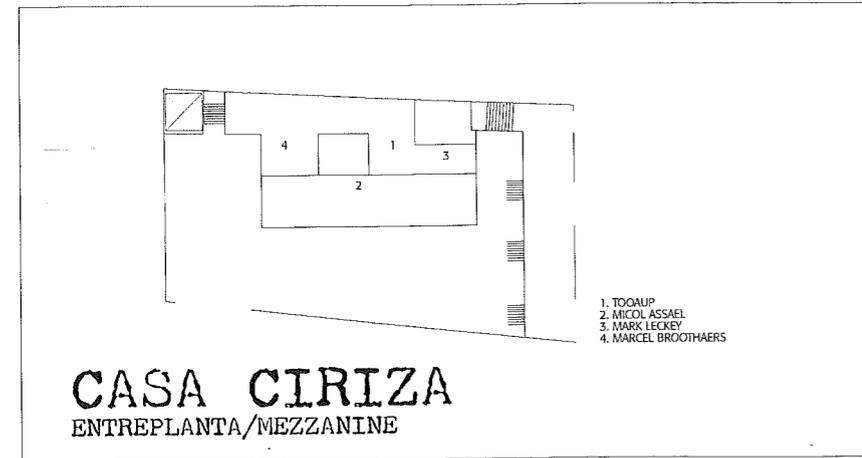
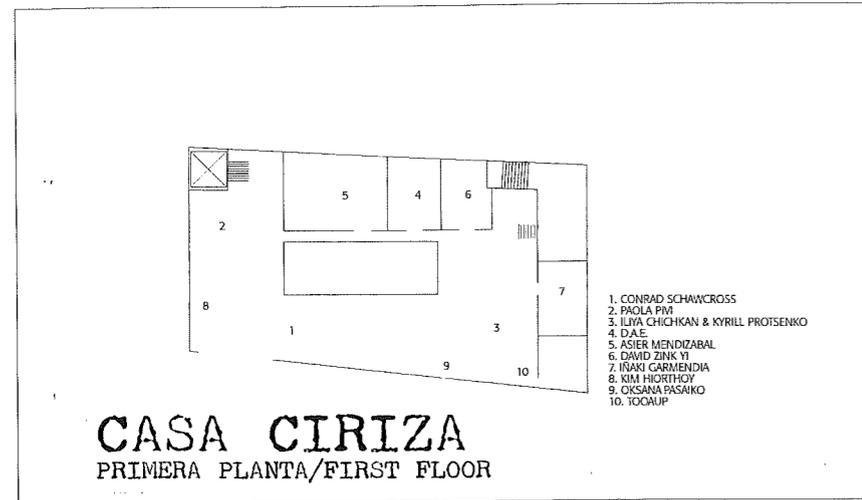
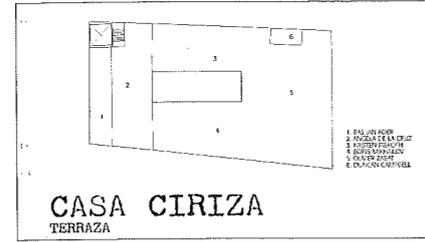
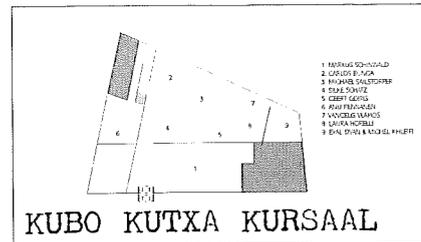
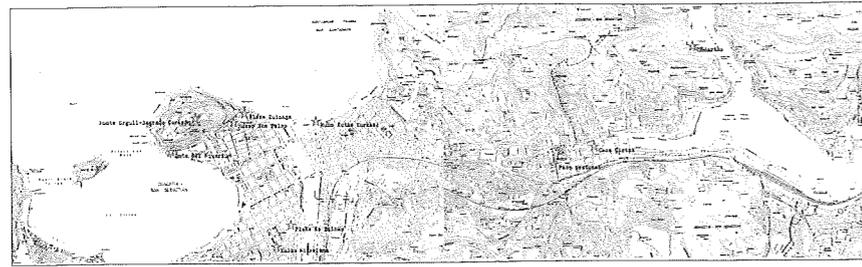
THE BERLAGE INSTITUTE AND OFFICE OF ALTERNATIVE URBAN PLANNING.
In collaboration with Verónica Acoos, Jose Manuel Sanjaume, Sebastian Khourian, Juan Carlos Lora, Chaharshah Morica Villare, and Gonzalo Korta.
DataCloud 2.5, 2004. Photograph by Lioba Redwaker.

BERLAGE INSTITUTE IN COLLABORATION WITH MANIFESTA 5
officeofalternativeurbanplanning.net



SE PUEDE INTERVENIR HOY SIN HIPOTECAR EL FUTURO
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www.theofficeofalternativeurbanplanning.net **TOO ALI**

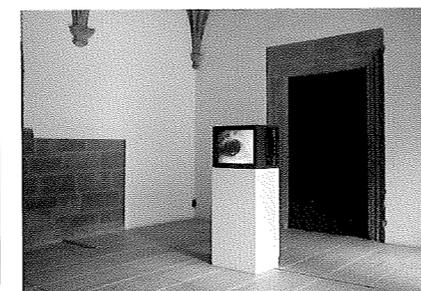




3 Map of the exhibitions venues in Donostia-San Sebastián. Floor plans : 1. Kubo Kutxa Kursaal. 2 & 6. Terrace at Casa Ciriza. 3. First floor at Casa Ciriza. 4. Ground floor at Casa Ciriza. 5. Second floor at Casa Ciriza. 7. Museo San Telmo. 8. Koldo Mitxelena.

ARTISTS

BAS JAN ADER



I'm Too Sad to Tell You, 1971. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

In his films, Bas Jan Ader, who mysteriously disappeared at sea in 1975, entraps viewers with scenes of intense personal emotion. *I Am Too Sad to Tell You* portrayed the artist driven to tears, the motivation for his distress remaining unexplained. In *Fall II* (1970), Amsterdam and *Broken Fall (Geometric)* (1971), Ader performed activities during which he subjected his body to the forces of gravity.

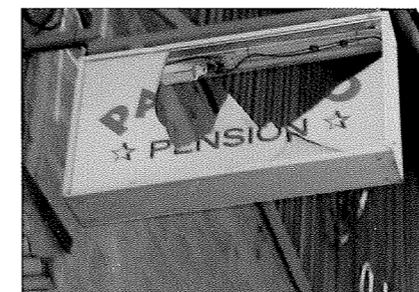
VICTOR ALIMPIEV AND SERGEY VISHNEVSKY



The Deer, 2002. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Victor Alimpiev and Sergey Vishnevsky's video, *The Deer* was an enchanting venture into a Nabokovian world of beauty and self-preservation. Set in a Russian forest, the work recorded two lovers caught in some kind of nostalgic reverie.

HÜSEYİN ALPTEKİN



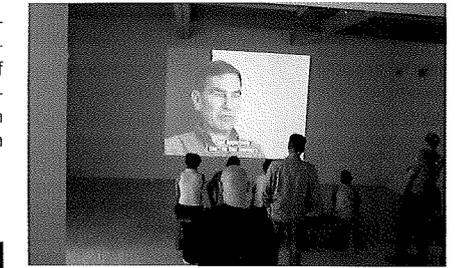
Capacities 7: Hospitality, 2004. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

For Manifesta 5, Hüseyin Alptekin hung appropriated hotel signs (such as Hotel Odessa, Hostel Balkan, and Hotel Baghdad) gathered during his travels. Playing with various linguistic resonances of the word "hotel," he conflated the notions of hospitality and hostility. The artist hung the signs along what is referred to as "Rape Alley" not only to illuminate the darkened street, but also launch a critique of urban neglect.

MICOL ASSAËL

Micol Assaël often works in modest industrial quarters that are laid bare and penetrated by the incursion of natural elements. Amplifying the fury of wind, ice, water, smoke, or fire with the aid of obsolete mechanical machinery, Assaël suggested in *Untitled* (2004) the presence of a latent violence in the spaces in which we live and work.

SVEN AUGUSTIJNEN



Johan, 2001. *François*, 2003. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Both of Sven Augustijnen's videos grappled with the slow process of human decline, depicting male patients suffering from aphasia, a language disorder that impedes one's ability to communicate with the outside world. These subjects also represented the reality of deeper, historical traumas.

ZBYNĚK BALADRÁN

Zbyněk Baladrán's installation *Projection 1-2* (2003-04) presented animated films, documentaries, found film footage, and propaganda films edited and reassembled with vintage soundtracks and mysterious sound effects. As a kind of archeologist, the artist unearthed images, fragments, and narratives that enveloped the viewer in dreamlike recollections and historical moments from his country's past.

SERHIY BRATKOV



Installation view of the series *Kids* (2000).

Serhiy Bratkov's photographs took children from his native Ukraine as their subject. Going against common juvenile clichés, he portrayed these youngsters as the representatives of the temporal gap separating Ukraine's Soviet period and its subsequent reincarnation as an evolving economy and democracy. With the place of Ukrainian children in the international adoption market, not to mention the underground sex trade, Bratkov's portraits reminded visitors of the ways in which capitalism devalues humans, even the youngest among us, as mere commodities.

JOHN BOCK



Gast, 2004. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

John Bock's lecture and performance, was essentially a story told through a patchwork of derailed thoughts and endless digressions. The artist subverted the personal mythology of Joseph Beuys by restaging the latter's now legendary attempts to teach art to a dead hare. However the hare was alive and well, hopping around a living room transformed into a universe of miniature sculptures.

MICHAËL BORREMANS



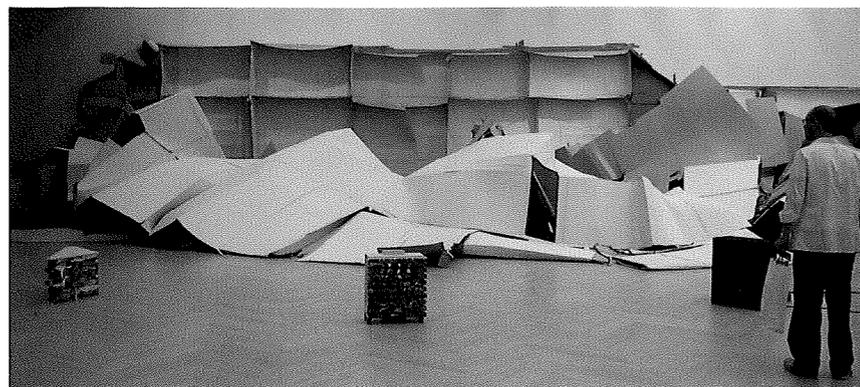
The Preservation, 2001.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Michaël Borremans's contribution to Manifesta 5 provided an in-depth look into his artistic practice. His complex paintings portrayed strange mannequins caught in empty and frozen gestures, careful and obsessive repetitions of obscure rituals, and strange architectonic renderings. While carefully avoiding an immediate, narrative reading, Borremans' canvases evoked spaces of tension that were cryptically dense.

MARCEL BROODTHAERS

The slide projection *Bateau Tableau* (1973) consisted of eighty different details of an otherwise banal maritime painting. In so doing, the artist accentuated the basic elements of the art object in order to make visible and decode its materiality. Broodthaers was included in Manifesta 5 because he was a pivotal figure in the history of twentieth-century art, exploring such fundamental questions such as: What is art? What is the role of the artist? What is the social function of the museum?

CARLOS BUNGA



Kursaal Project, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Carlos Bunga's interest in the performativity of architecture informed the temporary cardboard structure he built within the Kubo Kutxa Kursaal and subsequently imploded through a series of strategic cuts. His precarious living spaces contrast the geometric precision of modernist architecture with the improvised cacophony of shanty towns.

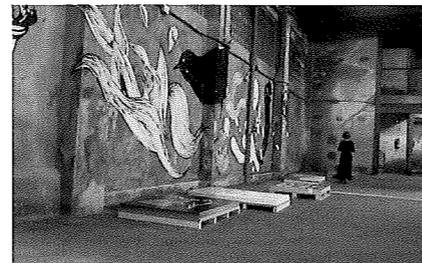
DUNCAN CAMPBELL

The dark humor of Samuel Beckett, who claimed that nothing was funnier than unhappiness, informed Duncan Campbell's video *Fall Burns Malone Fiddles* (2003). In it, he assumed the narrator's voice, speaking an intentionally incomprehensible, seemingly vernacular language amidst a series of images collected from a Belfast archive. Campbell's editing, a kind of stream of consciousness, reanimated the spirit of protest in the city's working-class and depressed neighborhoods present in these appropriated images.

CENGİZ ÇEKİL

Cengiz Çekil mined Turkish newspapers from the mid-1970s as source material for his series called *Unwritten*. He isolated photographs from their respective contexts, upsetting their function as documents, and then randomly arranged them to discourage a linear reading of history. *Unwritten* (1976) addressed the everyday formats defining the modern human experience of time, place, and the dissemination of information.

KIM HIORTHØY



Life Is Useless, 2004 (comprising *Secret Bird*; *Yeah, Right*; *Don't Trust Me, I Love You, Everything You Thought Would Happen Will Never Happen*; and *I Woke Up and Didn't Know Where I Was, As Usual*). Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Kim Hiorthøy's wall collage of posters and graphics incorporated appropriated and self-produced images interspersed with commentary. To create *Life Is Useless*, he recycled iconic images from certain subcultures and mixed them with collage and poster art of the 1960s and 1970s as well as examples of commercial graphics.

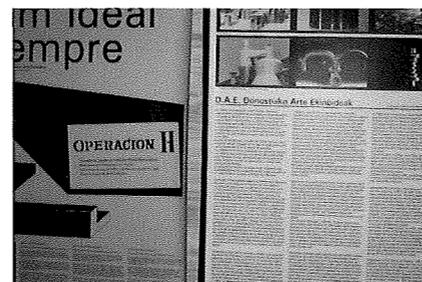
ILIYA CHICHKAN AND KYRILL PROTSENKO



Spies Eyes, 2003.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Spies Eyes was a montage of archival films that once functioned as introductory propaganda trailers in Soviet cinemas. The artists located this footage in Kiev's National Film Archive, where reels were classified according to international delegations, fashion, sport, and culture. *Spies Eyes* interrogated the credibility of news versus staged appearance and naked reality.

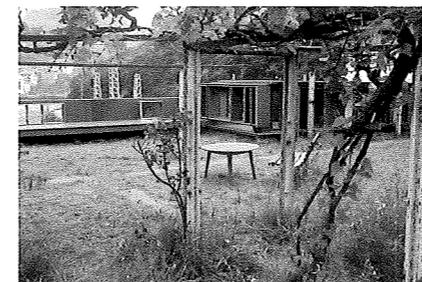
D.A.E. (DONOSTIAKO ARTE EGINBIDEAK)



Film Ideal Siempre, 1963-2004.

D.A.E. members Peio Aguirre and Leire Vergara explored a historic cultural practice from the mid-1960s that coalesced around the Basque artist collective GUAR. In the form of ongoing research, their project took *Operacion H*, a 1963 film directed by Néstor Basterretxeain in collaboration with the Basque sculptor Jorge Oteiza, as its point of departure.

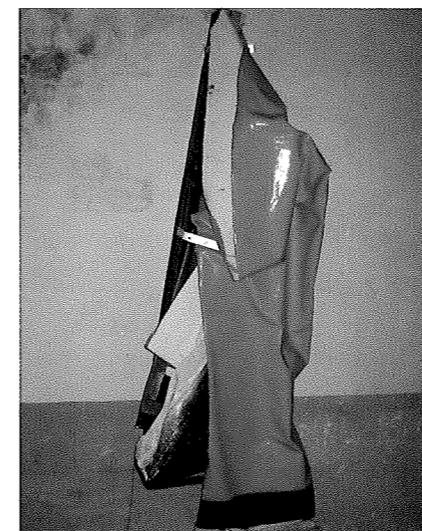
JAN DE COCK



Denkmal No. 2: Astillero Ascorteta 2, Pasajes San Pedro, San Sebastián, 2004. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Jan de Cock took a former shipbuilding warehouse and an emblematic site in Pasaia's history. Prior to his intervention, the space was derelict. Its potential conversion into a museum or conservation workshop for wooden boats was the subject of a debate connected to municipal efforts to revitalize the city's port. Lodged in this bureaucratic quagmire, De Cock exploited Ondartxo's uncertain future in the development of his project.

ANGELA DE LA CRUZ



Clutter (Pink), 2003. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

With her intricate installations, scattered interventions, and precarious structures, Angela de la Cruz extended and subverted the traditions of abstract and monochrome painting. Her sculptures and objects were often unbalanced and distorted, as though they were born out of physical struggle.

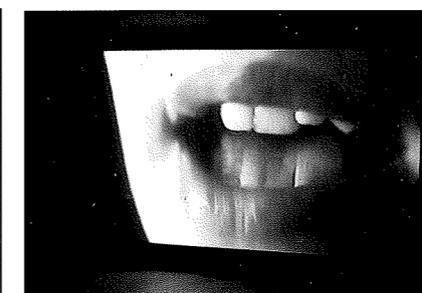
JEREMY DELLER



Parade, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

For Manifesta 5, Jeremy Deller organized a parade along Donostia-San Sebastián's central boulevard, on Friday, 11 June. Including a cross-section of residents, the spectacle made visible the city's rich social and cultural fabric. Deller organized this arbitrary day of celebration, referring to no particular anniversary or event, as a means of challenging the use of public space.

ANDREA FACIU



Le Luneux, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

In her video *Le Luneux*, Andrea Faciu recited a song she remembered having heard on the street some ten years before. By portraying her moving mouth in close-up, the artist framed the event as an expression fuelled by the immediacy of the acoustic and the strangeness of the song's lyrics. What resulted was a kind of formless sculpture that overlaid the act of singing with the constitutive power of the artist's own memory.

IÑAKI GARMENDIA

Iñaki Garmendia mined the nihilism inherent to the punk subculture to produce the two-channel video projection *Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger. Footage* (2004) shot from backstage at the SO36 club in the Kreuzberg neighborhood of Berlin during a Terrorgruppe concert on the eve of May Day was projected next to a more scripted depiction of anarchy directed by the artist.

GEERT GOIRIS



Pools at Dawn, 1999.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

The photographs of Geert Goiris—spouting fountains, mountain vistas, abandoned terrain, and Nordic panoramas—isolated and alienated landscapes that suggested the basic struggle between nature and human attempts to dominate.

LAURA HORELLI

Laura Horelli's two-channel video *Helsinki Shipyard/Port San Juan* (2002–03) explored Finland's cruise ship industry, following the production of one vessel from a warehouse in Helsinki to a port of call in San Juan, Puerto Rico. She addressed the strategies of the continually expanding global tourist industry, which have transformed spaces of leisure and freedom into highly organized illusory realities.

KÜLLI KAATS

The language of birds fascinates Külli Kaats, a trained orchestral conductor. In her video *Avifauna* (2004), human language is replaced by the chirping and twittering of birds, resulting in a cacophonous musical designed to gauge human behavior against the patterns of bird communication, migration, and nesting.

JOHANNES KAHRS



Spooky Love, 2002.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Johannes Kahrs's work showing illusory human figures oscillates between latent and overt psychological meanings. His installation *Untitled (Dance)* (2001) included paintings, charcoal drawings, and a grainy, silent black-and-white film of a man rhythmically moving his head from side to side. The figure eluded any clear identification and his action evaded any definite meaning.

LEOPOLD KESSLER

Leopold Kessler, a sort of dissident engineer preoccupied with public maintenance, intervenes in public spaces. For example, he clandestinely connected public lights to a remote control, switching them on and off at will. With such gestures, the artist interrogates what he considers to be systems of social control masquerading as protective measures.

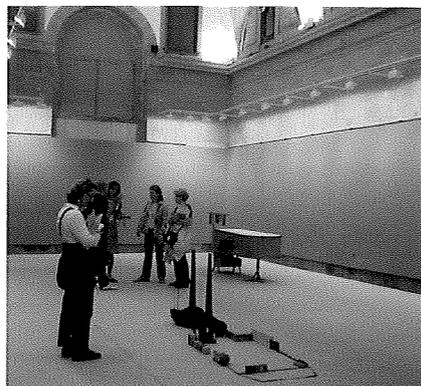
MARK LECKEY

Mark Leckey is a contemporary incarnation of the nineteenth-century flâneur, an untiring explorer of urban nocturnal life. His video *Fiorucci Made Me Hardcore* (1999) was a cut-and-paste collective hallucination assembled from footage of raves and disco scenes from British television. The work offered a visual exploration of psychosis, mass hysteria, and the excesses of nightlife.

MARIA LUSITANO

The video *Nostalgia* (2002) narrated the experiences of a colonial Portuguese family living in Mozambique during the crucial years leading up to that country's independence. Grainy footage, pop music, and familial scenes recalled this historical transition. In a complex reversal of perspectives, the artist omitted any trace of oppression and concentrated instead on everyday images, leading viewers to identify with colonizers as well as subverting the dynamics of perpetrator and victim.

MARK MANDERS



Installation view. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Mark Manders has built a private iconography of forms, sculptures, and images that are constantly repeated and recombined. In his project for Manifesta 5, he transformed an existing exhibition gallery into a living space in which fabricated and illusionistic objects were consciously positioned so as to chart an imaginary voyage around a room.

ASIER MENDIZABAL

Asier Mendizabal addresses desire as a terrain of multiple confrontations between individual and collective beliefs. Departing from symbolic references to music, youth culture, and political movements, his installations, videos, and photographs, investigate ways in which groups congregate in the name of ideology or simply out of a need to be together. Avoiding specific political views, his work *Zer Eskatzen du herriak: "Fuimos tan terriblemente consecuentes..."* (2004) instead reveals those mechanisms that help us recognize ourselves as part of a group or society.

BORIS MIKHAILOV



Installation view of *City and Dvoyky*.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Boris Mikhailov's work derived from his position as a photographer responsible for documenting the factory infrastructure in Kharkiv, Ukraine, in the 1960s. Referring to everyday spaces of the metropolis, *City and Dvoyky* presented an exhaustive series of photographs taken from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. In his later series *Salt Lake*, Mikhailov focused on supposed leisure spaces situated within tainted industrial landscapes.

OKSANA PASAIKO



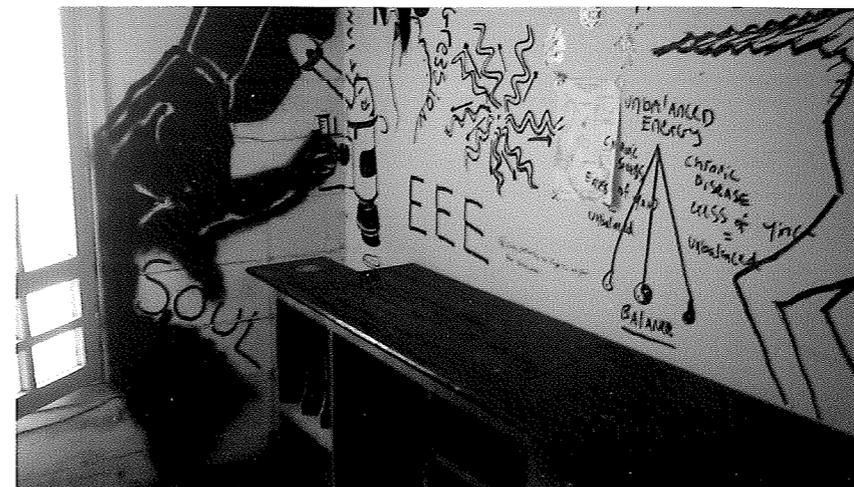
Please Don't Leave Me: A Reenactment, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Oksana Pasaiko's declaration "Please don't leave me" was a reenactment, in Cyrillic, of Bas Jan Ader's original work from 1969. Although Pasaiko resisted assigning any specific interpretation to the work, the statement possessed a visceral power, underscoring the human fear of being left alone.

ANU PENNANEN

A Monument for the Invisible (2003) comprised landscape studies of urban Helsinki visually informed by Nokia culture, one of Finland's largest businesses. Panoramic views of monumental, modern, glass-and-concrete constructions were the setting for the wanderings of a blind woman through the city. Pennanen questioned the alienating forces of technology.

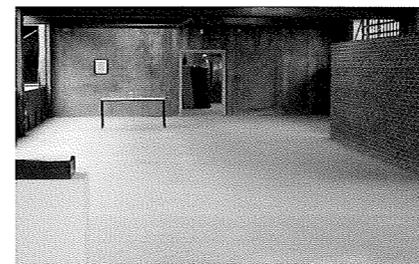
GARRETT PHELAN



Lung Love, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Garrett Phelan's *Lung Love* was situated in an abandoned carpentry workshop in the historic port district of Donostia–San Sebastián. The project illustrated the processes by which ideas or beliefs enter into society. A bombardment of visual information, Phelan's sketches became complex theoretical diagrams exploring metaphors with connections to a range of subjects, including breathing, health, electromagnetics, and manufactured energy.

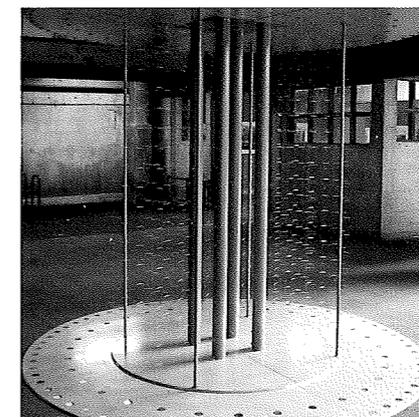
KIRSTEN PIEROTH



Installation view with *Wall (after Thomas Edison)* (2004), *Wall Built from One Brick* (2004), and *Letter of an Inventor* (2004). Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

In these works, Kirsten Pieroth explored the persona of the American inventor Thomas Edison, going beyond the verifiable facts of his biography and pursuing instead fictional tangents related to his life and inventions. Pieroth employed a brick from the original 1904 Edison Portland Cement Company that she purchased at auction as her point of departure. Making copies, she then built a brick wall in which the original was included, obscuring and complicating notions of authenticity.

PAOLA PIVI



E, 2001.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Paola Pivi creates installations with large-scale readymade objects—an overturned airplane, a truck turned on its side as a kind of dinosaur, etc. *E* was simultaneously a sculpture and mechanical device. Its steel needles rose and fell according to the viewer's physical proximity, as if the object possessed the ability to react to natural stimuli.

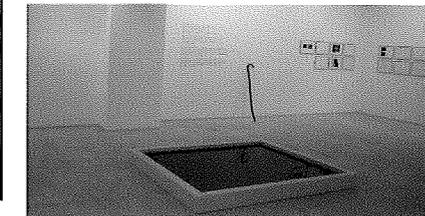
MARC QUER



Algérie-France: Images, 1998.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Marc Quer's poster project *Algérie-France: Images* appropriated Felix Moulin's 1856 photographs of Algeria taken. Enlarged and reproduced, these historic images elicited the colonial tensions still present in the collective memory of the communities in the city of Marseille, where Quer's poster project was at first exhibited. With the hope of inviting interventions and commentary in the form of graffiti, the artist inserted voice bubbles within the images.

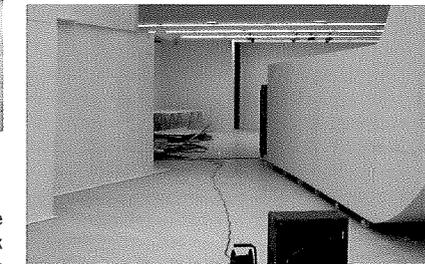
DANIEL ROTH



Glaswaldsee, 2003–04.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

In his work, Daniel Roth offered an atlas of fictional nations, clandestine societies, and undiscovered civilizations through meticulously executed maps that explored imaginary topographies. Transforming every representation of living space into a maze of intricate mindscapes, the artist followed the tortuous paths connecting reality to the labyrinth of human psychological processes.

MICHAEL SAILSTORFER



Breadboard Construction Marilyn, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

In his installation *Breadboard Construction Marilyn*, Michael Sailstorfer transformed discarded industrial ventilation shafts, grids, and wood planks from Casa Ciriza, a former fish warehouse, into a hybrid, open-ended, and imposing structure.

SILKE SCHATZ

Silke Schatz's large drawings invoke buildings and places. *Today Kalea Foru, Hondarribia, 1985* (2004) recalled her memory of a 1985 civil attack in the Basque seaside city of Hondarribia. Her installation resonated between her particular recollection of this specific event and the collective experience of a history and culture that were not her own.

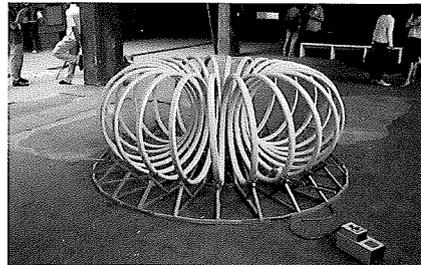
MARKUS SCHINWALD



Diarios (to You), 2003.

In *Diarios (to You)*, Markus Schinwald superimposed images of nature onto examples of architecture. Comprising a constant cycle of fade-ins and fade-outs, his 160 black-and-white slide projections offered an unsettling exercise in endless displacement. The accompanying soundtrack included an exchange between a woman reading stage directions from a script and a man reciting an emotive, poetic text on love.

CONRAD SHAWCROSS



Circadiun (Loop System 3), 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Conrad Shawcross's *Circadiun (Loop System 3)* was a floor sculpture made from one continuous spiral of wood perpetually turning back on itself. From a distance, it appeared stationary, but as the viewer approached the work, it became apparent that that was moving. A skeletal structure, it contained no definite interior or exterior, top or bottom, middle or end.

EYAL SIVAN AND MICHEL KHLEIFI



Route 181, 2003. Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Eyal Sivan and Michel Khleifi's documentary film *Route 181* explored the virtual border between Israel and Palestine drawn up in 1947 under the

United Nations Partition Plan. Through firsthand interviews with residents of the region, they explored a social and political phenomenon as complex as the plurality of voices that tried to describe it. In their study of this disputed territory, the artists strived to convey the collective experience of displacement.

HITO STEYERL

Hito Steyerl's short film *November* (2004) was an elegy to the artist's close friend Andrea Wolf who, prior to her assassination in 1998 for being a suspected Kurdish terrorist, was accused of belonging to the Red Army faction in Germany. The film poignantly questioned what we refer to as "terrorism" and how we construct mythic identities. The work also offered a commentary on the defunct ideologies of revolution.

MISHA STROJ



"Sorry, There Is No Secret", 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Misha Stroj's work invokes sculpture as a testing ground for philosophical experimentation. Having reduced art, reality, and his own practice to an arbitrary set of 181 problems and questions, the artist creates installations and constructions that manifest themselves as material incarnations of absurd yet maniacally precise theorems and speculations. *"Sorry, There Is No Secret"* was one such creation.

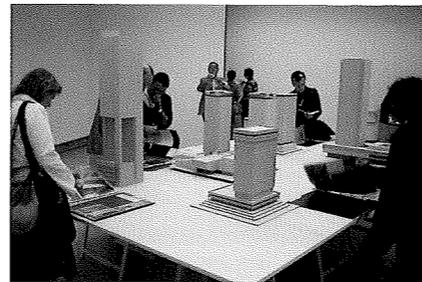
PATRICK TUTTOFUOCO



BMX-Y, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

A series of publicly accessible bicycles designed according to the desires of a group of friends from the Hodeiertz Choir in Tolosa, the former capital of the Basque region of Gipuzkoa. The bikes carried billboards playfully announcing possible encounters and fictional love stories between private citizens and public icons.

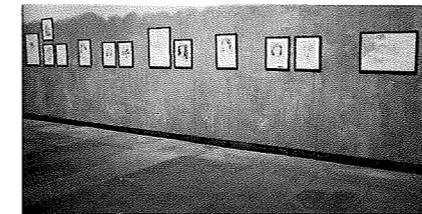
VANGELIS VLAHOS



Buildings Like Texts are Socially Constructed, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

Vangelis Vlahos examined the relationship between high-rise buildings and politics. He fabricated architectural models based on skyscrapers from around the world, including one in Donostia-San Sebastián built under Franco's dictatorship. These model sculptures functioned as totems, and the fragile paper used to construct them suggested the ephemerality of nationalistic ideals.

AMELIE VON WULFFEN



Untitled (Grandmother), 2001.

Amelie von Wulffen's drawings and collages simulate the stratified mechanisms of memory, collapsing motifs as disparate as private anecdotes, family vicissitudes, Renaissance landscapes, and 1970s idols like John Travolta and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. In so doing, she explores the ruins of a history that is both distinctly European and deeply personal.

GILLIAN WEARING

In *Tedi* (2003), Gillian Wearing focused on an Albanian child who offered the viewer a guided tour of Tirana, extolling the virtues of the capital's heroic monuments along the way. Shot like a home video, the work capitalized on the rhetoric-laden speech of the child. The tension in his forceful attempt to correctly deliver his script called to mind the period when propaganda went unquestioned in many Eastern European countries.

CATHY WILKES



DAVID ZINK YI



La Cumbia, 1999.

In his video *La Cumbia*, David Zink Yi used his own paint-covered body as the stage for a humorous dance that he performed with his fingers. *La Cumbia* also suggested an emblem of solitude and homesickness, questioning the location of culture, which often remains simply hidden under our skin.

DARIUS ŽIURA

Darius Žiura, a clandestine Vilnius street portrait painter posing as a conceptual artist, borrowed the name of his home village in northern Lithuania for the title of his video. It included one-minute video portraits of each of the town's inhabitants, exploring how the modern day regulation of public space has transfigured the once romantic street painter into a dubious criminal character.

Informed by personal memories and recollections, Cathy Wilkes fashions installations including sculptures, found objects, and various materials scattered around rarefied environments. She has likened her creations to corpses and fractured bodies. As a system of symbols comprising a precise language, Wilkes's sculptural vocabulary has continued to develop around the concepts of physical suspension and loss.

YEVGENIY YUFIT

Killed by Lightning, 2002

Killed by Lightning was a film that unfolded in the subconscious of an anthropology professor, a woman suffering from a psychic trauma following the death of her father who was a submarine captain during World War II. The film was both a demi-urgic, slow-paced tale narrated as a detective story and an ambitious exercise in imagination.

OLIVIER ZABAT

The films *Miguel et les mines* (Miguel and the Mines) (2002), *Miguel et les mines deuxième partie* (Miguel and the Mines Second Part) (2004) of Olivier Zabat are digressions into the lives of numerous characters who share painful experiences and terrible losses. Looking beyond the war zone in Kosovo, he described trajectories of psychological tension that stretch from the mountains of Serbia to the peripheries of Paris and the minefields of Africa. He suggested that our predisposition for violence is not simply related to geography or ideological struggles, but is instead an inescapable condition of humanity.

Cara Studies Votes for Women, 2004.
Photograph by Lioba Reddeker.

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RENÉ BLOCK is director of the Kunsthalle and Museum Fridericianum, Kassel. He began his career in the mid-1960s and was Germany's youngest gallery owner at the time, staging some of the first exhibitions and performances by artists such as Gerhard Richter, Joseph Beuys, and Nam June Paik. He has gone on to curate numerous exhibitions as an independent curator, including *New York, Downtown Manhattan, SoHo: Ausstellungen, Theater, Musik, Performance, Video, Film* (1976), Akademie der Künste, Berlin; *Art allemande aujourd'hui: différents aspects de l'art actuel en République fédérale d'Allemagne* (1981), Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris; *The Readymade Boomerang: Certain Relations in Twentieth Century Art* (1990), eighth Biennale of Sydney; *Über Malerei: 300 Jahre Akademie der bildenden Künste* (1992), Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna; *Iskele: türkische Kunst heute* (1994), Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart; *Orient/ation* (1995), fourth International Istanbul Biennial; "Eurafrica" section of the Gwangju Biennial (2000); and *Das Lied von der Erde* (2000), Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel. Most recently, he co-curated *Love It or Leave It* (2004), the fifth Cetinje Biennial.

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Plant, Toronto; *Un-Natural Traces* (1991), Barbican Art Gallery, London; *Performing Objects* (1993), Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston; and "Walking and Thinking and Walking," a section of *NowHere* (1996), Louisiana Museum for Moderne Kunst, Humlebæk. His curatorial work also includes the Canadian representation at the biennials of São Paulo, Sydney, Venice, and Istanbul as well as the North American selection for *Cinco continentes y una ciudad*, Mexico City (1999).

REESA GREENBERG is an art historian and museum consultant. She coedited and contributed to *Thinking about Exhibitions* (1996) and was associate professor of art history at Concordia University, Montreal, from 1971 to 1999. She has written widely on contemporary Canadian art and artists as well as the theory and practice of exhibition making in the contemporary museum. Her most recent publications include an essay in *Obsession, Compulsion, Collection: On Objects, Display Culture, and Interpretation* (2004).

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ELENA FILIPOVIC is an art historian, critic, and independent curator completing a Ph.D. at Princeton University. She was assistant curator of *Utopia Station* (2003–04) at both the fiftieth Venice Biennial and Haus der Kunst, Munich, as well as *Do You Believe in Reality?* (2004), the fourth Taipei Biennial. She participated in the interdisciplinary research project *Citizens* (2003–04) and is a frequent contributor to *Frieze*. Her writing has also appeared in *Perfect Magazine*, *Camera Austria*, *Domus*, and *Art Press*. Most recently, she curated *Ideal Standard* (2004), Dexia Building, Brussels, and co-curated *The One* (2005), New General Catalogue 224, Brooklyn.

ROBERT FLECK is director of the Deichtorhallen Hamburg. For years, he has served as a regular correspondent for *Frankfurter*

Allgemeine Zeitung and *Der Standard*. He has curated numerous exhibitions, including *Weltpunkt Wien: un regard sur Vienne* (1985), Pavillon Josephine, Strasbourg; *Zentrum Paris: Malerei und Gesellschaft in Paris seit 1960* (1993), Kunsthalle Ritter Klagenfurt, Klagenfurt; *Vienna Secession, 1898–1998: The Century of Artistic Freedom* (1998), Wiener Secession, Vienna; and *On peut bien sûr tout changer: art autrichien, 1960–1995* (1995), École d'architecture de Normandie, Rouen. He co-curated *Manifesta 2, European Biennial for Contemporary Art* (1998), Luxembourg City; *ForwArt: A Choice: A Snapshot of Contemporary art, 14 Artists, 4 Curators, 9 Art Critics, 8 Venues on the Mont des Arts* (2002), multiple venues, Brussels; and contributed to BIG Torino 2000, International Biennial of Emerging Art, Torino. His books include *Equality on the Barricades: The European Revolutions of 1848* (1991), *Can Austria Survive the Year 1994?* (1991), *Y aura-t-il un deuxième siècle de l'art moderne?* (2002), *Die Geschichte der Mühl-Kommune* (2003), and *Les Archives de Hans Hartung* (2004).

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HOU HANRU is an independent curator based in Paris. He is also an advisor at the Rijksakademie van beeldende kunsten, Amsterdam; a member of the Independent Curators International Exhibition Committee, New York; and a French correspondent for *Flash Art*. He has curated and co-curated numerous exhibitions, including *Parisien(ne)s* (1997), InIVA, London; *Cities on the Move* (1997–2000), multiple venues; *Paris pour escale* (2000), Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris; the Project Rooms (2000), ARCO, Madrid; the

third Shanghai Biennial (2000); the fourth Gwangju Biennial (2002); the fiftieth Venice Biennial (2003); and the second Guangzhou Triennial (2005). He regularly writes on contemporary art for journals such as *Third Text*, *Times Asia*, *Art Monthly*, *Atlantica*, *Texte zur Kunst*, and *Technikart*. His writings and interviews have been collected in *On the Mid-Ground* (2002).

MARIA HLAVAJOVÁ is the artistic director of BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht. From 1992 to 1999, she worked at the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts (SCCA), Bratislava, as program coordinator, deputy director, and finally director. She taught at the Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College, New York City, from 1997 to 2000. She has curated or co-curated numerous exhibitions and contemporary art projects, including *Interior vs. Exterior, or On the Border of Possible Worlds* (1996), SCCA, Bratislava; *There Is Nothing Like a Bad Coincidence* (1998), Galerija Medium, Bratislava; *Midnight Walkers and City Sleepers* (1999), multiple venues, Amsterdam; *Borderline Syndrome: Energies of Defence* (2000), Manifesta 3, European Biennial of Contemporary Art, Ljubljana; and *Who If Not We Should at Least Imagine a Future of All This?* a seven-part project comprising symposia, publications, and exhibitions, including *Now What? Dreaming a Better World in Six Parts* (2003), multiple venues, Utrecht.

HENRY MEYRIC HUGHES is a founding board member and the current chairman of the international advisory board of Manifesta. He is also president of AICA International and an adviser to the Council of Europe. He has worked for the British Council in Germany, Peru, France, and Italy, serving as director of visiting arts (1994–96) and director of visual arts (1986–92). From 1992 to 1996, he was director of the Hayward Gallery, London. Having written extensively on modern and contemporary art, he is currently an independent curator. The exhibition *Bound_less* (2005), which toured Sweden, is his most recent project.

URŠKA JURMAN is an art historian, curator, and editor and coordinates special projects for the SCCA, Ljubljana. Most recently she has worked as a curator and organizer at the Center in Galerija P74, Ljubljana, leading the discussions and publication project *What Is to Be Done with "Balkan Art"?* She and Barbara Borčić organized Manifesta in Our Backyard, a collective initiative bringing together philosophers, curators, artists, and thinkers to respond to the presence of Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana. They were responsible for numerous symposia and the three issues of *PlatformaSSCA* (1998–2000) devoted to Manifesta.

REM KOOLHAAS is head of the Rotterdam-based Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA), which he co-founded in

1975, and AMO, the architectural think tank he began in 1998. He teaches at Harvard University, Cambridge, and has received several prizes, including the Pritzker Architecture Prize (2000). Among his completed commissions are the Netherlands Dance Theater (1987), The Hague; the Euralille urban complex (1994), Lille; the McCormick Tribune Campus Center (2003), Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago; and the main branch of the Seattle Public Library (2004). His publications include *Delirious New York* (1978), *S, M, L, XL* (1994), *Mutations* (2001), and, most recently, *Content* (2004). His and AMO's recent exhibitions include *The Image of Europe* (2004), Rond point Schuman, Brussels.

JACQUES LE GOFF is a medieval historian and an eminent representative of the Annales School of historiography. Former director of studies at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, he is also editor of the book series *The Making of Europe*, a collaboration between five European publishers in which books, such as Le Goff's most recent study *The Birth of Europe* (2005), are published simultaneously in five different languages. He has authored numerous other books on European history, many of which have been translated into English, including *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980), *The Birth of Purgatory* (1984), *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology* (1985), *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (1988), *The Medieval Imagination* (1988), *History and Memory* (1992), *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages* (1993), and *Saint Francis of Assisi* (2003).

SANDY NAIRNE is director of the National Portrait Gallery, London. From 1996 to 2002, he served as director of programs at the Tate, London. Previously, he worked as assistant director, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford; director of exhibitions, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London; and director of visual arts, Arts Council of Great Britain. He coedited and contributed to *Thinking about Exhibitions* (1996) and has curated or co-curated many exhibitions, including *Objects and Sculpture* (1981), Arnolfini Gallery, Bristol; *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century* (1981–82), parts I and II, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London; *Robert Mapplethorpe: 1970–1983* (1983), Institute of Contemporary Arts, London; *The Impossible Self* (1988), Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg; and *American Realities* (1997), Whitney Museum of American Art, New York City. He has lectured widely and chaired numerous conferences and seminars in the United Kingdom and abroad.

KATALIN NÉRAY is an art historian and founding director of the Ludwig Múzeum, Budapest, where she has overseen over one hundred and fifty exhibitions since 1993. She previously served as the director of Mucsarnok, Budapest, and commissioner of the Hungarian representation at numerous international exhibitions, like the Venice Biennial (1986–90, 1997), as well as the Eastern European representation at the 1996 São Paulo Biennial. Her other curatorial endeavors include *3x3 from Hungary* (1996), Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, and *Manifesta 1, European Art Manifestation* (1996), Rotterdam. She also has published widely on modern and contemporary Hungarian art.

RAFAL B. NIEMOJEWSKI is an art historian conducting doctoral research at the Royal College of Art, London, on the proliferation of contemporary art biennials. He is a correspondent for *Przekrój* and a regular contributor to several Polish and French journals. He organized the exhibition *Meanwhile in the Real World* (2003), Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, and served as assistant for the artists' publication *Point d'ironie*.

HANS-ULRICH OBRIST is curator of contemporary art at the Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris and editor in chief of the hybrid artist publication *Point d'ironie*. He has been a frequent curator for the museum in progress, Vienna, and lecturer at the Istituto universitario di architettura di Venezia (IUAV), Venice. He has curated many exhibitions, including *The Kitchen Show* (1991), Schwalbenstrasse, Saint Gallen; *Gerhard Richter* (1992), Nietzsche Haus, Sils Maria; *Hotel Carlton Palace* (1993), Chambre 763, Carlton Palace, Paris; *Do It!* which has traveled to more than thirty venues since 1993; and a series of traveling exhibitions that he initiated at the Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris. Among the exhibitions he has co-curated are *Manifesta 1, European Art Manifestation* (1996), Rotterdam; *Life/Live* (1996), Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris; *Cities on the Move* (1997–2000), multiple venues; the first Berlin Biennial (1998); *Laboratorium* (1999), Roomade, Brussels and Antwerp Open, Antwerp; *Mutations* (2000), Arc en rêve centre d'architecture, Bordeaux; and *Utopia Station* (2003–04) at the fiftieth Venice Biennial and Haus der Kunst, Munich. He participated in the interdisciplinary research project *Citizens* (2003–04) and has edited a number of artists' writings and artist books. *Hans-Ulrich Obrist: Interviews* (2003) is the first volume of his ongoing interview project.

RAQS MEDIA COLLECTIVE [Jeebesh Bagchi, Monica Narula, and Shuddhabrata Sengupta] is a group of artist-filmmakers, media

theorists, and activists founded in Delhi, India, in 1991. Raqs co-founded Sarai (www.sarai.net) at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, and are members of the editorial collective of the Sarai Reader series. Their work includes print projects, *OPUS* (a Web-based system designed for the sharing of creativity), and numerous installations shown in exhibitions, including those at Bose Pacia, New York City; the Taipei, Liverpool, and Venice Biennials; Documenta 11; *Emoção Artificial*, São Paulo; Generali Foundation Gallery, Vienna; the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis; and Roomade, Brussels. www.raqsmediacollective.net or raqs@sarai.net.

GILANE TAWADROS is founding director of the Institute for Visual Arts (inIVA), London. Responsible for the overall artistic direction of inIVA, she has curated a large number of projects, including *Keith Piper: Relocating the Remains* (1997), *Yinko Shonibare: Diary of a Victorian Dandy* (1998), and Simon Tegala's *Anabiosis* (1998). She was curator of the exhibition *Faultlines: Contemporary African Art and Shifting Landscapes* (2003) at the fiftieth Venice Biennial and is editor of *Changing States: Contemporary Art and Ideas in an Era of Globalisation* (2004).

BARBARA VANDERLINDEN is an independent curator and founding director of Roomade, Brussels. She was co-curator of the contemporary art program of Antwerp '93, European Capital of the Culture and, under its auspices, co-organized the exhibitions *New Sculptures for Middelheim* (1992), Middelheimmuseum, Middelheim; *On Taking a Normal Situation...* (1993), Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst (MuKHA), Antwerp; and *The Sublime Void: On the Memory of the Imagination* (1993), Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, Antwerp. As director of Roomade, she initiated and produced projects in collaboration with numerous artists, including a series of artists' films and videos. She has co-curated exhibitions such as *Manifesta 2, European Biennial of Contemporary Art* (1998), Luxembourg City; *Laboratorium* (1999), Roomade, Brussels and Antwerp Open, Antwerp; and *Indiscipline* (2000), Dexia Building, Brussels. She has also initiated several long-term research and publication projects, including *Was ist Zollverein?* (2002) and *Citizens* (2003–04), and is the co-curator of the ongoing project *Revolution/ Restoration* at the Palais des beaux-art, Brussels. Most recently, she co-curated *Do You Believe in Reality?* the fourth Taipei Biennial (2004) and is currently initiating a contemporary art biennial in Brussels.

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JEAN-PIERRE VERNANT is a historian of ancient Greece. Since the mid-1960s, he has published several landmark studies on Hellenic society and mythology. In 1964, he founded the Centre Louis Gernet de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes in Paris. He was professor of ancient religion at the Collège de France from 1975 to 1984 and holds honorary doctoral degrees from the Universities of Chicago, Bristol, Brno, Naples, and Oxford. Among his many publications, several have been translated into English, including *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (1990), *Mortals and Immortals* (1994), *The Greeks* (1995), and *The Universe, the Gods, and Men* (2001). He co-authored *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece* (1990).

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