

# **The Illegality of Freedom**

/book of abstracts/

11-12 November 2016, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

The symposium *The Illegality of Freedom* brings together political, theoretical and artistic insights and practices, in order to investigate the false dichotomy (choice) between legality and illegality when considering political, economic and any other socially constitutive element of today's global (permanent) war. Freedom appears at this point as a fundamental and arbitrary notion of neoliberal society, the notion that justifies the state of war (consisting of all local /global social crises). The actual means of democratic defense of humanity, such as: military interventions, austerity measures, refugees' policies, humanitarian aid, migration laws, human rights, etc, are discursively and ideologically based on the meaning of 'freedom'. These means (co)produce the neoliberal mechanisms of global governmentality, as well as the permanent state of crisis, conflict and terror. Following art-theory practices, about the relation between il/legality and freedom, the symposium challenges the safe zone of ideological thinking and interrogates images, policies and interventions of the permanent war toady in search of the political articulation of resistance beyond this false dichotomy. Departing from September 11th, 2001 and the beginning of the war on terror, as declared by the Bush administration, the symposium will focus on common grounds between artistic practices and critical thinking about the urgent and difficult subjects of il/legality, resistance, and social utopia while considering the meaning of freedom in the context of the permanent war.

# **The Illegality of Freedom**

# MILICA TOMIĆ

## CONTAINER

Container is an ongoing project that attempts to investigate certain strategic forms of dealing with reconstruction. This particular reconstruction is about a crime that is a symptom of politics of the permanent, global war, the so-called war on terror. This new type of war introduced specific mechanisms of criminalization. It also redefined particular ethnic and religious groups, and the whole states outside of the law. In November 2001, in Northern Afghanistan thousands of Taliban fighters were loaded into sealed truck containers near Fort Qala Zeini. They were kept without food, water and air for several days during their trip through the desert to the Sheberghan prison. When they started begging for air, the US Army backed Northern Alliance troops fired upon the containers "in order to make holes for the air to get in". The survivors were shot at the Dasht-i-Leili Square and hastily buried in mass graves. Thus far the reconstruction of this crime has been realized multiple times: in Belgrade in 2004 and 2006; for the Sydney Biennial 2006; for the 6th Gyumri International Biennial in Armenia in 2008 and for the exhibition Expanded Cinema 3 — Documentary: Reality Is Not Enough - Moscow Museum of Modern Art - MMOMA, Moscow in 2013.

By repeating this reconstruction on various sites we explore the terms and conditions of shooting into the container. In different countries and states different scenarios were created. Tracing back the history of each object and partaker that is involved in the reconstruction it does draw local networks of relations between people and things. These networks of newly created relations/interconnections make visible, the local military, economic, and political structures that produce violence. At the same time it points at the ways in which these structures participate in a global politics of war. In order for the Container to become an aesthetic object and to be exhibited, it has to pass the process of reconstruction and as such it becomes an instrument that draws a geospatial landscape of the war today that still does not have a name.

Container, Milica Tomic, 2004 – ongoing

**Milica Tomić** explores different genres and methods of artistic practice that centers on investigating, unearthing and bringing to public debate issues related to political violence, economic underpinnings and social amnesia. Tomić is a founding member of a New Yugoslav art/theory group Grupa Spomenik [2002]; she conceived and initiated Four Faces of Omarska project and the Working Group FFO [2010]. Between 1998 and 2015 she participated in major international exhibitions such as 24th Sao Paulo Biennale [1998], 49th/50th Venice Biennale [2001/2003]; 8th International Istanbul Biennial [2003]; Populism, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam/Frankfurter Kunstverein [2005]; 15th Sydney Biennale [2006]; Prague Biennale [2007]; Manufacturing Today/Trondheim Biennale [2010]; 6th International Biennial of Contemporary Art in Gyumri, Armenia [2008]; 10th Sharjah Biennial [2011], Odessa Biennial [2013], After Year Zero and Forensis, House of World Cultures, Berlin, Germany [2013/2014], Invisible Violence, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade / Basque Museum-Centre of Contemporary Art, Vitoria [2014]; The School of Kyiv - The Biennial [2015]. Tomić is a professor - Politics of Memory program - at the Trondheim Academy of Fine Art /NTNU in Norway (2014/15). Between 2000 and 2015 she has participated in numerous projects and international workshops as artist, researcher and lecturer at NIFCA (Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art); Kuvataideakatemia / Academy of Fine Arts, Helsinki, Finland; Piet Zwart Institute, Rotterdam, Holland; Summer Academy Salzburg; Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, Austria; Stanford Humanities Center / Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and Drama Department at Stanford University, USA; International DAAD Artist-in-Berlin Programme, Berlin, Germany; International programme Artist-in-Residence, ArtPace, San Antonio, Texas, USA, Goldsmiths University of London, UK; HEAD / Geneva University of Art and Design and others.

Photo credits:

Milica Tomić, CONTAINER, 2004-present

Photo by Milica Tomić



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# MARINA GRŽINIĆ

## What Freedom?

When I got the invitation for this event with such a triggering title The Illegality of Freedom, freedom was already reverberating in my mind for quite some time. Of course the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was there; for 13 years OEF brought “freedom“ to numerous regions in the world, the operations lasted from October 2001 to December 2014. The Operation Enduring Freedom was the official name used by the government of the United States to describe operations from Afghanistan to Kyrgyzstan. In the 13 years of its active presence it spilled over many geopolitical spaces and countries; OEF’s sub operations that were going on from 2001 until 2014, operations that changed as dirty pants from time to place, many never listed, made “freedom” shaking in the Philippines, Horn of Africa, Trans Sahara, Caribbean and Central America, etc.

My lecture will be based on several but not too many theoreticians, as well from different geopolitical spaces, in order to question the relation of freedom to necropolitics, waste, nation-state, sovereignty and subjectivities. This will be done in order to identify the role of Empire(s) and the affairs with the local political elites while using and exercising freedom for violently visible and less visible hegemonies. The role of the civil society and the relation of capital and labor will be taken as well into account. Lastly, I will as well analyze the role of art and culture in production of freedom.

My research will not be only geopolitical in terms of globalism; it will be as well internal to Europe itself. The questions that will be posed are:

How big is the price while escaping war zones in order to earn freedom to lose completely any form of subjectivity?

How much the freedom of global capitalism makes impact in the production of whole populations as the new waste?

How much in order to preserve “our freedom” we are ready to deny it to the Other, which has to be as well defined anew?

How much freedom is a new commodity in the market of ideas?



**Marina Gržinić**, Ph.D. is a university professor, philosopher and artist who lives and works in Ljubljana, Slovenia and Vienna, Austria. She is a Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. She has published ten books (monographs and translations). In 2014, in collaboration with Sefik Tatlić, she co-authored the book *Necropolitics, Racialization and Global Capitalism: Historicization of Biopolitics and Forensics of Politics, Art, and Life* (Lexington Books, USA, 2014). Marina Grzinić theoretical work is directed towards a theory of ideology, theory of technology, biopolitics/necropolitics, video technology and transfeminism in connection with decoloniality. International lecturing and teaching commitments include Center for Global Studies and the Humanities at Duke University, North Carolina, U.S.A.; UCLA, California, U.S.A. ; San Francisco College of Art, California, U.S.A.; IMI, Osaka, Japan; Merz Academy, Stuttgart, Germany; Department of Women's and Gender Studies, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.; Haute école d'art et de design, Geneva, Switzerland; Roosevelt Academy, University of Utrecht, Middelburg, Netherlands; ASAB, Bogota, Columbia, etc. Grzinić has been active as a video artist since 1982 and in the last 34 years has also been making installations and performative exhibitions in collaboration with the artist and art historian Aina Smid from Ljubljana. They have participated in a number of exhibitions and festivals, including International Short Film Festival Oberhausen 2003; "100 years Lacan", Sigmund-Freud-Museum, Vienna 2001; *After the Wall*, Moderna Museet, Stockholm 1999, Museum Bäregasse, Zürich, Switzerland, 2015; Deutsches Historisches Museum and the Schwules Museum, 2015; K3 INTERNATIONALER KURZFILMPREIS, Villach, Austria, 2015, etc.

[www.grzinic-smid.si](http://www.grzinic-smid.si)

Photo credits:

Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid, *EUROPE after the Cold War: Memory, History, Visuality*, 2015



**AS ACHILLE MBEMBE HAS WRITTEN IN REFERENCE TO THE DISPOSSESSION OF LIFE IN AFRICA, "GLOBAL CAPITALISM CANNOT EXPAND WITHOUT WHAT WE SHOULD CALL MASSIVE RACIAL SUBSIDIES OR DISCOUNTS." AS MBEMBE POINTS OUT, "[CAPITALISM] NEEDS TO WORK THROUGH AND ACROSS DIFFERENT SCALES OF RACE AS IT ATTEMPTS TO MARK PEOPLE EITHER AS DISPOSABLE OR AS WASTE. IT NEEDS TO PRODUCE, ORDER, SEGMENT, AND RACIALIZE SURPLUS OR SUPERFLUOUS POPULATIONS TO STRATEGIC EFFECT" (MBEMBE 2012).**

**What Does Freedom  
Stand for Today?**

# LIDIJA KRIENZER-RADOJEVIĆ

## Shifting the Locality of Neoliberalism

My presentation seeks to explore how the particular nature of the internationalisation of the state is connected with the process of neoliberalisation and what are their social consequences. No longer referring solely to the ideological 'creed' of free markets, the concept of neoliberalism is since the end of the 90s deployed as a basis for analysing, or at least characterizing, a bewildering array of forms and pathways of market-led regulatory restructuring across places, territories and scales. Either in the form of austerity measures, adjustment programs, coloured revolutions or localized wars, an ongoing transformation of inherited regulatory formations at all spatial scales got a new acceleration. In order to avoid the interpretative disagreements regarding the position of neoliberalism as a 'master concept', or as a hybrid form of governmentality I will follow the approach that argue that neoliberalisation is a process of systemic production of geoinstitutional differentiation with a systemically uneven or variegated character. This concept enables a close reading of the historical and geographical (re)constitution of the process of neoliberalisation and of the variable ways through which different "local neoliberalisms" are embedded within wider networks and structures of neoliberalism. The implementation of neoliberalism, however, depends upon the state. Although the nature of state intervention has changed considerably, the process of expansion of capitalist relations in the period of neoliberal globalisation has been highly dependent on the orchestrating actions of states and international organisations. The expansion of networks of transnational production, the increasing importance of (economic) international organizations, as well as international treaties, provide the institutional conditions for greater capitalist accumulation on the global level, but they still have to be legally implemented on the national level.

The processes of market-oriented regulatory restructuring of social production unfold a broad set of societal changes. In accordance with locally specific geographical and historical conditions, the state has to build a proper institutional environment that will structure the behaviour of its citizens and simultaneously reproduce state power i.e. to (re)make the border between legal and illegal as well as to make impossible any resistance to it. Considering capitalism as an institutionalized social order enables us to focus on the micro-dynamics of its (re)enactment within a specific context of instituted constraints and opportunities. Under capitalism, institutions are an outcome of the struggle between

pressures for capitalist progress and demands for a stable life-world. Provided through various political rhetoric and mechanisms, the result of the neoliberal institutional arrangements of the state ends in founding the ways to transfer assets and channel wealth and income either from the mass of the population toward the upper classes or from vulnerable to richer countries. Various regulation mechanisms in the direction of further corporatization, commodification, and privatization of hitherto public assets opened up new fields for capitalist accumulation in domains formerly regarded off-limits to the calculus of profitability. This demand the mass interventions into the social production like conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusively private property rights, the opening of markets and of new spaces for investment as also the suppression of rights to the commons and alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption. The costs of these changes and the consecutive insecurity are being carried over to the poor and the vulnerable i.e. working class.

**Lidija Krienzer-Radojević** is a PhD candidate at the Kunst Universitaet Linz. Building on a historical materialist literature, she is working on paths and modalities of transformations that have taken place within the cultural sphere in post-socialist Slovenia. Her broader research interest concerns the social integration of capitalist relations into social life. During her participation at the Workers Punks University platform (2005-2013) she conceptualized and organized various educational programs in the field of art and cultural theory. As a member of IG Kultur Steiermark-board she is politically engaged in finding new strategies of communication between cultural administrations and independent cultural producers.

## VINCENT W.J. VAN GERVEN OEI

### New World Summit

The New World Summit is an artistic and political organization founded by visual artist Jonas Staal in 2012, dedicated to providing “alternative parliaments” hosting organizations that currently find themselves excluded from democracy. The New World Summit opposes the misuse of the concept of democracy for expansionist, military, and colonial gains to which the organization refers as “democratism.” The most recent excess of democratism has taken the form of the so-called War Against Terror. In opposition to democratism, the New World Summit explores the field of art as a space to re-imagine and act upon a fundamental practice of democracy.

This presentation will give a brief overview of the different editions of the New World Summit, in Berlin (2012), Leiden (2012), Kochi (2013), Brussels (2014), and Derik, Rojava (2015), and Utrecht (2016) before engaging more specifically the question of freedom from the perspective of different movements and organizations that have collaborated with the New World Summit over the last few years from the perspective of illegality, of being against or beyond the law. Through an engagement with the publication *Guantánamo Diary* by Mohamedou Ould Slahi, whose illegal detention was the subject of one of the sessions at NWS 6 in Utrecht, we hope to uncover some of the intimate relation between illegality and illegibility, which both derive from the Latin verb *legere*, “to read; gather,” and reading and writing as act of resistance.

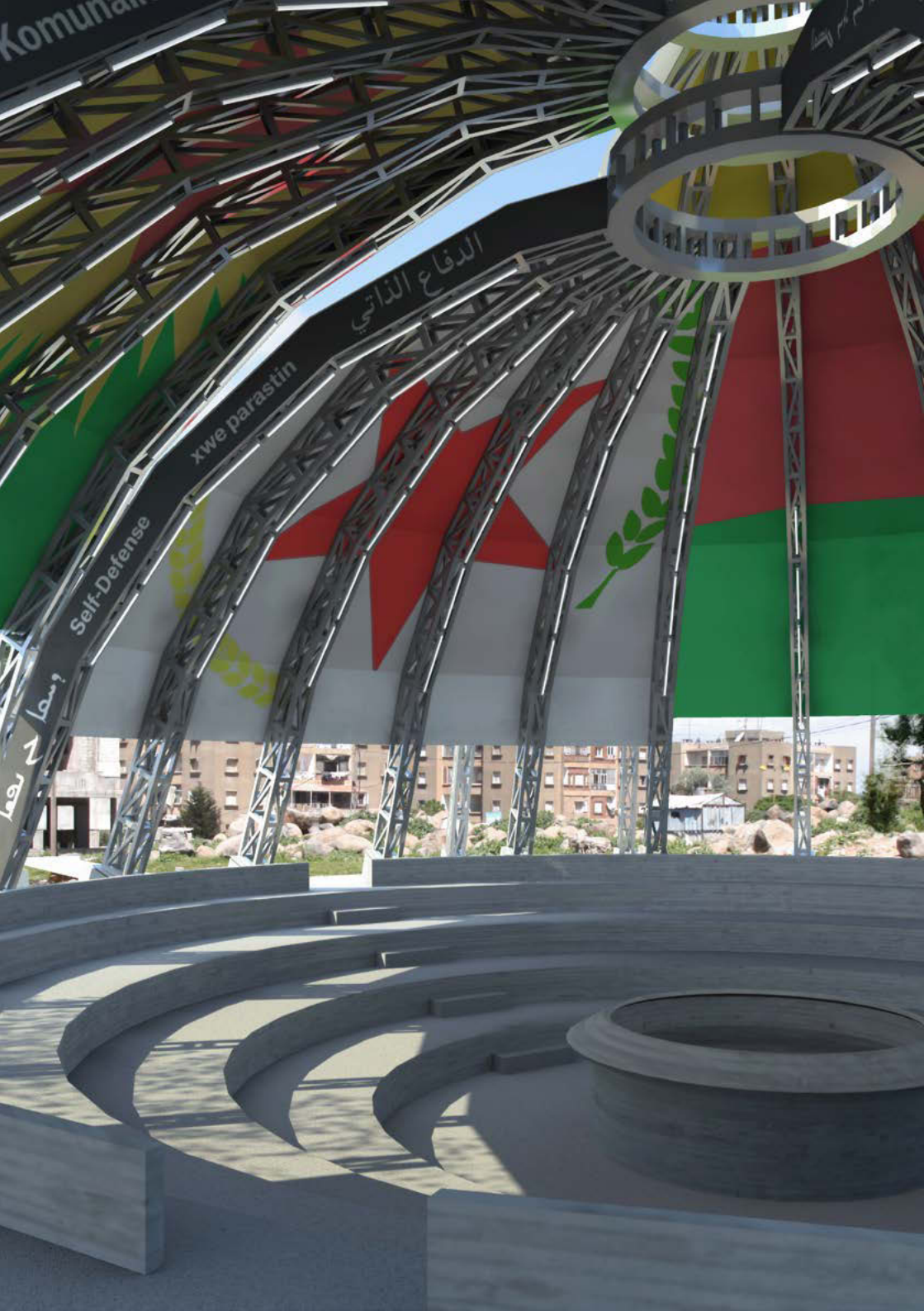
**Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei** is a philologist and co-director of independent open access humanities publisher punctum books, where he also manages the Dotawo imprint of Nubian Studies. At home he directs project bureau for the arts and humanities The Department of Eagles in Tirana, Albania, and multilingual publishing house uitgeverij. His recent publications include *Cross-Examinations* (Gent: MER. Paper Kunsthal, 2015), *Allegory of the Cave Painting* (Milan: Mousse, 2015; co-edited with Mihnea Mircan), and *Lapidari*, 3 vols. (Brooklyn: punctum books, 2015). As a translator, Van Gerven Oei works with anonymous Medieval Nubian scribes and more recent authors such as Jean Daive, Alessandro De Francesco, Hervé Guibert, Dick Raaijmakers, Avital Ronell, and Nachoem M. Wijnberg. His writings have appeared in *ArtPapers*, *continent.*, *nY*, *postmedieval*, and *Theory & Event*, among other venues. Van Gerven Oei has been involved with the New World Summit since its foundation by Jonas Staal in 2012, as editor, advisor, thinker, and chairperson at several sessions of the Summit.

[www.vangervenoei.com](http://www.vangervenoei.com)

Photo credits:

New World Summit – Rojava, 2015-2016

Photo by: Democratic Self-Administration of Rojava and Studio Jonas Staal



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# **The Politics of Resistance by Other Means**



**ELKE KRASNY**

## **Unsettling Resistance**

What is unsettling resistance? What is resistance is up against today? This lecture raises the questions of what resistance unsettles and what resistance is unsettled by. Seeking to think 'through' unsettling resistance just as much as to think 'with' or to think 'about' unsettling resistance, the lecture connects issues of land rights, the right to public space including digital public space, and different forms of historical and contemporary violation. Examples include the Idle No More protest movement and their opposition to resource exploitation, Rebecca Belmore's commemorative street performance Vigil in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, and Feminist Frequency founder Anita Sarkeesian's work on misogyny in video games. In particular, the interest is on practices evidencing resistance against the structural violence of trespass and harassment.

**Elke Krasny** is a curator, cultural theorist, urban researcher and writer Professor of Art and Education at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna; 2012 Visiting Scholar at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal ; 2011 Visiting Curator at the Hongkong Community Museum. Krasny holds a PhD from the University of Reading, UK. She co-edited the 2016 *Housekeeping in the Modern Age* and the 2013 *Women's:Museum. Curatorial Politics in Feminism, Education, History, and Art*. Curatorial works include *On the Art of Housekeeping and Budgeting in the 21st Century*, co- curated with Regina Bittner; *Suzanne Lacy's International Dinner Party in Feminist Curatorial Thought and Hands-On Urbanism 1850-2012. The Right to Green*.

[www.elkekrasny.at](http://www.elkekrasny.at)

**JELENA VESIĆ**

## **On Bafflement: The Universal Right To Baffle**

I would like to speak about the state of bafflement, and the gestures that are baffling. To baffle is a right of disprivileged, powerless and deprived in confronting the violence of power. It is the right no one can undo or deny; it is to make the attempt to dramatically overturn the existing set of circumstances, the try to (unilaterally) change the paradigm itself. Power politics appropriates the legal sphere, placing the powerless below the threshold of waging any consequential politics – it denies their capacity to think and act, it neglects them as political subjects, it infantilizes their attempts to self-position and self-determinate. The gesture of political baffling is a performative way to state we are small but we have politics. It is often connected with the most dramatic situations which are structured around the issues of war and peace, life and death, survival or annihilation.

Political baffling always includes risk but the risk which is not a calculation within the parameters of the known, and that could be potentially beneficial or profitable. Importantly, to baffle is not to bluff. It is rather a total risk, which is often the only – and the common – ticket of disprivileged to participate in politics. This risk is usually contained in the possibility of evoking the new paradigm too soon.

Bafflement is an act of freedom precisely because it occurs in the situation in which one has nothing/everything to lose. To baffle is the last instance of the right one can call in order to preserve freedom – to die free rather than to live enslaved is the ultimate message of the political baffling. Therefore the act of bafflement needs no authorization, no contract, no agreement, no permission; is not any traditional right, it is the right of (ultimate) need.

The notion of political baffling was one of the outcomes of the research project and the publication titled *On Neutrality I* recently wrote together with Rachel O'Reilly and Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, examining the concepts of political peace and active neutrality in the gestures of the Non-Aligned Movement. Such politics, opposing both the Euro-Atlantic juridical management of neutralism and the Western ideology of peace – and at the same time introducing something new and unexpected – can be summarized in Edvard Kardelj's thesis of Non-Aligned "third position" in his *Historical Roots of Non-Alignment*: the twofold negation of the power-blocs, does not imply reaching the point of the ideal equidistance from the existing centers of power, but countering the power politics as such.

**Jelena Vesić** is an independent curator, writer, editor, and lecturer. She was co-editor of *Prelom – Journal of Images and Politics* (2001–2009) and co-founder of independent organization *Prelom Collective* (2005–2010). She is active in the field of publishing, research, and exhibition practice that intertwines political theory and contemporary art. In her writing, Vesić explores the relations between art and ideology in the field of geopolitical art history writing, focusing on experimental art and exhibition practices of the 1960s and 1970s in former Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe. She also writes on artistic labour and practices of self-organization in the age of cognitive capitalism. Her latest curatorial projects are based on experiments with the form of lecture-performance, immaterial quality of the exhibits and story telling, and include: *October XXX: Exposition–Symposium–Performance* (2012–2013); *On Undercurrents of Negotiating Artistic Jobs – Between Love and Money, Between Money and Love* (2013–2014); and *Exhibition on Work and Laziness* (2012–2015). Vesić lives and works in Belgrade.

## **NENAD ROMIĆ aka MARCELL MARS**

### **Public Library: The Memory of the World**

Public Library/Memory of the World is the synergy of two efforts. First, it makes the case for the institution of public library and its principle of universal access to knowledge. Second, it is an exploration and development of distributed internet infrastructure for amateur librarians.

A public library one of those almost invisible infrastructures that we start to notice only once they go extinct. A place where all people can get access to all knowledge that can be collected seemed for a long time a dream beyond reach – until the egalitarian impetus of social revolutions, the Enlightenment idea of universality of knowledge, and the exceptional suspension of the commercial barriers of copyright made it possible.

The Internet has, as in many other situations, completely changed our expectations and imagination about what is possible. The dream of a catalogue of the world – a universal access to all available knowledge for every member of society – became realizable. A question merely of the meeting of curves on a graph: the point at which the line of global distribution of personal computers meets that of the critical mass of people with access to the Internet. Today nobody lacks the imagination necessary to see public libraries as part of a global infrastructure of universal access to knowledge for literally every member of society. However, the emergence and development of the Internet is taking place precisely at the point at which an institutional crisis — one with traumatic and inconceivable consequences — has also begun.

**Nenad Romić aka Marcell Mars** is one of the founders of Multimedia Institute (1999) and club mama in Zagreb (2000). He initiated GNU GPL publishing label EGOBOO.bits (2000); started Skill sharing (2004) informal meetings of technical enthusiasts in mama + regional hacker gatherings (Nothing will happení (2007). Mars started his research Publishing Class Studiesí at Jan van Eyck (2011), continued at Akademie Schloss Solitude (2013) and since spring 2015, he is a PhD student at Leuphana University in DCRL (Digital Cultures Research Lab). Publishing Class Studiesí is a research of corporate state of the art digital innovation, adaptation, and intelligence. It looks closely at the Google, Amazon, Facebook and eBay.

**Public Library** was established in 2012 to develop sociotechnical infrastructure and invigorate (again) historical argument for universal access to knowledge. Marcell often plays as a narrator of the project. Also develops software: [letís share books] Calibre plugin and related server infrastructure. Public Library was heard and exhibited at Museo Reina Sofía, 98weeks, Impakt Festival, Transmediale, The New School, Kunstverein Stuttgart

[www.memoryoftheworld.org](http://www.memoryoftheworld.org)

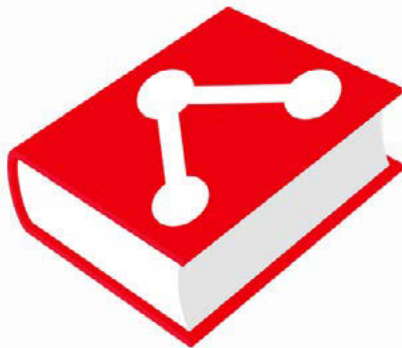
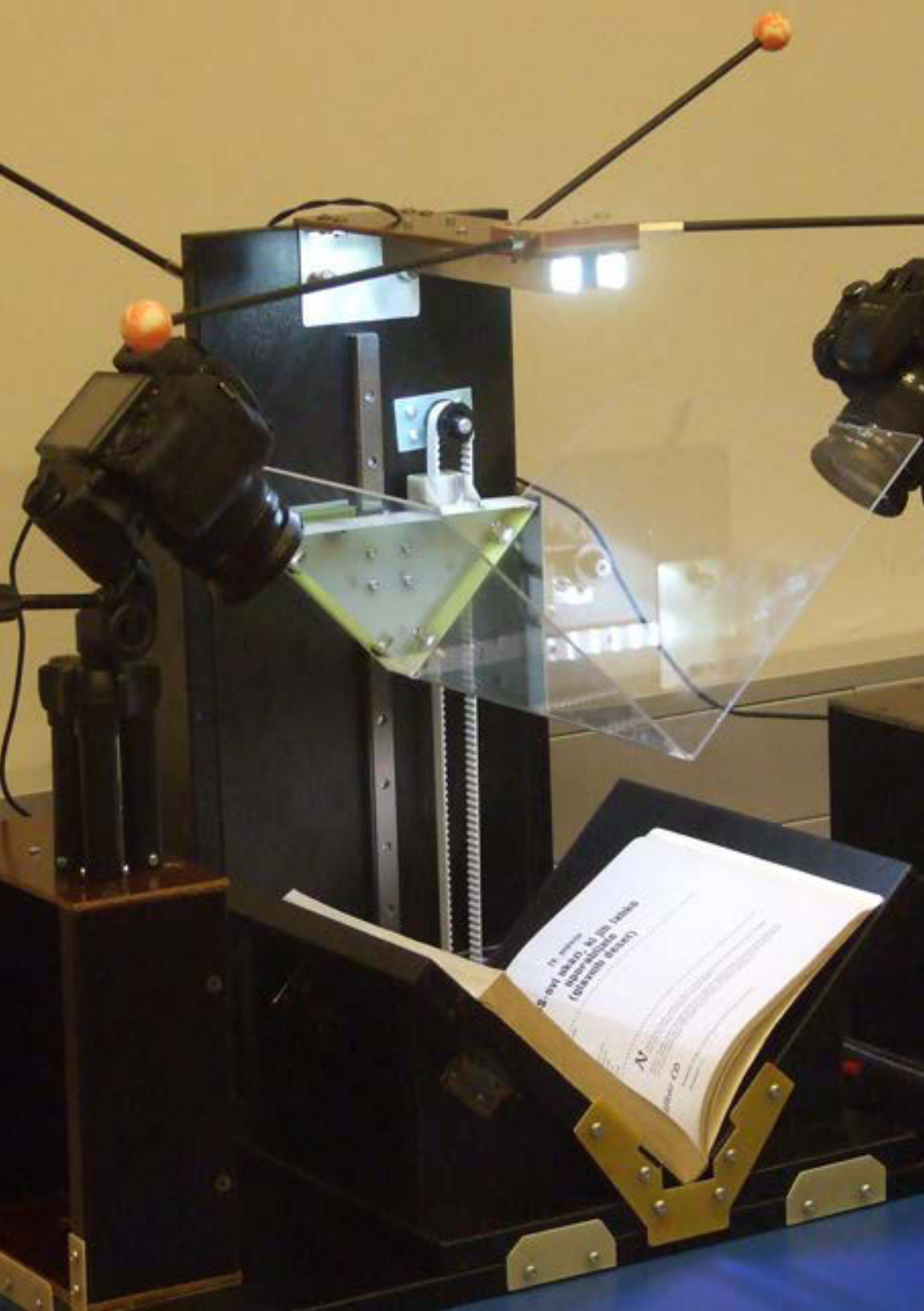


Photo credits:  
Marcell Mars, Public Library: Memory of the World, 2014





# **Art and Resistance Beyond the Social Utopia**



## **JELENA PETROVIĆ**

### **Towards Another Singularity**

The idea of this presentation is to introduce the notion of singularity into the zone of social utopia. Today, this zone functions as a zone of discomfort where social imagination of artistic and theoretical practices occurs both: dislocation and new locations, enabling the politicisation of space and time. Furthermore, it is a zone of undomesticated knowledge that interrupts our social reality with a counter-historical emergency of facing the present that shifts in-between unspoken history and utopian/dystopian future. Beyond theoretical thinking about limits and promises of social utopia, as well beyond aesthetic questions about non-presentable events and images of (art) universality, there are creative processes and practices that involves excess/resistance, freedom and yet non-existing political as well as art(istic) singularity. Another singularity that triggers societal and political as well ideological transformation of past and present social order beyond multiplied classes and identities.

**Jelena Petrović** is a feminist scholar, cultural theorist and art worker. (Co)Author of texts, events and projects related to (post)Yugoslav subjects – particularly with regard to the (post)Yugoslav history, artistic practices and feminism. She completed her PhD at ISH Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities (2009). Co-founder and member of the feminist curatorial collective Red Min(e)d that deals with the relationship between contemporary art and feminism in the post-Yugoslav space (since 2011). Since 2014, she has been teaching about feminist curating in the contemporary arts at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana. Appointed as the endowed professor for Central and South Eastern European Art Histories at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Austria (2015-2017).

[www.redmined.org](http://www.redmined.org)

## **KAREN MIRZA and BRAD BUTLER THE MUSEUM OF NON PARTICIPATION**

### **Resisting The (Act)ual**

Karen Mirza and Brad Butler will present ideas through an artistic practice of non participation on the schizophrenic position of what illegally stands for today. They will ask: What does it mean to be/to act illegally today? Who is illegal? And how can we resist a democratic citizenship that normalises oppression and other forms of new (neoliberal) binaries? In this presentation Mirza and Butler will draw on their ongoing research on covert power and the “Deep State” which is an intersection of racist, ethno-nationalistic, patriarchal and administrative mechanisms. In so doing they will ask how art can be politically engaged and socially transformative when dealing with such violence?

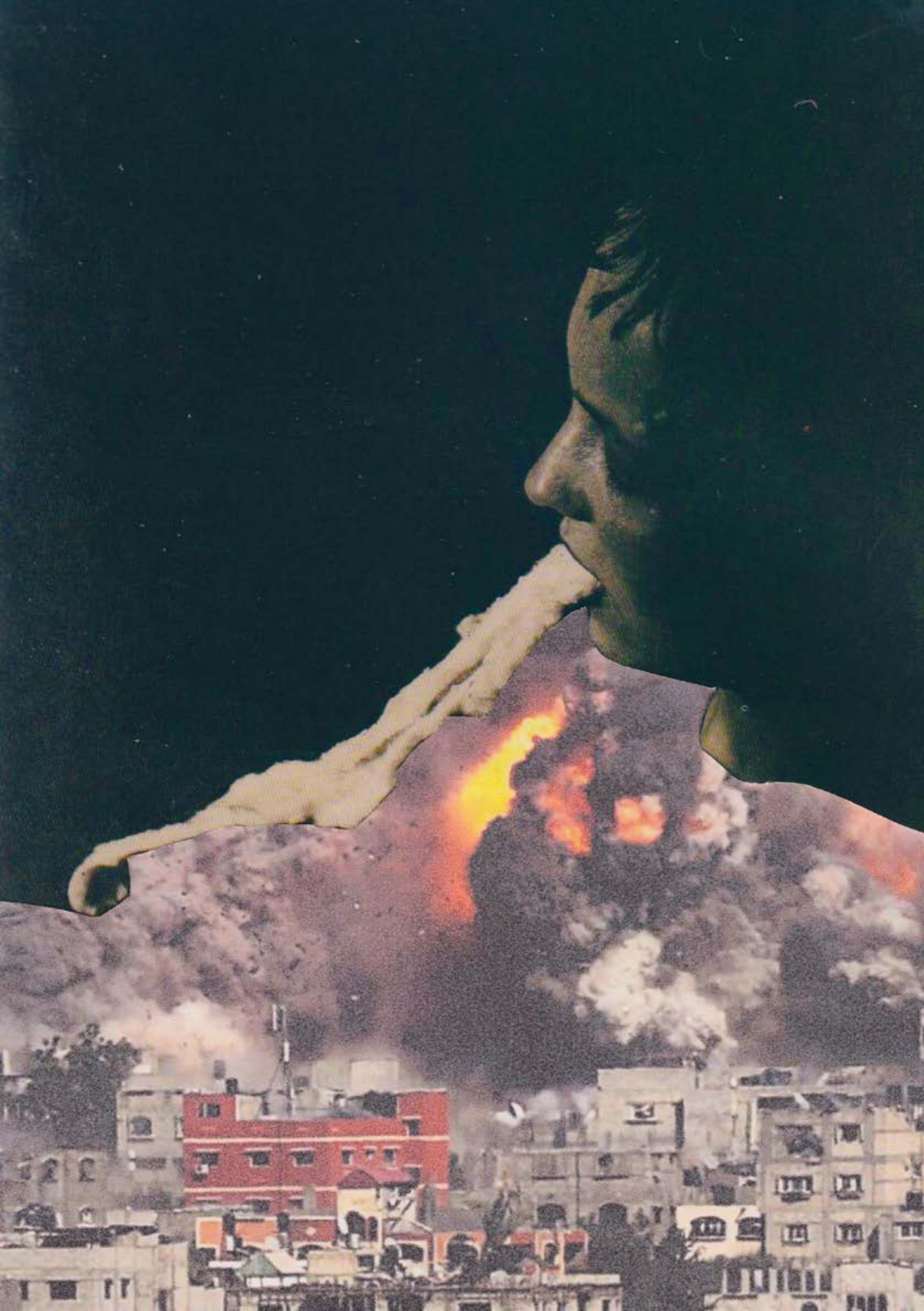
**Karen Mirza and Brad Butler's** multi-layered practice consists of filmmaking, drawing, installation, photography, performance, publishing and curating. Their work challenges terms such as participation, collaboration, the social turn and the traditional roles of the artist as producer and the audience as recipient. Since 2009, Mirza and Butler have been developing a body of work entitled The Museum of Non Participation. The artists have repeatedly found themselves embedded in pivotal moments of change, protest, non-alignment and debate. Experiencing such spaces of contestation both directly and through the network of art institutions, Mirza and Butler negotiate these influences in video, photography, text and action.

Their recent solo presentations include Artrs Mundi 6, The New Deal at Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, and The Guest of Citation at Performa 13, New York. Mirza and Butler have exhibited internationally, including at Hayward Gallery, FACT, Liverpool, Centro de Arte Dos De Mayo, Madrid, La Capella, Barcelona, Arnolfini, Bristol, and Serpentine Gallery, London. They are recipients of the 2015 Paul Hamlyn Foundation Award for Artists.

[www.museumofnonparticipation.org](http://www.museumofnonparticipation.org)

Photo credits:

Karen Mirza and Brad Butler: The Ectoplasm of Neoliberalism, 2015



## ÖVÜL Ö. DURMUSOGLU

### When the world needs togetherness

Solidarity is a political recognition that our futures are tied together rather than accepting diversities. It can be possible only with a politics of everybody, standing on not only feminist but also queer and marxist grounds. The first public manifesto by Ankara based LGBTI organisation Kaos GL addressed the oppression of the homosexual workers in their workplaces on 1st May 2001. The LGBTI struggle in Turkey has to be more versatile from the beginning in close collaboration with struggle of nationalism, class and militarism as well. During Gezi uprisings in 2013, the LGBTI community was not surprisingly among the first to form solidarity with other groups in the face of police violence. 2013 is also the year when the new discipline of “jineolojî” (the science or sociology of women) -spearheaded by new educational structures founded in the Kurdish cantons- became more publicly known in the Middle Eastern Women Conference that took place in Diyarbakir. Jineolojî constructs an alternative feminist base by a cross-disciplinary account of mythology, psychology, science, economics and history. The women fighting in the name of freedom and equality as autonomous bodies in Mesopotamia produce an almost mythological front against the angry and disillusioned young men who decided find their transcendence in violent, populist and fundamentalist groups such as Daesh as they are fundamentally excluded from the capitalist hierarchies. Long before them is the forgotten Baciyan-i Rum (Anatolian Sisters) of 14th century, an organisation which educated women in military, economics and religion to sustain themselves and their families.

**Övül Ö. Durmusoglu** is a curator and writer based in Berlin and Istanbul. She is the director/curator of YAMA screen in Istanbul. She has worked as curatorial and public program advisor for Gulsun Karamustafa's Chronographia at Hamburger Bahnhof Berlin. Durmusoglu has recently curated 'Future Queer', the 20th year anniversary exhibition for Kaos GL association in Istanbul. She also co-leads research and publication project Solar Fantastic taking place between Mexico and Turkey. She organised many programs for DOCUMENTA13's MayBe Education and Public Programs as a Goethe Institute fellow. As a writer, Durmusoglu has contributed to different print and online publications such as WdW Review, Frieze d/e, Art Agenda, Istanbul Art News and Art Unlimited.



