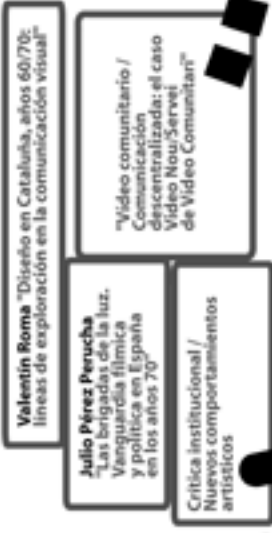


# ARCHIVO 1969 - ... ALGUNAS HIPÓTESIS SOBRE PRÁCTICAS ARTÍSTICAS Y POLÍTICAS EN ESPAÑA / Diagrama general de la investigación

## LA REPÚBLICA DE LOS RADICALES



## INFORMACIÓN / COMUNICACIÓN



Feminismo autónomo

## GLOBALIZACIÓN DESDE ABAJO

Paul Sánchez, Marisa Pérez, Marta Malo, Amador Fernández-Savater  
"Ingredientes de una ecología global"

- 1 Geografía variable, amigo-enemigo y formas de desobediencia
- 2 Formas de socialidad inmediatamente política
- 3 Otros agenciamientos entre el hacer, el pensar y el expresar
- 4 La comunicación como materia prima política

## INTERNET Y LA COMUNICACIÓN ACTIVISTA

## FEMINISMO

Dario Corbeltra

"Una y otras prácticas artísticas en Madrid 1960-1985"

María Buitrago

Feminismo y la impresión en los 90'

## REDES PRODUCTIVAS

Trinidad Barrio, Victoria García, Isabel Cordero, "Prácticas artísticas experimentales. La acción del arte en el espacio. No a la cultura experimenta"

## INNOVACIONES EN PRÁCTICAS, PRODUCCIÓN, EXHIBICIÓN, DIFUSIÓN

2000  
"Del arte al activismo: la cultura como herramienta de transformación"

1999  
"005  
Santos"

2001  
"Generes G8 / 115"

1969

Escuela de escape

1967

Escuela de Bellas Artes de San Fernando: Festa hippy, happening 2d / Asamblea del Sindicato Democrático de Estudiantes de la Ume de Madrid

70s

80s

1976  
Fotoblog (España) Biennial de Venecia

90s

1985  
"El Arte y su color" / Atelierium COAM

90s

1992

1994  
Chapman

1999  
005  
Santos

2001  
Generes G8 / 115

## Marcelo Expósito

### History Lessons: Art Between Institutional Experimentation and The Politics of Social Movements<sup>1</sup>

If I had to sum up schematically the field within which my intervention will be situated today, I would describe a diagram that is articulated on a double axis: two axes that cross perpendicularly. The first would be formed by the virtual link between two questions I've taken from the introduction Cuauhtémoc Medina wrote to contextualize today's session, *La genealogía del sur: historias e historia del arte contemporáneo* (*The Genealogy of the South: Stories and History of Contemporary Art*). The two questions I want to emphasize are the following: First, what happens with academic, discursive or critical practices that propose “a dramatic re-positing of contemporary artistic genealogies and a perturbation of modernism's lineal narratives”? Secondly, “How to explore the history of militancy and of the margins”?

I believe tracing an oscillation between these two questions can configure an axis for thought and action, provided we remember the link between these two questions cannot be conceived as something as given *a priori*. To establish a relationship between the re-positing of genealogies and modernism's narratives, on the one hand, and the exploration of the history of militancy and of the margins, on the other, *practical and critical articulations* are required, since this relationship is never produced naturally or immediately. It is certain that the links that can be established between the two questions will have to be different, as well as

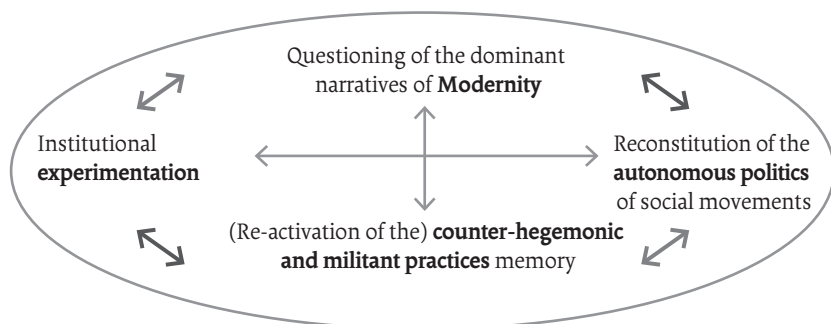
be in accord with a diversity of geopolitical and cultural contexts. We could say that what must be devised are *situated articulations* of this two-pronged question.

I take it for granted that at the same time this double question is a means to a dual end. One deduces that the enunciation of a counter-hegemonic narrative would have to be derived from questioning modernity's dominant narrative. At the same time, what else can we suppose an exploration of the history of militancy and of the margins aspires to, if not actualize and reactivate the emancipatory potential that they can both still have? As much these two questions, as the ends to which we presume they lead, definitely need, I repeat, to be related by means of articulation and translation practices.

Before continuing with the visualization of this virtual diagram, I want to open a brief parenthesis by specifying a methodological aspect of this conference. The course of the conference will not be carried out from a speculative perspective, or in the abstract, but rather by sketching out some highly fleeting reflections—as I hinted—in a *situated* manner, in a series of cases, occurring within a relatively brief span of time. Some of the experiences I invite you to consider centered around, were projected outward from, or had the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA), the well known museum institution, as their confrontation subject. In other words, what I propose here is to revisit a series of experiences situated in the origin—or coincidental with the beginnings—of a series of institutional experiments that MACBA promoted during some eight years under the direction of Manuel Borja-Villel as well as under the aegis of Jorge Ribalta, in his capacity as the head of the museum's Department of Public Programs. Some were experiments in which I had the privilege of participating.<sup>2</sup>

I also need to say that this is the first time I will speak at length and publically with regard to certain experiences in which I participated intensely during several years, and with which I have been very closely involved. Never before had I felt a motivation to put together such a narrative that would review in real time processes that seemed to me to still be open. Now, somehow, they no longer seem that way. Not only are they no longer open because the experimentation cycle initiated by the

museum at the beginning of the decade has now ended (and the museum is now entering a new phase, under new management and with new programs). As well, they are no longer open due to my impression that we now find ourselves at the end of a cycle in more general terms; and that we are entering a period that differs from one characterized by the intensification of certain relationships between art and new movements we have gone through the last fifteen years<sup>3</sup>. This personal reflection allows me to hint at one of my lecture's subtexts: what are the possibilities—as well as the impossibilities—of establishing articulations and translations between institutions' policies and the politics of social movements? Between recent forms of institutional experimentation in the arts and culture and the reconstitution of an autonomous politics of social movements—a type of politics that has been the principal catalyst for the current cycle of conflict? These two kinds of policies/politics are precisely those that constitute the two poles of my diagram's second axis, whose description we left pending for a moment, and which I can now specify thus:



Here is how I propose to diagram the complex field of relationships among all the following terms, which is precisely the field within which a series of cases—whose index *i* will offer immediately—will navigate:

antagonismos / antagonisms  
 procesos documentales / documentary processes  
 geneva 2001  
 tute bianche  
 prague 2000  
 de la acción directa como una de las bellas artes /  
 on direct action as one of the fine arts

macba  
 las agencias  
 barcelona 2001  
 ne pas plier  
 desacuerdos / disagreements  
 show-bus  
 video nou, servei de video comunitari  
 bordercamp  
 kein mensch ist illegal  
 documenta x  
 hybrid workspace

This is a list of names that may serve as a first possible outline of a wider narrative than the one that can feasibly be developed at this conference; a history that would gradually advance via various continuity solutions, in an effort to produce internal reverberations. This talk will consist therefore in proposing an outline for a narrative device: a form of narrating that does not respect pre-established taxonomies between autonomous movements or politics of social movements, institutional policies, artistic practices, critical theory, historiographic discourses or exhibition models. It has to do with the elaboration of a history that impugns the “common sense” that differentiate between these categories, though not to dissolve them in a *totum revolutum*, but rather to try to experiment if a method of articulation that responds to the type of historiographic logic that some have called *diagrammatic* would be possible. Such logic would seek to construct diagrams that are configured as the visualization of force fields within which elements such as those already enumerated would be subject to tension. I want to propose practicing “diagramming” as something different from the more common idea of “cartography.” Cartography is an activity that would appear to be directed toward visual representation of an already existent, relatively stable territory. A diagram is supposed to produce images of the resonances that occur in a particular field. It does not presuppose the pre-existence of a territory to be represented, but rather is configured with a schematic visualization that incorporates and makes explicit a viewpoint with regard to dynamic situations<sup>4</sup>.

My talk today is offered up as a draft for one of the possible diagrams of a handful of experiences that have occurred in the articulations between art

and politics, and between institutions and movements, in the last fifteen years.

In a first instance I will refer to an exhibition that took place in July 2001 at MACBA entitled *Antagonismos. Casos de estudio* (*Antagonisms: Case Studies*). How did this exhibition work? The show was organized around certain genealogies that were seen as strange then: it was structured based on thematic nuclei and genealogies without predetermined linearity, that at the same time avoided proposing a teleological reading of the phenomena it presented. Neither was the totality of the information divided according to geopolitical ideas as tends lazily to happen with other, more customary taxonomies. In contrast, this exhibition grouped case studies together, taking the global unrest of 1968 as a point of departure and stirring up resonances between experiences of critical public art from the 1980s, *Arte Povera*, institutional conflicts that surrounded Joseph Beuys at the *Düsseldorf Kunstakademie* in the 70s, art that was intertwined with identity politics, critiques of visual representation, various forms of critique with regard to the commercialization of artworks, etc. The thematic nuclei around which the case studies were organized presented obvious transversal problematics and other, less evident echoes. For example, it was posited that Walter Benjamin's ideas about the emancipatory potential of artwork's mechanical reproduction had been updated at varied times and through various experiences (ranging from Klaus Staeck to the Guerrilla Girls, to site just two names). Yet even though that was an idea made explicit in the show's introductory curation, it really constituted more of an hypothesis than a series of obvious conclusions.

Even today we could see one of the case studies, "Latin America," as problematic in its generalistic approach. If we look carefully at the exhibition web page—which is still on line<sup>5</sup>—we first see the action Víctor Grippo orchestrated around his well known installation of an bread oven in a public plaza in 1972; we have David Lamelas below; and in other places we find references to experiences on the part of Chile's *Arte de Avanzada* movement as well as the *Tucumán Arde* collective.

It's interesting to remember that *Antagonismos* was an enormously high-profile show: it enjoyed a privileged position inside the museum, taking up space on nearly every floor., Walking across the show was a strange

experience: you had the sensation of moving through an enormous container of experiences between art and politics, that might at once be structured provisionally, or with a sense of urgency, or following a certain improvisational model. Perhaps one could think of a constellation that, while it is being crossed, does not always clearly reveal which types of relationships between stars, planets, comets and meteorites, contained within it, produce which forms of nucleus creation or movement. Therefore what *Antagonismos* might be doing becomes more evident if we read it in juxtaposition with another more modest show that took place simultaneously in a more peripheral part of the museum—that in fact, was located outside its main building: *Procesos documentales. Imagen testimonial, subalternidad y esfera pública* (*Documentary Processes: Testimonial Image, Subalternity and Public Sphere*).<sup>6</sup>

The introductory text *Procesos documentales* ended with a programmatic declaration from which I'll read a few lines. It alludes to Martha Rosler's classic text from 1981, where she criticized documentary photography's positivism: "in, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)". Rosler states that the double critique of documentary photography's positivism and art photography's supposed political disinterestedness is the precondition from which could be derived a practice of visual representation that could think in complex terms about its relationship with politics and the processes of social transformation through a type of anti-positivist and anti-naturalist image production that oscillates between documentary and artistic practice. The statement at the end of Jorge Ribalta's text acknowledged the challenge that Rosler's essay threw down, responding thus: "Today we can say that documentary's promise remains unfulfilled. In their explorations, this exposition's works offer models for a possible civic art, or of a demand for realism that preserves resistance value within image, in order to understand the metropolitan experience of the subaltern political subject under current historical conditions."

The formal devices in *Procesos documentales* were quite different from those of *Antagonismos*; the exhibition was less far-reaching but no less sophisticated, containing works and activities with different support media and of different natures (slide shows, video and film on monitors as well as projected onto screens, tables featuring documentation for public consultation, conferences, debates, etc.). Together the two shows worked

toward an objective that should not be lost from view: they sought make visible a variety of historical interpretation tools, in order to offer these as a reservoir of practices and experiences, or of different types of knowledge, and put everything at the service of something that, in reality, cannot be strictly observed in the concrete materiality of these exhibitions, because it is inscribed in a space outside the museum field when these shows were installed. What was this context, this *hors-champ*? In other words, what was the context of metropolitan experience where *Procesos documentales* proposed to test the possibilities of a new *civic art*?

Let's look at this image: it's a column of *Tute Bianche* marchers, the "White Overalls" civil disobedience group, one of various columns that mobilized in an attempt to halt the G8 summit—the meeting among the leaders of the eight nations thought to be the planet's most developed—that took place in Genoa in July 2001. That is, at exactly the same time that *Antagonismos* and *Procesos documentales* were being exhibited in Barcelona. The photo we're seeing is by Oriana Elicabe and it condenses in a fairly unequivocal way and in just one snapshot the intensity with which what we called the *global movement* or *movement of movements* was produced. Above all, it presents us with an effective image of the potency of a mass movement and how in the span of its outbreak in the public sphere it managed to obliterate the symbolic representations of a globalized neo-liberal power<sup>7</sup>.





The White Overalls constituted one of the most articulated and meaningful confrontation tactics employed in public space during the anti-summit cycle. Its meaning must be understood on two levels, which in themselves are characteristic of all the resistance tactics deployed within the global resistance movement: in the first place, it is a practice that emerges as *situated* in a specific context; at the same time it expands and moves out *transversally*, reproducing itself in other varied situations. The context of the White Overalls' practice is none other than Italy's historical/political situation. Autonomous movements in Italy had suffered an unequivocal rout after a protest cycle that developed for almost two decades, the 60s and the 70s. Their defeat, the result of a *de facto* state of emergency imposed by the Italian state apparatuses, resulted in an effective de-legitimization and criminalization of protest and political confrontation in public space. The White Overalls became a practice that sought to restore legitimacy to direct action by creating a model for the confrontational occupation of space that served two functions, symbolic and practical, as this photo demonstrates. Both functions are realized in the signaling of the body in direct action. The protesters create a block of bodies clad in prostheses, a sort of do-it-yourself bit of protective gear: padding applied to the body's vulnerable areas and joints, and motorcycle helmets for the head, along with items designed to protect the collective body as well. In this particular case we see transparent shields that compact the mass of protesters and at the same time protect its edges from attack by anti-riot police.

If we look carefully, the self-protected body of the protester in this block works as a negative image of the policeman's body: white before black, the protective gear that emphasizes the fragility of the body and its soft tissues before the ever more mechanized image of the anti-riot corps as it represses dissent in public spaces; defensive prostheses opposite others designed to inflict pain. The idea is clear: it is a portrayal of the body in direct action as one that does not wish to engage in violence, but that rather is ready to defend itself against the external violence about to rain down on a legitimate act of protest.

Just minutes before the multitude began to demonstrate in Genoa—with many hundreds of thousands of individuals heading toward the “red zone,” the area cordoned off by police and armed forces in order

to block entrance therein—the White Overalls column, like all other columns and blocks at the protest march, was harshly attacked. The tightly knit block seen in the photograph was shot and armored police vehicles, weighing several tons, were driven into the protesters' bodies at full speed.

This is Carlo Giuliani on 20 July 2001, laid out on the ground just minutes after having been killed. A young policeman shot him in the head and the van from which the shot had been taken ran over the fallen body. The policeman, Mario Placanica, was not even tried: after some time, the judge assigned to the case withdrew all charges. Yet even Carlo's death was just a part of the storm of violence that was lashed out against the mass body that assembled in Genoa. The days of sadistic, broad daylight repression on the part of the so-called forces of order dragged out into various weeks of psychological abuse and physical torture for dozens of the unfoundedly detained.

A number of hypotheses come into play when trying to explain why the Italian government put this dangerous experiment of incitement to small-scale civil war into practice, in plain sight of innumerable movie, press and television cameras, and feeling not even the least compunction to hide. No doubt the most cogent explanation is the one that points to the fact that the authoritarian counteroffensive opposed to



the rise of a global political movement sought to reverse the effect of the media attention that the movement was gaining. The ubiquitous dissemination of brutal images struck terror within sectors such as the young of the European middle class whose politization had been growing ever more during the anti-summit cycle. The terrifying and ambiguous effect of images of Genoa that were propagated (at the same time they make repression visible, they also expand a fear of taking direct action in public space) has made me doubt whether I should even show this photo of the murdered Carlo here today, on this large-format screen. So if I do, it is for two reasons. First, because we are besides the Memorial of Tlatelolco, which evokes another bloody episode: the repression of a mexican social movement that occurred in the year I just mentioned with regard to *Antagonismos*, 1968. Second, because I cannot fail to observe what type of representation Oriana Eliçabe's snapshot articulates. The camera's perspective is installed at a prudent, respectful distance. Carlo's image is far from being that of a generic or abstract death because between the laid out body and us—the observers—the robotized bodies that have caused his death are unavoidably inscribed. On the truncated shield to the left of the frame one sees a fragment of the *carabinieri* emblem and black boots take up the main part of the picture. Just as in Goya's *Los fusilamientos del tres de Mayo de 1808 en Madrid* or the stairs of Odessa scene in Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, the victims are shown to have faces and with dignity while those who execute the massacre are automatons, dehumanized and faceless; what is relevant in the portrayal of those figures are the attributes of their violent condition: uniforms and weapons.

I would like to refer this reflection to something that has been expressed at another intervention before mine here at the seminar, about art's role as a provider of voice, image or expression for victims. To characterize art thus worries me not a little bit. Previously I referred to how *Procesos documentales* exhibition sought to respond to the interpelation contained in Martha Rosler's classic text on documentary photography. I've purposely delayed mentioning one of the text's fundamental points, so I could mention it now: its direct attack on the ideology that underlies the production of the "image of the victim," as a form of humanism that exerts a new symbolic violence or exploitation on someone who had already been materially violated or exploited. I

believe Oriana's photograph implies a radically anti-humanistic approach, and denies to be based on a depoliticized moralism, when it comes to Carlo: not only because the camera refuses to focus exclusively on his body, maintaining our point of view from a distance, but as well because the image impedes any possible sentimental identification, since the image's framing *always and principally* shows that this death is neither a symbolic nor abstract one; it is a murder carried out by an armed branch of a specific system of power. This picture operates precisely the opposite of an abstraction of the subject, the generic victimization of a man: instead it seeks *to represent a political conflict—the conflict that has been the cause of a murder—by transferring it inside of a mode of representation.*

Genoa constitutes one of the extremes on which rests an entire arch of anti-summit actions from recent history that occurred in an very brief span. On the other extreme, Seattle could be considered the beginning of the arch, where opposition to the World Trade Organization summit broke out between November and December 1999; another cornerstone of this arch would be the anti-summits protests in Prague in September 2000<sup>8</sup>. To oversimplify it to almost journalistic language, Prague was the European Seattle. It wasn't so much the huge concentration of activists that made it so important (I estimate we were no more than 15000 people there); it has more to do with the effectiveness of Prague's protest actions, which caused an early closure of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank summits, and constituted another blow that helped destroy the consensus around neo-liberal globalization. We could spend some time talking about how the simultaneous invention of new movements' characteristic forms operated in Prague, from its most internal organizational aspects to the more highly visible nature of direct action and civil disobedience in public space. (Prague was a big *political event*, in the sense that Maurizio Lazzarato speaks of the existence of a *politics of the event* within new-cycle movements.) But I'm going to limit myself to one less visible piece of information. One of the cities from which the most activists were deployed to the Prague protests was Barcelona. I remember no fewer than ten buses and innumerable private vehicles transported a huge number of activists from social movements rooted in Barcelona. Coincidentally, only one month after Prague, MACBA had planned to carry a seminar that would be called

*De la acción directa como una de las bellas artes (On Direct Action as One of the Fine Arts).*

It consisted of a combination of publically presented conferences and collaborative workshops that had begun to be planned months before Prague. *De la acción directa como una de las bellas artes* became an exceptional experiment for articulations between the museum institution and social movements' autonomous politics. It was coordinated by *La Fiambrera* collective, who in Spain might be considered to have introduced what we called "collaborative practices" in the 90s, something we supposed at the time to be one of the most important linking methodologies between art and politics, and which operated within the realm of the new movements<sup>9</sup>.

A substantial number of political innovation methodologies were shared in the workshops, which, put simply, incorporated symbolic, semiotic or technical production tools that were characteristic of the expressivity of previous avant-garde art movements, or of critical public art practice, into social movement politics, such as the elaboration of the "communication guerrilla" concept by the *a.f.r.i.k.a. gruppe*, *Ne pas plier's* collaborative practices with social movements born of crisis of the Welfare State, communicative direct action by Reclaim the Streets, the production of online horizontal and participatory communication techniques by Indymedia, etc. The result was explosive: in a context like that of Barcelona, where groups involved in the globalization of a politics of resistance were becoming ever larger, *De la acción directa como una de las bellas artes* workshop created a welcome overabundance with regard to new forms of creative protest and new ways of politicizing art. But it was nothing less than the beginning of a process that would end up being even more complex: during the Prague protests it was announced where the seat of the next Annual World Bank Economic Development Conference would be held: Barcelona in June of 2001.

At that point, Barcelona's cultural authorities happened upon the amenable idea of putting on an art Triennial that was to be called *Experiències. Barcelona Art Report 2001* (a triennial which, by the way, was only organized once). Its leitmotiv was the extension of art to the entire city. It was thought that this aestheticizing strategy for the

appropriation of public space on the part of an ever more omnivorous art system could be arrested from within by means of a complex project that would function along the border territory between cultural institutions and social movements, not in order to produce a neutralization of social conflict via its sublimation through a form of cultural representation, but on the contrary, to take up tools for cultural critique as instruments for the production of conflict in articulation with the autonomous politics of social movements. MACBA's contribution to the Barcelona Triennial was a project called *Las Agencias*. It was a project driven by task forces that were assembled at the end of *De la acción directa* workshop. It literally meant producing areas where the creation of agency between artistic practice and movement politics would be possible while avoiding two typical situations characteristic of the relationship between these two entities: on the one hand, the instrumentalization or coopting by the institution; and on the other, a welfare-like opportunistic relationship that arises from the fact that the institution simply finances external activities. To do so it seemed necessary to open up spaces for negotiation, articulation and translation processes between a politics of antagonism and a politics of cultural administration. *Las Agencias* was formed by an articulated series of collectives that operated with flexibility in an enormously ambivalent experimental situation: they were financed by a large museum, presented as the museum's contribution at a triennial in public space; but at the same time they operated as a activating subject within the movements that were propelling the campaign against the World Bank's coming to Barcelona. A campaign that was thought of as a new milestone in a series of recent actions against neo-liberal globalization.

I'm only going to present one of the projects undertaken by *Las Agencias* in conjunction with one of the groups that was part of the 2001 anti-World Bank campaign: the civil disobedience group. This block was made up of an adaptation of White Overalls visibility tactics. But the Italian movement's characteristic shields are here replaced by a defensive and signaling tool: blown-up photographs affixed to the lateral protective shields. The photos show images of resistance and autonomy from all over the world. When the police attack the protest march, as we see happened subsequently in Madrid, during a protest against the Iraq war in 2002, the image that's generated says a lot: what is being attacked isn't

just this demonstration or even this particular group of people. What's being attacked is what the demonstration represents: a part of a global resistance movement that expresses itself in a particular situation.

As I see it, what the photographic shields put into practice is a politics of representation that distances itself from the alienated dimension of liberal or parliamentary representation to move closer to a kind of signifying complexity that is acted out by the Zapatista *pasamontañas* (balaclava), which itself is nothing else than one of the most extraordinary exercises in *détournement* that could be imagined. In the present, the Zapatista balaclava works as an update of the revolutionary past, through the recuperation of one of the guerrilla's classic representational modes: the covering of the guerrilla's face. But at the same time, its new use enacts a radical re-signification: the face now hidden is not covered just to hide an individual; nor is it designed to present a menacing image. More precisely, faces are covered because individual identity does not matter—"para todos, todo" (Everything for Everyone)—and every covered face is an open sign of an identity yet to be constructed, onto which any other resistance identity under construction can be projected. In the same way, that politics of representation put into practice by the photographic shields is completely different from the one I previously criticized: it is not that politics of victim representation that alienates the identity of the powerless using images produced by others further up the power scale; it is not the delegation of voice. It is a politics of representation where a constellation of resonances between equivalent differences is activated. This protest or this resistance, attacked here, is nothing other than one part of a whole that multiplies all over the places and whose unity—in multiplicity—is not a given, but rather, must be articulated in every new situation.



Let's look at the following image: here we have an occupation of public space on the part of APEIS (the Association for Employment, Information and Solidarity Among the Unemployed and Precarious Workers), an organization created at the end of the 1980s, which is an autonomous movement of the unemployed that began to function outside traditional labor unions as a network of local committees. The French collective *Ne pas plier* (founded in Paris' so-called "red belt" in the 1990s, and one of the key collectives for the implementation of collaborative practices in conjunction with social movements in the last decade) has maintained a sustained relationship with APEIS, which has led to a complex production of signs. The image we're seeing is a good example. What this snapshot shows us is the occupation of a public space by the members of the social movement. They hold aloft photographs that show other actions on the part of the same movement, in other places. These could be a previous occupation of a public building, or some other activity on the part of the association. I want to call attention to two aspects of this image. The first refers to its mode of representation, which constitutes the matrix for the photographic shields project we saw earlier: this protest, at this time and in this place, presents itself in the real time of the direct action as well as in the political and time depth of a movement that accumulates several layers and moments of action. The second aspect refers to its *form*, to its character as a visual device: the space for direct action is shown not as an homogenized, naturalized, reduced -to-the-here-and-now space, but rather is a





fragmented space, composed of diverse moments and places, through a technique of highlighting street space that generates images like this one, or those of the photographic shields, where avant-garde aesthetics and fragmented representational modes like collage and photomontage leave their mark. From the images we've just contemplated, we can deduce which is one of the aspects that characterize the incorporation of symbolic production tools—that were invented by avant-garde art practices—into the interior of social movements. It is an aspect that differentiates this sort of experiences from other art practices that limit their space of valorization to the art system. The value of practices articulated from within social movements does not reside in their uniqueness but rather in the potentiality of their reproduction. Here artistic practice seems to consist in the production of devices and prototypes that deliberately seek to be collectively transformed and modified through constant, ever-expanding use.

In order to think about a diagram of relationships between elements like the ones I've just presented in sequence, it will be necessary to step away from an habitual historiographic epistemology according to which it becomes necessary to identify origins, influences, uniqueness, etc. A practice's importance, within the constellation of examples that concerns us here, depends precisely on something that art-system valorization processes cannot conceive of: multiplication, copying and modification, collective modeling and (re)production through a not always programmed seriality that does not respond to previous geographic or chronological linearity. I think the importance of narration and interpretation in a diagrammatic logic—the one to which I earlier alluded—can be much more easily appreciated at this point.

I also planned on presenting a second series of images that could serve to expand the framework of the exploration I propose. I only have time to enumerate them briefly: from the *Ne pas plier* and *APÉIS* image we could return to *Las Agencias*, to look at the so-called Show-Bus, a bus that was specially modified to be a direct action communication tool by being inserted into public spaces during mass demonstrations. We could see how the Show-Bus operated for the democratic recuperation of public space in a concrete conflict situation: it helped revert control on a street where anti-riot police had taken over after a confrontation that emerged as part of a

protest march opening the anti-World Bank campaign in Barcelona. Let me digress here to say that, we could look at how on the Show-Bus, images of devices similar to those produced with the emergence of practices such as guerrilla television and community video in the 60s and 70s (we could, for example, include some quick image of the Video-Bus produced by the Catalanian Video *Nou collective* in the 70s) reverberate; and we could conclude the aside by observing the Show-Bus' usefulness during the Tarifa bordercamp celebrated in July 2000. Bordercamps constituted one of the most important inventions against international border policies that developed in several parts of the world, and notably in Europe, starting in the mid-1990s. We could go on to show images of the inventive guerrilla communication and communicative direct action campaigns put into practice by the *Kein Mensch Ist Illegal* (No One Is Illegal) network, one of the principal networks in the anti-border movement. Then we would need to visit the place where the constitution of the network was publicly launched: the Hybrid Workspace, an experimental space for the confluence of art and politics opened in the very midst of the 1997 *documenta x* event.

But why start with an institutional exhibition and then end with another, neither of which could precisely be called marginal? Fundamentally, to refute a topical common sense that seems to have developed in recent years, that speaks to us of the outright co-opting of political practice within art institutions, or that speaks of the supposed institutional promotion of a political art that could be understood as a transitory phenomenon, instrumental to the mere reproduction of the art system. By developing the diagram I've sketched, it could be demonstrated that—with regard to the actual cycle of conflicts—forms of institutional artistic experimentation and the autonomous politics of social movements have shared articulations and attempts at translation almost from the beginning. If the Zapatista uprising of 1994 can be considered the true big bang of resistance to neo-liberal globalization, *documenta x*, celebrated soon after in 1997, could be considered its equivalent with regard to institutional experimentation that has sought to politicize hegemonic narratives of artistic modernism as well as the historical trajectory of the avant-garde in the arts.

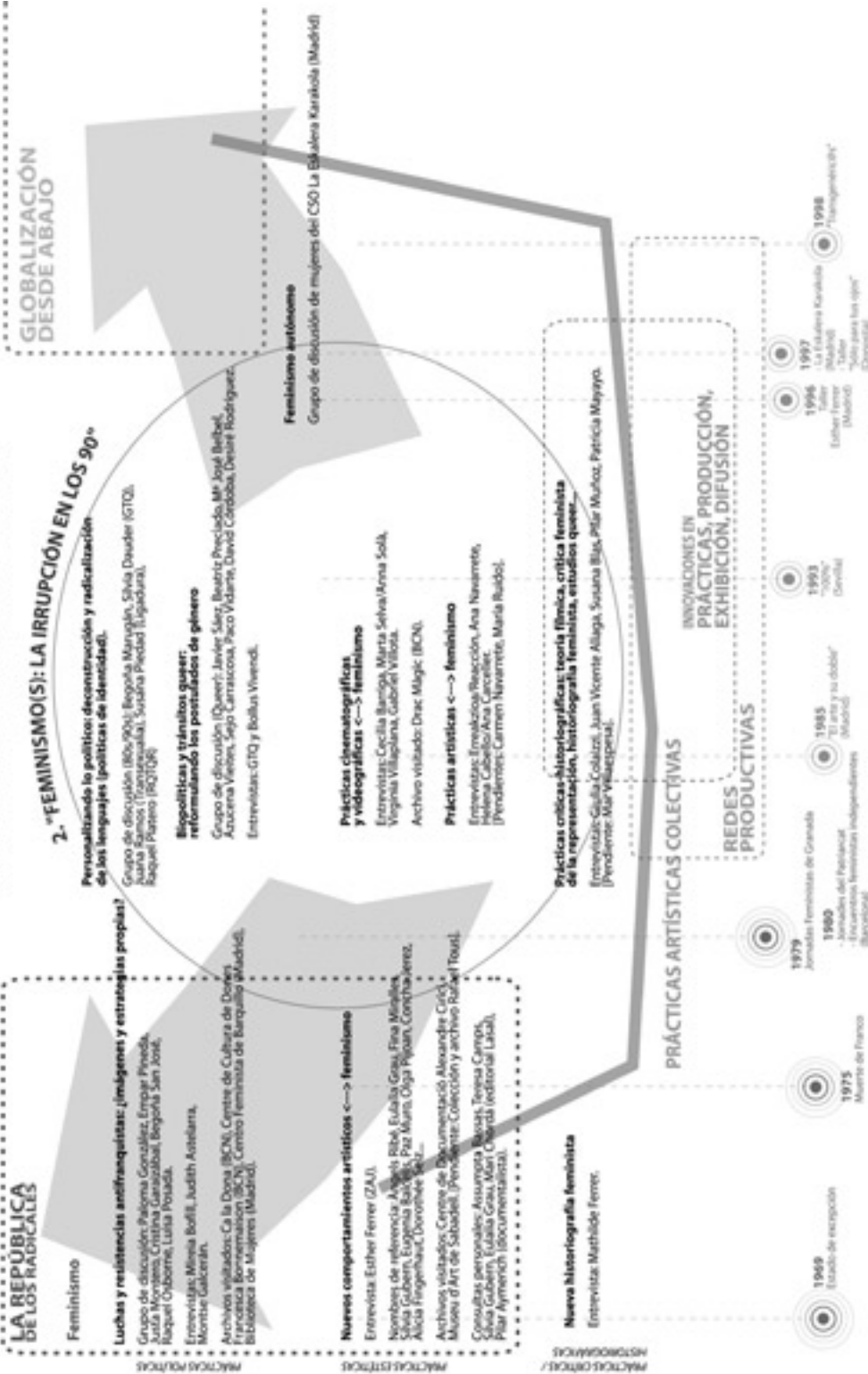
To conclude, I intend to show two of these sort of diagrams that we

produced as the result of a research project we produced called “1969-... Algunas hipótesis de ruptura para una historia política del arte en España” (1969-... Some Hypotheses of Rupture for a Political History of Art in Spain), realized at center of a larger research project, *Desacuerdos* (*Disagreements*) produced in turn by three Spanish cultural institutions.<sup>10</sup> I’ll let the two diagrams speak for themselves, pointing out only the following: the enormous tensions, contradictions and conflicts that *Desacuerdos* generated in its attempts to transfer a counter-hegemonic discourse about art and politics *to the center of artistic institutions* allow us to consider it a true “productive failure,” in the sense that it allowed to put in practice both potentialities and possibilities as well as the realization of the impossibility of articulation and translation between autonomous and institutional practices.

## 2. FEMINISMOS. Diagrama de organización de los materiales de investigación.

Carmen Navarrete, María Ruído, Fefa Villa

### 1. "FEMINISMOS, BOLLERISMOS Y QUEERISMOS: 60.-70 Y 80: MIRADAS Y PASOS CRITICOS HACIA LOS 90-2000"



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The lecture took place in a dark room with a centred screen in front of the audience, over the screen a continuity of images voice-over commented was projected, the voice didn't read a previously written script. This text is the revised transcription of the comments about the images made just as an argument thread. For this publication we have shorten the original sequence to only a few images. In 2009, I began to gather some texts and lectures under the generic title: "History Lessons". All the produced documents, under this title, must be understood as complementary to each other, within a series in process <http://marceloexposito.net/materialesteoricos/textosyconferencias.html>

<sup>2</sup> To contrast with other thoughts about these same processes, see three texts by Jorge Ribalta: "Mediation and Construction of Publics", in *transversal: institution*, May 2004 (<http://eipcp.net/transversal/0504/ribalta/en>); his conversation with Miguel Lopez: "Ver la modernidad desde la fotografía es como entrar a la historia por la puerta de servicio" (To see Modernity through Photography is like entering History through the back door), in *ramona*, no 88, March 2009 (<http://www.ramona.org.ar/node/25193>); and particularly the most recent "Experimentos para una nueva institucionalidad" (Experiments for a New Institutionalality), in the retrospective catalogue of the MACBA collection to be published in 2010. This last text emphasises in the collective character of the institutional experimental cycle of the museum during the time addressed.

<sup>3</sup> Two different characterizations of the current moment in such terms can be found in Brian Holmes' text: "Decipher the future", *Escape the Overcode. Activist Art in the Control Society*, Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, 2009 (<http://brianholmes.wordpress.com/2009/09/06/decipher-the-future>), and in the compiled interviews by the Colectivo Situaciones in *Conversaciones en el impasse. Dilemas políticos del Presente*, Tinta Limón, Buenos Aires 2009 ([http://www.nodo50.org/tintalimonedicones/IMG/pdf/Conversaciones\\_pdf.pdf](http://www.nodo50.org/tintalimonedicones/IMG/pdf/Conversaciones_pdf.pdf)). "Fifteen years" is maybe more than a simple phrase: it is the number of years between this lecture and the public irruption of the Zapatistas on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1994, which can be considered a real big bang of the current cycle of social movements.

<sup>4</sup> "[A] Diagrammatic History, according with [Spanish film historians] Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui, would help to [en] lighten the past 'attending to a logic of relationships not mediated by the traditional notion of causality, [and changing] the meaning of how we refer, normally, to influences, establishing confrontations between elements, 'regrouping certain cases' through montage procedures; from the viewpoint of a 'variable eye' that doesn't exclude the subjective narrative; an assumed fragmented, discontinued, heterogenic and heterofounded history in a polycentric map where traditional hierarchies between centre and periphery, dominant models and subaltern practices, are recombined and reinterpreted", Marcelo Expósito: "Diferencias y antagonismos. Protocolos para una historia política del arte en el Estado español" (Differences and Antagonisms. Protocols for a Political History of Art in Spain), in Jesus Carrillo (ed.), *Desacuerdos 1*, MACBA/Arteleku/UNIA-arte y pensamiento, Barcelona, 2005, p. 115 ([http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito\\_diferenciasantagonismos.pdf](http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito_diferenciasantagonismos.pdf)). Zunzunegui's and Talens' original proposal is contained in their most important text: "Introducción: por una verdadera historia del cine español" (Introduction: For

a Real History of Spanish film), in AA.VV., *Historia General del cine. Volumen I: orígenes del cine*, Cátedra, Madrid, 1998. Within the different sources of inspiration they have mentioned at the time of thinking “diagrammatically” a “history of aesthetic forms” we find: “the perspicuous representation” proposed by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his *Philosophical Investigations and Remarks on Frazer’s Golden Bough*, Jean Luc Godard’s *Histoire(s) du Cinéma*, and the particular “history of film” hidden in Gilles Deleuze’s *Movement-Image* and *Time-Image*.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.macba.cat/antagonismos/english/index.html>; for the case study “Latinoamerica”: [http://www.macba.cat/antagonismos/english/09\\_17.html](http://www.macba.cat/antagonismos/english/09_17.html)

<sup>6</sup> Search *Documentary processes* at <http://www.macba.cat/>

<sup>7</sup> Oriana Eliçabe has produced for years a series of images that, starting from the Zapatista emergence in 1994, constitute by themselves a particular—and exceptional—visual history of the current cycle of global conflict: numerous summit protests of the movement of movements, the Argentinean movement 2001-2002, the Bolivarian process in Venezuela, etc. They can be seen at her website: <http://www.orianomada.net>. Some time ago, I wrote a text to go with some of her images: “Imágenes de la resistencia global: nadie sabe lo que un cuerpo puede” (Images of the global resistance: no one knows what a body is able to) (2003) ([http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito\\_imagenesresistanciaglobal.pdf](http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito_imagenesresistanciaglobal.pdf)). Her images are published along this text under her authorization, which I thank.

<sup>8</sup> About Genoa 2001: <http://www.nodo50.org/genova01>; about Seattle 1999: <http://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/index.htm>; about Prague 2000: <http://inpeg.ecn.cz>; about the global movement, a text by Amador Fernández-Savater, Marta Malo de Molina, Marisa Pérez Colina and Raúl Sánchez Cedillo: “Ingredientes de una onda global” (Ingredients of a Global Wave), [http://www.universidadnomada.net/IMG/pdf/ingredientes\\_de\\_una\\_onda\\_global.pdf](http://www.universidadnomada.net/IMG/pdf/ingredientes_de_una_onda_global.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> In “Lecciones de historia: Walter Benjamin, productivista” (History Lessons: Walter Benjamin, productivist) ([http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito\\_benjaminproductivista.pdf](http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito_benjaminproductivista.pdf)) I have tried to characterize in a simple way some of the matrices from where new links between art and political movements are created, mostly from the 1980’s and 1990’s decades, by reviewing collaborative practices, collaborative workshops, etc. For the complete program of *La acción directa como una de las bellas artes* and for other documents by La Fiambrera go to: <http://www.sindominio.net/fiambrera/macba.htm/>. The following images used here are also by Oriana Eliçabe and can be found at her website as well.

<sup>10</sup> Images of the Show-Bus de Las Agencias at Oriana Eliçabe’s website; about Video Nou/Servei de Vídeo Comunitari: <http://www.hamacaonline.net/autor/php?id=156>; about the Video Bus, my text: “Lecciones de historia: prácticas artísticas / de comunicación audiovisual y transformaciones sociales” (History Lessons: Art / Communication Audiovisual Practices and Social Transformations) ([http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito\\_bogota.pdf](http://marceloexposito.net/pdf/exposito_bogota.pdf)); Kein Mensch Ist Illegal: <http://www.kmii-koeln.de>; *documenta x*: <http://ljudmila.org/-vuk/dx>; The Hybrid Workspace: <http://medialounge.net/lounge/workspace>; *Desacuerdos*: <http://ayp.unia.es>; “1969-...” : <http://marceloexposito.net/materalesotericos/1969.html>