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The notion of 'solidarity' has re-entered the global zeitgeist with resounding force in the last decade. It has driven new thinking focussed on countering systemic failures and outright abuses related to climate, economy, surveyance, health, gender and race, amongst other issues. 'Actions of Art and Solidarity' considers the central role that artists play within this historical shift in the new millennium, drawing parallels to cases of the twentieth century.

The exhibition proposes that the solidary imaginaries expressed by artworks and embodied by specific artistic actions, are always the outcome of extensive processes of artist-led care-building. These take the form of networks of personal connectivity and empathy that artists (in alliance with everyday citizens and activists) create over time around a particular issue. By configuring them in works of solidarity, they inspire society at large to imagine life differently and step forward in ways that generate profound transformation.

The artists presented in 'Actions of Art and Solidarity' shed light through their works upon the trajectories past and present of feminist, queer, environmental, Indigenous and Black activism, as well as religious, gender, sexual and political freedom movements. In this regard, the exhibition showcases how individual artists, art collectives, cross-disciplinary associations and art institutions receive and provide solidarity and care in order to survive in, as well as transform, the conditions that challenge our very existence.

Discussions and exhibitions of art and solidarity in recent years have given special attention to the extraordinary burst of transnational solidarity that flourished around the world during the Cold War era. World War II and its aftermath catalysed a wave of anti-colonial conflicts, many of which led to the emergence of a succession of independent nations in the global south (across the African continent and the South Asia region, for example). However, in some cases, this first phase of independence simply went on to reveal other forms of internal colonialism (this is particularly the case with the experience of millions of Indigenous people across these regions for whom independence continued to mean colonisation); and there are various instances in which that first phase was never attained (such as in the Middle East).

The post-war, anti-colonial communities seeking new political alliances beyond the super-powers (US vs Soviet Union) system of the Cold War led to what has been called the Non-Aligned Movement, and to the myriad artistic expressions that emerged as a part of it. In the case of the Americas, the extreme polarisation that resulted from pitting capitalism against communism held captive most of the productive and creative energy of the continent during the twentieth century. The loss of so many lives and the infliction of tremendous psychological pain came as a result of a succession of brutal dictatorships and virulent civil wars across Latin America, a direct fruit of the geo-political battle ground at stake during the Cold War. From our current stand-point in the global art world (art historically, environmentally and socio-politically) it would appear especially pertinent to move beyond the grand narratives that have tended to shape the history of art and solidarity during the Cold War era. This exhibition eschews the past emphasis on artworks and processes best described as being of 'hydraulic solidarity' that echoed the grandiose geo-politics of the time in their scale and in their muscular or bellicose qualities. 'Actions of Art and Solidarity' recognises the mostly patriarchal (white, male-led) and standardised character of such narratives, as well as their tendency to homogenise and universalise difference. With this in mind, the logic of the exhibition as a whole is to emphasise overlooked artistic micro-narratives that constituted, arguably, the veritable and enduring power of artists and their expressions of solidarity during the Cold War and beyond.

Whilst the exhibition highlights the relevance of the Cold War era in generating new forms of artistic solidarity globally, it points too towards its precedents and successors: from the legacy of the early left-wing, avant-garde's commitment to social justice at the turn of the twentieth century, to the outburst of radical imaginaries of solidarity being configured in our times. The exhibition also centres ancestral Indigenous perspectives that endure today, rarely considered when discussing and displaying the history of artistic solidarity.

This point is of particular relevance for the growing wave of voices in the art world interested in challenging modernism (whether western or non-western) as the only optics from which to narrate creative processes globally. On the one hand, from an Indigenous perspective solidarity is understood as a relational and intrinsic value. It is to be found in the essence of Indigenous being, doing and thinking that prioritises the sustaining of harmonious relations with others (human, animate and non-animate). It is thus not an external factor that needs to be invoked; it pervades instead all forms of creative practices. On the other hand, Indigenous conceptions of solidarity are 'grounded' in the specific site that a community co-inhabits with its other living and nonliving elements. From this epistemological (knowledge-based) perspective, the much-used term 'transnational solidarity' loses much of its relevance.

'Actions of Art and Solidarity' is an exhibition that looks back in time and forward into the future to consider the extraordinary ability of artists, art collectives and art institutions to narrate and build empathy around fundamental global conflicts and injustices, and provide the radical imaginaries of care and solidarity that can stimulate their resolution. The exhibition is housed in Kunstnernes Hus (The Artists House, Oslo) an institution that has played a recurrent part in Norway's own contribution to artistic solidarities – from hosting Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* in 1938 during its world tour, to presenting exhibitions of solidarity with other parts of the world. The unprecedented events of the last years (Climate Emergency, MeToo, Black, Trans and Indigenous Lives Matter, as well as the COVID-19 pandemic) have thrown into sharp relief, and accentuated further, the many disparities and vulnerabilities afflicting the world (human, animal, plant, and non-animate). The urgency of bringing back, sustaining and creating new forms of care and solidarity is therefore today more important than ever. Artists are agents of great power in this process.

The case studies included in the exhibition have been sourced across four continents, and cover a seventy-year time span of artistic creativity. The exhibition is the result of a three-year research period and is made possible by the various friendships, alliances and collaborations with its participants, for which we are deeply grateful. They include the radical Delhi-based collective Sahmat and its thirty-year artistic mobilisation against interreligious strife in India (with works by Pushpamala N., Ram Rahman, Inder Salim, Nilima Sheikh, Vivan Sundaram and others): the two-decade long anti-nuclear women's peace camp in Greenham Common, UK, where artists and citizens innovated non-hierarchical forms of female and gueer protest and co-habitation (with works by Tina Keane. Wendy Carrig and others): artistic and allied testimonies from the legendary PLO exhibition 'Palestinian Artists' at Kunstnernes Hus. 1981: the radical museology of the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador (with works by Chilean Arpilleristas, Gracia Barrios, Ernest Pignon-Ernest, Öyvind Fahlström, Claude Lazar, Kjartan Slettemark and Teresa Vila, amongst others, as well as archival material); artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg's collaboration with whistle-blower and technologist Chelsea Manning; personal stories from the forty-year commitment of the Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Latin America: as well as artworks and contributions by Carolina Caycedo, Chimurenga, Gitte Dæhlin, Maritea Dæhlin, Beatríz González, Maria Hupfield, Gavin Jantjes. Bouchra Khalili, Naeem Mohaiemen, Elin Már Øyen Vister and Hannah Ryggen.



The Traveling Scarf and Other Stories: Art Networks, Politics, and Friendships between Palestine and Norway, 2020 Three digital film interviews, with artist Mona Saudi, artist Samia Halaby and activists and members of the Palestine Committee of Norway, Ebba Wergeland and Eldbiørg Holte

Mona Saudi 20'37", Samia Halaby 20'46", Ebba Wergeland and Eldbjørg Holte 19'50" Courtesy of Toufoul Abou-Hodeib and OCA Commissioned and produced by OCA

Dear Chairman, dear friends, thank you for your warm friendship and solidarity. We are continuing to work in spite of the hard situation, which is becoming our daily life.

So wrote Mona Saudi (b. 1945), Jordanian sculptor and founding director of the Palestinian Liberation Organization's Plastic Arts Section, in a letter from Beirut to Thorstein Rittun, director of Kunstnernes Hus in Oslo (1978-83) in June 1981. The letter was one of many exchanged regarding the organisation of the large group exhibition 'Palestinske kunstnere' ('Palestinian Artists') at Kunstnernes Hus, which opened in November 1981. The exhibition included some fifteen artists and nearly 100 works, all of which were for sale in support of the artists and the Palestinian cause. There were also plans to open a fund during the exhibition for donations 'for establishing a Palestinian Museum' (Letter from Mona Saudi to Torstein Rittun 28 July 1981, co-signed by Vesla Lange-Nielsen). The exhibition continued to Kristiansand. where it opened at the Christianssands Kunstforening on 17 January the following year.

The exhibition at Kunstnernes Hus was conceived by Mona Saudi as part of a series of initiatives by the Plastic Arts Section of the PLO to activate art and the exhibition format as a means of providing a Palestinian perspective and catalysing international solidarity in their struggle for statehood and human rights. Earlier initiatives, as recounted by Saudi in letters to Kunstnernes Hus, included exhibitions of Palestinian Resistance in Tehran (1977), the International Art Exhibition for Palestine in Beirut (1978), an exhibition in Tokyo for Palestinian artists, which was joined by 300 Japanese artists expressing solidarity (1978), an exhibition of Palestinian posters in Beirut (1979), and exhibitions for Palestinian artists in the Oriental Museum of Moscow (1979), among others.

OCA commissioned Toufoul Abou-Hodeib (b. 1975), Lebanese-Palestinian scholar and Associate Professor of History at the University of Oslo, to pair her ongoing research with a deeper investigation into the historic display of Palestinian art within the very walls of the present exhibition. Who were the personalities, in Norway, Beirut and further afield, who made the exhibition happen? What were their motivations? What were the networks of Palestinian solidarity that pre-existed and deepened around this event? How did friendships establish crucial links in these networks? And what made Kunstnernes Hus such a receptive partner in disseminating solidarity for Palestinian artists?

Abou-Hodeib conducted new interviews with Mona Saudi in Beirut, participating artist Samia Halaby in New York and activists and members of the Norwegian Palestine Committee Ebba Wegeland and Eldbjørg Holte in Oslo. The result is three short films that assemble previously unpublished perspectives on the Oslo event, across different geographical and socio-political contexts, and bring together complimentary material from the Kunstnernes Hus archive held by Norway's National Museum Documents Archive (Dokumentasjonsarkivet/NMFK/KH/Dba/ L0008).

Carolina Caycedo



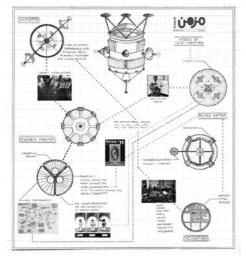
Mãe das aguas livres I (Mother of the Free Waters I), 2019 Part of the Cosmotarrayas series Courtesy of the artist and Instituto de Visión, Bogotá

A central aspect of Los Angeles-based Colombian artist Carolina Caycedo's (b. 1978) practice is a long-term engagement with rivers and river-based communities (Indigenous and non-Indigenous). Caycedo transforms fishing nets into three-dimensional forms, highlighting ways of knowing, being and doing that are interlinked with rivers and bodies of water. The nets reflect the web of embodied knowledges connecting essential elements of water, land, humans and animals, past and present.

The Cosmotarravas series includes large hanging sculptures assembled with handmade, hand-dyed fishing nets and other objects gifted to the artist during field research in river communities in Colombia and Brazil, many of whom have been deeply affected by privatisation and the destruction of waterways in their home lands. Atarraya comes from the Arab word atarrahar, which means to throw: this part of the series connects with the cosmos to highlight the worldviews of the people Cavcedo has met and worked with. The Cosmotarrayas become centerpieces in actions conducted in non-art world settings such as gatherings in the communities where the nets originated, and in natureguardian conferences dedicated to the protection and preservation of rivers and their ecosystems.

For the artist, the nets embody the knowledge of their makers as well as their users. Thrown by hand thousands of times into the same rivers over many generations, the nets point to land sovereignty, independent livelihoods and sustainable co-existence between humans and nature. In Caycedo's practice, the nets often also speak of the dispossession that persistently confronts land- and water-protectors in the midst of exploitative water privatisation initiatives and industrial activity across Colombia and Brazil.

As an artist and nature-guardian, Caycedo has long participated in movements of territorial resistance and solidarity initiatives with those communities whose lives are under existential threat due to systematic ecocide at the hands of heavy industry. Her work contributes to the construction of environmental historical memory to end the repetition of violence against human and non-human entities, as well as generating debate about the kinship between humanity and nature, environmental justice, Indigenous perspectives and cultural biodiversity.



Chimurenga is an editorial platform founded by Ntone Edjabe in 2002. Its publishing outlets and channels of dissemination include the *Chimurenga Magazine*, The Chronic, and Pan-African Space Station radio, and it has embarked on in-depth publication projects such as *The African Cities Reader* and *FESTAC '77*.

For 'Actions of Art and Solidarity', Chimurenga presents a new week-long radio programme on its Pan African Space Station (PASS) radio channel, commissioned by OCA. This includes conversations and recordings that explore forms of solidarity during FESTAC '77 and other Pan African festivals of the postindependence era, the South African liberation movement, as well as a special conversation with Arild Boman, the Norwegian scientist and experimental musician who co-organised the FESTAC '77 Video Art Workshop.

FESTAC '77, otherwise known as the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, took place in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. It was a legendary event in the deeply networked histories of Pan-African artistic solidarity and cultural organising. Taking its cue from the First World Festival of Black Arts in Dakar, Senegal (1966), the twenty-nine-day extravaganza in Lagos brought together a wide array of Black visual artists, poets, musicians, writers, performers, activists and politicians from around the globe, generating jubilation and praise as well as pointed critique. Chimurenga approaches the phenomenon of FESTAC '77 in all its dizzying complexity, following a 'decomposed, an-arranged and reproduced' methodology (as described in the recently published book *Festac* '77). Forgoing an attempt to explain what FESTAC was, Chimurenga presents instead a kaleidoscopic patchwork of archival reportage, testimony, reflection and an abundance of material revealing the spirit of FESTAC and its reception globally.

The dedicated radio programming is complemented by a space for reading organised by Chimurenga within the bookshop and reading room at Kunstnernes Hus, where visitors can engage with books and visual material used by Chimurenga in the production of the PASS programming.

Pan African Space Station Courtesy of Chimurenga and PASS / Deichman Books Broadcasting from Cape Town, panafricanspacestation. org.za



Probably Chelsea, 2017 Courtesy of the artists and Fridman Gallery, New York

Probably Chelsea by US artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg (b. 1982) and Chelsea E. Manning (b. 1987) is a sculptural installation consisting of thirty algorithmically generated 3-D portraits based on Chelsea Manning's DNA installed at different human heights so as to resemble a diverse crowd.

DNA phenotyping allows the prediction of likely physical traits based on analysis and interpretation of genotype information stored in DNA samples. Genotype DNA stores a lot more information than what is expressed in physical traits (phenotype) such as skin colour, eye colour and many other variables. This, together with the fact that human identity is extremely diverse and dynamic, means that DNA phenotyping, especially when used by law enforcement, risks employing outdated and racist notions of biologically inscribed identity. It can reinforce images of criminal stereotypes, on the back of a long history of biased image technologies originating in the late nineteenth century (including, for example, Francis Galton's composite photography and Cesare Lombroso's pseudo-theories of physiognomy).

Dewey-Hagborg's sculpture is a solidarity work operating across both the complexity of this technology and Chelsea Manning's own story as a transwoman, activist, whistleblower and former US Army intelligence analyst sentenced to prison in 2013 for leaking over 750,000 classified and sensitive US Army files (documenting war crimes) to WikiLeaks. Exposing the inaccuracy and bias involved in DNA phenotyping, the multiplicity of 'likely' Chelsea portraits in Probably Chelsea become in fact an image of difference. The work thus echoes the vast array of voices around the world who through online channels, pride marches and letters of support have called for Manning's release from prison and helped raise money to pay for her court fees. Resisting the use of technology solely as a reinforcement of the stereotypical notions of gender and race, Dewey-Hagborg appropriates it in order to take advantage of its inherent biases and inaccuracies to forge instead what she calls a 'molecular solidarity'. Manning, who underwent gender conforming therapy while incarcerated, contributed to the piece by sending the artist saliva and hair samples in the mail. She was released from prison in March 2020.



Hun som Bærer Minnet om denne Jorda, Hvor Bærer denne Jorda Henne? (She Who Carries the Memory of this Earth, Where Does this Earth Carry Her?), 1981–83 Courtesy of Maritea Dæhlin

Gitte Dæhlin (1956–2012) was a Norwegian artist who moved to Mexico in the late 1970s.

Her sculpture She Who Carries the Memory of this Earth, Where Does this Earth Carry Her?, made of leather, textile and horse hair, presents a woman carrying an almost unbearably heavy load, whose naked feet connect her directly with the Earth. The sculpture places the woman, the Indigenous, the one who guards the land, who takes care of it and enables it to grow, at its centre. Dæhlin's practice falls within the long history of artists in Latin America advocating social justice for Indigenous communities.

Before moving to Oaxaca, Dæhlin spent over two decades in Chiapas working closely with the local community, at a time when the Zapatistas were consolidating as a movement that would call globally for agricultural, land and Indigenous rights, and operate locally through intense solidarity, resilience and resurgence actions. This period in Mexico's history became infamous with stolen elections, corruption and mismanaged natural resources, as well as natural disasters, that plunged the country into a social and financial crisis. This reality led Dæhlin to commit her life to activism, as well as art. These two roles never merged publically, since she didn't speak much about her political engagement and didn't want her art to have a reductive interpretation. Yet if She Who Carries the Memory of this Earth, Where Does this Earth Carry Her? is read in the context in which it was created, it must be a call to question the conflicted realities in Mexico. Perhaps that this woman exposes the failure of class and race-led hegemonies and ruling constituencies and asks that Indigenous communities and particularly women be included in democratic governance?

Dæhlin's life and work preveals solidarity networks between Mexico and Norway, and across generations. Dæhlin's daughter is Maritea Dæhlin, also a part of this exhibition; she represents a third generation of engaged female artists initiated by her grandmother the ceramicist Lisbeth Dæhlin (1922–2012). Gitte Dæhlin was among the first students to attend Vestlandets Kunstakademi from 1974–77, studying under Bård Breivik and Morten Krogh. Krogh's solidarity work within the GRAS artist group, and as director of Kunstnernes Hus, were influential for Dæhlin's early work. Actions of Art and Solidarity

Greenham Common



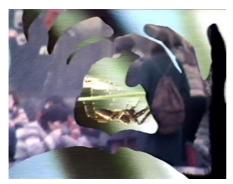
Wendy Carrig Hats, from her Greenham Common photography series, 1985 Series of 25 photographs Courtesy of the artist

The Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp operated a nineteen-year-long campaign of protests against the UK's participation in the escalation of military infrastructure during the Cold War and, in particular, against the US-owned nuclear ballistic and cruise missiles station in Berkshire, England. In September 1981, during the early Thatcher years, thousands of women activists gathered to resist the Cold War nuclear arms race and expose its gendered nature; Their actions have gone down in history as an unprecedented excercise in social empowerment through non-nuclear family structures and gueer cohabitation. Finding strength in numbers up to 70,000 at the height of their activities - their solidarity practices interconnected the pioneering thinking of women and queer people with essential concerns of the time, notably care in society, environmental protection and peaceful habitation of the world. The experimental and long-lasting duration of the camp enabled new forms of artistic and social solidarity to be conceived, tested out and transmitted (often through an abundance of song) across the various generations of artists and peers who spent time there. Greenham Common is a historic reference point for current thinking on what a zone free of heteronormativity (the presumption that there are only two genders) and patriarchy would look like, as well as on the possibilities to collectively act upon climate urgency and against nuclear development.

Wendy Carrig

British photographer Wendy Carrig's (b. 1960) black and white photos capture with tender detail the daily lives of the women in the Greenham Common Peace Camp. Taken for a college project on a Nikon Fe 35mm camera, the images document how these women carved out a space to live upon their own terms by inventing new forms of being, innovating and resisting together. In this series Carrig reveals a form of daily living whose intimacy is familiar yet non-conformative. United in resistance and through the practice of care - for each other, for marginalised groups and for the planet - the women, across all ages, classes and backgrounds, embarked on a long-term dedication to one cause. The peace camp enabled a nineteen-year-long suspension of patriarchy, heteronormativity and the hegemony of the traditional family nucleus, a liberating context that led to the emergence of new forms of artistic and social solidarity, and to the closure of the nuclear base.

Greenham Common



Tina Keane In Our Hands, Greenham, 1982–84 38'0"

Courtesy of Tina Keane, England & Co. Gallery and LUX, London



Beeban Kidron and Amanda Richardson Carry Greenham Home, 1983 69'0"

Courtesy of Concord Media

Tina Keane

A forerunner of multimedia art in the UK Tina Keane (b. 1940) is a British artist who has worked with film, video, digital media and performance, and was a founding member of the non-profit women's film distribution organisation Circles – Women in Distribution. Incorporating a strong decorative aesthetic with personal narratives, and building on her pioneering work in experimental film, video and performance from the 1970s and early 1980s, her practice reflects a feminist perspective often exploring gender roles, sexuality and political concerns.

Keane's experimental video work interlaces political and poetic imagery from the Greenham Common camp and the fence perimeter separating the peace camp from the US Air Force base. Filtered through the outlines of her hands, and accompanied by protest songs recorded at the camp, and a personal voice-over, the work reminds us why the feminist slogan 'The personal is political' became so important in gueer and second-wave feminist western movements. In Our Hands. Greenham highlights the transformative and emancipatory capacity of women and queer people at a time of fixed gender definitions and male-led military escalation.

Beeban Kidron and Amanda Richardson Shot between December 1982 and June 1983 by UK filmmakers Beeban Kidron (b. 1961) and Amanda Richardson, the film Carry Greenham Home is a testament to the solidarity shared by the women and queer people of the Greenham Common Peace Camp. The film documents the unbridled determination and sheer joy with which they organised their solidarity work. and their protest against the presence of nuclear weapons and cruise missiles at a Royal Air Force base operated by the United States in Berkshire, England, The film explores the dynamic of the Greenham Common Peace Camp as a deeply rooted expression of women-led non-hierarchical collective action, documenting how tens of thousands of women put their bodies on the line in the face of constant police harassment and harsh conditions to make a stand for peace against the illogic of the male-dominated militarisation and nuclear politics that drove the Cold War and as the film makes clear, they did it all while singing. Carry Greenham Home makes abundantly clear how the women of the camp rooted their organising, action, protest and solidarity within the creative practices of art, music, dance and costuming, providing the blueprints for another kind of social organisation that challenges the militarised patriarchal absurdity that produced nuclear weapons in the first place.

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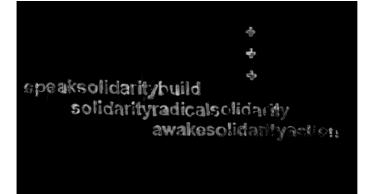
Beatriz González



Mural para fábrica socialista (Mural for Socialist Factory), detail, 1981 Courtesy of Colección de Arte del Museo de Arte – Dirección de Patrimonio Cultural – Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Artist and educator Beatriz González was born in 1938, the same year one of the most celebrated world icons of anti-war sentiment and solidarity, Guernica by Pablo Picasso, was exhibited in Oslo at Kunstnernes Hus. She grew up in the midst of what is known in her native Colombia as 'La Violencia' (The Violence). This era was marked by a series of tragic events, starting with the murder of the leader of the Liberal Party, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948 and culminating with the Frente Nacional (National Front) in 1958, a political coalition that led to deeper schisms and the creation of new guerrilla groups, some of which are still active today in the unresolved armed conflict in Colombia.

A child of these historical conditions, González decided to address violence from an angle that differed from that played out in the media: zooming in on the traces produced by conflict rather than on the violence itself. Combining materials like newspaper cuttings, painting and domestic materials such as tiles, curtains and furniture, González creates parallel images that destabilise the presentations of violence in the Colombian media and open up a space for the micro-narratives usually hidden by the spectacularisation of major events by the media. By reproducing 'masterpieces' such as Guernica, González proposes an approach to art history from a non-European perspective, highlighting the relativity of the western artistic canon, and questioning the materials and the assumed status of universality often given to so-called canonical works. In Mural González set out to explore what Guernica would look like had it been created in Colombia, with the artist trading out the graphic black and white style of the original for a full colour, more emotional rendition in tiles. In the 1930s and 1940s Guernica became a sensation as it travelled the world in solidarity with victims of the Spanish Civil War, becoming in the process one of the twentieth century's most famous antiwar and solidarity symbols. Lending its iconic depiction of war to other pacifist causes, various artists across the world have embraced Guernica in their own acts of solidarity and protest. González chose to form part of this lineage; The fact that she did so after visiting a Socialist factory in Cuba exemplifies the commitment to the long legacy of socialist politics and artistic solidarity of the Left across Latin America by one of its most influential artists.



Land Solidarity, 2020 Courtesy of the artist

Maria Hupfield's (b. 1975) work *Land Solidarity* displays language and symbols of solidarity in relation to Indigenous land and territorial acknowledgements on a painted banner with textual patterns similar to concrete poetry.

Hupfield is an Anishinaabe woman from the Wasauksing First Nation, and a resident of Toronto, working with performance art, concrete poetry and installation. Through her actions and works, she expresses her advocacy for Anishinaabek Womanism and Indigenous Feminisms, and calls for critical accountability and awakened solidarity with Indigenous peoples.

Land Solidarity is one of a series of recent banners by Hupfield that combine conceptual text-based art with concrete poetry and performance. In this exhibition Hupfield will intervene through OCA's social media campaign.

In the last decades land acknowledgements in Turtle Island / Canada have become a regular practice among local non-Indigenous officialdom. However, in their daily use, these acknowledgements have often lost their critical engagement that they set out to catalyse. Hupfield's work underlines the fact that critical accountability to Indigenous nations (and to their work for resurgence, decolonisation and reclamation of Indigenous homelands in North America and beyond) requires active reciprocity from the settler community. Therefore the work calls for the building of radical solidarity between Indigenous peoples, settlers, non-Indigenous peers and people of colour. Similar banners have been activated during live performances in art spaces, including during 'Àbadakone / Continuous Fire / Feu Continuel' at the National Gallery of Canada in 2019.

As Assistant Professor at the University of Toronto Mississauga's Department of Visual Studies Hupfield is undertaking a five-year research programme in Indigenous Digital Arts and Performance. Here, one of her principle aims is to further the accountability of universities to Indigenous people. The project models new ways of connecting with Indigenous communities through art-based practices, the establishment of respectful long-term relationships with Indigenous peoples and land. The concrete outcomes will become blueprints for further collaborations with Indigenous peoples grounded in noncompetitive community building, social art practices, wellness, Indigenous knowledge, land sovereignty, and LGBTQ2+ inclusivity.



A South African Colouring Book, 1989 Series of eleven prints and one edition cover Courtesy of Arts Council Collection, Southbank Centre, London

networks; soon after two works related to the series, *Freedom Hunters* and *No More* (both 1977), were included in the notorious, large-scale, 'Art Contre/Against Apartheid' exhibition, which travelled the world in solidarity with the South African liberation struggle. Jantjes was the only South African represented in this exhibition which was overwhelmingly composed by a who's who of international art stars (predominantly western, male and white), highlighting one of the pitfalls of international solidarity actions, namely the asymmetrical power relations they often represented.

Jantjes, who based in Oslo for many years, has also been a central figure in Norwegian art both as an artist and in his previous institutional roles as Senior Curator of International Art at Norway's National Museum and as Artistic Director of the Henie Onstad Art Center.

Comprising eleven screen prints with collage and one edition cover, Gavin Jantjes's South African Colouring Book combines the seeming innocence of a child's drawing book with imagery and text dealing with the racist and violent realities of apartheid South Africa. Playing on the multiple meanings and uses of the word 'colour', from printing blocks and colour codes to its central place within the apartheid regime's system of racial classification, the works collage personal items such as Jantjes' own apartheidera passport identifying him as 'Cape Coloured', together with the artist's drawings and writings, photographic negatives, citations from anti-colonial literature and other found items such as newspaper clippings and bureaucratic reporting.

Born in Cape Town, South Africa, Jantjes (b. 1948) produced the works from 1974-75 in Hamburg, Germany, where he had previously studied art at the Staatliche Hochschule für bildende Künste. For Janties, the Colouring Book was his 'first step out of the culture of silence' and, in an overt gesture of solidarity, he dedicated the project to 'all those struggling for humanity and human rights'. The prints reproduce the ghastly commonplaces of South Africa's recent history, including the omnipresent 'Whites Only' signs that served as blunt encapsulations of apartheid reality. This series constitutes Jantjes' first engagement with internationalist artistic solidarity

Gavin Jantjes

'Art Contre/Against Apartheid' – divergent perspectives

Inspired by the radical solidarity practices of the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (MIRSA), the artists Ernest Pignon-Ernest and Antonio Saura opened a large exhibition in solidarity with the South African liberation struggle. Under the banner 'Art Contre/ Against Apartheid', the show boasted donated works from nearly 100 artists, including well-known figures like Christian Boltanski, Donald Judd, Wilfredo Lam, Roberto Matta, Robert Rauschenberg and Antoni Tàpies. The endeavour was affiliated with and supported by the United Nations **Committee Against Apartheid and tied into** larger networks of solidarity and protest throughout international cultural fields.

Gavin Jantjes' South African Colouring Book (1989), was the only South African to be included in the Pignon-Ernest/ Saura project (which took the two artists years of mobilisation and organisation to realise). The concept of the exhibition was to produce a collection that would travel the world in solidarity with South Africa's liberation struggle and would be donated to the South African government once apartheid had been defeated. In addition to original artworks, artists donated editioned posters (which were sold to fund the effort), and a catalogue was made that included an essay by Jacques Derrida in which the famed French theorist deconstructed the illogic of apartheid and unveiled its incontrovertible connection to European modernism and European intellectual history.

While praising the determination and force of will that led Pignon-Ernest and Saura, to realise the project, Jantjes observes the fact that the exhibition was overwhelmingly made up of white male artists, a reality that ironically reflected the racist, misogynistic, and exclusionary tendencies of Anglo-European art in the 1970s and 1980s, even as they raised their voice in protest against apartheid. The shortfalls of *Art Against Apartheid* were eventually overcome, when, three years later, in 1986, the UN Committee Against Apartheid partnered with *IKON*, a radical cultural magazine based in New York, to support the production of a special double issue that also came under the banner *Art Against Apartheid*.

This special double issue of IKON is a rich source of internationalist solidarity against apartheid. Unlike the Pignon-Ernest/Saura exhibition, it is rooted in intersectional Black intellectual and artistic voices, while extending to include contributions from a diverse range of people. In the introduction, Alice Walker recounts her own awakening to the reality of 'modern day slavery and massive physical, spiritual, and cultural genocide' in South Africa in her lifetime, and later, her disheartening experiences trying to raise awareness of the urgency of the issue among otherwise 'hip' white communities in the United States. Following Walker's introduction are 180 pages of poems, essays, photography, artworks, song scores, interviews and testimonies in solidarity with South African's living under apartheid. With some 115 contributors, the issue included an entire section dedicated to 'South Africans Speak' with entries from Benjamin Moloise, Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, Helen Joseph, Phumzile Zulu, among others, and presented various further contributions from figures such as Cheryl Clarke, Audre Lorde, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Sonia Sanchez, Sekou Sundiata and art-world figures like Emma Amos, Eva Cockcroft, Lucy Lippard, Jimmie Durham, Willie Birch, Faith Ringgold, Nancy Spero, Leon Golub and Blaise Tobia.

Bouchra Khalili



The Tempest Society, 2017 60'00" Commissioned for documenta 14 Courtesy of the artist and Mor Charpentier, Paris.

The video installation *The Tempest Society* draws from the radical work of the political street-theatre group Al Assifa (Arabic for 'the tempest') and brings it into coexistence with, amongst other similar histories, the recent European financial and refugee crisis as well as the solidarity networks that emerged from it, particularly in Greece.

Founded in France (1972-78) by Mohamed Bachiri (Mokhtar), Geneviève Clancy and Philippe Tancelin, Al Assifa emerged from the Movement for Arab Workers (MTA) that claimed the legacy of the Pan-Arab revolutionaries and reacted to the exclusion of immigrants in France from trade union power. The idea for the company had been germinating since 1970, when the Palestine Committee offered to set up a 'revolutionary theatre' to catalyse greater understanding of the struggles of Arab migrants. The group made little distinction between theatre and life to fight racism, to demand humane working and living conditions for immigrant workers, and advocate equality and solidarity.

Bouchra Khalili's video installation weaves a genealogy of co-existing historic and present struggles that have generated new coalitions of solidarity. Constantly switching between historical citation and personal narrative, the characters in the video embody the recurrent motif of the 'civic poet' in Khalili's practice, speaking through the individual to activate the societal voice.

It is in this spirit that the video is led by Athenians Isavella, Elias and Giannis who

deliver a script, seated upon empty stage of the Athens Festival Theatre on 260 Peiraios Street, that they developed together with the artist. The three youths are joined by actual bodies on stage (such as the last remaining Al Assifa founder Philippe Tancelin), as well as by sounds, words, images and historical incarnations. Different voices are thus channelled through them and blended with their own personal experiences of racism and xenophobia. Their words jump across space and time as the video documents the scattered remnants of AI Assifa's performances and shows how their initiatives connect to a network of solidarity actions spanning the last the hundred years.

The Tempest Society was commissioned for documenta 14 (2017) which, for the first time, split its presence between Athens and Kassel. In so doing documenta 14 highlighted the spatio-temporal and political differences between Europe's poles, revealing the narratives of migration, debt, and inequality that connect them. In the film, however, the spatio-temporalities of 1970s Paris and contemporary Athens are interlinked with those of 1920s Aleppo and Crete in the first decade of the new millennium, amonast others, bringing the solidarity work of Al Assifa into proximity with parallel movements. In so doing Khalili's The Tempest Society reveals Greece as a crucible of transnational and overlapping global interests, as well as a generative site for the myriad grass-roots initiatives of solidarity that unfolded in their wake.

The Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Latin America / Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge – Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes



Solidarity Patchwork. Patching Stories of Solidarity / Solidaritetsteppet, 2021 Courtesy of the artists, contributors and LAG Norge

Memory is an irreplaceable fundament for our struggle. It is precious and therefore always under constant threat of being taken from us. This patchwork wants to protect our collective memory, let it live and extend its creation. Its threads are as strong as the tendons of reindeers, as the rivers running like veins through our landscapes, as robust as the mountains that give us protection, and as vigorous as the ceiba, the sacred tree, that will guard and nourish our memory. – Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes

A new work commissioned especially for this exhibition, Solidarity Patchwork comprises a textile work, a collection of texts and a sound library conveying stories of solidarity connected to Norway's fortyyear solidarity association, the Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge (The Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Latin America LAG Norge). The patchwork has been generated through the solidarity work of two of its leading members, Astrid (b. 1990) and Ingrid Fadnes (b. 1983). A collective and evolving piece, it comprises over 100 contributions from individuals or groups with a past or present connection to LAG Norge. An ancestral way of telling stories through textiles, the piece is accompanied by texts and sounds: the patchwork and its narrative will continue to grow during and after the exhibition as new patches are made.

Every embroidered element bears witness to a story and is paired to a corresponding text in the accompanying booklet. Some patches also have a soundtrack of music, interviews or voice recordings, accessible by scanning the QR code. Individually, they speak of events, meetings, confrontations, reflections and more. When these micro-narratives are stitched together, their testimonies of solidarity traverse geographies, times, spaces and generations. The patchwork comes to life through the collectivity of people who have been, and are, a part of LAG.

LAG's mission, as described by the Fadnes sisters, is 'to fight capitalism, in all its forms and representations, and to make way for perspectives that can challenge the hegemonic world order.' The organisation was established in the late 1970s, building upon the political and solidarity work of a network of groups and individuals who worked side by side with exiled Chilean activists against the brutal Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. LAG has always been an activist-driven organisation with small satellite working branches. Since 1982, the group has collaborated with social movements, left-political parties and collectives in Latin America through the project Solidarity Brigades. More than a thousand people have participated in the solidarity brigades over the years, a project that continues today.

Solidarity Patchwork is inspired and built through the creation of 'living memories' with work groups connecting Sápmi and the Zapatista Indigenous territories of Chiapas in Mexico, with Guatemala and the landless movement in Brazil. Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes note that 'Memories are not frozen in the past, they live through us, as we continue to walk, to act, to dream, to resist, to exist. This patchwork is our collective memory, still under construction, as we continue to breathe.'



Naeem Mohaiemen



Two Meetings and a Funeral, 2017 Three-channel digital video installation 85'00" Courtesy of the artist

During the Cold War, on the back of the nuclear arms race and space exploration, the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the United States jockeyed for dominance of the globe's political imaginary. Old colonial systems broke down and a wave of independence movements swept the global south. Billions of people and many newly formed nation-states sought new alliances, believing that neither the liberalism of the United States nor the Soviet Union's communism adequately represented their social and political world views.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was born of an impulse to create alternative orbits of political representation and global influence independent from their colonisers of old, and thus moving beyond major East/West power blocs. Yugoslavia's President Josip Tito, India's first postindependence Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's second president Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussain, Ghana's founding president Kwame Nkrumah and Indonesia's first President Sukarno were central figures in the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement, which first formally convened in Belgrade in 1961.

Bangladeshi artist Naeem Mohaiemen's (b. 1969) video *Two Meetings and a Funeral,* a three-channel video weaving together new interviews, architectural explorations and archival footage, explores both NAM's potential as, in the words of one of the film's producers Natasha Ginwala, a 'utopian forum where the global south hoped to reconfigure planetary leadership', and the dynamics behind the movement's failure to achieve its ends.

Two Meetings and a Funeral narrates NAM's attempts to generate a political network of state-based solidarity facilitated through principles such as 'if one country is attacked all are attacked' - that could exist outside of the polarised ideological dominance of both western liberal capitalism and Soviet communism. As the Mozambican poet, revolutionary and politician Marcelinos dos Santos espouses in archival footage from the NAM Summit in Algeria in 1973 reproduced in the film, NAM's goals were first and foremost for non-aligned nations to govern their own natural resources. He lays this down as a prerequisite to national independence and sovereignty in the new post-independence landscape.

Ultimately, as the film explores, NAM faced enormous pressure from Soviet and western bloc meddling, from internal currents of Islamisation, as well as from a steady loss over time of transnational solidarity. According to some of the film's protagonists, whilst the group pioneered new forms of political imaginaries and solidarities, all radical aspirations that underpinned its beginnings were rapidly whittled down to just a few traces.

MSSA

The now legendary Operación Verdad (Operation Truth) was launched in Chile in 1971 by the newly elected socialist democracy government of Salvador Allende, to resist an international and defamatory campaign by US-backed right-wing opposition forces. Reflecting Allende's commitment to the centrality of art in society (and the rights of the working classes to access culture), Operación Verdad was an unprecedented move conceived to counter disinformation and resist the attack. Through it, Chile opened its doors to international journalists, intellectuals, artists and others interested in witnessing and bringing testimony globally to the democratic reality of the country. One such visitor was the Spanish art critic José María Moreno Galván who. while on his trip, came up with the idea of creating a museum based on the donations of artists wishing to express solidarity with Chile's new democracy. Joining forces with the Brazilian art critic and curator Mario Pedrosa, then in exile in Chile, they took the idea to President Allende. The Museo de la Solidaridad was born soon afterwards.

Chaired by Pedrosa, the Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile (CISAC) (International Committee of Artistic Solidarity with Chile) was mandated to initiate the Museum's collection. It did so by launching an open global call that rapidly generated hundreds of donations by a wide range of European, Latin American and US artists, aided by local art critics and intellectuals in liaison with Chile's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and their outposts in Mexico, Spain, France, Argentina and the UK, among other countries.

The US-backed military coup d'état of 1973, and Allende's death as a result, brought a violent end to Latin America's first socialist democracy and ushered in the right-wing dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet, who held power until 1990. All those working with the MSSA, as well as large parts of the collection, were forced into immediate exile in Cuba, Mexico and France, amongst other locations. In the process many pieces were lost, confiscated by the Pinochet government or destroyed, while others that had been held at embassies or in customs were returned to the donors for their safety. Between 1975 and 1990, the Museum was transformed into the Museo Internacional de la Resistencia (MIRSA) – International Museum of Resistance Salvador Allende. This decision was made to bring greater visibility to the resistance movement by Chilean exiles and their allies globally. In its new form MIRSA constituted itself as a museum in exile, exhibiting parts of its collection internationally. Its radical practice was an inspiration to other projects such as 'Art Contre/Against Apartheid' (1983) and the Plastic Art Section of the PLO's exhibition in Beirut (1978). Different organisations launched support committees to help continue the collection of artworks in exile as a symbolic support for Chilean democracy. The Coordinados desde Casa de las Américas (Cuba) (Coordinators from the House of the Americas) were among the first to do so, with similar initiatives following in Panama, Colombia, Sweden, Poland, Finland, Algeria and other countries.

The Pinochet regime did its best to erase the material and symbolic power of the Museum globally, given its power as a symbol of solidarity and democracy in Chile (both hallmarks of Allende's ideology). However, a sustained international outcry in response to the dramatic turn of events led to a number of important displays of solidarity with the people of Chile. Amongst them was the Venice Biennale whose 1974 edition was called 'Libertà per il Cile' (Freedom for Chile), and the newly formed Artists for Democracy group founded by Chilean artist Cecilia Vicuña, Argentine artist David Medalla, British artist John Dugger, and British critic Guy Brett who in 1974 organised the 'Arts Festival for Democracy in Chile' at The Royal College of Art in London.

With the end of Pinochet's dictatorship, MIRSA was able to return to Chile in 1991 to fulfil its original mission, transforming into the **Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)**, and has operated in this form until today. In 2005, MSSA created the Fundación Arte y Solidaridad (FAS) (The Art and Solidarity Foundation), which took charge of the administration, dissemination, investigation and safeguarding of the collection. Whilst containing major works by wellknown artists like Alexander Calder, Lygia Clark, Roberto Matta, Joan Miró and Frank Stella, the MSSA's collection is mostly composed of works by artists outside of the western art canon. The utopian idea of creating a museum based on donations organised on the rationale of solidarity distinguishes the Museum from the neoliberal and market logics that increasingly structure museums today. Instead, the MSSA offers an enduring and resilient model of alternative museological standards in which a major art institution can organise and structure itself around a radical dedication to democracy, equality and social justice.



Untitled, c. 1973–85 All works Courtesy of Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Arpilleras (meaning sackcloth or burlap in Spanish) were made by women as a way of communicating scenes from everyday life, hardship, political critique or protest during the military Pinochet-dictatorship in the 1970s and 80s. These colourful patchworks sewn onto cloth are now historical records of great importance, documenting not only the women's strength in enduring the oppressive regime that caused the disappearance of many loved-ones, but also their resilience and innovative ways of communicating when all other channels for critique were closed. The arpillera has its roots in Chile's decorative industry in the 1960s, but became political and even forbidden after the 1973 coup d'etat. Organised in underground networks, the arpilleras were collected once a month from the women's workshops where they were made, and taken to the Vicaria de la Solidaridad in Santiago de Chile, a human rights branch of the Catholic Church. From here, they were distributed internationally through clandestine routes and solidarity networks, finding ways to raise awareness and money for the people of Chile. Each individual arpillera tells a different story and can often be traced back to the specific workshop where it was made, but they are seldom signed in order to protect their makers from being identified. The influential style has inspired textile works and artists working with fine art all over Latin-America.

MSSA



Multitud III (Multitude III), 1972 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Gracia Barrios's (1927-2020) work Multitud III is a monumental patchwork commissioned by Allende in 1972 for the atrium of a flagship building, revolutionary in concept and in construction, that would house the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in the Third World (UNCTAD III) in Santiago, Chile. A work of 'informal realism' as Barrios described it, Multitud III stood apart from the so-called 'high art' of the time, and echoed the socially engaged legacy of revolutionary practices found in Mexican muralism as well as in the work of peers such as Beatriz González. It was not a tapestry woven in the habitual sense (and connoting the female hand), but rather it employed an appliqué style that whilst still connected to female labour was closer to design practice. Multitud III was conceived to hang at the entrance of the UNCTAD III congress, as a reminder to politicians and policy makers world-wide of their responsibility towards the people. In it Barrios portrays a crowd of Chilean people making history, whose names have been forgotten by the vagaries of history; the citizens who swelled the ranks of the unprecedented collective and democratic action that led to Allende's election.

The UNCTAD III building was constructed in record time (275 days) as an emblem for Allende's focus on the centrality of the arts in society and in politics. Given its powerful symbolic value, it was coopted by Pinochet's regime as the central headquarters of his governing body after the official residency of the president in Chile, 'La Moneda', was destroyed by bombs during the military coup of 1973. The artworks displayed inside the UNCTAD III were either removed, destroyed, or precariously stored in different venues, and *Multitud III* itself disappeared. Over twenty years later, the work miraculously resurfaced, discovered in the store of a merchant trading in second-hand 'scenography material'. The remarkable history of the work, the stories behind its creation, placement, loss, recovery and, finally, its incorporation into the MSSA collection, encapsulate the labyrinthine and violent narratives experienced by Chilean artists, and society in general, due to the nation's troubled political history.

Fearing for her life after Pinochet's coup d'état of 1973, Barrios fled to France, where she lived in political exile with her partner the artist José Balmes, who later became a central figure in the secretariat of the French committee of the Museo Internacional de la Resistencia (MIRSA).

Antonio Dias



Bandera (Flag), 1972 (2012) Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Brazilian artist and designer Antonio Dias (1944–2018) was one of Mario Pedrosa's closest allies in conceptualising the Museo de la Solidaridad's collection, and contributing to obtaining works by Brazilian and Italian artists linked to the Arte Povera movement. Letters exchanged between Pedrosa and Dias shed light on the innovative aspirations behind the MSSA collection, to bring together diverse works by both established and upcoming artists as well as non-artists, and experimental art. In line with this, Dias pushed beyond the limitations of painting as the dominant modernist medium of his time.

'Within this framework', he wrote to Pedrosa in 1972, 'I thought of a work for the Museum over there: a flag. It is not a work to be hung inside the Museum, like a typical "Artwork". I thought of a huge red flag, only red, without any drawing or inscription, with the 'classic' measurements of a giant flag (maybe 5 x 8 meters) to be hoisted outside the museum (in the garden?)'. Días commented that red was a recurrent colour in his practice, unrelated to communist aesthetics. 'Red in this case means renewal', he observed, 'a force that can awaken, change life.' In addition. through this work Dias was reflecting upon how to expand the spaces and formats of contact between artwork and audiences. 'It would be very nice as well,' he wrote, 'to take a photo of the flag already mounted on the outside of the museum and print it on a postcard that would be given to all

visitors to the museum'. With the dramatic turn of events that unfolded the next year, disrupting the museum and its nascent collection, the flag remained unrealised until recently.

In 2012, Claudia Zaldivar, current director of MSSA, revived the project and oversaw the completion of the flag. 'The history of that flag', Zaldivar notes 'is one of the most emblematic for the recovery process that we are carrying out today in the Museum. Having found myself with the letter that Antonio (Dias) sent to Mario Pedrosa, with the instructions to assemble the work, it was a clear sign of the urgency to recover this heritage and its history for all Chileans.'

Postcards are available for free at Kunstnernes Hus' reception while stocks last.

Öyvind Fahlström



Column no. 3 (Chile F), 1974 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Brazil-born Swede Öyvind Fahlström (1928-76) worked as a poet, playwright, translator, journalist, critic, essayist, filmmaker and artist. In 1961, he moved to New York, which became his primary residence for the rest of his life. Living in the same building as Jasper Johns, Fahlström was influenced by his proximity to the postwar US avantgarde. He participated in happenings, exhibited his work at the 1964 and 1966 Venice Biennales, and continued to write plays. His work Column no. 3 (Chile F), a print with the potential for expanded circulation, was conceived after the overthrow of the democratically-elected Allende government. The title refers to the 'F' which was written on the foreheads of those taken prisoner in the Santiago football stadium during Pinochet's regime. 'F' stood for 'fusilado', indicating that they were to be assassinated by firing squad. The work consists of newspaper headlines and illustrations that chart a critique of war, capitalism, authoritarianism, colonialism, organised religion and the art market. The work was donated to the museum's collection in 1978.



Puzzle, 1975 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

José Gamarra (b. 1934) is a Uruguayan painter. Based in France since the early 1960s, he has been a central figure in the vibrant and politically engaged community of Latin American artists living in Paris from the early part of the twentieth century to date. Together with artists such as Julio Le Parc, Roberto Matta and Alberto Guzman, he was a founding member of the influential L'Espace latino-américain (1980-93), where he served as director during the first half of the 1980s. L'Espace not only fostered the artistic dialogue between continents, but also acted as a solidarity platform with artists subject to, or in exile from, political repression in Latin America at the time.

Gamarra is best known for his landscape paintings, and it is through this that he evokes a wide range of historical narratives and cultural critique. His sceneries are imbued with a sense of magic, populated by miniature figures and characters acting out a variety of socio-political, historical and cultural themes dealing with Latin America and processes of colonisation. These miniature figures, superimposed in a disorienting fashion over a classical modernist grid, populate his work Puzzle, which was donated in 1975 during the early MIRSA days. According to the Caribbean anti-colonial philosopher Edouard Glissant, 'all the components of the long, tragic story of the South American continent are present' in Gamarra's paintings, 'amid chasing dogs and bombs, deadly as the mineral mines'.

Gontran Guanaes Netto



Gontran Guanaes Netto (1933-2017) was a Brazilian artist and activist. Born to a family of rural workers in the small town of Vera Cruz, São Paolo state, in one of Brazil's coffee-producing regions, he moved to the capital and enrolled in the São Paolo Academy of Fine Arts. The radical milieus of the academy introduced Netto to revolutionary politics, and he became affiliated with the Communist party and other Left circles. In the late 1960s, in the wake of a US-backed coup that overthrew democratically elected President João Goulart and installed a military dictatorship in Brazil, Netto fled to France, where he joined the growing community of Latin American artists in exile.

Netto became, along with José Gamarra, Julio Le Parc and others, one of the founding members of the influential L'Espace latino-américain in Paris, and participated in the International Brigade of Antifascist Painters in Paris in 1975, among other actions. At the time *Autre néocolonialisme* was donated to MIRSA, Netto also contributed works to the 'International Exhibition for Palestine' organised by artist Mona Saudi and the 'Art for the People of Nicaragua' campaign in 1981; both were initiatives inspired by the Museum of Solidarity Salvador Allende. Autre néo-colonialisme (Other Neo-colonialism) c. 1971–77 Triptych Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Claude Lazar



Tel al-Zaatar, 1976 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Born in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1947, Claude Lazar is a French painter with a long history of political engagement and cultural solidarity. Influenced by the events of May 1968, Lazar emerged as a critical voice agitating for a cultural revolution. In addition to being an artist, he also worked with cinema, was affiliated with Left cultural collectives and led a number of protests and actions from the early 1970s onwards, including shows of solidarity with the Chilean people and against the Pinochet regime. His work Tel al-Zaatar is named after the Palestinian refugee camp housing mostly women and children in Beirut which, in 1976, was brutally destroyed by Christian Lebanese militias (arguing the need to expel the Palestinians from Lebanon, particularly those militant factions working in support of the PLO's struggle). Lazar donated this work to MIRSA in an attempt to connect the struggles of Palestinians with those of the Chilean people. He remains a pivotal figure in the 1970s and 1980s histories of art and solidarity, as someone through which a number of important transnational solidarity initiatives took place, showing synergies with the Museum of Solidarity Salvador Allende, such as the 'International Art Exhibition for Palestine' (1978), the Art for the People of Nicaragua initiative (1981) as well as the 'Art Contre/Against Apartheid' exhibition organised by Ernest Pignon-Ernest and Antonio Saura in 1983.

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Educación revolucionaria (Revolutionary Education), 1976 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

In 1971, the Colombian artist Clemencia Lucena (1945–83) joined the Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario (MOIR) (Independent Revolutionary Worker's Movement), founded in the city of Medellín the previous year. The MOIR grouped together leftist student militants and workers, predominantly Maoists to reject forms of government organisation, the armed struggle and all forms of imperialism, joining forces to create a workers' party to lead a socialist revolution. After joining MOIR Lucena, already a socially engaged artist working with a particular focus on gender issues, quickly took on the role of creating art that amplified the core messages of the group. Through this political platform she proposed an artistic language directed at diverse contexts and produced from a position of class consciousness that, as Colombian researcher María Mercedes Herrera has pointed out, also involved a special focus on public space. Although primarily targeting the working and rural classes and being aligned with the revolutionary struggle, Lucena's work intervened in different spaces to spread its message, circulating in the official bourgeoise circuits of salons, galleries and biennials, as well as among the press and in the streets. The objective of Lucena's revolutionary work was to catalyse solidarity through direct and politically coherent narratives in editorial and art spaces.



Fragmentos ... (Fragments ...) 1983 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Teresa Montiel (b. 1942) is a Chilean artist and educator who taught fine arts in Santiago de Chile before fleeing the Pinochet regime in 1974. Since then, she has lived and worked in France. Donated to MIRSA in 1983, her work *Fragmentos* ... is a collage mixing drawings of a woman in frontal and profile poses, with additional fragments of her body bound and exposed, together with stamps and letters from Chile and France indicating exchange between her home and adopted countries. In France, Montiel carried forth a dedication to collectivity and solidarity that she had developed during the Allende years in Chile. Working across many different French cities, she developed a unique style of public art. In Villeneuve-les-Salines she responded to ruins by 'making ruins', using masonry, mosaic and stone cutting to form areas that responded to the confused urban logic of their specific context during the 1980s. In concentrating on art-making in the public sphere, as well as in her work as an educator and community organiser, she has focused on placing art in the service of collective needs and desires, arguing for how mural work, for example, should not be pursued as an individual act. She has described her idea of art as existing at 'a privileged crossroads of social communication', and insists on mural painting as being in support of collective expression within urban space, qualities that are traced back to the sense of art and solidarity nurtured in Chile in the early years of the 1970s.

MSSA

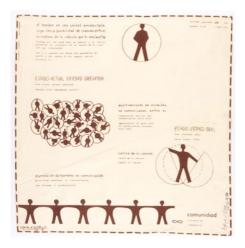


Chili résistance (Resistance in Chile), 1977 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Ernest Pignon-Ernest (b. 1942) is a French artist and cultural organiser perhaps best known for his practice of displaying activist poster works in city streets. His work as an organiser of solidarity exhibitions includes initiating, together with the artist Antonio Saura, 'Art Contre/Against Apartheid'. Involving some hundred international artists, the project, both an art collection and exhibition, debuted in Paris in 1983 and travelled the world in solidarity with the South African liberation movement, Whilst immensely visible, the project included only one black South African artist. Gavin Jantjes, and has thus been critiqued for its asymmetry of representation.

Affiliated early on with the postwar avant-garde milieus of Fluxus and Situationist art, Pignon-Ernest actively participated in the International Brigade of Antifascit Painters in 1975, where he came in close contact with Latin American colleagues living in exile in France such as Gracia Barrios, José Gamarra, Gontran Gunanaes Netto and Julio Le Park. He made the work Chili résistance, displayed here, in 1977 and donated it to MIRSA that same year. Of all the images in the collection, it is perhaps one of the most illustrative and explicit images of resistance, reflecting strength and international solidarity against the backdrop of dictatorship and authoritarianism.

Alfredo Portillos



Alfredo Portillos (1928–2017), was an Argentinian artist whose work included themes of Latin American thought, rituality and syncretism between different cultures after colonisation, in a practice that was often highly conceptual and experimental. During the 1970s he moved frequently between Brazil, Argentina and Europe. He was part of the Grupo CAyC in 1968, together with Jacques Bedel, Luis Benedit and Víctor Grippo, and his work in the 1970s achieved international recognition at the United Nations meeting in Yugoslavia 1975 and the 1977 Bienal de São Paolo.

Made in 1974, the *Untitled* work shown here was donated by Portillos to an auction organised by Artists for Democracy in London in 1974. It was later received by the Museum of Solidarity Salvador Allende in 1993 as part of a large donation of works from the estate of Alejandra Altamirano and Guy Brett. The work is a diagram in which Portillos imagines rupturing the capsules that enshrine individuals, paving the way for communal forms of social organisation necessary for achieving a utopian state. Untitled, 1974 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Kjartan Slettemark



Stoppa Chilematchen! 1975 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Kjartan Slettemark (1932–2008) was a Norwegian-Swedish artist with a long, colourful history of solidarity, activism, appropriation, satire and performance. Gaining early notoriety with a work denouncing the indiscriminate use of napalm in Vietnam, he persistently critiqued western power structures and the norms and standards across life and society that upheld them.

Slettemark made Stoppa *Chilematchen!*, on display here, in support of a Chile boycott related to the semi-final gualifying match of the 1975 Davis Cup, the World Cup of Tennis, in Båstad, Sweden. Using the match to call international attention to Pinochet's brutal regime, the Swedish Chilekommittén (Chile Committee) mobilised extensive protests against the match. The protests brought some 7.000 people to the streets, where demonstrators called out the realities of torture, political imprisonment, assasinations and other gross violations of human rights that were occuring on a daily basis in Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship.

Participating in the protest, Slettemark created a performance in which, naked, he held a large stop sign, with the 'O' replaced by a tennis racket and with the words 'Boycott the Junta' and 'Stop Chilematchen' written over it. Slettemark's prop became the basis of a silkscreen, which he reproduced with assistance from the Swedish Chilekommittén. The print itself had a varied life, appearing on the streets in Stockholm and Båstad during the protests and, later in 1978, on the cover of Stockholm's VI magazine, which paid tribute to Allende.



La lucha es larga comencemos ya (The Struggle is Long, Let's Start Now), 1971 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Taller 4 Rojo was a politically active and socially engaged artist initiative formed in Bogotá, Colombia from 1971–74 by artists Nirma Zárate, Diego Arango, Umberto Giagrandi, Carlos Granada, Jorge Mora and Fabio Rodríguez. Working with activist print-making and paedagogic formats their practice placed great emphasis on the public realm. The group disseminated images and techniques for image production among community members and university students outside of Colombia's museum and gallery contexts, dealing with topics such as the war in Vietnam and the plight of Colombia's working class.

La lucha es larga, comencemos va (The Struggle is Long, Let's Start Now) cites the closing words of the speech 'Mensaje a los cristianos' (Message to Christians) in 1965 by Camilo Torres Restrepo, a socialist Roman-Catholic priest proponent of the liberation theology who became a fighter in the Colombian National Liberation Army (ELN) guerrilla group. The print shows children running towards a pile of discarded US military symbols flanked by a stone wall with Torres's likeness reproduced over the work's title phrase. Known for his attempts to reconcile Marxist political ideology with Roman Catholic beliefs, Torres was a popular figure and close friend to other Colombian luminaries such as the writer Gabriel García Márguez. Taller 4 Rojo made this print some five years after Torres was killed fighting in a battle in 1966 between the ELN and Colombian military forces.

MSSA

María Teresa Toral



Juegos (8) Homenaje A Trinka (Teatro De Marionetas), (Games (8) Homage to Trinka (Puppet Theater)) 1970 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

María Teresa Toral (1911–94) was a Spanish biochemist, translator and artist. In 1939, accused by the new Franco dictatorship of materially assisting the Republican army during the Spanish Civil War, Toral was sentenced to twelve years in prison. Not serving the full term, she was released and remained active in anti-Franco resistence, leading to a second prison sentence in 1945. In 1956 she went into exile in Mexico, where she remained active in scientific, artistic and activist fields, holding a professorship in biochemistry at the Autonomous University of Mexico and the National Polytechnic Institute.

Her artwork, developed in parallel with her scientific career and work as a translator (she translated, for example, Hungarian-Marxist philosopher Georg Lukács's work The Meaning of Contemporary Realism into Spanish) primarily involved printmaking and engraving. While she exhibited widely in the 1960s and 1970s, including in the Bienal de Chile (1963) and successive editions of the Salon Plastica Mexicana (1969, 1970, 1971), her work is very little written about. particularly in English contexts. The work on display here, an homage to the Czech illustrator, animator and puppeteer Jiří Trinka, was donated to the MSSA by the artist during the collection's early solidarity phase, prior to the transition to MIRSA after 1975.



Untitled, 1970 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA)

Teresa Vila (1931–2009) was a Uruguayan artist and leading figure in the development of experimental and avant-garde practices in Uruguay during the 1960s. Having attended the National Academy of Fine Arts in Montevideo in the early 1950s, she moved from abstraction and semi-figuration to more conceptual works and performative happenings, which she developed until 1973, when she withdrew from art-making as the onset of the military dictatorship of Uruguay dramatically disrupted life in the country.

Untitled references Guillermo Nutter, an early nineteenth-century sea captain who, in alliance with Jose Gervasio Artigas, the revolutionary figure and national hero of Uruguay's post-independence history, worked against the colonial oppression of Uruguay by disrupting the commercial routes of the Portugese and Spanish colonial fleet. Like María Teresa Toral, Vila donated the work to the MSSA in the collection's early solidarity phase, prior to 1975. Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Interviews These interviews filmed in 2012 for the fortieth anniversary of the MSSA foundation offer first-hand perspectives from four key personalities about the history of the Museum of Solidarity Salvador Allende.

José Balmes (1927-2016), director of the University of Chile during the early conceptualisation of MSSA, discusses the urgency behind Allende's Operation Truth, which, in the face of destabilising propaganda from the right-wing opposition, invited international journalists, cultural figures, foreign dignitaries and everyday people to witness and give testimony to the reality of democratic Chile. Balmes recounts how Spanish art critic José María Moreno Galván came to the country within this context, and how this resulted in him sharing with Allende his idea of gathering artworks from all over the world in solidarity with the Chilean people in the shape of a museum.

Carmen Waugh (1932-2013) was publicrelations manager at the Instituto de Arte Latinoamericano [Institute of Latin American Art], in Santiago de Chile. She recounts the Institute's role in providing an initial institutional structure for soliciting donations and facilitating collection processes from artists around the world. Waugh also discusses their request to Pablo Picasso to send his Guernica to Chile to be temporarily housed in the MSSA before its return to Spain. Mário Pedrosa himself addressed a letter to Picasso arguing that Guernica should not reside in the most capitalist country of the world, but instead should remain in a socialist, left-wing country.

Dore Ashton (1928–2017), writer and critic of postwar US art, speaks of her role as a member of the International Committee of Artistic Solidarity with Chile, sharing the processes behind the recruitment of artists to donate to the collection. It was not always a simple and straightforward task, but, as Ashton recounts, the committee nevertheless succeeded in soliciting important works by US and European artists, raising the international profile of the collection in the process.

Miguel Rojas Mix (b. 1934), successor to Balmes at the Instituto de Arte Latinoamericano [Institute of Latin American art] who served as director during the 1973 coup d'etat, describes the aesthetic and political context in Latin America at the time, as well as the Museo de la Solidaridad's transition into MIRSA the Museo Internacional de la Resistencia (International Museum of the Resistance). How did the museum survive in exile? How did the initiative negotiate the Pinochet regime's attempts to erase all traces of Allende's platform of socialism through democracy and cultural solidarity, in which MSSA played an important role? Rojas Mix's interview emphasises and gives context to the idea of solidarity as the organising principle of the museum, and how under that principle MSSA developed the idea of uniting the Chilean people with people of the world through a diverse collection of solidaric cultural and artistic expression.

Julio Cortázar



Iulio Cortázar à propos de la création du 'Musée international de la résistance Salvador Allende' (Julio Cortázar on the creation of the 'Salvador Allende International Museum of Resistance') In Auiourd'hui madame, Nancy théâtre du Monde. Antenne 2. 26.7.1977 4'6"

While exiled from Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship, the Museo Internacional de la Resistencia (MIRSA) existed as an experimental structure held by different committees located around the world. The committees assumed responsibility for the gathering, storing, exhibiting and publicising of artworks outside of Chile. In other words, MIRSA continued the struggle for resistance and solidarity with the Chilean people. Multiple exhibitions of the MIRSA collection in large art institutions such as Moderna Museet in Stockholm (1978), whose curator at the time Biörn Springfeldt was the organiser of Swedish donations to the museum. reflect the importance of these committees and their work.

Argentinian author Julio Cortázar, a member of the French committee while in exile in France, was an important figure in nurturing networks of friends and colleagues to lend international support to MIRSA. A key result of his efforts was the opening of a large exhibition at the Grand Nancy Congress Centre in Nancy, France, from 28 April to 8 May 1977. This video recording presents Cortázar's inaugural speech at the opening of this exhibition. He outlines the important role of MIRSA as a museum in exile. giving testimony of Chile's experience to international audiences. As Cortázar makes clear, this reality was not exclusive to Chile, but was mirrored in countries across Latin America, where intellectuals, journalists and the nations at large were being continuously subjected to waves of terror, violence and forced disappearances designed to suppress and eradicate any dissent. In this context, MIRSA's ability to stage widely publicised exhibitions serving as platforms from which to narrate these daily realities. summon solidarity and bring hope to those involved in the struggle against fascist regimes worldwide was crucial.

MSSA

Archival Documentation

Through letters, transcripts, images and other primary documents, the intricate story of MSSA unfolds in the archive. On display here are inaugural speeches from Salvador Allende and Mário Pedrosa, primary documents and letters between the Museum, artists and key figures of the art field. The material reveals the mechanics of collection practices and how the Museum project was forced to adapt to the dramatic changes within the political landscape, in which Chile went from a socialism derived from inclusive democracy to a fascist dictatorship in the span of three short years.

Photographs document different committees created during the MIRSA phase, committees whose responsibility entailed keeping the Museum alive while in exile. They show figures like Julio Cortázar, as well as members of the anti-fascist Painters International Brigade, such as Ernest Pignon-Ernest, José Balmes, José Gamarra and Gontran Guanaes Netto.

Other photographs show the Painters Brigades organised by Finnish and Chilean artists for the exhibition 'Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende' (International Museum of Resistance Salvador Allende) at Taidehalli / Kunsthalle Helsinki, Finland, in January 1979. The brigades also collaborated with Moderna Museet in Stockholm, where the façade of the museum was adorned with paintings by José Balmes together with local Swedish artists.

This archival material makes evident the long and complex ways in which solidarity as an underlying principle was continually enacted along the path of building what stands now as the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende in Santiago de Chile. The material paints a picture of the museum itself as a collective work of art, a nurturer of empathy, solidarity, camaradery and dedication catalysed by its vast network of initiators and collaborators, both in and outside of Chile.

Hannah Ryggen



H.K.H Atomsen (Mr. Atom), 1951 Courtesy of Telenor Art Collection, Oslo

Hannah Ryggen (1894–1970) was a Swedish-born artist who moved to Norway in the 1920s. Working with textiles on her home-made loom, creating her own dyes and weave patterns, Ryggen garnered recognition for her work during her lifetime, but it has recently undergone a significant revival. She is now internationally considered to be one of the most prolific figures of twentieth-century Scandinavian art.

Living and working on a small farm in coastal Ørlandet in mid-Norway, Ryggen produced tapestries depicting themes of explicit solidarity with the world around her. She wove radical manifestos against the socio-political injustices of her time, from Fascism and Nazism in the 1930s and 1940s, to the protest against nuclear weapons in the 1950s. She also supported the wave of African independence movements in the 1960s.

Combining motifs of folk and decorative arts with an innovative contemporary style of her own, Ryggen created a dynamic tension between figuration and abstraction that rendered her chosen topics all the more compelling. Isolated and dedicated to her family while keeping up with current affairs through a daily newspaper, she addressed a range themes from world politics and collectivity to family life and motherhood. Her storytelling was stark at times, often with a dark sense of humour. Many of the issues she approached during her life are once again of great significance today. Ryagen wove H.K.H. Atomsen (Mr. Atom) within the context of the aftermath of the United States' first atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the nuclear arms race that ensued, with the Soviet Union testing its first atomic weapon in 1949 and fears of nuclear confrontation rising palpably in the context of the Korean War. Ryggen, like millions around the world, had been deeply disturbed by the news of Hiroshima, and this prompted her to join the mobilisations and solidarity movements emerging against nuclear testing and armaments. In Mr. Atom she depicts a male figure, surveying the world around him from a position of dominance, with a regime of death and destruction at his feet. The character of Mr. Atom continued to be present in her journals well after she completed the tapestry, as the news of nuclear testing in different parts of the world reached her during the 1950s.

Actions of Art and Solidarity

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Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust – Sahmat

Sahmat, which means 'in agreement' in Hindi, is a Delhi-based arts collective founded in 1989. The group was formed in direct response to the death of Safdar Hashmi, a beloved political activist, actor. playwright and poet who was mortally attacked by Hindutva (Hindu right wing) extremists in 1989. The collective's relentless work over the last thirty years, and its ongoing activities today, aim to counter the divisive politics of communalism, the term used for politically motivated, often violent conflicts between religious groups in South Asia. Sahmat's work unfolds against the backdrop of a right-wing upsurge of Hindu majoritarian communalism that exploded in the 1990s, and that has evolved into our times. This history is marked by key events. including the destruction of Ayodhya's Babri Mosque in 1992 by Hindu extremists, the Gujarat riots in 2002, the governmental legislation in Jumma and Kashmir in 2019. and most recently the much contested Citizenship Amendment Act that, according to critics and legal scholars, is designed to favour India's Hindu majority in violation of the secular principles enshrined in the 1947 Constitution.

Sahmat's powerful combination of experimental and outreach projects span all creative disciplines. The group has organised hundreds of innovative and experimental events in the name of artistic and socio-political solidarity across farranging communities in India, its creative core fuelled rather than curtailed by an economy of means. Plurality is at the heart of Sahmat's ethos, and the cooperative has worked across wide-ranging styles from contemporary to classical with artists, poets, singers, actors, film-makers, puppeteers, photojournalists, and others connecting to all members of India's fractured society, whatever their caste, religious or social status. From public processions to street performances, from poetry and music festivals to puppet shows, from conferences and publications to ambitious exhibitions opening simultaneously in up to thirty cities across India, their efforts have focused on strengthening collective action, to counter division and elevate a culture of solidarity. The collective's capacity for reacting quickly to unfolding events, as well as its

dedication and resilience, makes it stand out within the history of collective and solidarity-driven practices in South Asia.

Amongst the myriad cultural activities catalysed by Sahmat, this exhibition features a selection of artists from the following three exhibitions:

'Gift for India' (1997)

Conceived and coordinated by the artists Vivan Sundaram, Ram Rahman and Shamshad on behalf of Sahmat, 'Gift for India' was a project marking the 50th anniversary of Indian independence and the life of the young nation-state. Prompted by models of mail-art, whose inherent democratic and creative possibilities echoed Sahmat's working values, the project call received responses from nearly 200 artists from around the world and opened at the Lalit Kala Akademi Galleries in Rabindra Bhawan in September 1997. Artists were invited to use approximately 12 cm cardboard cubes as a starting point for their sculptures. The returned submissions varied broadly as the artists experimented with different materials such as paint, mud, salt, tea leaves, eggshells and hair. In addition to the selection of artists presented in this exhibition (TM Azis, Eleena Banik, Rosa Irigoven, Kamin Lertchaiprasert, Pavan Mahatta, Eric Metcalfe, Alnoor Mitha, Prashant Munkherjee, Peter Nagel, Kavita Shah, Jin Sook Shinde and P. Srinivasan), other contributors to the original project included Iftikhar and Elizabeth Dadi, Lynda Benglis, Alfredo Jaar, Mary Kelly, Kaisu Koivisto and Ilona Lovas. 'The care with which some of our foreign participants have conceived and crafted this small sculptural object is gratifying,' writes Sundaram in the introduction to the catalogue. 'The messages that have come with the boxes', he continues, 'endorsing the idea, Sahmat's existence, artists' solidarity on a common imaginative ground, makes the project truly a gift among friends.'

'The Making of India' (2004)

Also organised by Ram Rahman, Shamshad and Vivan Sundaram, this exhibition commemorated fifteen years of Sahmat activities. Searching for a non-linear historical presentation that examined 'ideas, sites, cultural traditions, artifacts, architecture and social transformation through history', the project aimed to provide a counter-narrative of national construction in the face of majoritarian efforts to undermine the plurality of India's cultural and religious identities. The show opened in three locations – Rabindra Bhawan, Vadhera Art Gallery and Jawaharlal Nehru University's School of Arts and Aesthetics – all in Delhi, over the period of January to February 2004.

'Making History Our Own' (2007)

Sahmat launched this exhibition, conceived by Ram Rahman, to highlight the artists's commitment to the making of a nation and its narratives, and to show how artists can witness and respond to the reality of India's history through grass-roots perspectives. Organised in 2007 and coinciding with both the 60th anniversary of Indian Independence and 150 years since the 1857 Red Fort uprising in Delhi, an important moment in the shaping of Indian history, the project raised questions on caste, on the enforcement of one language over others, and the artificial dominance of centralised structures over smaller social groups. For their works, artists used elements of their own history as sources in relation to larger constructions of the idea of India. This multi-layering of identities, celebrating individuality within collective national imaginaries, challenged the homogenising and dominant forces advocated by the coalition of right-wing Hindu nationalist groups (under the banner of Sangh Parivar) and advocated for a collective solidarity with all facets of India's plural society. The exhibition opened at the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society (AIFACS) in Delhi, January 2007.

Sahmat Banners

Every year on 1 January, nominated by Sahmat as the Safdar Hashmi Memorial Day, an event is organised in Delhi to commemorate the occasion. A stage is erected and covered with hand-painted banners adorned with poetry from all cultural and religious groups in India, as well as words and images echoing Safdar Hashmi's and Sahmat's core ethos. The textiles are dyed in a myriad of colours and provide a celebratory space of distinct warmth. For the hundreds of attendees who return every year, it is a much-awaited event to reconnect with artists, intellectuals and friends who have regularly swelled the ranks of Sahmat's rallies and gatherings. For new participants, it is a hospitable gathering and safe space in which to discuss solidarity and anti-communalism, and forge new plans. These banners operate as Sahmat's unique visual identity. They gather thoughts by German revolutionary thinker Bertolt Brecht, Urdu poetry by the Pakistani Marxist Faiz Ahmad Faiz, guotes by the famed modernist Hindustani author Munshi Premchand, as well as images of Mahatma Gandhi by artist Nandalal Bose (a key figure of contextual Indian modernism) attuned to the finely balanced performances on stage. The banners are in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and English. They reflect various socio-political and cultural movements characteristic of India's inherent plurality, among them the Sufi-Bhakti traditions that have survived and evolved through centuries, and from which Sahmat derives considerable source material.

Sahmat Publications

Since its inception, Sahmat has published prolifically, producing numerous books, catalogues, leaflets and other printed material for public circulation in support of its programmatic activities and mission as a collective. In an introduction to one of their earliest books, Artists Alert, celebrated Indian critic Geeta Kapur recounts the atmosphere after Safdar Hashmi's death and unwittingly sets the stage for the next thirty years of Sahmat's activities: 'Interrupting the routine of survival and success there are causes that bring artists together. Fortunately, there is still a sense of community and on occasion a sense of solidarity among Indian artists. This is such an occasion.' It is just one of many seminal moments in Sahmat's publication history, which here is represented through its books Artist Alert (1989), Art Against Communalism (1991), Images and Words (1992), Gift for India (1997), The Making of India (2007) and The Constitution of India at 70: Artists Respond (2021).

'The Making of India' (2004)

Pablo Bartholomew

Pablo Bartholomew (b. 1955) is an Indian photographer who has documented the socio-political landscape of the Indian Subcontinent for nearly four decades. At a young age he won his first World Press Photo award (1976) for a series on the life of morphine addicts in Delhi. He is best known for his Bhopal Gas Tragedy photographic series, which earned him a second World Press Photo award (1985). His practice includes the compilation of a vast archive, capturing the intimacy of domestic life and the bohemian scene in India during the 1970s and 80s. He spent over ten vears portraving various Adhivasi groups (Indigenous communities) in India, and is specially known for his work with the Naga people of northeast India.

The photograph presented here is part of a series witnessing the attacks against the Dang Adhivasi community (a Christian minority in the state of Gujarat). This was part of a series of attacks against Christian communities across India during the 1990s by right-wing Hindutva groups, which culminated with the 1999 Christmas Day attack on churches in South Gujarat, and the burning alive of an Australian missionary, Graham Staines, and his two voung sons in Orissa. Forced re-conversion to Hinduism was organised in Adhivasi belts of several states, and sporadic attacks on Christian minority communities continue to occur from time to time to this day.



Pablo Bartholomew A picture of Christ recovered from the wrecked church in the

village of Mulchond in the Dang area of Gujarat, 1998 Courtesy of the artist

Ram Rahman

A central figure in Sahmat, Ram Rahman (b. 1955) is one of its trustees and has curated several projects for the collective throughout its history. He is also a noted artist, curator, writer and graphic designer. Aftermath portrays a man carrying a Gandhi cut-out walking outside Sahmat's office. Rahman superimposed the image over a photograph of the streets of Old Delhi portraying a patchwork of quilts that are airing on the streets; these quilts are rented out to the homeless for the night. This part of Delhi, though rich in history and culture. is marred today by poverty and inequality. The juxtaposition comments on the hollow realisation of Gandhi's idealism in a state struggling with abject living conditions and rising sectarian politics.



Ram Rahman Aftermath, 1995 Courtesy of the artist

Inder Salim

Inder Salim (b. 1956) is a performance artist and poet who has significantly expanded the genre of body-centric work in his thirty year-long practice. He was part of the leftwing movement in Kashmir where he was born in the 1980s and thereafter his move to Delhi inevitably introduced him to the work of Sahmat. Through bodily interventions he foregrounds the role of art as activism and critiques the absence of a discourse and solidarity with issues of sexuality, gueer politics and the meaning of the body in the wider Indian eco-system. With a strong dose of theatricality, he pushes the audience to dissent and express outrage against a cultural field that has deliberately avoided conversations on sexuality.

The image presented here is a still from a performance in Bengaluru, which was transformed into posters and visiting cards distributed by Salim to the audience as he took the performance to different parts of the city. Interestingly, posters with this image reached the women's police department in Bengaluru. A banner of about four and a half metres with the image was also printed and displayed by Sahmat in several of its programmes, distributing further its central message that we are all a part of women's issues.

Vivan Sundaram

Vivan Sundaram (b. 1943) is a founding trustee of Sahmat and a major figure of Indian art history. His work refers to social and political history, the environment and to historiography itself, and the relation of these fields to contemporary reality. Initially working with painting, in the 1990s he pioneered the way to a more conceptually oriented practice with an expanded materiality that included installations, performative videos, found objects and photographic collages.

Exchanging Looks is a photographic collage in which Sundaram juxtaposes elements of works by different photographers into one composition, and in so doing highlights the making of a photograph in relation to other photographs. There are several denunciatory narratives embedded here, ranging from the impact of the western gaze upon young Indian women, to the infamous Mathura Rape Case of 1972 in which two policemen who raped an Adhivasi (Indigenous) girl on the compound of the Maharashtra police station were acquitted by the Supreme Court of India.



Inder Salim We All are Women's Issues, 2003 Courtesy of the artist





Vivan Sundaram Exchanging Looks, 2004 Courtesy of the artist

Left: Teacher's Wife, Jaisalmer, Rajasthan, 1978, by Max Pam. Inset: Amrita Sher Gil, 1937 by Barada Ukil.

Center: One Day (diptych), by Daniel Blaufuks. Inset: Guddo, 1980, by Vivan Sundaram.

Right: *Big Shanti,* 1985, by Vivan Sundaram. Inset: Detail from One Day, by Daniel Blaufuks.

'Making History Our Own' (2007)

Pushpamala N.

Pushpamala N.'s (b. 1956) photography performances engage with and critiques the traditions (colonial and hegemonic) of photo studios, cinema and folk performances in India. Originally trained as a sculptor in Baroda, she moved from figurative work to a more conceptual practice, particularly impacted by the Babri Mosque demolition in 1992. In the masquerades series in which she simultaneously inhabits and questions familiar frames from art history, photography, film, theatre and popular culture, she cites a wide range of references, inserting herself into the centre of the work to unleash socio-political enquiry.

In the exhibition 'Making History Our Own'. Pushpamala presented a work that takes as a starting point a photograph of her mother dressed as the Rani of Jhansi a legendary leader of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58 against the British Raj, who died fighting as she led her troops in what is known as India's First War of Independence. The revolt was sparked by the British Army's ongoing transgressions of the Muslim and Hindu dietary and religious practices of many of the Indian soldiers in its ranks. The heroic pose by her mother in the original image, taken for a pageant marking Independence Day in schools, has a striking parallel to Pushpamala's own practice of self-portraiture and combines anti-colonial and feminist critiques in one image.



Pushpamala N. Mother as Jhansi ki Rani, 2007 Courtesy of Sahmat

Ram Rahman

Rahman's work was included in the exhibition 'Making History Our Own' to celebrate the anniversary of India's Independence, and highlight the diversity of figures committed to constructing a narrative that defined India's nationbuilding as a plural process of solidarity with all communities. Family Photo is directly inspired by Gandhi's anti-colonial philosophy of making the political deeply personal and rooted in everyday living. In this sense, the work takes as its starting point a photograph of 1957, shot by the artist's father Habib Rahman (a noted Indian architect), of key figures in the cultural history of Indian modernism, across religions (Muslim and Hindu) and genders.

From left to right the photograph portravs: Inder Kumar Guiral, a refugee from the majority Muslim state of Punjab (this state was divided during the so-called Partition process in India's independence: East Puniab is now in Pakistan) who became the Prime Minister of India in 1997; the artist's mother Indrani Rahman with twovear-old Ram in her arms (a Bharatanatvam dancer, she brought many classical dance forms to cosmopolitan prominence in the 1950s and 1960s); Satish Gujral, younger brother of Inder Kumar Gujral, a prominent artist and architect: MF Husain, a key artist of Indian modernism and later in his career famously persecuted into exile by Hinduist extremists; Charles Fabri, a Hungarian national who settled in India and became an important art critic, cultural theorist and scholar. The borders framing the work are photographic moments of the artist's trajectory from school and college documenting and showcasing Rahman's personal stories.



Ram Rahman Family Photo, 1995 Courtesy of Sahmat

Gargi Raina

Gargi Raina (b. 1961) has enjoyed a long association with Sahmat, and has through the years responded to many of the collective's projects and calls for participation. She traces her ancestry to Kashmir and often explores those roots symbolically in her practice. Her works are made using a variety of materials – pastel, gouache, clay, wood – and she not only paints but also takes a sculptural approach to her art pieces.

The Scattering [Zafran] poetically and brutally evokes the exodus of Kashmiri Pandit from the valley in the 1990s. Gargi, herself a Kashmiri Pandit, uses the Zafran (saffron) symbolically to tell the story of division, destruction and displacement. It resonates with the plight of a minority community when dominant forces appropriate narratives and implement divisive politics. In the last frame of the six prints, the stain of the saffron gently merges with a streak of blood. With insurgency on the rise, the growth of separatist movements and the destruction caused by successive poor governance. Kashmir has become a hotbed of conflicts, resulting in the death and torture of thousands of Muslim civilians.



Gargi Raina The Scattering (Zafran), 2007 Courtesy of Sahmat

Nilima Sheikh

One of the doyennes of the Indian art world. Nilima Sheikh has a long association with Sahmat that dates back to its first exhibition Artists Alert (1989) and has continued all the way to Constitution at 70 (2020). Sheikh (b. 1945) trained at Baroda University, connecting with an artistic circle exploring narrative painting. The narratives she depicts eschew the use of perspective in favour of a style that seems to exist outside time, whilst retaining a connection to concrete issues. In this regard the artist has always maintained an interest in the troubled history of Kashmir, and a feminist stance elevating women as spiritual and working citizens. Sheikh draws upon figurative styles, hand-made traditions and spiritual references including Moghul miniatures. Pichwai cloth scrolls. folktales. colonial-era illustrated manuals, the writings of Kashmiri poets and historians, and the voices of Sufi mystics. Her rich visual, material and textual vocabulary is sourced from multiple geographies, diverse histories and religions, conflating ancient mythology, modern history and current events.

In this particular work, Sheikh explores a theme that recurs in her oeuvre: the return to a site of violence in Kashmir to express a sense of solidarity with its majority Muslim community, its conflicted past and its increasing disenfranchisement today by the state from mainstream (Hindu majority) India. Her work reflects the painful realisation of abandoned history and absent hope of an artist who stands as a witness to both past and present, and reflects with trepidation upon the future.



Nilima Sheikh *I Write on the Void,* 2007

Courtesy of Martand Khosla

I Write on the Void takes its title from Agha Shahid Ali's eponymous poem. Ali is an important Kashmiri poet whose powerful and melancholy verses speak of the religious, geo-political, extractivist and nationalistic violence that has torn Kashmir apart. As a poet who lived most of his life in the US, the notion of exile is a recurring theme in his texts. In particular, the poet laments the mutual 'othering' of individuals which polarised Kashmiri society during the early years of the armed conflict in Kashmir in the 1990s. In this work, Sheikh engages with Shahid's verses visually, as entry points to reflect upon and refocus the meaning of Kashmir as a physical entity, and in the abstract sense of belonging to a history whose legacy has become particularly virulent in the current state-run discriminatory policies against Muslims in India.

Sashi Kumar

Safdar was directed and produced by Sashi Kumar in the early months of 1989. It documents the inspiring but tragic origins of Sahmat, which was born from a groundswell of solidarity and resistance in the wake of the brutal public murder of beloved poet, playwright and activist Safdar Hashmi. Hashmi's death occurred on 2 January 1989 when, while performing the play Halla Bol (meaning 'Speak Up') on the streets of Jhandapur on the outskirts of Delhi, India, he was fatally attacked by a group of right-wing Hindu nationalists.

The film introduces Hashmi's magnetic personality through archival footage of his singing, teaching, activism and street performances. With detailed accounts and testimony of the attack that led to his death, the film documents how that event triggered the spontaneous mobilisation of thousands of people who came to the streets to both mourn his passing and protest its circumstances. We see a wide range of reactions, street marches and funeral processions, as well as declarations of support in high-cultural circles, such as when celebrity actor Shabana Azmi defiantly read out a statement of solidarity at the Indian Film Festival inauguration ceremony in Delhi. We hear from Hashmi's wife Moloyshree Hashmi, also a playwright and theatre director, about Safdar and their relationship, and see the incredible moment in which, just days after his murder, she returns to the very scene in Jhandapur where Safdar was killed to finish the play that had been violently interrupted.



Sashi Kumar Safdar, 1989 35'35" Courtesy of Sahmat and Sashi Kumar

Public Programme

'Actions of Art and Solidarity' includes a public programme of performances, film screenings, talks, tours and workshops co-curated by OCA and Kunstnernes Hus. Aiming to broaden the scope and reach of the exhibition, the programme will expand on and give context to the artists, collectives and themes of the show. Below is an overview of the schedule, followed by more in-depth descriptions of select events.

This booklet went to print amidst changing COVID-19 regulations. Dates and times are subject to change. Please check www.oca.no and www.kunstnerneshus.no for up-to-date information.

15 January

Opening of the Exhibition 16 January Family tour & workshop 17 January Public guided tour with curator Katya García-Antón **3** February Baby tours - special tours for parents with small children **11 February** Patchwork Dialogues 1: Digging into la Madre Tierra – the extractivism industry from Latin America to Sápmi 12 February Leo Filmklubb **13 February** PLOT workshop with Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge (LAG): Kunst og kollokvie **13 February** Family tour & workshop 16–19 February Pan African Space Station, Broadcasting Radio from Cape Town, panafricanspacestation.org.za 17 February Film screening, The Stuart Hall Project (2013), directed by John Akomfrah 28 February Patchwork Dialogues 2: From the Dream to the Ceiba. How a Zapatista theatre group came to Norway in 1999, in collaboration with Nordic Black Theatre 6 March Blikkåpner Oslo – workshop for young adults

11 March

Through-the-night performance: Maritea Dæhlin, I guess you have a lot of questions. A bedtime story 13 March

Kunstnere viser Kunstnere: Public tour by Khalid Salimi, Ari Gautier and Tonje Finvold Lacher from Mela, Oslo 21 March

Film programme and closing of the exhibition

(On-going) Every Sunday Open public guided tours, 14.00

Every Saturday Speed tours (15 min) by Blikkåpner Oslo – TBC

COVID-19

The programme will closely follow all up-todate national and local regulations, ensuring a safe environment for all, with additional remote offerings wherever possible.

Most events will have limited capacity and will require pre-registration or advanced tickets, which will be available on Kunstnernes Hus's website. Any updates or new information will be communicated by OCA and Kunstnernes Hus on websites and through social-media channels. Please check for the latest details. We look forward to seeing you! Actions of Art and Solidarity

Patchwork Dialogues 1 Digging into la Madre Tierra – The extractivism industry from Latin America to Sápmi Date: 11 February, 19.00

Development and green growth are common arguments to justify projects of mining, forestry, agribusiness and energy production. Multinational companies and national states dig for uranium and oil, cultivate extensive monocrops like soya and trees, and build large-scale wind turbines and solar panel sites. They are part of a system constructed to effectively generate as much profit as possible, at the cost of nature and people. The soil becomes depleted, rivers contaminated and people are exploited and suppressed as knowledge, tradition, history and cultures are eradicated along with biodiversity and unrecoverable nature. Our common territories, nature and the diversity of peoples are under pressure. This is a widespread reality in Latin America, in Norway, Sápmi and the whole world. In Latin America, to be a defensor(a) del *territorio*, a defender of the territory, is to fight for collective rights to an area with common goods like forest, arable land and clean water, as well to struggle to cherish and protect a diversity of cultures and the coexistence of people and nature. The defence of the territory is a struggle of belonging; it is a struggle for ourselves, for each other and for those who come after us.

In this Patchwork Dialogue we will listen to many fragments relating to different struggles of territory defense. Connecting patches and lands, we will track similarities and differences and explore ways of achieving solidarity in the common struggle to defend our territories.

Conceived by Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes, Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge (LAG) Patchwork Dialogues 2 From the Dream to the Ceiba – How a Zapatista theatre group came to Norway in 1999 Data: Sunday 28 Exbruary 15 0

Date: Sunday 28 February, 15.00 In 1999 The Nordic Black Theatre and LAG Norway collaborated with a Zapatista theatre group from the autonomous regions in Chiapas. The Zapatistas made it to the front pages of newspapers worldwide through an armed uprising on 1 January 1994 demanding justice, democracy and self-determination for all Indigenous people and freedom for everyone. They made public their very first declaration from the heart of the Lacandon jungle. In 1999, a theatre group from the autonomous region Morelia, Chiapas, came to Oslo and together with Nordic Black Theatre produced the play From the Dream to the Ceiba. Running through it are threads of collective memory, and references to the ability to organise, build solidarity. resist and fight. All of these are of great inspiration to LAG's Solidarity Patchwork in this exhibition. What is collective memory? Why is it important? How can we connect through taking care collectively?

This Patchwork Dialogue will start as an outdoor ritual performance in The Palace Park by former students and teachers from the Nordic Black Theatre School in memory of the play *From the Dream to the Ceiba*, and continues with an indoor screening of the film of the original play and a dialogue with people from Nordic Black Theatre and LAG.

Conceived by Astrid Fadnes and Ingrid Fadnes, Latin-Amerikagruppene and Nordic Black Theatre

Public Programme

I guess you have a lot of questions. A bedtime story All-night performance event by Maritea Dæhlin Date: Thursday 11 March, 22:00 – Friday 12 March, 09:30

I guess you have a lot of questions. I do. I have so many questions they become one and get tangled into different voices, different answers that are not answering my questions, my questions that don't want them to answer, while still wanting to listen to them. It is a conversation where you don't have to say anything, you just have to be there. You can listen or you can sleep. You can let the words become part of your unconscious, your dreams, or you can try to stay awake, like me. I will try, but I might stray in the middle. The fragments of languages, Spanish, Ajuuk, English and Norwegian, will be unpredictable, but not empty. This is our reality, and you are welcome to get an insight into it, but not to understand it.

You are invited to spend a night inside the exhibition, surrounded by solidarity, by art. To take part in a sound-landscape made up of fragments of texts, triggered by conversations I had with two women I admire and wanted to listen to. We will be with the linguist and activist Yasnaya Aguilar and the journalist and writer Sigrun Slapgard, with ourselves and the sculpture Hun som bærer minnet om jorda, hvor bærer denne jorda henne, made by my mother Gitte Dæhlin, as a trigger. She begs us not to describe her, not to make her answer any questions, but we will ask. We ask and we ask, but we never expect her to answer. We respect her silence. Still, we want her to be there for us, to save us, to be filled by a silence that lacks oppression, a silence that can give hope to the night. But we don't manage to stay silent. - Maritea Dæhlin

Texts in sound work: Yasnaya Elena A. Gil and Sigrun Slapgard All-night performance Commissioned by OCA, co-produced with Black Box Theatre Free admission. Limited capacity and pre-registration required. Visit Kunstnerneshus.no for tickets. Please bring: a sleeping mat, sleeping bag, toiletries

Date: Saturday 12 March, 14:00

Kunstnere viser kunstnere is originally developed by Kunstnernes Hus for artists to give public tours of exhibitions from their own perspectives and viewpoints.

In this edition of Kunstnere viser Kunstnere, human-rights activist and cultural critic Khalid Salimi, author Ari Gautier and Tonje Finvold Lacher, communications manager for Melahuset and Melafestivalen in Oslo, conduct a public walk through the exhibition reflecting on the works and collectives on display based on their own work in solidarity and activism over many decades. Melahuset, formed in 2016, is a cultural organisation and music and arts venue in central Oslo with historical connections to many central organisations and initiatives within Norwegian and international solidarity work, including the Immigrant Collective and the multi-lingual Immigrant Radio, as well as the Norwegian Anti-Racist Centre, founded in 1983. www.mela.no

Songs of Solidarity – Lift Every Voice Songs of Solidarity – Lift Every Voice is a collective project, a playlist and sonic response to 'Actions of Art and Solidarity' (Office for Contemporary Art Norway's upcoming exhibition at Kunstnernes Hus in Oslo, Norway).

The playlist consists of songs, proposed by many of the artists taking part in the exhibition as well as by other collaborators of the project, to celebrate music as a powerful force of solidarity and solidaric story-telling. The songs elevate the diversity of voices in solidarity processes and actions, they express desires such as 'stand by me' and 'not in my name', and narrate stories of uprising, resistance and resilience. We have also included songs that express support for land, oceans and other beings, as well as commemorate other acts of solidarity.

The playlist was initiated by artist Elin Már Øyen Vister aka DJ Sunshine

A complete list of credits and songs chosen can be found on OCA's website, www.oca.no.



mage credits

Image credits Gavin Jantjes, A South African Colouring Book, 1989 Image courtesy of Arts Council Collection, Southbank Centre, London © the artist Carolina Caycedo, Mãe das aguas livres I. 2019 Image courtesy Serendipity, group exhibition at Galeria Francisco Fino © photodocumenta Maria Hupfield, Land Solidarity, 2020 Image courtesy of the artist Bouchra Khalili, The Tempest Society. Digital film. 2017. 60'. Commissioned for documenta 14. View of the installation at documenta 14, ASFA, Athens. Photo by Stathis Mamalakis. Courtesy of the artist and Galerie Mor Charpentier, Paris Beatriz González, Mural Para Fábrica Socialista (detail), 1981. Courtesy of Colección de Arte del Museo de Arte - Dirección de Patrimonio Cultural -Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Foto: Wilmar Lozano Hannah Ryggen, H.K.H Atomsen (Mr. Atom), 1952 Image courtesy Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseum / Museene I Sør-Trøndelag. Photo: Ben Westoby. © Modern Art Oxford Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, The Traveling Scarf and Other Stories: Art Networks, Politics, and Friendships between Palestine and Norway, 2020 Still, image courtesy of Toufoul Abou-Hodeib and OCA Chimurenga – Pan African Space Station Image courtesy of The Pan African Space Station © Chimurenga, 2019 Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Chelsea E. Manning, Probably Chelsea, 2017 Image courtesy of the artists and Fridman Gallery, New York. Photo: N. Miguletz / Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2018 Gitte Dæhlin. Hun som Bærer Minnet om denne Jorda, Hvor Bærer denne Jorda Henne? (She who Carries the Memory of this Earth, Where does this Earth Carry Her?), 1981-1983 Image courtesy of Maritea Dæhlin, photo: Eirin Torgersen / OCA. 2020 Wendy Carrig, Hats, from the Greenham Common photography series, 1985 Image courtesy of the artist Tina Keane. In Our Hands. Greenham, 1982-84 Still, image courtesy of Tina Keane, England & Co. Gallery and LUX, London

Beeban Kidron and Amanda Richardson, Carry Greenham Home, 1983 Still, image courtesy of Concord Media The Norwegian Solidarity **Committee for Latin America** /Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge - Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes, Solidarity Patchwork. Patching Stories of Solidarity / Solidaritetsteppet, 2020 Detail, courtesy of the artists, contributors and LAG Norge. Photo: Ingrid Fadnes, 2020 Naeem Mohaiemen, Two Meetings and a Funeral. 2017. threechannel digital video installation. Image courtesy of the artist and Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kassel, documenta 14, photo: **Michael Nast** Vivan Sundaram, Exchanging Looks, 2004 Image courtesy of the artist, with courtesy to Left: Teacher's Wife, Jaisalmer, Rajasthan, 1978, by Max Pam. Inset: Amrita Sher Gil, 1937 by Barada Ukil. Center: One Day (Diptych), by Daniel Blaufuks, Inset: Guddo, 1980, by Vivan Sundaram. Right: Big Shanti, 1985, by Vivan Sundaram. Inset: Detail from One Day, by Daniel Blaufuks. Pablo Bartholomew, A picture of Christ recovered from the wrecked church in the village of Mulchond in the Dang area of Gujarat, 1998 Image courtesy of the artist Ram Rahman, Aftermath, 1995 Image courtesy of the artist Gargi Raina, The Scattering (Zafran), 2007 Image courtesy of Sahmat Inder Salim We all are Women's Issues, 2003 Image courtesy of the artist Pushpamala N. Mother as Jhansi ki Rani, 2007 Image courtesy of Sahmat and the artist Ram Rahman, Family Photo, 1995 Image courtesy of Sahmat and the artist Nilima Sheikh I Write on the Void, 2007 Image courtesy of Martand Khosla and the artist Antonio Dias, Bandera (Flag), 1972 (2012)Image courtesy of Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and Paola Chieregato

(MSSA) and Concepción **Balmes** Taller 4 Rojo, La lucha es larga comencemos ya (The Struggle is Long, Let's Start Now), 1971 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and the artists Kjartan Slettemark, Stoppa Chilematchen! 1975 **Courtesy Collection Museo** de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and © Kjartan Slettemark / BONO, 2021 Alfredo Portillos, Untitled, 1974 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Ernest Pignon-Ernest, Chili résistance. (Resistance in Chile), 1977 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and the artist Gontran Guanaes Netto, Autre néo-colonialisme, (Other Neocolonialism), ca. 1971-77 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and Pedro Guanaes Netto Teresa Vila, Untitled, 1970 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Öyvind Fahlström, Column no. 3 (Chile F), 1974 99.5 cm x 69.5 cm Silkscreen in colors, edition of 100 Published by Multhipla, Milan and printed by Multirevol, Milan (Renato Volpini, master printer) Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and © 2020 Sharon Avery-Fahlström, VG bildkunst. Bonn José Gamarra, Puzzle, 1975 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and the artist Claude Lazar, Tel al-Zaatar, 1976 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) and the artist Clemencia Lucena, Educación revolucionaria, (Revolutionary Education), 1976 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Teresa Montiel, Fragmentos ... (Fragments ...), 1983 Courtesv Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende

(MSSA) and the artist

Gracia Barrios, Multitud III (Multitude

Courtesy Collection Museo de

la Solidaridad Salvador Allende

111), 1972

María Teresa Toral, Juegos (8) Homenaje A Trinka (Teatro De Marionetas), (Games (8) Homage to Trinka (Puppet Theater)), 1970 Courtesy Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Chilean Arpilleristas, Untitled, ca. 1973-85 10 works Courtesy of Collection Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) Julio Cortázar À propos de la création du 'Musée international de la résistance Salvador Allende' (On the creation of the 'Salvador Allende International Museum of Resistance') In Aujourd'hui madame, Nancy théâtre du Monde, Antenne 2, 26 July, 1977 4'6" Courtesy of Institut national de l'audiovisuel (INA), France Sashi Kumar, Safdar, 1989 35'35" Courtesy of Sahmat and the director

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Toufoul Abou-Hodeib Carolina Caycedo Chimurenga Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Chelsea E. Manning **Gitte Dæhlin** Maritea Dæhlin **Greenham Common** Wendy Carrig **Tina Keane** Beeban Kidron and Amanda Richardson **Beatriz González** Maria Hupfield **Gavin Jantjes Bouchra Khalili** Latin-Amerikagruppene i Norge / The Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Latin America (Astrid and Ingrid Fadnes) Naeem Mohaiemen Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) **Chilean Arpilleristas Gracia Barrios Antonio Dias** Öyvind Fahlström José Gamarra Gontran Guanaes Netto **Claude Lazar** Clemencia Lucena Teresa Montiel **Ernest Pignon-Ernest Alfredo Portillos Kjartan Slettemark** Taller 4 Rojo María Teresa Toral **Teresa Vila** Hannah Ryggen Sahmat – Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust **TM Azis** Dora Longo Bahia **Eleena Banik Pablo Bartholomew Rosa Irigoyen** Kamin Lertchaiprasert Pavan Mahatta Eric Metcalfe Alnoor Mitha **Prashant Mukherjee** Peter Nagel Pushpamala N. **Inder Salim Kavita Shah** Nilima Sheikh Jin Sook Shinde P. Srinivasan Vivan Sundaram Ram Rahman Gargi Raina ART Elin Már Øyen Vister

