

# Past Disquiet

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*Past Disquiet* is an exhibition of stories collected over nine years of research. The past we have uncovered is recent, and a number of its protagonists are still living; nevertheless, for the most part, these stories narrate undocumented chapters in the history of modern and contemporary art after May '68 – chapters that chronicle the role of art in political change at a time when artists saw art as belonging at the heart of social life. Our methodology was akin to detective work, replete with fortuitous encounters, providential accidents, surprising coincidences, and sudden epiphanies. We sometimes went in circles, and back and forth, allowing stories and characters to lead us from one to the next, rather than following a straightforward agenda. In order to represent our research as an exhibition, we have restaged the experience of moving through our forensic process. A linear dramaturgy, with a distinct beginning, middle, and end, would cheat the complexity of the histories unveiled, and thwart visitors to the exhibition from threading narratives for themselves.

There are two entrances to the exhibition, both of which are also its exits. We invite you to immerse yourself in this world of stories, memories, images, and documents, so you may draw personal speculations and safe-keep your own memories of what we have chosen to display.

Thus, this booklet is not meant to be a prescriptive guide; it does not offer a trajectory through the exhibition spaces, but is instead conceived as a companion to your meanderings, and reflections afterward.

Our journey began with research into the 1978 *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*. We came across the catalog of the exhibition in the library of the Agial Art Gallery in Beirut, and were intrigued by the scale and scope of the exhibition: in solidarity with Palestine, approximately two hundred works were donated by almost two hundred artists from thirty countries. The main text of the catalog stated that these donated artworks were intended as the seed collection for a future museum for Palestine. Organized by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) through the Plastic Arts Section of its Office of Unified Information, the exhibition opened in the basement hall of the Beirut Arab University on March 21, 1978. And yet, the exhibition is not mentioned in any local, regional, or international art-historical accounts; neither is there any reference to it in exhibition histories. To discover more, we interviewed intellectuals, artists, writers, and critics who were connected to the PLO, and are living in Amman, Beirut, or Damascus, and were active in the 1970s. Slowly, pieces of a larger puzzle emerged.



1 The exhibition catalog was our inexhaustible guide. It contains all the clues our research followed, and remains the most reliable source for imagining the exhibition. We have placed its projection prominently at the center of the space, because it is the prism from which the different articulations on the walls and in the space refract.

Nearly two hundred artists from thirty countries participated in the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*. Some, like Julio Le Parc, Joan Miró, and Antoni Tapiès, were very well-known internationally; others less so; some were entirely unknown. 2 + 3 Our approach was straightforward: we tried to meet with artists who participated in the exhibition, asked them if they remembered the exhibition, giving work, the motivation for selecting the specific work they had donated, and who had contacted them to donate and collect it. With many of the artists being in their later years, their recollections were not so sharp: they were harking back to an exhibition that had taken place over thirty years earlier. Many barely remembered it, while others recalled donating artworks; some looked back on the event with great enthusiasm. We prompted this rekindling of memories by showing our interviewees the exhibition catalog or archival material we had collected. Our conversations started with whatever they remembered of the exhibition, the importance of the Palestinian cause in their artistic practice, and how it evolved into a political engagement in support of other causes. From these stories, a cartography of international anti-imperialist and liberation struggles, intertwined with local social and economic justice struggles, began to emerge.

The progress of our research changed dramatically when we met Claude Lazar, a French artist who lives in Paris, and who had been close to Palestinian militants in Paris during the 1970s. He had been a key protagonist in imagining the 1978 Beirut exhibition as a cornerstone for a “museum-in-exile.” He had also mobilized a large

number of artists in France to donate works to the exhibition. In May 2011, we visited Lazar’s studio, and he had pulled out three boxes from his personal archives: one containing photographs; a second, newspaper and magazine clippings; and the third, facsimiles of tracts, reports, and papers related to the exhibition and his visit to Lebanon.

The *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* was inaugurated on March 21, 1978. 4 On March 14, 1978, exactly one week prior to the opening, Israel invaded Lebanon, advancing as far north as the Litani river and the outskirts of the city of Tyre. The incursion lasted a week, and concluded with a UN-brokered truce, and the deployment of UN-sponsored peacekeeping forces to oversee the implementation of the accord. Despite grave security concerns, Yasser Arafat attended the exhibition opening, accompanied by the PLO’s highest-ranking cadres. In addition to Beirut’s intelligentsia, visitors included rank-and-file fighters, diplomats, journalists, and a dozen international artists, as well as the general public. 5 In an interview recorded in Ramallah, Ahmed Abdul-Rahman, the head of the PLO’s Office of Unified Information at the time, underlines the importance of inviting artists to witness firsthand the reality of the struggle. Claude Lazar attended the opening in Beirut, as did Gontran Guanaes Netto (Brazil), Bruno Caruso (Italy), Paolo Ganna (Italy), and Mohamed Melehi (Morocco). Michel Troche, a prominent French curator and critic, visited the exhibition after the opening. Liana Badr, a Palestinian writer who was living in Beirut at the time of the exhibition, was also interviewed in Ramallah. She recalls with emotion how important the exhibition was for Palestinians, and the joy of seeing in person original artworks by renowned Arab and international artists. Artist Nasser Soumi (Palestine), who assisted in the exhibition’s organization, surveyed visitors during the first days following the opening of the exhibition, indexing their reactions.

In 1982, the Israeli military advanced into Beirut again, holding the city under siege with the objective of forcing the PLO to quit Lebanon. The building where the collection of artworks had been stored was shelled, along with the offices of the Office of Unified Information, which housed the Plastic Arts Section and the exhibition documents. All that remained of the story of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* were the memories of those who made it happen and who visited it. **6** Also, in 1982, Abdul-Hay Mosallam, an artist (and former fighter) who worked with the Plastic Arts Section, produced an artwork titled *The Destruction of the Plastic Arts Section* as an homage to the creativity and accomplishments of those involved with it. At the center of the work, he placed the key to the office where the collection had been stored.



Organized according to country of origin, the list of artists in the exhibition catalog masks the connections, affiliations, and collaborations among the participant artists and others. In trying to understand why the greatest numbers of participating artists were from France, followed by Italy, Iraq, Japan, and Poland, a different geographic and historical mapping began to surface. We learned that a notable number of artists were not only involved in artists' collectives, but also often worked together, staging interventions in public spaces in concert with political rallies, or to sensitize the citizenry at large to a particular cause. A number of these artists were involved in setting up museums-in-exile, or museums without walls, that were dedicated to incarnating support for political struggles; collections that would consist of spectacular artworks donated by the artists themselves.

We uncovered differing versions of the genesis story of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*. One such version links it directly to the Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (MIRSA).

**7** Shortly after his Popular Unity government took power in 1971, Chilean President Salvador Allende drafted a call to artists to donate artworks in solidarity with the people of Chile, the first nation in South America to elect a socialist government democratically. The call was disseminated actively by the International Committee of Artistic Solidarity, which was presided over by Brazilian critic and militant Mário Pedrosa, then exiled to Chile. Committee members included Dore Ashton (USA), Rafael Alberti (Spain), Louis Aragon (France), Giulio Carlo Argan (Italy), Edy de Wilde (The Netherlands), Carlo Levi (Italy), Jean Leymarie (France), José María Moreno Galván (Spain), Aldo Pellegrini (Argentina), Mariano Rodríguez (Cuba), Juliusz Starzynski (Poland), and Danilo Trelles (Uruguay).

The works were gathered together as the Museo de la Solidaridad, which was inaugurated in 1972. The collection, deemed one of the most compelling of its time, comprised more than six hundred works donated by artists from across the world between 1971 and 1973. On November 11, 1973, two months to the day after the Chilean military toppled the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in a violent coup d'état. The museum's artworks were then stored in a variety of locations.

After the coup, several prominent Chilean exiles, among them Miria Contreras, Allende's former secretary, who had escaped to Cuba, as well as José Balmes, Mário Pedrosa, and Miguel Rojas Mix, all of whom had fled to Paris, decided to launch a second call for artists to donate works for a new solidarity museum. This Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende was conceived as a museum-in-exile, and presented as an itinerant exhibition.

**8** Celebrated Argentinian writer Julio Cortázar, exiled to Paris, was a passionate supporter of the exiled Chilean initiative in France. He was filmed presenting MIRSA in France. Committees to oversee the collecting of artworks and the

exhibition of the collection were formed in Algeria, Colombia, Cuba, Finland, France, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Sweden, Panama, Poland, the United States, and Venezuela. Works were collected with the help of artists (many of whom had responded to Allende's original call, or were exiled Chilean artists), and local solidarity committees. Over the years, the collection was toured in various countries. In 1990, during the presidency of Patricio Aylwin, the process to repatriate the various segments of the collection that had been compiled around the world began. The Salvador Allende Foundation, instituted by presidential decree, was assigned to this undertaking. Under a third name, the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) was inaugurated at the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Santiago, on September 4, 1991. The museum has since moved; today, the collection comprises more than 2,700 works from the three phases of its evolution.

9 In 1980, during a festival in Rome held to celebrate the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, Ernesto Cardenal, the renowned poet and Minister of Culture in the new Nicaraguan government, met Carmen Waugh, a Chilean gallerist and arts administrator who had played a key role in establishing MIRSA. It was there that the idea for a museum in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people was born. Waugh spearheaded the project, and a year later exhibitions opened in Paris and Madrid. Latin American artists (mostly in exile in Europe) and Spanish artists donated works to build a collection; many of these artists had also donated to the Chilean museum initiative. The overall collection of nearly three hundred works was sent to Managua, capital of Nicaragua, and was inaugurated in December 1982, after which time it continued to grow, operating as the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo Latinoamericano de Managua. In 1985, it was renamed the Museo Julio Cortázar, in acknowledgement of the writer's dedication to Nicaragua.

Administered by an association of artists from 1988 to 1994, the collection was expropriated by government officials and dispersed because disagreements broke out between the elected officials and the collection's custodians. Recently, there have been attempts to reopen a museum with what remains of the collection, though the initiative has been delayed numerous times. Today, the collection is stored at the Palacio Nacional de la Cultura, and includes 1,921 works by 923 artists from thirty-six countries.

10 In 1979, inspired by MIRSA, French artist Ernest Pignon-Ernest and Spanish artist Antonio Saura, who was living in exile in Paris, decided to establish a museum-in-exile in the form of an itinerant exhibition of artworks donated by artists, incarnating their denunciation of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Artists of the World Against Apartheid Committee was formed, and with the help of French sculptor Arman, who lived in New York in the 1980s, approximately one hundred works by ninety-six internationally acclaimed artists and writers were assembled. After opening in 1983 in Paris, the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* exhibition traveled to Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Greece, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Martinique, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as several other countries.

In 1987, Rei Maeda, a Japanese student, and Fram Kitagawa, a publisher of art catalogs, formed a committee to host the exhibition in Japan. They obtained the authorization to tour the exhibition for two years throughout Japan's territory, and for that tour to be handled by non-professionals, to display it in as many towns as possible, and in non-museum spaces (like gymnasiums and community centers). Kitagawa and Maeda came up with a system where the exhibition could be hosted for as short a time span as a single day, and as long as a week. To that end, a custom-made,

climate-controlled, “moving-storage” truck was designed by PH Studio, that was named “Julia Pempel,” in reference to a character in a poem by Japanese poet Kenji Miyazawa. The exhibition’s Japanese title was shortened to *Apa Non*. On top of the truck, a huge red balloon was fastened to attract the attention of the local population. The *Apartheid Non! International Art Festival* tour started in Okinawa, in the very south of Japan, traveled for over two years, and was exhibited for 500 days at 194 venues to 380,000 visitors. The final stop was at the Parliamentary Museum in Tokyo, with political officials in attendance, including Prime Minister Toshiaki Kaifu.

After the collapse of the apartheid regime, the collection was donated to the government of South Africa, and was exhibited in the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town for the inaugural session of the nation’s first democratically elected government. The collection was placed in the custody of the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape, which also safeguards one of the largest archives of liberation struggle materials in South Africa. Acclaimed writer Mongane Wally Serote, Chair of the Parliamentary Select Committee for Arts and Culture at the time, mediated between the Artists of the World Against Apartheid Committee and the African National Congress. <sup>11</sup> Eric Miller, a photographer living and working in Cape Town, documented the removal of the artwork celebrating apartheid in the South African parliament, and the hanging of the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection in 1996 to accompany the first meeting of parliament in the newly democratic nation.



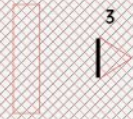
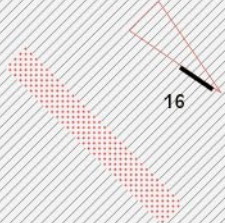
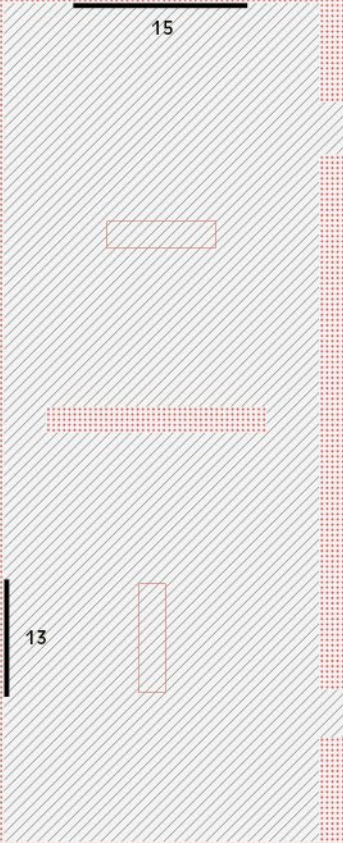
A significant segment of the research was focused on discovering and/or uncovering the networks that linked the artists, gallerists, and militants whose names appear in the exhibition catalog’s lists of acknowledgments and participant artists. In trying to understand how

some of the international artists came to donate works to the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*, we learned that some of the PLO’s representatives played a significant role. Two are acknowledged in the exhibition’s catalog: Ezzeddine Kalak and Fathi Abdul-Hamid.

Abdul-Hamid, who established the PLO office in Japan, was in close contact with the Japan Asian African Latin American Artists Association (JAALA) and its founder, Haryū Ichirō, a radical art critic, theorist, and writer. On the occasion of the international biennial exhibition *The Third World and Us* at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum in July 1978, JAALA invited Palestinian artists to show work alongside Japanese artists. In addition to hosting exhibitions, the association organized conferences raising anti-war, anti-nuclear, and anti-imperialist consciousness, in which artists and intellectuals from countries such as Palestine, South Korea, and Thailand were involved. The collection in solidarity with Palestine had its first tour in Japan, where one hundred works were selected and exhibited in July 1978.

Networks of friendships between artists in the Arab world were expanding in the 1970s, spontaneously through individual initiatives, as well as through structures that strengthened contact and exchange. Unions and associations represented a nexus in our attempts to retrace the networks linking artists and the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*, especially in the Arab world. National artists’ unions and associations were formed there in the 1960s and early 1970s out of a basic political necessity to defend artists’ rights, create a support structure for the promotion and dissemination of their work, and solidify existing organic bonds of fraternity across the Arab region. The Union of Palestinian Artists (UPA), founded in 1973 in Lebanon, established an exhibition space known as Dar al-Karamah, which showcased the work of Palestinian and international artists. The UPA





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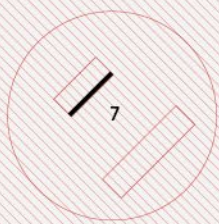
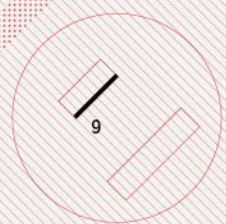
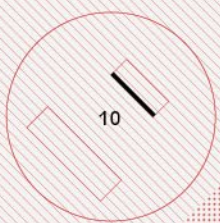


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signed protocols of collaboration with international artists' unions in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Vietnam, as well as with JAALA. The collaborations included artist exchange programs that allowed Palestinian artists to travel to the GDR and Japan, and vice versa, allowing East German and Japanese artists to witness the reality of Palestinians firsthand, in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

The establishment of the Union of Arab Artists (UAA) formalized networking, exchange, and cooperation among artists at a regional level. The idea of such a union had been discussed at the First Arab Conference on Fine Arts in Damascus in 1971, and was formally constituted in 1972 at the First Arab Festival of National Plastic Arts in Damascus. Ismail Shammout, a Palestinian artist and the president of the UPA, was voted President of UAA, a role he held from 1971 until 1977. The UAA's mission was grounded in promoting relations between the Arab and Third Worlds, as cited by Shammout in the Moroccan cultural review *Intégral*. Two editions of the Arab Biennial, which were held in Baghdad in 1974 and in Rabat in 1976, were organized by the UAA, and foregrounded the dedication of Arab artists to the Palestinian struggle.

**12** In 1969, Abu Marwan (the *nom de guerre* of Wajih Qasem), a Palestinian militant who was living in Algiers, was formally appointed the PLO's representative in Morocco. The PLO had strong friendships with leading figures from the Moroccan struggle for independence, as well as with the Moroccan left. The PLO rented a small office in Rabat in a building across the street from the office of the Moroccan writers' union, which had strong sympathies with the Palestinian cause. Coincidentally, the office was also on a floor below the apartment of Abdellatif Laâbi, one of the founders of *Souffles*, a pioneering and radical Moroccan cultural and political review. Thus, the PLO's connections to the radical Moroccan artistic and intellectual vanguard

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

The *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* was certainly the PLO's most ambitious endeavor, but it was not the only art exhibition it organized. **13** Both the Plastic Arts Section and the Department of Arts and National Culture (established in 1965) were mandated to commission, fund, and promote the production of posters, art, film, theater, dance, music, and publications; to preserve folklore and cultural traditions; and to galvanize support for the Palestinian struggle internationally, in the arena of art and culture. Exhibitions of traditional folk dress and crafts toured Europe between 1978 and 1980 to showcase the nation's heritage. Posters were the foremost tool for the dissemination of image and narrative: they were lightweight, relatively cheap and quick to produce, and could reach across social classes, cities, and countries. The PLO, and in particular its Plastic Arts Section, reproduced artwork on posters, postcards, calendars, and holiday cards that were circulated widely; it also organized exhibitions and provided support to artists.

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

**14** In 1968, Mustafa Abu Ali, Sulafa Jadallah, and Hani Johariyeh, three young Palestinians living in Amman, decided to establish a film unit in the midst of the Palestinian revolution in order to document the struggle and disseminate a different representation of the Palestinian people. The Palestine Film Unit soon fell under the wing of the PLO, and made a significant contribution to capturing this new image of Palestinians.

The PLO was only recognized as the official and legitimate representative body of Palestinians at the UN General Assembly in 1974. However, with the help of the Arab League, the organization lobbied, one country at a time, to establish offices to represent Palestine that functioned like makeshift embassies, to manage the affairs of Palestinians in the countries in question, as well as to mobilize support for the Palestinian cause. The first generation of representatives was culled from refugee camps and the Palestinian diaspora, their political imaginaries

and aspirations informed by the lived experience of humiliation and the revolutionary emancipatory fervor that swept the region (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, and Sudan) and the world (Chile, Cuba, and Vietnam).

**15** Some PLO representatives – for example, Fathi Abdul-Hamid (posted in Tokyo), Mahmoud al-Hamshari (Paris), Ezzedine Kalak (Paris), Naïm Khader (Brussels), Wajih Qasem (Rabat), and Wael Zuwaiter (Rome) – operated with the conviction that mobilizing support for the Palestinian cause had to involve thorough, patient, and creative engagement with grassroots associations, unions, syndicates, and collectives of students, workers, and artists. In the countries where they were posted, they inspired artists and intellectuals to see in Palestine a mirror of the world's injustice. They invited them to produce posters, exhibitions, conferences, and publications. In the GDR and Japan, they also facilitated collaborations between artists' unions.

The involvement of Kalak, who was assassinated in Paris several months after the opening of the 1978 Beirut exhibition, was pivotal. He developed friendships with some members of the Association de la jeune peinture, particularly Claude Lazar. In addition, Kalak was close to a group of filmmakers from *Cahiers du cinéma* known as the Groupe Cinéma Vincennes or Cinélutte, which counted among its members Ali Akika, Guy Chapouillié, Danièle Dubroux, Serge Le Péron, and Jean Narboni. The group directed *L'Olivier: Qui sont les Palestiniens?* (1975), a documentary film about the Palestinians, for which Kalak had guided the filmmakers during their travels in Lebanon and Syria.

In the years following the May '68 uprising, several French and internationals living in Paris maintained their political engagement, and even radicalized it. Parallel to their personal practice, these artists formed collectives that reintegrated art into the heart of local and



international social and political struggles. Some such collectives emerged spontaneously and were short-lived; others were more structured and endured longer. Radical, subversive, and confrontational, these collectives embodied different modes of production, representation, aesthetic language, and creative subjectivity, and produced works that were invariably visible outside the conventional sites of the art system. Moreover, the works were ephemeral (posters, banners, serigraphs); only their documentary traces remain. A vast number of these collectives and the artists who participated in them were involved in the Association de la jeune peinture between 1968 and 1978, and feature on the list of artists who donated works to the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*.

**16** The Front des artistes plasticiens (FAP) coalesced at the beginning of the 1970s, among artists gravitating around the Atelier Populaire of the École des beaux-arts in Paris. Deeply committed to a number of labor struggles and the Festival of Immigrant Workers, the FAP became well-known in 1972 when it staged an impressive protest against the exhibition 72–72 (also known as the *Pompidou Exhibition*) organized by the French Ministry of Culture to celebrate contemporary French artists. After the police attempted to dispel the crowd, the exhibition was shut down for eight days while discussions took place. It was eventually reopened, and received a record number of visitors. The Collectif de peintres antifascistes was formed in 1975, and often painted large banners for May Day protests; in 1975, for instance, their banner read “Cambodge–Vietnam Victory.” The group also organized an intervention using mobile placards under the theme “One world to destroy, another to construct,” presented at a Unified Socialist Party celebration in June 1975. Close to the French Communist Party, the Coopérative des Malassis became known for collectively producing series of paintings on a single theme (sometimes there were as many as

fifty works); they also exhibited works in sites not dedicated to art, and famously participated in exhibitions with “un-hanging” paintings. The Grupo Denuncia was formed in 1972 by a group of Latin American artists in exile in Paris, who produced a series of collective paintings denouncing torture. These various works were exhibited at important events, and outdoors during festivals and events.

**17** In 1976, the siege and eventual massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Tal al-Za’tar camp on the outskirts of Beirut made headlines in the international media, but this was not sufficient to impose pressure to relieve the civilians caught in the siege. In solidarity, PLO representatives and pro-Palestinian militants mobilized protests, collected donations, and staged events. An impressive number of posters were produced to raise consciousness. **18** The Italian artist collective L’Arcicoda collaborated with the Collectif Palestine (a.k.a. the Collectif de peintres des pays arabes) and other groups staging exhibitions and painting interventions in public squares in several towns in Tuscany to inspire solidarity with the people under siege in the Tal al-Za’tar camp. The painting interventions consisted of placing a large canvas on the ground, with artists standing at each of the four corners, using a stencil drawing of the face of a young boy who was injured in the shelling, the stencil was reproduced by the artists as well as the general public invited to participate until the surface was covered entirely. The gathering occasioned discussions of the situation in Tal al-Za’tar. The most memorable took place at the Piazza Ferretto in Mestre, on September 7, 1976, during the 37th Venice Biennale. Luigi Nono performed live music and Rachid Korāichi painted the words *Tal al-Za’tar* in Arabic when the canvas was covered. In Mestre, the event was produced in collaboration with Lotta Continua, the Partito di Unità Proletaria, and the Federazione dei Giovani Socialisti Italiani, and was supported by the Municipality of Venice and the Venice Biennale.

The impetus to bring art to public spaces was at once organic and fundamental to artists' political engagement; in addition to painting banners, designing posters, and staging interventions, painting murals was an important manifestation of this engagement. Exiled Chilean artists in Europe revived the practice of muralist painting that had thrived during the 1960s in the political polarization opposing the left and right-wing movements. **19** Inspired by the revolutionary legacy of Mexican muralists, *muralismo* emerged in Chile out of an urgency to galvanize popular support around social justice and human rights struggles, when the Communist Party was under attack by the Chilean media, which was almost entirely controlled by right-wing political groups. In 1968, the Brigadas Ramona Parra were born; each brigade consisted of fifteen or twenty students and workers. Murals were generally executed during the night or at dawn. The heat of electoral campaigns emboldened their proliferation throughout the country. Several well-known artists joined the *brigadistas*: Alejandro "Mono" González was one of the brigade's founding members; in 1971, Roberto Matta was invited to paint a mural in the old municipal swimming pool of the district of La Granja in Santiago. After the coup d'état, the military erased thousands of these images of struggle and hope. As soon as they arrived in France, Chilean exiles rekindled the practice of *muralismo*, forming brigades across Europe with other artists. They were hosted at major art exhibitions – the Venice Biennale in 1974, documenta 6 in 1977, and the Festival d'Avignon in 1974, for example. In 1976, the Brigade internationale des peintres antifascistes produced a twenty-meter mural in Paris, commissioned by MIRSA; and in 1978, another mural titled *People at Crossroads*, in Montgaillard, France, that honored the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. In the United States, in 1977, Brigada Orlando Letelier was founded to honor the assassinated Chilean diplomat. It included Orlando Letelier's

two sons, Francisco and José, and René Castro and Beyhan Cagri. Over the years, they painted murals in 11 cities across the United States, in the Chilean muralist style, for causes ranging from denouncing the dictatorship in Chile, support for the struggles of people of Nicaragua, of domestic workers as well as other local and international causes. They were invited by Ernesto Cardenal to Nicaragua in 1980 to paint murals as part of the countrywide literacy campaign.

**20** In the course of our protracted research, several maps emerged, of political events, upheavals, revolutions and artist actions, exhibitions. The cartography of connections reveals a geography that challenges the canons of the history of art in the second half of the twentieth century.

## VIDEO SOURCES

- 1 *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalog (Beirut, PLO: 1978), originally found at Agial Art Gallery, Beirut. Later copy given to us by Mohammed Melehi.
- 2 Interviews: Georges Bahgoury (Cairo, 2013); Mohammed Melehi (Tangiers, 2013); Rafa al-Nasiri, Vladimir Tamari (Tokyo, 2017). Images courtesy: Abboudi Abou Jaoude; Agial Art Gallery; Georges Bahgoury; Belal Hibri; Kristine Khouri; Rasha Salti; Mohanad Yaqubi; Mohammed Melehi; Rafa al-Nasiri; Sultan Gallery Archives; Vladimir Tamari; Tamari Family. Excerpts from: *Bahgory Legacy* (Obelisque Publications, 2013); *Al Funaan Magazine* (various issues); *Galerie L'Atelier* exhibition catalogs; *Intégral* (various issues); *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalog (Beirut, PLO: 1978); *Baghdad International Poster Exhibition 79* catalog (Iraqi Cultural Centre, London, 1979).
- 3 Interviews: Claude Lazar (Paris, 2011); Ivan Messac (Paris, 2013); Julio Le Parc and Gontran Guanaes Netto (Paris, 2013). Images courtesy: Gontran Guanaes Netto; Kristine Khouri; Claude Lazar; Julio Le Parc; Ivan Messac; Rasha Salti; and Sergio Traquandi. Excerpts from: *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalog (Beirut, PLO: 1978); *Art Against Apartheid, 78 Artists from the 80's* exhibition catalog (Paris, 1983); *Appel Aux Artistes par le Comité des Artistes du monde contre l'apartheid* (United Nations, 1983).
- 4 Archival Sources and courtesy: *Assafir, An-Nahar, L'Orient-Le Jour*, Claude Lazar.
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- 6 Film Excerpt: Ryuichi Hirokawa report of 1982 Israeli invasion in Lebanon. Excerpt of TV report, Munir Anastas interview on France 24 (2018), © and courtesy France 24, Liana Saleh. Archival Sources, courtesy: Misako Nagasawa, Kristine Khouri, Palestine Poster Project Archives, National Art Center Art Library (Tokyo), Abdalla Family Archives, Institute for Palestine Studies, Claude Lazar, Abdul Hay Mossalem, Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art. Excerpts from: *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalog (Beirut, PLO: 1978), *Palestinske Kunstnere* (Kunstneres Hus, Plastic Arts Section-PLO, 1981), *Exhibition for the Restoration of Human Beings and Nature '78* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1978); *Filastin Biladi* (Various issues); *Palestine: PLO Information Bulletin; History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994).
- 7 Film excerpts: *Balmes El Doble Exilio de la Pintura* (Chile, 2012) directed by Pablo Trujillo; *Formas de Afeto* (Brazil, 2011) directed by Gláucia Villas Bôas and Nina Galanternick; *Carmen Waugh* (Chile, 2010) by Rosario Jimenez Gili; *Maestros del Arte Chileno* (Chile, 2014) by Rojizo Comunicaciones; Interview with Carmen Waugh by Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (Chile, 2012); *Escapes des Gas* directed by Bruno Salas (Chile, 2014); *Salvador Allende* directed by Patricio Guzmán (2004). *Pinochet y sus tres generales* by director José María Berzosa (France, 2004), Source: Vimeo. Various film documentation, courtesy: Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende Institutional Archives. Images and documents: Jacques Leenhardt, Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende Institutional Archives, General Archive of Fundació Joan Miró and Moderna Museet Authority Archive; Antonio Manuel's personal archive via Nina Galanternick; Carmen Waugh Archives; Archivo de Imágenes Digitales / Digital Image Archive: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (Chile). Excerpts from: *Mario Pedrosa E O Brasil* (Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001). Graphic novel: *Allende, Le Dernier Combat* by Olivier Bras and Jorge Gonzalez (*La Revue Dessinée*, no. 01, 2013), Museo de la Solidaridad, MIRSA, and MSSA exhibition catalogs.
- 8 *Julio Cortázar à propos de la création du "Musée international de la résistance Salvador Allende"* (1977), from Institut national de l'audiovisuel, France (INA.FR)
- 9 Interviews and footage: Sergio Ramírez (Managua, 2017); Ernesto Cardenal (Managua, 2017); Virginia Espinoza and Luz Marina Acosta (Managua, 2017), interviews conducted with Daniela Berger and filmed by Gabriel Serra, Arielka Juárez and Kristine Khouri. Film excerpts courtesy: Wilfredo Lopez interviews Carmen Waugh, 1998. Archival sources courtesy: Gontran Guanaes Netto; Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamerica; Virginia Espinoza; Archivo Carmen Waugh; Raúl Quintanilla; Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura; Luis Morales Alfonso; Ernesto Cardenal Papers; Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. Excerpts from:



*La revolución es un libro y un hombre libre – Los afiches de Nicaragua Libre 1979-1990 y del Movimiento de Solidaridad Internacional* (Nicaragua: IHNCA-UCA, 2010); *Art and Revolution in Latin America, 1910-1990* by David Craven (Yale University Press, 2006).

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

**11** Photographs of the unmounting of art celebrating apartheid in the parliament building in Cape Town, South Africa, and the installation of the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection for temporary display, 1996. Photographs © and courtesy: Eric Miller.

**12** Video filmed by Othmane Balafrej. *Souffles* issues: Digital archives of Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc.

**13** Images and archival sources, courtesy: Abboudi Abou Jaoude; Aref Rayess Archives; Christian Heinze; Kristine Khouri; Rasha Salti; Claude Lazar; Sergio Traquandi; Tamam Alakhal; Toshio Sato; JAALA; Siegfried Wege; Palestine Poster Project Archives; Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Akademie der Künste / Medienservice; Hungarian News Agency; National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw; Misako Nagasawa; Toshio Sato; Dar al Fata al Arabi. Sketch books: Günther Rechn. Excerpts/images from: *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak* (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979). Portfolio of photographs by Hani Jawhariyeh (PLO). Excerpts from: *In Time of War, Children Testify*. Edited by Mona Saudi, designed by Vladimir Tamari (Beirut: Mawakef, 1970); *History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994).

**14** Video excerpt from the feature documentary *Off Frame* (2015). Running Time: 12 minutes. Credits: Written by Reem Shilleh and Mohamad Yaqubi. Directed by Mohamad Yaqubi. Produced by Sami Said (Idioms Film). Cinematography: Rami Nihawi. Sound: Sami Said. Edited by Ramzi Hazboun. Archival sources: *Palestine-RFA* (1970), *Al-Fatah*

(1970) by Luigi Perilli; *The Long March Home* (1970) by Ugo Adilardi Carlo Schelliono, Paolo Sornaga; *Godard in America* (1970) by Ralph Thanhouser; *With Soul with Blood* (1970) by Palestine Film Unit, *Revolution until Victory* (1973) by Newsreel Group; *The Palestinians* (1975) by Johan Van Keuken; *Palestine in the Eye* (1976) by Mustafa Abu Ali; *The Fifth War* (1977) by Monica Maurer.

**15** Interviews: Wajih Qasem (Morocco, 2012); Achim Reichardt (Brandenburg, 2016); Claude Lazar (Paris, 2011); Yuzo Itagaki (Suwa, 2014); Serge le Péron (Paris, 2013); Mahmoud Khleifi (Ramallah, 2017); Abdallah Hijazi (Ramallah, 2017). Mahmoud Khleifi and Abdallah Hijazi were interviewed and filmed by Mohamad Yaqubi and Sami Said. Misako Nagasawa and Toshio Sato (April 2017) filmed by Mohamad Yaqubi. Film Excerpts: *Ezzeddine Kalak* (1979) directed by Guy Chapouillé and Serge le Péron. Footage of the visit of Polish artists to Tunis, Ireneusz Przystek/Mahmoud Khleifi. Archival sources and courtesy: Achim Reichardt; Toshio Sato; Tamam Alakhal; Claude Lazar; Amin Kalak; Siegfried Wege; Günther Rechn; Christian Heinze; Institute for Palestine Studies; Khaled Hourani, Abdallah Hijazi; Toshio Sato; JAALA; Palestine Poster Project Archives; Hungarian New Agency; Misako Nagasawa; Dar Assayad; Ireneusz Przystek. Excerpts from: *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak*, (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979), *History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994) *Filastin Biladi* (various issues), *The Baghdad International Poster Exhibition '79* (London: Iraqi Cultural Centre, 1979), *Exhibition for the Restoration of Human Beings and Nature '78* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1978), followed by the screening of Mamun al-Bunni's *Mort pour la Palestine* (1973).

**16** Film Excerpt: *Intervention d'artistes lors de l'exposition 60-72, douze ans d'art contemporain en France*, source: Institut national de l'audiovisuel. Archival sources and courtesy: Laboratoire Urbanisme Insurrectionnel; Claude Lazar; Julio Le Parc archive; Archivo Guillermo Nuñez. Excerpts from: *Les Malassis: Une coopérative de peintres toxiques (1968-1981)* (Editions L'échappée, 2014); Instituto Frei Tito de Alencar, (2011): *Sala Escura da Tortura* (exhibition catalog, 2010); *Images en Lutte: La Culture visuelle de l'extrême gauche en France (1968-1974)* (Paris: ENSBA, 2018); *Beaux Arts Mai '68: La Révolution des Images de A à Z* (Paris, Beaux Arts, 2018).

**17** Photographs and courtesy: Benno Karkabé, Al-Mashriq archive. Excerpts from: *The Body's Anthem; illustrated poems for Tel al-Za'atar by Dia al Azzawi*, illustrations by Dia Al-Azzawi and poems by Mahmoud Darwish Tahar Ben Jalloun and Youssef Sayigh, (Dar Al-Muthallath, 1979), *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak* (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979). Newspapers: *Assafir and An-Nahar*.

**18** Film of intervention in Montevarchi, Italy, 1976. Film and images courtesy Sergio Traquandi.

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

**20** Video Animation by The Council for Visual Affairs, Beirut.

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