~~Figures of Fascism~~ and Antifascist Solidarities

P.A.R.T.S.
17 09 26
18 09 26
19 09 26

ZIN TV ✕ Mamdou Taslim Diallo ✕ La Candidate Sans–Papiers ✕ Anna Rispoli and other allies ✕ Dora García ✕ Bojana Cvejić ✕ Valeria Graziano ✕ Tomislav Medak ✕ Sarah Schulman ✕ Aurélie Ehx, Faïza and others

Kaaitheater

STUDY DAYS P.A.R.T.S.

~~Figures of Fascism and~~ Antifascist Solidarities

NL In een tijd waarin fascistische ideeën wereldwijd steeds meer terrein winnen, herkennen cultuurwerkers, activisten en militanten uit zowel georganiseerde als informele bevrijdingsbewegingen elkaars strijd als een gemeenschappelijke zaak. Antifascisme treedt opnieuw naar voren als een gedeeld referentiepunt dat door onze verschillen heen de noodzaak zichtbaar maakt van solidariteit en brede allianties met iedereen die getroffen wordt door de opkomst van extreemrechts.

Het is niet moeilijk om verbanden te leggen tussen anti-immigratiebeleid en racistisch politiegeweld enerzijds en de afbouw van steun voor kunst, humane wetenschappen, kunstonderwijs, onafhankelijke media, fundamenteel wetenschappelijk onderzoek en kritisch denken anderzijds. Ook de imperiale oorlogsmachine en de straffeloosheid waarmee genocides plaatsvinden hangen samen met de manier waarop solidariteit en zelfs medemenselijkheid steeds vaker worden gecriminaliseerd. Tegelijkertijd groeit de rijkdom van miljardairs exponentieel, gevoed door voortdurende koloniale uitbuiting en de vernietiging van levens en leefgebieden.

Solidariteit ontstaat van onderuit en vanuit nabijheid: in de manier waarop collectieven samen nieuwe mogelijkheden creëren, kennis en middelen delen, risico's spreiden en aandacht hebben voor elkaars levens. Zo bieden ze weerstand aan individualisering en verdeeldheid.

Hoe kunnen we vandaag beter leren om elkaar te ondersteunen en te versterken, zodat we samen weerbaarder worden tegen fascisme?

Voor het tweede hoofdstuk van dit programma komen we samen bij P.A.R.T.S., samen met studenten en medewerkers van de school. Als opleiding voor hedendaagse dans vormt P.A.R.T.S. een passende plek om na te denken over hoe mensen samenkomen, samenwerken en zich organiseren. Tijdens drie dagen met performances, films, lezingen en debatten verwelkomen we onder meer **La Candidate, door vrouwen zonder papieren uit Brusselse politieke organisaties (samen met Anna Rispoli en andere bondgenoten.)**, de onderzoekers en activisten **Valeria Graziano** en **Tomislav Medak** van Pirate Care, kunstenaar **Dora García**, schrijver en queer-activist **Sarah Schulman** en een aantal militanten uit twee generaties.

~~Figures of Fascism and~~ Antifascist Solidarities is een publiek programma binnen het onderzoeksproject Choreographing Fascism (KhIO Oslo), geleid door **Bojana Cvejić** en haar medewerkers. Deze editie is geproduceerd door P.A.R.T.S. in samenwerking met Kaaitheater.

KANAL Centre Pompidou

P.A. R. T. S.

KUNSTHØGSKOLEN I OSLO
OSLO NATIONAL ACADEMY OF THE ARTS

FR Au lendemain de la récente mondialisation fasciste, les acteur·ices culturel·les, les militant·es et les activistes issu·es d'un large spectre de luttes de libération organisées et informelles reconnaissent leurs luttes respectives comme une cause commune. L'antifascisme réapparaît comme un horizon commun qui perce le tumulte quotidien de nos différences et souligne la nécessité d'une solidarité ainsi que d'une large alliance avec celles et ceux qui sont la cible et les victimes de la montée de l'extrême droite.

Il n'est pas si illogique de constater le lien entre les politiques anti-immigration et les violences policières racistes d'une part, et les coupes budgétaires dans les arts, les sciences humaines, l'enseignement artistique, les médias indépendants, la recherche scientifique fondamentale ou la pensée critique d'autre part. Ou de relier la machine de guerre impériale et l'impunité des génocides aux manières dont la solidarité, voire la compassion, sont criminalisées. Et ce, alors que la richesse des milliardaires augmente de manière exponentielle grâce à une exploitation coloniale continue et à la destruction de vies et de territoires.

La solidarité naît de la base et du sentiment d'appartenance : dans la manière dont les collectifs façonnent le monde, partagent les connaissances et la richesse, répartissent les risques et écoutent les vies les uns des autres. C'est ainsi qu'ils s'opposent à la fragmentation individualiste. Comment pouvons-nous aujourd'hui mieux nous rendre utiles les un.es aux autres et mieux nous utiliser les une.es les autres afin de nous rendre inutilisables pour le fascisme?

Pour la deuxième partie de ce programme, nous nous réunirons à P.A.R.T.S., en compagnie des étudiant·es et collaborateur·ices de cet établissement. Cette école de danse contemporaine est un hôte tout indiqué pour explorer les collaborations entre les corps. Le programme de trois jours, composé de spectacles, de films, de conférences et de débats, comprend : **La Candidate, par des femmes sans papiers issues d'organisations politiques bruxelloises (avec Anna Rispoli et d'autres allié·e·s)**, les chercheur·euses et militant·es **Valeria Graziano** et **Tomislav Medak** de Pirate Care, l'artiste **Dora García**, l'écrivaine et militante queer **Sarah Schulman**, ainsi qu'un panel de militant·es issu·es de deux générations.

~~*Figures of Fascism and*~~ *Antifascist Solidarities* est un programme public du projet de recherche Choreographing Fascism (KhIO Oslo) dirigé par **Bojana Cvejić** et ses collaborateur·ices. Cette édition a été produite par P.A.R.T.S. en collaboration avec le Kaaitheater.

EN In the wake of late fascist globalization, cultural workers, activists and militants across a wide geography of organized and informal struggles for liberation recognise each other's causes as common. Antifascism re-emerges as a shared horizon that pierces through the everyday noise of our differences, projecting the necessity of solidarity and a broad alliance together with those targeted and affected by the rise of the far-right.

It is not so mind-boggling to relate anti-immigration policy and racial police violence to the defunding of art, the humanities, art education, independent media, fundamental scientific research, or critical thinking; or to connect the imperial war machine and the impunity of genocides with the ways in which solidarity and even compassion are criminalized, while the wealth of billionaires is exponentially multiplied on the basis of continued colonial extractivism and the destruction of lives and territories.

Solidarity looms from below and in closeness: in the world-making of collectives, in the way that they share knowledge and wealth, distribute risks and listen to each other's lives, resisting individualist fragmentation. How can we become better at being useful to one another and using one another to make ourselves unusable for fascism now?

For the second chapter of this program, we will gather at P.A.R.T.S. with their students and staff, school for contemporary dance as a fitting host for probing coalitions of bodies. The three-day program of performance, films, lectures and debates will feature **La Candidate by undocumented women from Brussels-based political organizations (with Anna Rispoli and other allies)**, researchers and activists **Valeria Graziano** and **Tomislav Medak** from Pirate Care, artist **Dora García**, writer and queer activist **Sarah Schulman** and a line-up of militants across two generations.

~~*Figures of Fascism and*~~ *Antifascist Solidarities* is a public program of the research project Choreographing Fascism (KhIO Oslo) conducted by **Bojana Cvejić** and collaborators. This production was produced by P.A.R.T.S. in collaboration with Kaaitheater.

photo right page
Every Contact Leaves A Trace (2025) by ZIN TV,
fragment of the film poster



TIMETABLE Study Days

THU 17.09.26

16:00 ***Every Contact Leaves A Trace*** **— Film and aftertalk with the authors**
17:30 **Drinks and soup**
19:00 ***With Love Not For Love*** **— La Candidate Sans-Papiers (Parc de Forest - Lawn at Place Rochefort)**
20:00 **Aftertalk with Henriette Essami-Khaullot, Anna Rispoli, Nina Ferrante and Bojana Cvejić**

FRI 18.09.26

16:00 ***(Revolution, Fulfil Your Promise) Red Love*** **— Film by Dora García + Talk with Dora García and Bojana Cvejić | screening (95') + talk (30')**
18:30 **Drinks and soup**
19:30 ***Pirate Care*** **— lecture by Valeria Graziano and Tomislav Medak**
22:00 **Drinks**

SAT 19.09.26

16:00 ***The Deviant Majority (From Basaglia to Brazil)*** **— Film by Dora García (30')**
18:30 ***Across Generations: Fractures and Alignments*** **— Panel on Brussels activism**
19:30 ***The Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity*** **— A talk by Sarah Schulman with Bojana Cvejić and others**
22:00 **Drinks**

SUN 20.09.26

On **20 September**, between 10:00 and 16:00, researchers working on Bojana Cvejić's project *Choreographing Antifascism* — **Austin Gross, Dora García, Benjamin Pohlig, Nikolina Pristaš, Ana Bigotte, Silvia Mollicchi, Snelle Hall, Marijana Cvetković , Bojana Cvejić and others** — will be presenting talks and discussions as part of their ongoing working session. If you are interested in taking part, please send an email to bojacvej@khio.no

Echoing this programme, on **24-26 September**, the festival *Feral* will continue the exploration of art and pirate (care) as tactics against the rise of oppressions through talks, artistic encounters, workshops, walks and fun. So, what are our levers for mutiny? Full programme on cifas.be.



photo
(Revolución, cumple tu promesa) Amor Rojo by Dora García (2024)
film still

THU 17/09/26

FILM, AFTERTALK

P.A.R.T.S.
67 min.

Every Contact Leaves a Trace

ZIN TV

NL *Every Contact Leaves a Trace* is een gerechtelijk onderzoek uitgevoerd door mensen die lijden onder (en ten onder gaan aan)kolonialisme. Via hun lichamen en verhalen treden ze in verzet. De film en de bijbehorende publicatie zijn vormgegeven als een mozaïek van beelden, een palimpsest van gefragmenteerde verhalen, van individuen en collectieven die strijden tegen de topografische, sociaal-economische, culturele en symbolische kolonialiteit van de „Hoofdstad van Europa“.

De film, geproduceerd door **ZIN TV**, werd geregisseerd door **Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali** en is het resultaat van een gezamenlijk schrijfproject onder leiding van **Milady Renoir**, in samenwerking met het **Collectif Mémoire coloniale et lutte contre les discriminations**, **Jean Illi** en **Solina Diallo**, onderzoekers aan de ULB, **Taslim Mamadou Diallo** van **La Voix des sans papiers de Bruxelles, Sarah Bahja, Valentin Fayet** en **Thomas Michel** van **ZIN TV**.

Na de film volgt een gesprek tussen de makers en het publiek. Dit zal 30 minuten duren.

FR *Every Contact Leaves a Trace* est une enquête criminelle menée par des personnes qui subissent et périssent de la colonialité et ripostent depuis leurs corps et leurs récits. Le film et son dossier d’accompagnement ont été fabriqués comme une mosaïque d’images, un palimpseste de récits fragmentés, d’individus et de collectifs luttant contre la colonialité topographique, socio-économique, culturelle et symbolique de la “Capitale de l’Europe”.

Ce film, produit par **ZIN TV**, a été réalisé par **Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali** et est le fruit d’une écriture collective menée par **Milady Renoir** avec l**e Collectif Mémoire coloniale et lutte contre les discriminations**, **Jean Illi** et **Solina Diallo**, chercheur·es à l’ULB, **Taslim Mamadou Diallo** de **la Voix des sans papiers de Bruxelles**, **Sarah Bahja, Valentin Fayet** et **Thomas Michel** de **ZIN TV.**

La projection sera suivie d’un échange entre les auteur·rice·s et le public. La durée de la conversation sera plus au moins 30 minutes.

directed by Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali I **cinematography** Thomas Michel, Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali et Milady Renoir I **sound** Thomas Michel, Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali et Milady Renoir I **editor** Valentin Fayet et Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali I **re-recording mixer** Éric Morel I **music** Néant I **color grading** Arshia Davari

EN *Every Contact Leaves a Trace* is a criminal investigation conducted by people who suffer and perish under coloniality and fight back through their bodies and their stories. The film and its accompanying booklet were crafted as a mosaic of images, a palimpsest of fragmented narratives, of individuals and collectives fighting against the topographical, socio-economic, cultural, and symbolic coloniality of the "Capital of Europe."

This film, produced by **ZIN TV,** was directed by **Nizar Saleh Mohammed Ali** and is the result of a collaborative writing effort led by **Milady Renoir** with the **Collectif Mémoire coloniale et lutte contre les discriminations**, **Jean Illi** and **Solina Diallo,** researchers at ULB, **Taslim Mamadou Diallo** of **La Voix des sans papiers de Bruxelles, Sarah Bahja, Valentin Fayet,** and **Thomas Michel** of **ZIN TV**.

The film will be followed by a conversation between the authors and the audience. This conversation will last more or less 30 minutes.

THU 17/09/26

PERFORMANCE, AFTERTALK

Parc de Forest
19:00
45 min. + 30 min.

With Love not For Love

La Candidate Sans-Papiers

NL In een land waarin 1% van de bevolking als uitgebuite arbeidskrachten zonder papieren verblijft, heeft een collectief van trotse vrouwen zonder papieren een verkiezingscampagne gelanceerd, La Candidate Sans-Papiers. De campagne is een flamboyante daad van protest en institutionele vernieuwing. Deze vrouwen werken vaker in Belgische huishoudens dan in hun eigen huishouden, worden slecht of helemaal niet betaald, en zorgen voor ouderen en zieken, passen op kinderen en onderhouden huishoudens en kantoren. Dit 'werk uit liefde' draagt een dubbelzinnige belofte in zich: die van een toegang tot een legale status. Tegelijk werpt ze een fundamentele vraag op: want wie zorgt er voor degenen die voor onze samenleving zorgen?

La Candidate Sans-Papiers is een eigenzinnige modeshow met een reeks modellen op de catwalk, die elk een andere vorm van onderdrukking belichten. Samen eisen ze het onvervreemdbare recht op een waardiger leven op door middel van grappige en tegelijk ontroerende vormen van politieke expressie. Dit feestelijke moment maakt deel uit van een langer traject, dat mede wordt gefaciliteerd door de in Brussel gevestigde kunstenares **Anna Rispoli** en queer-theoreticus en activist **Nina Ferrante**, samen met **lokale en internationale collectieven van migrantenvrouwen**. Hun werkwijze vertrekt vanuit het delen van politieke instrumenten, artistieke methodologieën, wederzijdse steun en feminist joy. La Candidate, die zich zal presenteren in de publieke ruimte, doet een beroep op onze solidariteit, die urgenter is dan ooit, in een tijd waarin het anti-immigratiebeleid onder fascistische invloed steeds strenger wordt.

a project initiated by Anna Rispoli together with Collectif des femmes sans papiers, Femmes tout terrain/Ministère du Care; Occupation La Reforme; House of Europe I **in alliance with** Territorio Domestico I **dramaturgy** Nina Ferrante, Henriette Essami-Khaullot I **choreographic assistant** Kim Ramiandrisoa I **performer advisor** Ophélie Mac I **text advisor** Astrid Akai I **posters and flyers** Julie Guiches I **coproduction** Kanal, Kaaitheater, SPIN I **production management** Teresa Gentile I **djette** Rokia Bamba **MC** Bolingo

FR Dans un pays où 1 % de la population vit en situation irrégulière et sert de main-d'œuvre exploitée, un collectif de femmes sans-papiers et fières de l'être a, dans un élan flamboyant de protestation et de réinvention institutionnelle, lancé une campagne électorale: La Candidate Sans-Papiers. Ces femmes, qui travaillent plus souvent dans des foyers belges plutôt qu'au sein des leur propres maisons, pour un salaire dérisoire ou sans rémunération, s'occupent des personnes âgées et des malades, gardent les enfants, entretiennent les maisons et les bureaux. Ce « travail d'amour » porte en lui la promesse ambiguë d'un accès à un statut légal, tout en soulevant une question fondamentale: qui prend soin de celles qui prennent soin de notre société ?

La Candidate Sans-Papiers est un défilé de mode détourné mettant en scène une série de mannequins sur un podium, qui illustrent chacune une forme différente d'oppression. Ensemble, elles revendiquent un droit inaliénable à une vie plus digne à travers des actes d'expression politique à la fois spirituels et émouvants. Ce moment festif s'inscrit dans un parcours plus long co-animé par l'artiste bruxelloise **Anna Rispoli** et la théoricienne et activiste queer **Nina Ferrante**, en collaboration avec des **collectifs locaux et internationaux de femmes migrantes**. Leur démarche repose sur le partage d'outils politiques, de méthodologies artistiques, de soutien mutuel et de joie féministe. Présentée dans l'espace public, La Candidate fait appel à notre solidarité qui, à une époque où les politiques anti-immigration se durcissent sous une emprise fasciste, est plus urgente que jamais.

EN In a country that keeps 1% of its population illegal as an exploited labor force, a collective of proud undocumented women has launched an election campaign, La Candidate Sans-Papiers, in a flamboyant act of protest and institutional reinvention. More often laboring in Belgian households than in their own, poorly paid or unpaid, these women provide care for the elderly and the sick, look after children, and maintain households and offices. This "labor of love" carries the ambiguous promise of access to legal status, while raising a fundamental question: who takes care of those who take care of our society?

La Candidate Sans-Papiers is a détourned fashion show featuring a series of models on a catwalk, each highlighting a different form of oppression. Together, they call for an inalienable right to a more dignified life through witty and moving acts of political expression. This festive moment is part of a longer trajectory co-facilitated by Brussels-based artist **Anna Rispoli** and queer theorist and activist **Nina Ferrante** with **local and international collectives of migrant women**. Their process is grounded in sharing political tools, artistic methodologies, mutual support, and feminist joy. Manifesting in public space, La Candidate calls on our allyship, more urgent than ever, at a time when anti-immigration policies are tightening under a fascist grip.

FRI 18/09/26

FILM, AFTERTALK

P.A.R.T.S.
16:00
95 min.

(Revolución, cumple tu promesa) Amor Rojo

Dora García

NL Maak van je liefde een wapen. *(Revolución, cumple tu promesa) Amor Rojo* gaat in op de geschriften van de Sovjetrevolutionaire en seksuele activiste Alexandra Kollontai over vrouwelijke seksualiteit en emancipatie, de afschaffing van het gezin en de noodzaak om „harten en geesten te veranderen". De lezing volgt een complex web van verbanden tussen het 20e-eeuwse Europese marxistische feminisme en het 21e-eeuwse Latijns-Amerikaanse transfeminisme; tussen persoonlijke en collectieve rouw; tussen verschillende manieren om het vrouwelijke te begrijpen; en tussen de melancholische blik van ontgoocheling en de woedende, tedere en dwingende eis dat de revolutie eindelijk haar belofte nakomt.

De film is het resultaat van acht jaar onderzoek, van de archieven van Engels–Marx–Lenin in Moskou tot diverse persoonlijke, familiale, historische en activistische archieven in Mexico en Latijns-Amerika. Het is een collectief werk van een team van onderzoekers en kunstenaars van verschillende nationaliteiten. Het werk tracht zich in te schrijven in de urgentie die de militante film traditioneel kenmerkt, terwijl het tegelijkertijd zorgvuldige historische genealogieën in kaart brengt en een blik werpt op de toekomst.

De vertoning wordt gevolgd door een gesprek met Dora García, gemodereerd door Bojana Cvejić.

❤ **Dora García** is een kunstenaar en docent die woont en werkt in Barcelona en Oslo. García gebruikt de tentoonstellingsruimte als platform om de relatie tussen de bezoeker, het kunstwerk en de plek te onderzoeken. Naast een omvangrijk oeuvre aan performancewerk heeft ze verschillende films en publicaties gemaakt, die stuk voor stuk voortkomen uit uitgebreid onderzoek naar figuren en verhalen uit de linkse politieke geschiedenis. Haar werk is te zien geweest op talrijke internationale kunsttentoonstellingen, waaronder de Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), de Biënnale van Venetië (2011, 2013, 2015), de Biënnale van Sydney (2008), de Biënnale van São Paulo (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012) en de Biënnale van Gwangju (2016).

FR Faites de votre amour une arme. *(Révolution, tiens ta promesse) Red Love* s'inspire des écrits de la révolutionnaire soviétique Alexandra Kollontaï sur la sexualité et l'émancipation des femmes, l'abolition de la famille et la nécessité de « changer les cœurs et les esprits ». Cette lecture retrace un réseau complexe de liens entre le féminisme marxiste européen du XXe siècle et les transféminismes latino-américains du XXIe siècle ; entre le deuil personnel et collectif ; entre les nombreuses manières de comprendre le féminin ; et entre le regard mélancolique du désenchantement et l'exigence furieuse, tendre et impérieuse que la Révolution tienne enfin sa promesse.

Le film est le fruit de huit années de recherche, allant des archives Engels-Marx-Lénine de Moscou à de multiples archives personnelles, familiales, historiques et militantes au Mexique et en Amérique latine. Il s'agit d'un travail collectif mené par une équipe de chercheur·euses et d'artistes de différentes nationalités. Il cherche à s'inscrire dans l'urgence de la tradition du cinéma militant tout en traçant des généalogies historiques minutieuses et en se projetant vers l'avenir.
La projection sera suivie d'une conversation avec Dora García, animée par Bojana Cvejić.

❤ **Dora García** est une artiste et enseignante qui vit et travaille entre Barcelone et Oslo. García utilise l'espace d'exposition comme une plateforme pour explorer la relation entre les visiteur·euses l'œuvre d'art et le lieu. Outre une vaste production de performances, elle a réalisé plusieurs films et publications, chacun issu d'une recherche approfondie sur des figures et des récits de l'histoire politique de gauche. Son travail a été présenté dans de nombreuses expositions d'art internationales, notamment les Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), la Biennale de Venise (2011, 2013, 2015), la Biennale de Sydney (2008), la Biennale de São Paulo (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012) et la Biennale de Gwangju (2016).

protagonists Vivian Abenshushan, Valeria Angola, La Bruja de Texcoco, Gisela Castillo, Alaíde Castro, Paloma Contreras Lomas, Lilian Cuervo, Alicia Hopkins, Ana Victoria Jiménez, Carla Lamoyi, Liz Misterio, Vivian Olmos, Rina Ortiz, Olga Rodríguez Montemayor, Havi Sánchez, Valentina Sánchez Uzal AKA Venus, Gerardo Sansón Pérez & Ana Zambrano I **Texts** Alexandra Kollontai I **camera** Vincent Pinckaers & Miriam Ortiz Guzmán I **camera assistance** Artur Castro Freire & Fernanda Patricia Vazquez Alcántara I **additional camera** Gisela Castillo & & Esthel Vogrig I **sound** Laszlo Umbreit I **soundtrack** Jan Mech I **editing** Simon Arazi & Dora García I **music** La Bruja de Texcoco, Krõõt Juurak & Susanna Wallumrød I **produced by** Auguste Orts & Dora García I **with support from** Norwegian Artistic Research Program – Diku, Le Fresnoy – National Studio of Contemporary Arts, Flanders Audiovisual Fund, Arts Council Norway – The Audio and Visual Fund, KUF grant – Oslo National Academy of the Arts, Fotogalleriet Oslo, Netwerk Aalst, Museum of Contemporary Art in Antwerp, Garage Field Research – Garage Museum of Contemporary Art Moscow, On & For Production and Distribution, FICUNAM, Intersección Lab, FID Marseille & Rose Art Museum

EN Turn your love into a weapon. *(Revolution, Fulfil Your Promise) Red Love* engages with Soviet revolutionary and sexual activist Alexandra Kollontai's writings on female sexuality and emancipation, the abolition of the family, and the need to "change hearts and minds." The reading traces a complex web of connections between 20th-century European Marxist feminism and 21st-century Latin American transfeminisms; between personal and collective mourning; between multiple ways of understanding the feminine; and between the melancholic gaze of disenchantment and the furious, tender, and imperious demand that the Revolution finally fulfil its promise.

The film is the result of eight years of research, ranging from the Moscow Engels–Marx–Lenin archives to multiple personal, familial, historical, and activist archives in Mexico and Latin America. It is a collective work by a team of researchers and artists of different nationalities. It seeks to inscribe itself within the urgency of the tradition of militant film while also tracing careful historical genealogies and projecting into the future.

The screening will be followed by a conversation with Dora García, moderated by Bojana Cvejić.

❤ **Dora García** is an artist and teacher who lives and works between Barcelona and Oslo. García uses the exhibition space as a platform to investigate the relationship between the visitor, the artwork, and place. In addition to a vast body of performance work, she has made several films and publications, each stemming from extensive research into figures and stories from leftist political history. Her work has been presented in numerous international art exhibitions, including Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), the Venice Biennale (2011, 2013, 2015), the Sydney Biennial (2008), the São Paulo Biennial (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012), and the Gwangju Biennale (2016), among others.

photo right page
(Revolución, cumple tu promesa) Amor Rojo by Dora García (2024)
film still


¡¡Revolución
cumple tu
promesa—
Emancipa a la
mujer.

image
text

FOUNDING OF "INTERNATIONAL RED AID", OR MOPR (ITS RUSSIAN ACRONYM) BY THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AS AN "INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS" TO SUPPORT POLITICAL PRISONERS OF THE "CLASS STRUGGLE" WORLD WIDE

ITALIAN LIBERAL ANTI-FASCIST BENEDETTO CROCE WRITES THE MANIFESTO OF THE ANTI-FASCIST INTELLECTUALS

A GROUP OF ITALIAN EXILES IN PARIS CREATE THE MOVEMENT "GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ" A NON-COMMUNIST, ANTI-FASCIST CAUSE.

ANTIFA OF PALESTINE
ARAB AND JEWISH REVOLUTIONARIES IN PALESTINE GET ORGANIZED TOWARD A SHARED SOCIAL REVOLUTION TO LIBERATE PALESTINE FROM THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

OMAR AL-MUKHTAR, A LYBIAN REVOLUTIONARY LEADER WHO FOUGHT THE ITALIAN COLONIAL FASCIST OCCUPATION, DIES BY PUBLIC EXECUTION.

EDUARD EDUCHEL FROM THE U.S. THE ANTI-FASCIST "ANTI-FASCISM AND AND THE SAME. I" STARVATION, AND ENEMIES."

FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA IS MURDERED BY A FASCIST DEATH SQUAD.

1936

1922 1922 1924 1925 1927 1929 1931 1932 1933 1934 1935

ARGO SECONDARI, AN ANARCHIST AND FORMER LIEUTENANT, FOUNDS THE "ARDITI DEL POPOLO", AS AN ANSWER TO MUSSOLINI'S RISE TO POWER.

T.I.G.R., A SECRET, ARMED ANTI-FASCIST GROUP IS FORMED TO FIGHT ITALY'S HARSH RULE OVER SLOVENE AND CROAT PEOPLE. THE NAME STANDS FOR TRST (TRIESTE) ISTRA (ISTRIA) GORICA (GORIZIA) REKA (RIJEKA)

BEFORE HIS EXECUTION, OMAR AL-MUKHTAR, KNOWN AS THE LION OF THE DESERT, STATED: "THIS IS NOT THE END. YOU, THE NEXT GENERATION, AND THE GENERATIONS AFTER YOU, HAVE TO FIGHT. MY LIFE WILL BE LONGER THAN THE LIFE OF MY EXECUTIONER."

ROTE HILFE DISBANDS IN GERMANY. SPANISH CIVIL WAR: REACTIONARY MILI RELIGIOUS CATHOLIC, AND FORCES STAGE A COUP AG LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT REPUBLIC. THEY EXPECT A VICTORY, BUT THEY ENCOUNT POPULAR RESISTANCE. WHIC ADVANCE OF FASCIST REBE DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN GOV ABANDON THE REPUBLIC'S C ANTI-FASCIST INTELLECTUALS AND ACROSS THE WORLD JOIN THE SP 1936, DOLORES IBÁRRURI, SPA LEADER, DELIVERS A RADIO AD THE FAMOUS PHRASE: "THEY — "NO PASARÁN" BECOMES THE INTERNATI SLOGAN. SPANISH ANARCH MONTSENY MAKES THE A RADIO ADDRESS IN AU ARE NEITHER SOVIE NOR COMMUNISTS, N WE ARE ANTI-FAS KNOW WHAT FASCIS

FOUNDING OF "ROTE HILFE", THE GERMAN SECTION OF "INTERNATIONAL RED AID" IN RESPONSE TO THE POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC. THE TERM "ANTIFA" EMERGED THEN (SHORT FOR ANTI-FASCISM) AND REFERS TO THE FRONT FIGHTERS' LEAGUE (FKB) A FAR-LEFT PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION ASSOCIATED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (KPD). THEY FIRST USED THE FAMOUS FIST-CLENCHED SALUTE AS A SYMBOL OF THEIR STRUGGLE. IN LONDON, SOHO'S DISTRICT, HENRY JOHNSTONE INITIATED THE PEOPLE'S DEFENSE FORCE, THE FIRST ORGANIZED ANTI-FASCIST FORCE IN GREAT BRITAIN. IN YORKSHIRE, THE "NATIONAL UNION FOR COMBATING FASCISM" (NUCF) APPEARS. THE GROUP PUBLISHES AN ANTI-FASCIST NEWSPAPER, "THE CLEAR LIGHT" WITH A CIRCULATION OF SEVERAL THOUSAND COPIES.

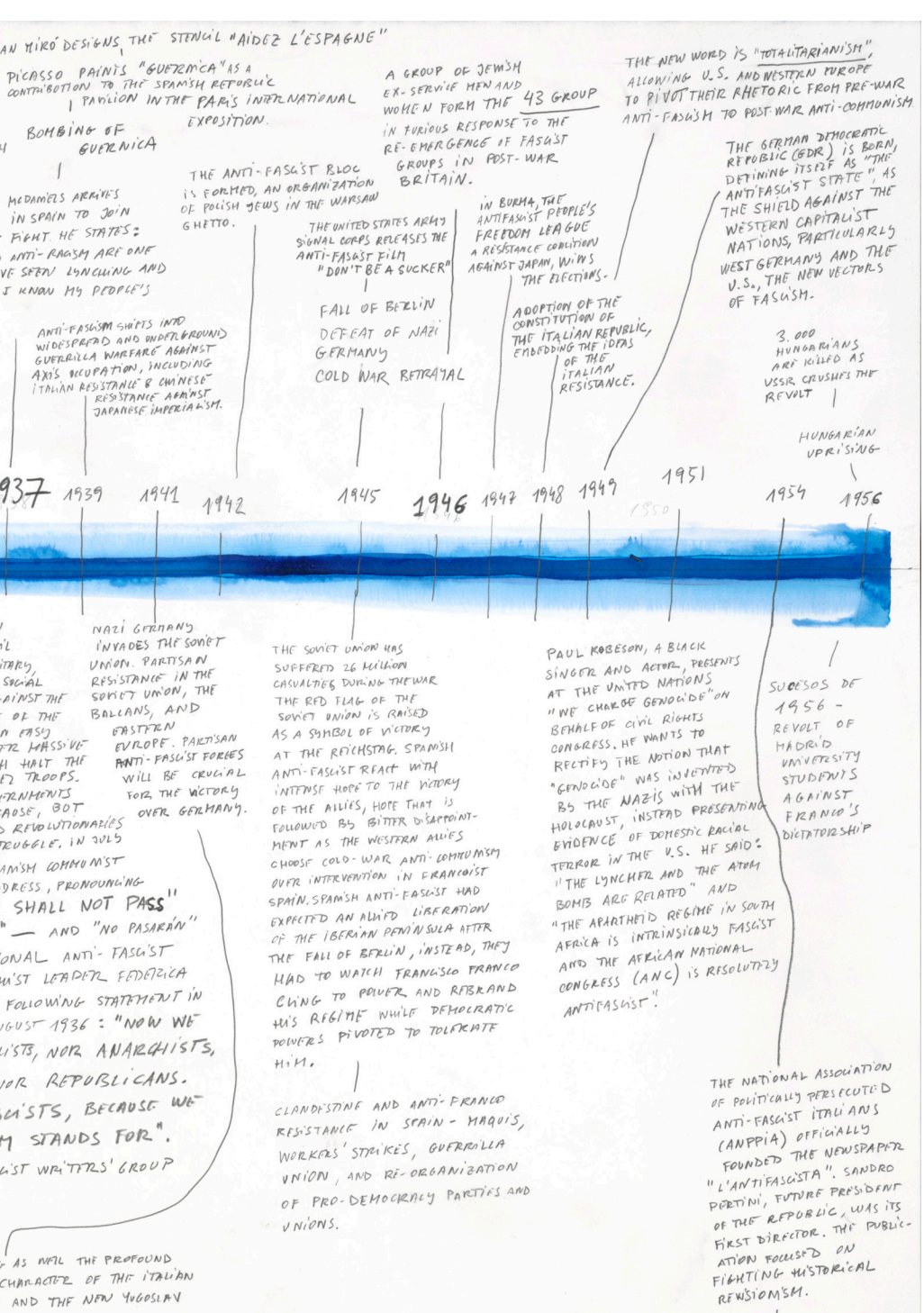
THE KPD ESTABLISHES THE ANTIFASCHISTISCHE AKTION. THE NAME AND LOGO OF ANTIFASCHISTISCHE AKTION, DESIGNED BY MAX GEBHARD AND MAX KEILSON, IS STILL WIDELY USED AS SYMBOL OF MILITANT ANTI-FASCISM, AS IS THE IRON FRONT'S (EISERNE FRONT) THREE ARROWS LOGO

1935

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ACROSS THE WORLD DEMONSTRATE AGAINST MUSSOLINI'S INVASION OF ETHIOPIA. "HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA" RALLIES HAPPENED IN RIO DE JANEIRO, BUENOS AIRES, HAVANA, CHICAGO, NY, LONDON, PARIS ISTAMBUL, CAIRO, CAPE TOWN...

FINNISH LEFTIST ANTI-FAS KIILA IS FORMED.

DETERMINING ANTI-FASCIST CONSTITUTION REPUBLIC.


AN MIRÓ DESIGNS THE STENCIL "AIDEZ L'ESPAGNE"
PICASSO PAINTS "GUERNICA" AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPANISH REPUBLIC PAVILION IN THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.
BOMBING OF GUERNICA
MCDANIELS ARRIVES IN SPAIN TO JOIN FIGHT. HE STATES: ANTI-RACISM ARE ONE VE SEEN LYNCHING AND I KNOW MY PEOPLE'S
ANTI-FASCISM SHIFTS INTO WIDESPREAD AND UNDERGROUND GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST AXIS OCCUPATION, INCLUDING ITALIAN RESISTANCE & CHINESE RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM.
THE ANTI-FASCIST BLOC IS FORMED, AN ORGANIZATION OF POLISH JEWS IN THE WARSAW GHETTO.
A GROUP OF JEWISH EX-SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN FORM THE 43 GROUP IN FURIOUS RESPONSE TO THE RE-EMERGENCE OF FASCIST GROUPS IN POST-WAR BRITAIN.
THE UNITED STATES ARMY SIGNAL CORPS RELEASES THE ANTI-FASCIST FILM "DON'T BE A SUCKER"
IN BURMA, THE ANTIFASCIST PEOPLE'S FREEDOM LEAGUE A RESISTANCE COALITION AGAINST JAPAN, WINS THE ELECTIONS.
FALL OF BERLIN
DEFEAT OF NAZI GERMANY
COLD WAR BETRAYAL
ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC, EMBEDDING THE IDEAS OF THE ITALIAN RESISTANCE.
THE NEW WORD IS "TOTALITARIANISM", ALLOWING U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE TO PIVOT THEIR RHETORIC FROM PRE-WAR ANTI-FASCISM TO POST-WAR ANTI-COMMUNISM
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GDR) IS BORN, DEFINING ITSELF AS "THE ANTIFASCIST STATE", AS THE SHIELD AGAINST THE WESTERN CAPITALIST NATIONS, PARTICULARLY WEST GERMANY AND THE U.S., THE NEW VECTORS OF FASCISM.
3.000 HUNGARIANS ARE KILLED AS USSR CRUSHES THE REVOLT
HUNGARIAN UPRISING
937
1939
1941
1942
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1954
1956
NAZI GERMANY INVADES THE SOVIET UNION. PARTISAN RESISTANCE IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE BALKANS, AND EASTERN EUROPE. PARTISAN ANTI-FASCIST FORCES WILL BE CRUCIAL FOR THE VICTORY OVER GERMANY.
THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUFFERED 26 MILLION CASUALTIES DURING THE WAR THE RED FLAG OF THE SOVIET UNION IS RAISED AS A SYMBOL OF VICTORY AT THE REICHSTAG. SPANISH ANTI-FASCIST REACT WITH INTENSE HOPE TO THE VICTORY OF THE ALLIES, HOPE THAT IS FOLLOWED BY BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT AS THE WESTERN ALLIES CHOOSE COLD-WAR ANTI-COMMUNISM OVER INTERVENTION IN FRANCOIST SPAIN. SPANISH ANTI-FASCIST HAD EXPECTED AN ALLIED LIBERATION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AFTER THE FALL OF BERLIN, INSTEAD, THEY HAD TO WATCH FRANCISCO FRANCO CLING TO POWER AND REBRAND HIS REGIME WHILE DEMOCRATIC POWERS PIVOTED TO TOLERATE HIM.
CLANDESTINE AND ANTI-FRANCO RESISTANCE IN SPAIN - MAQUIS, WORKERS' STRIKES, GUERRILLA UNION, AND RE-ORGANIZATION OF PRO-DEMOCRACY PARTIES AND UNIONS.
PAUL ROBESON, A BLACK SINGER AND ACTOR, PRESENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS "WE CHARGE GENOCIDE" ON BEHALF OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS. HE WANTS TO RECTIFY THE NOTION THAT "GENOCIDE" WAS INVENTED BY THE NAZIS WITH THE HOLOCAUST, INSTEAD PRESENTING EVIDENCE OF DOMESTIC RACIAL TERROR IN THE U.S. HE SAID: "THE LYNCHER AND THE ATOM BOMB ARE RELATED" AND "THE APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA IS INTRINSICALLY FASCIST AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) IS RESOLUTELY ANTIFASCIST".
SUCESOS DE 1956 - REVOLT OF MADRID UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AGAINST FRANCO'S DICTATORSHIP
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POLITICALLY PERSECUTED ANTI-FASCIST ITALIANS (ANPPIA) OFFICIALLY FOUNDED THE NEWSPAPER "L'ANTIFASCISTA". SANDRO PERTINI, FUTURE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, WAS ITS FIRST DIRECTOR. THE PUBLICATION FOCUSED ON FIGHTING HISTORICAL REVISIONISM.
OUTBREAK OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. ANTI-COLONIAL RESISTANCE = ANTIFASCISM
SHALL NOT PASS"
— AND "NO PASARÁN"
ONAL ANTI-FASCIST
U'IST LEADER, FEDERZICA
FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN
UGUST 1936: "NOW WE
LISTS, NOR ANARCHISTS,
OR REPUBLICANS.
CISTS, BECAUSE WE
M STANDS FOR".
IST WRITERS' GROUP
AS WELL THE PROFOUND
CHARACTER OF THE ITALIAN
AND THE NEW YUGOSLAV



1957

1960

1961

1962

1964

1966

1967

1968

1969

1970

1971

197

BATAILLE D'ALGER
A CAMPAIGN FOUGHT DURING THE ALGERIAN WAR, WITH URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE BY THE FLN (NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT) GENERAL JACQUES MASSU IS GIVEN FULL POWERS BY THE FRENCH REPUBLIC TO TORTURE AND ATTACK THE CIVIL POPULATION IN ORDER TO SUPPRESS THE FLN, INCLUDING FORCED DISAPPEARANCES. GENERAL STRIKE IN ALGERIA.

MASS GENERAL STRIKES CALLED BY GROUPS LIKE THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF ITALIAN WORKERS* (CGIL) AGAINST THE TAMBRONI GOVERNMENT, BACKED BY THE MSI NEO-FASCISTS.
* CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE ITALIANA DEL LAVORO

RELEASE OF THE FILM "THE FOUR DAYS OF NAPLES" DIRECTED BY NANNI LOY, ABOUT THE 1943 NAPLES UPRISING AGAINST NAZI GERMAN OCCUPATION FORCES.

"OPERAI E CAPITALE" (WORKERS AND CAPITAL) A BOOK BY MARIO TRONTI, IS PUBLISHED AND BECOMES THE FOUNDATIONAL TEXT OF A NEW FORM OF COMMUNISM, "OPERAISMO".

HUEY P. NEWTON AND BOBBY SEALE START THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

THE FILM "THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS" BY GILLO PONTECORVO, WINS THE GOLDEN LION AT THE VENICE FILM FESTIVAL. IT IS ALSO FORMALLY BANNED IN FRANCE. IT COULD ONLY BE DISTRIBUTED IN FRANCE IN 1970.

FRED HAMPTON, LEADER OF THE BLACK PANTHERS PARTY, STATES: "NOTHING IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN STOPPING FASCISM, BECAUSE FASCISM IS GONNA STOP US ALL"
FRED HAMPTON IS MURDERED ON DECEMBER 4, 1969. HE WAS 21-YEARS-OLD. HE WAS ASSASSINATED BY THE POLICE ON ORDERS FROM THE FBI.

"ROTE HILFE" IS RE-ESTABLISHED IN GERMANY. IT COMES INTO THE PUBLIC EYE IN CONNECTION TO GUERRILLA GROUPS SUCH AS THE R.A.F. AND THE JUNI 2 MOVEMENT

1971
MUSEO DE LA SOLIDARIDAD SALVADOR ALLENDE IS FOUNDED IN CHILE, AND WILL OPERATE IN EXILE AS THE MUSEUM OF RESISTANCE (MIRSA)

AFTER THE STONEWALL RIOTS, THE GAY LIBERATION FRONT (GLF) IS STARTED, LINKING GAY LIBERATION WITH ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLES, VIEWING SEXUAL FREEDOM AS CENTRAL FOR HUMAN EMANCIPATION.

BLACK PANTHERS PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE ORGANIZES "NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA" IN OAKLAND. 5.000 PEOPLE GATHER. ONE OF THEM WAS ANGELA DAVIS, AFTER OFFICIALLY JOINING THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA. OTHERS WHO ATTENDED WERE HERBERT APTHEKER (MARXIST HISTORIAN) AND THE PAN "WOMEN SPEAK AGAINST FASCISM"

MARIO TRONTI CO-FOUNDS (WITH PANZIERI, ALQUATI, A.O.) "QUADERNI ROSSI" (RED NOTEBOOKS), AN ITALIAN POLITICAL JOURNAL THAT BECOMES ONE OF THE MAIN SOURCES OF AUTONOMIST MARXISM.

"THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH" BY FRANTZ FANON IS PUBLISHED

FRANTZ FANON DIES.

SOMALIA WINS FULL INDEPENDENCE FROM ITALY, ITS FORMER COLONIAL RULER

ALGERIA WINS INDEPENDENCE FROM FRANCE, AFTER A BRUTAL EIGHT-YEAR WAR, CONCLUDING 132 YEARS OF FRENCH COLONIAL RULE.

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) IS FOUNDED

"SEARCHLIGHT" A MAGAZINE THAT INVESTIGATES AND OPPOSES FASCISM, ANTISEMITISM AND RACISM, IS LAUNCHED IN U.K.

POPULAR AND STUDENTS' OPPOSITION TO THE COLONELS' DICTATORSHIP IN GREECE.

BEGINNING (UNTIL 1980) OF THE 'ANNI DI PIOMBO' IN ITALY

EMERGENCE OF THE "FRONT HOMOSEXUEL D'ACTIO RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE" (FHAR) ORGANIZING MILITANT RESIST AGAINST STATE HOMOPHOBIA FAR-RIGHT NATIONALIST NETWO

UPRISING POLYTECHI

SPANISH PRI LUIS CARRE ASSASSINATED THE BASQUE S DETONATING

ROCK AGAINST RACISM (R.A.R) EMERGES AS A REACTION TO A RISE IN RACIST ATTACKS AND INCREASING SUPPORT FOR THE FAR-RIGHT IN U.K.

FANTIFA: A FEMINIST ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT EMERGES IN GERMAN-SPEARING COUNTRIES. (FEMINISTISCHE ANTIFA)

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION (AFA) IN THE UK, ENGAGE IN MASS MOBILIZATIONS DRAWING THOUSANDS OF PARTICIPANTS

MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST BLOCKADES AND STREET CONFRONTATIONS TAKE PLACE IN LUND, SWEDEN.

CROATIA INTRODUCES "ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE DAY" AS A PUBLIC HOLIDAY, TO COMMEMORATE THE RESISTANCE ORIGINS OF THE CROATIAN REPUBLIC.

ÉDOUARD GLISSANT PUBLISHES "LE DISCOURS ANTILLAIS"

DEVRIMCI YOL (REVOLUTIONARY PATH) EMERGES IN TURKEY AS A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MOVEMENT TO FIGHT FASCISM.

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION (AFA) IS OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED IN U.K.

INTERNATIONAL ART EXHIBITION FOR PALESTINE IN BEIRUT ORGANIZED BY P.L.O.

"NAZI PUNKS FUCK OFF" IS RELEASED BY THE DEAD KENNEDYS

MILAN-BASED PUNK SQUAT "THE VIRUS" HELD FESTIVAL "SPRING OFFENSIVE" GATHERING THOUSANDS.

ANTIFASCHISTISCHES INFOBLATT (AIB) IS LAUNCHED IN BERLIN

2 DOLORES IBARRURI DIES

THE PUBLICATION OF "GENDER TROUBLE" BY JUDITH BUTLER, SEND SHOCKWAVES THROUGH THE FANTIFA MOVEMENT.

FALL OF BERLIN WALL

FRANCO DIES

1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1980 1981 1982 1985 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991

THE CARNATION REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL PEACEFULLY OVERTHROWS THE CORPORATIST REGIME OF THE ESTADO NOVO.

SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH, A 25-YEAR OLD CATALAN ANARCHIST IS CRUELLY EXECUTED BY THE FRANCO REGIME, BEING ITS LAST OFFICIAL VICTIM.

IN BRESCIA (IT), PIAZZA DELLA LOGGIA, TRADE UNIONS AND ANTI-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS CALL A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST NEOFASCIST VIOLENCE. A BOMB EXPLODES KILLING 8 PEOPLE AND INJURING 100, ONE OF MANY INSTANCES OF STATE-SPONSORED NEOFASCIST ATTACKS IN ITALY.

IN NEW YORK CITY, ANTI-FASCISTS SKINHEAD YOUTHS (REDSKINS) ORGANIZE IN GROUPS LIKE "ANTI-RACIST ACTION*" AND "SHARP" – SKINHEADS AGAINST RACIAL PREJUDICE. IT IS THE BEGINNING OF A GLOBAL MOVEMENT OF SKIN-HEAD ANTIFASCISM – WITH YOUTHS THAT ARE PART OF PUNK, SKA, OI! MUSIC SCENES.

* THE COMPLETE NAME IS "ANTI-RACIST ACTION IN THE TWIN CITIES"

NO NUKES RALLY IN NEW YORK CITY

ANTI-RACIST ACTION (ARA), A DECENTRALIZED NETWORK OF MILITANT, FAR-LEFT POLITICAL CELLS IS FOUNDED IN MINNEAPOLIS, OUT OF THE HARDCORE PUNK AND SKINHEAD SCENE (INCLUDING THE GROUP THE MINNEAPOLIS BALDIES). ITS MEMBERS USE DIRECT ACTION, COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION AND PHYSICAL CONFRONTATION TO OPPOSE NEO-NAZIS, WHITE SUPREMACISTS, AND FASCISTS.

THE HANDBAG INCIDENT: IN VÄXJÖ, SWEDEN, A WOMAN NAMED DANUTA DANIELSSON STRUCK A NEO-NAZI MARCH PARTICIPANT WITH HER HANDBAG, CREATING AN ICONIC SYMBOL OF CIVIC RESISTANCE AGAINST FASCISM

THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT, OR SHABIA, A MARXIST-LENINIST NATIONAL LIBERATION COALITION, ACHIEVES THE INDEPENDENCE OF ERITREA FROM ETHIOPIAN RULE.

ROTE ZORA (RED ZORA) A WEST GERMAN RADICAL LEFT FEMINIST URBAN GUERRILLA, BECOMES ACTIVE (1974-1995) – OPPOSING SECTION 218 OF THE GERMAN PENAL LAW LIMITING ABORTION.

THE ORGANIZATION "ROTE ZORA" TOOK ITS NAME FROM THE 1941 BOOK "DIE ROTE ZORA UND IHRE BANDE" BY KURT HELD

Previous, current and next pages
"Antifascisms", by Dora García, 2026



1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008

GUILLEM AGULLÓ I SALVADOR, AN 18-YEAR OLD SPANISH ANTIFASCIST ACTIVIST, WAS STABBED IN THE HEART BY A GROUP OF NEONAZIS

ANARCHIST, ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTER AND INTELLECTUAL FEDERICA MONTSENY DIES IN TOULOUSE.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND SERBIAN OPPOSITION PARTIES ORGANIZE A SERIES OF PEACEFUL PROTESTS IN RESPONSE TO THE ELECTORAL FRAUD ATTEMPTED BY PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ

OVER 9.000 ANTIFASCISTS DEMONSTRATORS MARCH THROUGH DOWNTOWN HAMBURG TO DISRUPT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

LANDMARK FILM "AMERICAN HISTORY X" IS RELEASED, CRITIQUING NEO-NAZI SUBCULTURES.

CARLO GIULIANI, A 23-YEAR-OLD ITALIAN PROTESTER, IS SHOT AND KILLED BY A POLICE OFFICER DURING ANTI-GLOBALIZATION DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE G8 SUMMIT IN GENOA.

MURDER OF CARLOS PALOMINO, 16 YEARS OLD, ON HIS WAY TO AN ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION, HE IS FATALLY STABBED IN A MADRID SUBWAY CAR BY A SOLDIER WHO WAS ON HIS WAY TO THE MARCH ORGANIZED BY FAR-RIGHT PARTY DEMOCRACIA NACIONAL.

UNITE AGAINST FASCISM (U.A.F.) IS OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED IN U.K. UNIFYING THE ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST RACISM.

"ANTIFASCIST AT A DOCUMENTAR CREATED BY THAT EXPLORES EMERGING ANT MOVEMENT IN R IS RELEASED

THE YEAR 1995 MARKS THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE, SPARKING MAJOR INTERNATIONAL COMMEMORATIONS, STARTING AS WELL A MAJOR IDEOLOGICAL SHIFT, MOVING AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL STATE-SOCIALIST/ ANTIFASCIST NARRATIVES.

EMERGENCE OF THE ALT-RIGHT (SHORT FOR ALTERNATIVE RIGHT) AS A FAR-RIGHT, DECENTRALIZED POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT COMBINES WHITE NATIONALISM, WHITE SUPREMACISM, AND ANTISEMITISM WITH DIGITAL POPULISM AND ANTI-GLOBALIZATION

"HOPE NOT HATE" CAMPAIGN IS LAUNCHED AS THE CAMPAIGN ARM OF THE ANTI-FASCIST RESEARCH MAGAZINE "SEARCHLIGHT", U.K.

"DELETE RACISM" CAMPAIGN IN POLAND.

IN RESPO RISE OF RIGHT IN ANTI-FASC RACIST AN GROUPS E SUCH AS GARDE, F INSOUMI ANTIFAS SCALP-

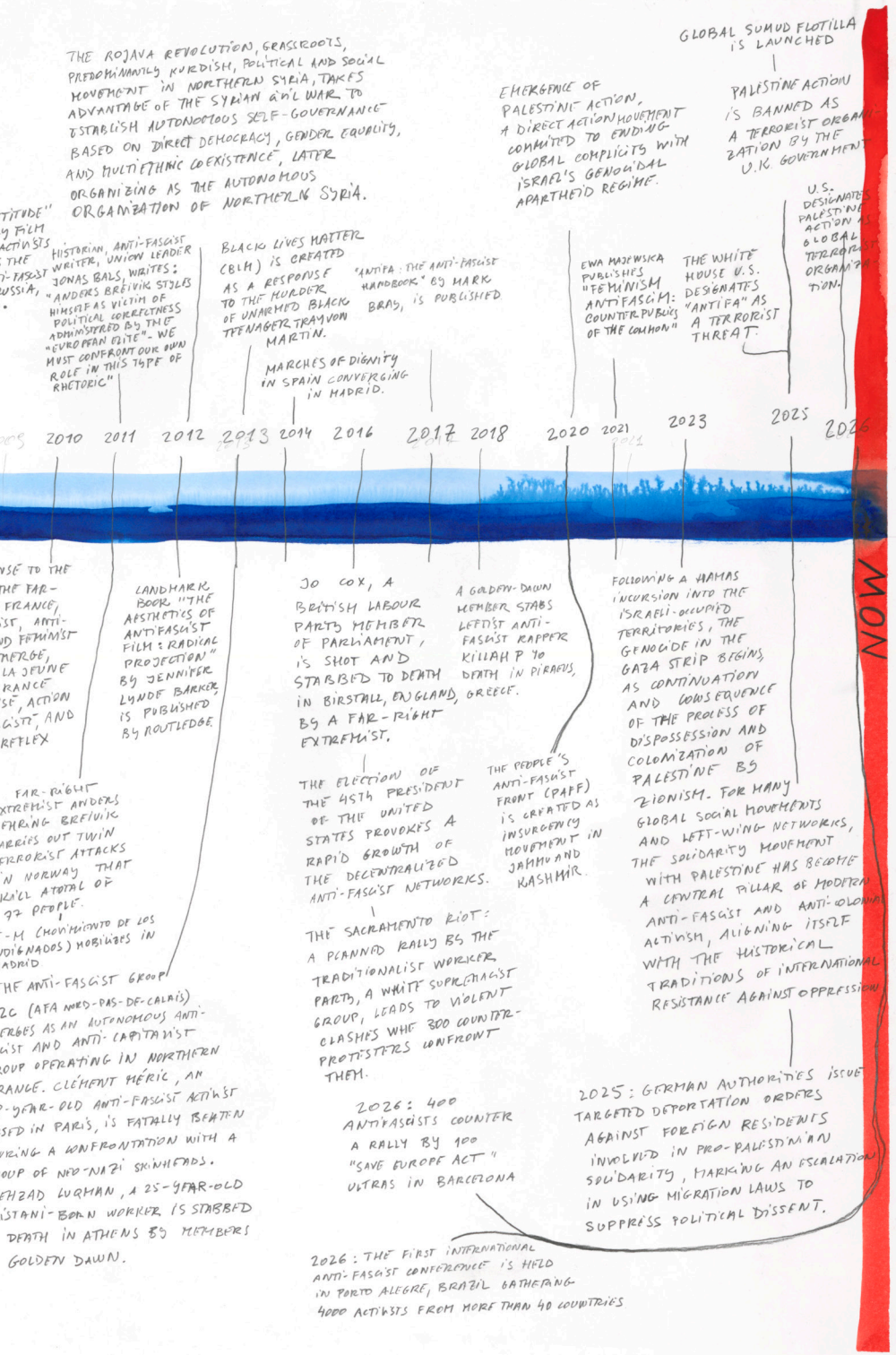
GERMAN PUBLIC PROSECUTORS IN LOWER SAXONY OFFICIALLY DROP A FIVE-YEAR LONG CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION INTO LOCAL ANTIFA GROUPS - IN 1991, THE STATE HAD CHARGED 17 ANTIFASCIST ACTIVISTS WITH "SUPPORTING TERRORISM" - THE DISMISSAL OF THE CASE ESTABLISHES A LEGAL REALITY: BECAUSE "ANTIFA" LACKS A CENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP OR FORMAL ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE, IT CANNOT BE LEGALLY PROSECUTED AS A SINGULAR TERRORIST ENTITY

THE U.S YORK, PENNSYLVANIA CLASHES: A.R.A (ANTI-RACIST ACTION), OPERATING UNDER THE MOTTO "WE GO WHERE THEY GO" MOBILIZE IN YORK TO DISRUPT A SPEECH BY MATTHEW F. HALE, LEADER OF THE NEO-NAZI GROUP "WORLD CHURCH OF THE CREATOR" MARK BRAY CONSIDERS THIS A DEFINING MOMENT, A BLUEPRINT FOR MODERN AMERICAN ANTIFA.

SONIC YOUTH RELEASES THE SONG "YOUTH AGAINST FASCISM" AS THE SECOND SINGLE FROM THEIR ACCLAIMED ALBUM "DIRTY"

RAGE AGAINST THE MACHINE RELEASES THE ALBUM "TAKE THE POWER BACK" WITH THE SONG OF THE SAME NAME AS TRACK 3.

SWEDISH ANTIFASCHISTISCHE AKTION (AFA) AUTONOMOUS ANTI-FASCIST GROOPS ATTACK NORRKÖPING IMMIGRATION OFFICE AND BREAK THE WINDOWS OF A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PROPERTY IN KALMAR


THE ROJAVA REVOLUTION, GRASSROOTS, PREDOMINANTLY KURDISH, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN SYRIA, TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE SYRIAN CIVIL WAR TO ESTABLISH AUTONOMOUS SELF-GOVERNANCE BASED ON DIRECT DEMOCRACY, GENDER EQUALITY, AND MULTIETHNIC COEXISTENCE, LATER ORGANIZING AS THE AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATION OF NORTHERN SYRIA.
EMERGENCE OF PALESTINE ACTION, A DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT COMMITTED TO ENDING GLOBAL COMPLICITY WITH ISRAEL'S GENOCIDAL APARTHEID REGIME.
GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA IS LAUNCHED
PALESTINE ACTION IS BANNED AS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION BY THE U.K. GOVERNMENT
U.S. DESIGNATES PALESTINE ACTION AS A GLOBAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.
HISTORIAN, ANTI-FASCIST WRITER, UNION LEADER JONAS BALS, WRITES: "ANDERS BREIVIK STYLES HIMSELF AS VICTIM OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS ADMINISTERED BY THE "EUROPEAN ELITE". WE MUST CONFRONT OUR OWN ROLE IN THIS TYPE OF RHETORIC"
BLACK LIVES MATTER (BLM) IS CREATED AS A RESPONSE TO THE MURDER OF UNARMED BLACK TEENAGER TRAYVON MARTIN.
"ANTIFA: THE ANTI-FASCIST HANDBOOK." BY MARK BRAS, IS PUBLISHED
EWA MAJEWSKA PUBLISHES "FEMINISM ANTIFASCISM: COUNTER PUBLICS OF THE COMMON"
THE WHITE HOUSE U.S. DESIGNATES "ANTIFA" AS A TERRORIST THREAT.
MARCHES OF DIGNITY IN SPAIN CONVERGING IN MADRID.
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2016
2017
2018
2020
2021
2023
2025
2026
MON
LANDMARK BOOK "THE AESTHETICS OF ANTI-FASCIST FILM: RADICAL PROJECTION" BY JENNIFER LYNDE BARKER, IS PUBLISHED BY ROUTLEDGE
JO COX, A BRITISH LABOUR PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, IS SHOT AND STABBED TO DEATH IN BIRSTALL, ENGLAND, BY A FAR-RIGHT EXTREMIST.
A GOLDEN DAWN MEMBER STABS LEFTIST ANTI-FASCIST RAPPER KILLAH P TO DEATH IN PIRAEUS, GREECE.
FOLLOWING A HAMAS INCURSION INTO THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THE GENOCIDE IN THE GAZA STRIP BEGINS, AS CONTINUATION AND CONSEQUENCE OF THE PROCESS OF DISPOSSESSION AND COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE BY ZIONISM. FOR MANY GLOBAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LEFT-WING NETWORKS, THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT WITH PALESTINE HAS BECOME A CENTRAL PILLAR OF MODERN ANTI-FASCIST AND ANTI-COLONIAL ACTIVISM, ALIGNING ITSELF WITH THE HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RESISTANCE AGAINST OPPRESSION
THE ELECTION OF THE 45TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES PROVOKES A RAPID GROWTH OF THE DECENTRALIZED ANTI-FASCIST NETWORKS.
THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-FASCIST FRONT (PAFF) IS CREATED AS INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR
THE SACRAMENTO RIOT: A PLANNED RALLY BY THE TRADITIONALIST WORKER PARTY, A WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUP, LEADS TO VIOLENT CLASHES WHE 300 COUNTER-PROTESTERS CONFRONT THEM.
2026: 400 ANTIFASCISTS COUNTER A RALLY BY 100 "SAVE EUROPE ACT" ULTRAS IN BARCELONA
2025: GERMAN AUTHORITIES ISSUE TARGETED DEPORTATION ORDERS AGAINST FOREIGN RESIDENTS INVOLVED IN PRO-PALESTINIAN SOLIDARITY, MARKING AN ESCALATION IN USING MIGRATION LAWS TO SUPPRESS POLITICAL DISSENT.
2026: THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST CONFERENCE IS HELD IN PORTO ALEGRE, BRAZIL GATHERING 4000 ACTIVISTS FROM MORE THAN 40 COUNTRIES

FRI 18/09/26

LECTURE, CONVERSATION

P.A.R.T.S.
19:30
90 min.

Pirate Care

Valeria Graziano ✕ Tomislav Medak

NL Voortkomend uit jarenlange gezamenlijke strijd en onderzoek binnen Pirate Care – een transnationaal collectief van praktijkmensen, onderzoekers en activisten die zich sinds 2019 inzetten voor de ontwikkeling van gemeenschappelijke structuren voor sociale reproductie – presenteren Valeria Graziano en Tomislav Medak hun in 2025 verschenen boek *Pirate Care: Acts Against the Criminalization of Solidarity* (geschreven in samenwerking met Marcell Mars).

Hun werk belicht verhalen en technieken van heimelijke opstanden en daden van solidariteit die als illegaal worden beschouwd: activisten die zich organiseren om mensen op de vlucht te redden, gemeenschappen die toegang creëren tot verboden medicijnen, netwerken die kennis bevrijden uit de handen van de macht, en nog veel meer. In navolging van de gouden eeuw van piraten die het aandurfden om imperiums in hun vroege dagen te trotseren, bieden Pirate Care en de bijbehorende collectieve studiegids (https://syllabus.pirate.care/) een repertoire aan levensondersteunende praktijken die moed en verzet ademen tegen het fascisme en imperialisme dat aan de horizon opdoemt.
Tegenover de versnipperde wanhoop laat Pirate Care zien dat terugvechten niet alleen gaat om juridische en wetgevende veranderingen, maar ook om organisatie, directe actie en ongehoorzame manieren van zorgen.

De lezing van Valeria en Tomislav wordt gevolgd door een gesprek met het publiek.

❤ **Valeria Graziano** beweegt zich tussen onderzoek, culturele praktijk en politieke organisatie, met een focus op rechtvaardigheid op het gebied van zorg. Haar onderzoek, dat geworteld is in het feministische en autonomistische marxisme, richt zich op de weigering om te werken en het politieke gebruik van plezier als tactieken waarmee collectieven zichzelf in stand houden te midden van de autoritaire tendensen van het heden. Ze is verbonden aan de Universiteit van Rijeka.

❤ **Tomislav Medak** is een onderzoeker met een doctoraat in technopolitiek en de planetaire milieucrisis, wiens onderzoek zich richt op zorg, ecologie, technologie, kapitalistische ontwikkeling, handicap en de commons. Voorheen was hij lid van het theorie- en publicatieteam van het Multimedia Institute/MAMA in Zagreb en kunstenaar in het podiumkunstencollectief BADco. Hij is politiek actief als beleidscoördinator voor het groen-linkse politieke platform Možemo! in Kroatië.

FR Fruit d'années de lutte et de réflexion collectives au sein de Pirate Care – une collectivité transnationale de praticien·nes, de chercheur·euses et de militant·es qui, depuis 2019, s'efforcent de développer des structures communes de reproduction sociale –, Valeria Graziano et Tomislav Medak présenteront leur ouvrage *Pirate Care : Acts Against the Criminalization of Solidarity* (écrit en collaboration avec Marcell Mars), parut en 2025.

Leur ouvrage met en lumière des récits et des techniques de rébellions clandestines et d'actes de solidarité jugés illégaux : des militant·es s'organisant pour secourir des personnes en déplacement, des communautés facilitant l'accès à des médicaments interdits, des réseaux libérant le savoir des mains du pouvoir, et bien d'autres encore. Faisant écho à l'âge d'or des pirates qui ont osé défier les empires à leurs débuts, Pirate Care et son programme d'étude collectif (https://syllabus.pirate.care/) offrent un répertoire de pratiques vitales qui insufflent courage et défiance face au fascisme et à l'impérialisme qui se profilent à l'horizon.

Face au désespoir atomisé, Pirate Care montre que la riposte ne passe pas seulement par des changements juridiques et législatifs, mais aussi par l'organisation, l'action directe et le soin émergeant des pratiques de désobéissances civiles.

La conférence de Valeria et Tomislav sera suivie d'une discussion avec le public.

❤ **Valeria Graziano** oscille entre la recherche, la pratique culturelle et l'organisation politique, en se concentrant sur la justice des soins. Ses recherches, ancrées dans le marxisme féministe et autonomiste, s'intéressent au refus du travail et aux usages politiques du plaisir comme tactiques permettant aux collectifs de se maintenir face à la dérive autoritaire du présent. Elle travaille à l'université de Rijeka.

❤ **Tomislav Medak** est un chercheur titulaire d'un doctorat en technopolitique et crise environnementale planétaire, dont les recherches portent sur les soins, l'écologie, la technologie, le développement capitaliste, le handicap et les biens communs. Ancien membre de l'équipe théorique et éditoriale du Multimedia Institute/MAMA à Zagreb et artiste au sein du collectif d'arts du spectacle BADco, il est le coordinateur politique pour de la plateforme politique du parti de gauche écologiste Možemo! en Croatie.

EN Growing out of years of collective struggle and study within Pirate Care – a transnational collectivity of practitioners, researchers and activists who have, since 2019, conspired to develop common structures of social reproduction – Valeria Graziano and Tomislav Medak will present their 2025 book *Pirate Care: Acts Against the Criminalization of Solidarity* (written together with Marcell Mars).

Their work illuminates stories and techniques of stealthy rebellions and acts of solidarity deemed illegal: activists organizing to rescue people on the move, communities creating access to forbidden medicines, networks liberating knowledge from the hands of power, and many more. Echoing the golden age of pirates who dared to defy empires at its dawn, Pirate Care and its collective study syllabus (https://syllabus.pirate.care/), offer a repertoire of life-sustaining practices that breathe courage and defiance against fascism and imperialism on the horizon.

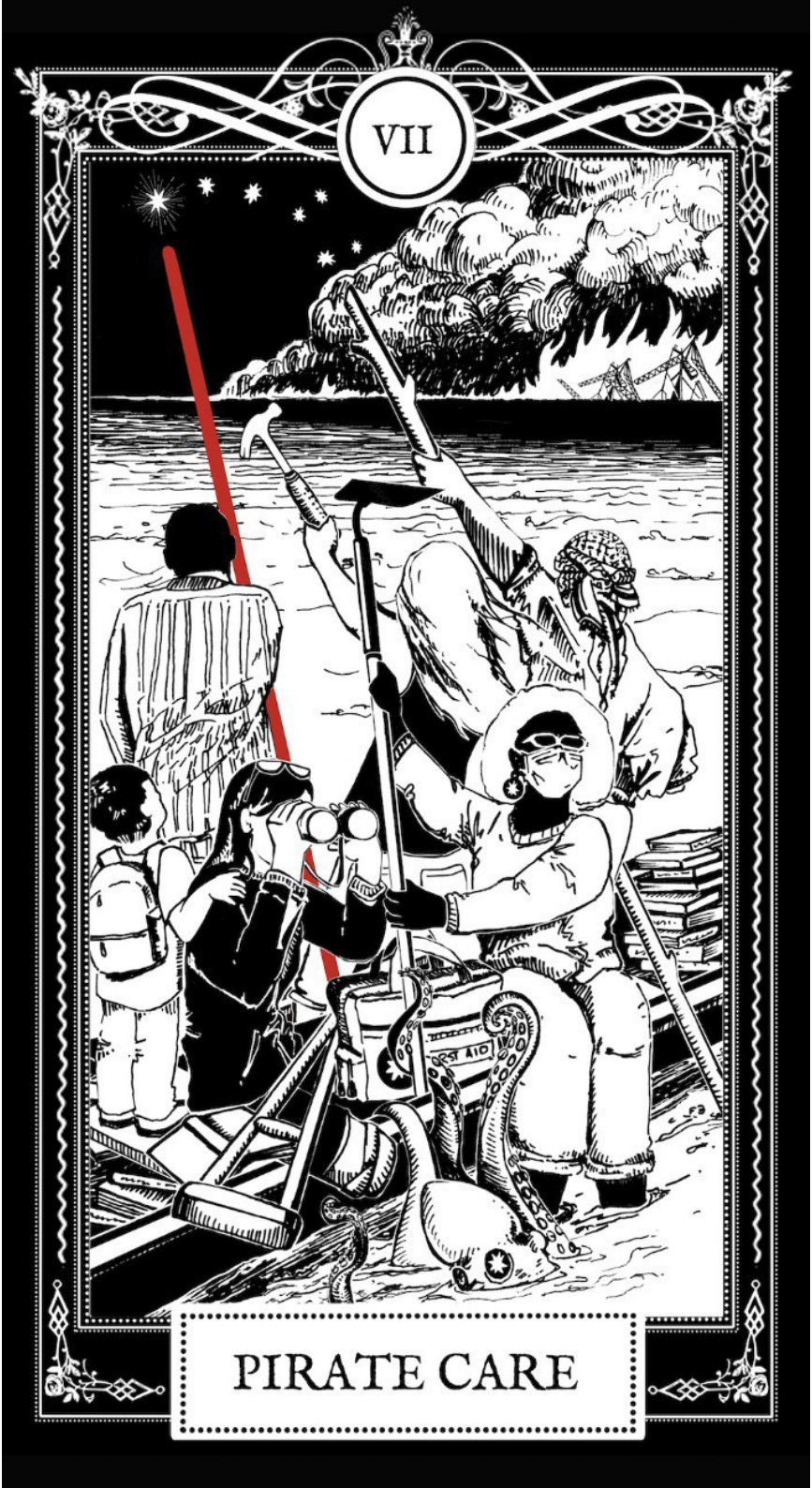
Against atomized despair, Pirate Care shows that fighting back isn't only about legal and legislative changes but also about organizing, direct action, and disobedient care.

Valeria and Tomislav's lecture will be followed by a conversation with the audience.

❤ **Valeria Graziano** moves between research, cultural practice, and political organising focusing on care justice. Her research, rooted in feminist and autonomist Marxism, attends to the refusal of work and the political uses of pleasure as tactics through which collectives sustain themselves amid the authoritarian drift of the present. She works at the University of Rijeka.

❤ **Tomislav Medak** is a researcher with a PhD in technopolitics and planetary environmental crisis whose research focuses on care, ecology, technology, capitalist development, disability, and the commons. Formerly, a member of the theory and publishing team of the Multimedia Institute/MAMA in Zagreb and an artist in the performing arts collective BADco, he is politically active as a policy coordinator for the green-left party political platform Možemo! in Croatia.

photo right page
Pirate Care: Acts Against the Criminalization of Solidarity (2025)


VII
PIRATE CARE

SAT 19/09/26

FILM

P.A.R.T.S.
16:00

The Deviant Majority (from Basaglia to Brazil)

Dora García

NL In The *Deviant Majority (van Basaglia tot Brazilië)* gaat Dora García in op de revolutionaire hervormingen in de psychiatrie die voortkwamen uit de politieke beweging van eind jaren zestig. Tegelijk kijkt ze naar alternatieve behandelprogramma's die vandaag worden toegepast.

Deze film speelt zich af tegen de achtergrond van drie actoren: het theatergezelschap Accademia della Follia (Academie van de Waanzin) van het Psychiatrisch Ziekenhuis van Triëst, dat zowel uit patiënten als zorgverleners bestaat; het Freaked on the Scene Theatre of the Oppressed in Rio de Janeiro; en activiste Carmen Roll, voormalig lid van het Duitse Socialistische Patiëntencollectief (SPC). De hedendaagse theaterprogramma's gebruiken creatieve expressie als therapie en herzien de scheidslijnen tussen normaliteit en abnormaliteit, in een poging het vooroordeel en de sociale uitsluiting die met de ziekte gepaard gaan uit te wissen.

❤ **Dora García** is een kunstenaar en docent die woont en werkt in Barcelona en Oslo. García gebruikt de tentoonstellingsruimte als platform om de relatie tussen de bezoeker, het kunstwerk en de plek te onderzoeken. Naast een omvangrijk oeuvre aan performancekunst heeft ze verschillende films en publicaties op haar naam staan, die stuk voor stuk voortkomen uit uitgebreid onderzoek naar figuren en verhalen uit de linkse politieke geschiedenis. Haar werk is te zien geweest op talrijke internationale kunsttentoonstellingen, waaronder de Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), de Biënnale van Venetië (2011, 2013, 2015), de Biënnale van Sydney (2008), de Biënnale van São Paulo (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012) en de Biënnale van Gwangju (2016

camera Arturo Solís & Kalin Serapionov I **sound** Micol Roubini & Christian Marchi I **sound editing** Francisco Slade & Christophe Deramai I **video editing** Dora García & Arturo Solís I **project managers** Luisa Filippi & Amilcar Packer I **direction assistant** Stefano Graziani I **this project has enjoyed generous support from** Hogeschool Sint-Lukas Brussel, Vlaams Audiovisueel Fonds Brussel, Fondazione Galleria Civica- Centro di Ricerca sulla Contemporaneità di Trento, Formcontent London, Nomas Foundation Rome, Nossadella due Bologna, Peep-Hole Milan, Mousse Publishing Milan, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, São Paulo, Seacex

Digital film, 16:9, color, 34 min.

FR Dans *The Deviant Majority (de Basaglia au Brésil)*, Dora García aborde les réformes révolutionnaires en psychiatrie issues du mouvement politique de la fin des années 1960, et examine les programmes de traitement alternatifs pratiqués aujourd'hui.

Ce film s'articule autour de trois rencontres : la troupe de théâtre de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Trieste, l'Accademia della Follia (Académie de la folie), composée à la fois de patient·es et de professionnel·les de santé ; le Freaked on the Scene Theatre of the Oppressed de Rio de Janeiro ; et la militante Carmen Roll, ancienne membre du Collectif socialiste allemand des patient·es (SPC). Les programmes de théâtre contemporains utilisent l'expression créative comme thérapie. Ils remettent en question les frontières entre normalité et anormalité, en tentant d'effacer les préjugés et l'exclusion sociale associés à la maladie.

❤ **Dora García** est une artiste, enseignante et chercheuse qui vit et travaille entre Barcelone et Oslo. García utilise l'espace d'exposition comme une plateforme pour explorer la relation entre les visiteur·euses, l'œuvre d'art et le lieu. Outre une vaste production de performances, elle a réalisé plusieurs films et publications, chacun issu d'une recherche approfondie sur des figures et des récits de l'histoire politique de gauche. Son travail a été présenté dans de nombreuses expositions d'art internationales, notamment les Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), la Biennale de Venise (2011, 2013, 2015), la Biennale de Sydney (2008), la Biennale de São Paulo (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012) et la Biennale de Gwangju (2016).

EN In *The Deviant Majority (from Basaglia to Brazil)* Dora García addresses the revolutionary reforms in psychiatry that grew out of the political movement of the late 1960s, and looks at alternative treatment programs practiced today.

This film takes place against the backdrop of three meetings: the Psychiatric Hospital of Trieste's theatre company Accademia della Follia (Academy of Madness), made up of both patients and healthcare workers; Rio de Janeiro's Freaked on the Scene Theatre of the Oppressed; and activist Carmen Roll, former member of the German Socialist Patients' Collective (SPC). The contemporary theatre programs use creative expression as therapy and revise divisions between normality and abnormality, attempting to erase the prejudice and social exclusion associated with the disease.

❤ **Dora García** is an artist, teacher, and researcher who lives and works between Barcelona and Oslo. García uses the exhibition space as a platform to investigate the relationship between the visitor, the artwork, and place. In addition to a vast body of performance work, she has made several films and publications, each stemming from extensive research into figures and stories from leftist political history. Her work has been presented in numerous international art exhibitions, including Münster Sculpture Projects (2007), the Venice Biennale (2011, 2013, 2015), the Sydney Biennial (2008), the São Paulo Biennial (2010), dOCUMENTA 13 (2012), and the Gwangju Biennale (2016), among others.





SAT 19/09/26

PANEL

P.A.R.T.S.
17:00
90 min.

Across Generations: Fractures and Alignments

A panel with Aurélie Ehx, Faïza and others in conversation with Bojana Cvejić

NL In de nasleep van de verklaring van de gemeenteraad waarin Brussel tot antifascistische stad werd uitgeroepen (op 8 mei 2025), is de politie activisten en jonge demonstranten met steeds grotere wreedheid blijven mishandelen. Deze tegenstrijdigheid geeft ons nog meer reden om vraagtekens te plaatsen bij het beeld dat het niet-fascistische leven scheidt van de hedendaagse antifascistische strijd – of juist dichter bij elkaar brengt.

Welke vormen van politieke actie en organisatie hebben de kracht om protest in stand te houden of gemeenschappelijke middelen en infrastructuren zelf te organiseren onder een steeds fascistischer wordend strafkapitalisme? Hoe verhouden praktijken die gericht zijn op zorg en praktijken die gebaseerd zijn op tegengeweld uit zelfverdediging zich tot elkaar?

Dit panel brengt activisten uit Brussel van verschillende generaties samen om na te denken over hun standpunten, relaties en ervaringen met verdeeldheid en convergentie in strijd.

FR À la suite de la déclaration du Conseil communal faisant de Bruxelles une ville antifasciste (le 8 mai 2025), la police a continué de frapper les militant·es et les jeunes manifestant·es avec une brutalité croissante. Cette contradiction nous donne une raison supplémentaire de questionner l'imaginaire qui sépare la vie non fasciste des luttes antifascistes contemporaines — ou qui les rapproche.

Quelles formes d'action politique et d'organisation ont le pouvoir de soutenir la protestation ou d'auto-organiser des ressources et des infrastructures communes dans un capitalisme punitif de plus en plus fascisant ? Comment les pratiques centrées sur la prise en charge et celles fondées sur la contre-violence en légitime défense s'articulent-elles les unes par rapport aux autres ?

Cette table ronde rassemble des militant·es bruxellois·es de toutes générations pour réfléchir à leurs positions, leurs relations et leurs expériences de divisions et de convergences dans les luttes.

photo previous two pages
The Deviant Majority (from Basaglia to Brasil) by Dora García (2024)
film still

EN In the wake of the City Council's declaration of Brussels as an antifascist city (on 8 May 2025), police have continued to beat activists and young protesters with intensifying brutality. This contradiction gives us more reason to question the imaginary that separates nonfascist life from contemporary antifascist struggles—or brings them closer together.

Which forms of political action and organizing have the power to sustain protest or self-organize common resources and infrastructures under increasingly fascistic punitive capitalism? How do practices centered on care and those grounded in counterviolence in self-defense fare in relation to one another?

This panel brings together activists from Brussels across generations to reflect on their stances, relations, and experiences of division and convergence in struggles.

SAT 19/09/26

TALK

P.A.R.T.S.
90 min.

Sarah Schulman

The Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity

NL Wat vraagt solidariteit tussen personen die niet dezelfde rechten hebben?

Wat houdt solidariteit in wanneer men zelf betrokken is als dader of als passieve medeplichtige? Hoe leren omstanders de risico's te delen van degenen aan wiens zijde zij staan? En wat wordt er mogelijk wanneer solidariteit radicale politiek omarmt, maar evengoed onvolmaakte manieren om zich in de strijd te mengen?

In haar meest recente boek onderzoekt schrijfster en queer-activiste Sarah Schulman solidariteit aan de hand van haar jarenlange ervaring met politieke organisatie in verschillende bewegingen, waaronder de solidariteitsbeweging met Palestina een centrale en bepalende rol speelt in ons politieke tijdperk.

Aan de hand van verhalen, documenten en 'lessen in moed' uit haar eigen reis en die van anderen in de strijd voor abortusrechten in het post-Franco Spanje, het aids-activisme in New York in de jaren tachtig en negentig, het voortdurende protest tegen de genocide van het Palestijnse volk door Israël, en de uitdagingen van het queer vrouwelijke kunstenaar zijn in door mannen gedomineerde culturele sectoren, bespreekt Sarah zowel de principes als de valkuilen van het rommelige werk van solidariteit.

Omdat solidariteit een 'dialogische relatie van luisteren' impliceert, nodigt ze het publiek uit tot een actief gesprek (in dialoog met Bojana Cvejić) in plaats van ons als een passief publiek aan te spreken. Haar boekThe Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity zal te verkrijgen zijn via de boekenstand van rile*books.

❤ **Sarah Schulman** is een Amerikaanse romanschrijfster, toneelschrijfster en aids-historica die bekendstaat om haar inzet voor LGBTQ+-rechten en haar activisme op het gebied van sociale rechtvaardigheid. Ze heeft voor veel van haar fictiewerken prijzen gewonnen. Naast haar 12 romans, die in 8 talen zijn vertaald, hebben haar non-fictieboeken *The Gentrification of the Mind* (2012), *Conflict Is Not Abuse* (2016) en *The Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity* (2025) veel aandacht gekregen in het grassroots-activisme. Als actief lid van ACT UP heeft ze een belangrijke bijdrage geleverd aan de documentatie ervan via het ACT UP Oral History Project, het boek *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987–1993*, en de film *United in Anger: A History of ACT UP* (2012, geregisseerd in samenwerking met Jim Hubbard).

FR Que requiert la solidarité entre des personnes qui n'ont pas les mêmes droits?

En quoi consiste le travail de solidarité lorsque l'on prend en compte sa propre potentiel.le implication en tant qu 'agresseur·euse ou complice passif·ive ? Comment les témoins apprennent-iels à partager les risques de celleux qu'iels soutiennent ? Et qu'est-ce qui devient possible quand la solidarité englobe à la fois une politique radicale et des formes imparfaites d'engagement dans la lutte ?

Dans son dernier ouvrage, l'écrivaine et militante queer Sarah Schulman examine la solidarité à travers sa longue expérience de l'organisation politique traversant plusieurs mouvements; le mouvement de solidarité avec la Palestine jouant un rôle central et déterminant dans notre contexte politique actuel.

Sarah aborde à la fois les principes et les écueils du travail chaotique de la solidarité en s'appuyant sur des récits, des documents et des « leçons de courage » tirés de son propre parcours et de celui d'autres personnes engagées dans la lutte pour le droit à l'avortement dans l'Espagne post-franquiste, le militantisme contre le sida à New York dans les années 1980 et 1990, la protestation continue contre le génocide du peuple palestinien par Israël, et les défis que représente le fait d'être une artiste queer dans des industries culturelles dominées par les hommes.

La solidarité impliquant une « relation dialogique d'écoute », elle invite le public à la conversation (en dialogue avec Bojana Cvejić) plutôt que de nous adresser un discours. Son livre *Solidarité, entre fantasme et nécessité* sera disponible au stand de rile*books.

❤ **Sarah Schulman** est une romancière, dramaturge et historienne du sida américaine, connue pour son travail sur les droits LGBTQ+ et son militantisme en faveur de la justice sociale. Elle a reçu des prix pour de nombreuses œuvres de fiction. Outre ses 12 romans, traduits en 8 langues, ses ouvrages non fictionnels, *The Gentrification of the Mind* (2012), *Conflict Is Not Abuse* (2016) et *Solidarité, entre fantasme et nécessité* (2025) ont suscité un vif intérêt dans le milieu du militantisme de base. En tant que membre active d'ACT UP, elle a largement contribué à la documentation de ce mouvement à travers le projet d'histoire orale d'ACT UP, le livre *Let the Record Show. Une histoire politique d'ACT UP-New York, 1987-1993* et le film *United in Anger: A History of ACT UP* (2012, coréalisé avec Jim Hubbard).

EN What does solidarity between unequals require?

What is the work of solidarity in the face of one's own implication as aggressor or in passive complicity? How do bystanders learn to share in the risks of those they stand with?

And what becomes possible when solidarity embraces both radical politics and imperfect forms of entry into struggle?

In her most recent book, writer and queer activist Sarah Schulman examines solidarity through her long-standing experience of political organizing across several movements, with the Palestine solidarity movement playing a central and defining role in our political moment.

Drawing on stories, documents, and "lessons in courage" from her own journey and those of others in the fight for abortion rights in post-Franco Spain, NYC's AIDS activism in the 1980s-1990s, the ongoing protest against Israel's genocide of the Palestinian people, and the challenges of being a queer female artist in male-dominated cultural industries, Sarah discusses both the principles and the pitfalls of the messy work of solidarity.

Because solidarity implies a "dialogic relationship of listening" she invites the audience into conversation (in dialogue with Bojana Cvejić) rather than speaking at us. Her book *The Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity* will be available at the stand of rile*books.

❤ **Sarah Schulman** is an American novelist, playwright, and AIDS historian known for her work on LGBTQ+ rights and social justice activism. She has received awards for many works of fiction. In addition to her 12 novels, translated into 8 languages, her non-fiction books *The Gentrification of the Mind* (2012), *Conflict Is Not Abuse* (2016), and *The Fantasy and Necessity of Solidarity* (2025) have received significant attention in grassroots activism. As an active member of ACT UP, she has made major contributions to its documentation through ACT UP Oral History Project, the book *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987–1993*, and the film *United in Anger: A History of ACT UP* (2012, co-directed with Jim Hubbard)

photo right page
Sarah Schulman © Lola Flash



Art as a Trial Balloon

Excerpt from

A conversation between Dora García and Bojana Cvejić

Bojana Cvejić: In the text of your performance *Klau Mich* ("Steal Me," 2012) for dOCUMENTA (13), you comment on an old graffiti you found in Trieste: *Caserne = Prison = Asile =Famille, Le feu partout.* You invoke the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia's definition of institution as that which doesn't change, in contrast to radicalism, which stands for going to the fundamental roots, extreme changes which are different from the traditional forms that institutions foster. Institutions accumulate value and consolidate their power through norms. *The Deviant Majority* is a film that brings together radical leftist actions against capitalism and the antipsychiatry movement. How does this research inform your work on institutions?

Dora García: The starting point of my projects is often a vague or naïve intution. As soon as I start working on it, I realize it is nothing like what I had imagined. It is through the work itself, through the process, that my perspective shifts; the work produces a new vision. That was also the case with the film *The Deviant Majority* (2010). By coincidence, I was invited to develop a project in Trento, and my research in the region led me to the Gorizia experiment led by Basaglia. I immersed myself in his writings and then realized—almost in a flash of illumination—that psychiatry has little to do with medicine and everything to do with politics: the pathologization of difference and the punishment of dissent. As Michel Foucault observed, it was not until the invention of psychiatry that a distinction was made between prisons and asylums. Until then, the poor, the mad and criminals were locked up in asylums with no distinction between them. It was only with the emergence of psychiatry that a separate category—the "insane"—was established. Schizophrenia as a word was invented through the work of an influential proto-Nazi psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin (who noted it first as "dementia praecox") who prepared the ideological ground for euthanasia. A strong connection between Nazism and psychiatry was forged through the euthanasia program – the infamous Aktion T4 – a covert, systematic murder of people with physical and mental disabilities and psychiatric patients in Nazi Germany. It established extinction by gas a few years before the gas chambers in the extermination camps. It was against this background that Basaglia considered that dismantling mental asylums would be the last victory of antifascist resistance in Italy. Basagia championed the Law 180 which led to a gradual closure of all mental asylums in Italy.

When I set to film *The Deviant Majority*, I got much more than what I had bargained for.

As always, I had to find a small way into a much larger story, because it is impossible to speak about everything at the same time. I found that point of entry in my interview with Carmen Roll, which gave me an angle from which to tell the story.

BC: What can performance and theatre pedagogy do to abolish the disciplinary mechanisms of institutions, such as mental asylums? Basaglia famously collaborated with theatre makers.

DG: I think every element of de-institutionalization, antipsychiatry movement in particular, has to do with antifascist struggle. One is to abolish hierarchies. Doctors and nurses took off their white coats, so that there was no external marker of distinction between staff and interns. Hospital is governed through general assemblies to which everyone is invited, and everyone can say what they think, staff and intern alike. The slogan on the walls of the Trieste hospital says: Freedom is therapeutic. This was a completely new perspective: allowing people to dress, cook, and eat as they wished, instead of being tied to their beds, drugged, and subjected to electroshock treatment. It is as simple as this - give people freedom and respect, and they will feel better. Carmen Roll said it:

to de-instutionalize is to let normalcy enter the asylum and let everything else go out. And normalcy meant having music, theatre, and the possibility for people to paint, to do something with their time, that people could read, write, listen to music or make music and engage in all these kinds of activities like living outside the ex-hospital. There was a certain comradeship between figures like Basaglia and many artists, such as Giuliano Scabia, for instance, who was a theatre maker, and Ugo Guarino, who was a cartoonist. Carmen Roll stressed that this wasn't therapeutic music or theatre; the creations that took place there were art in the full sense of the word. What is therapeutic about them is the freedom to practice life given to people to recover their sense of worth and self-esteem. That meant they were able to manage their time, be called by their name, to come and go as they please. In the second phase of Basaglia's reform, cooperatives were created so that people could work and earn money with the work. Restoring their dignity kept them sane.

BC: The antipsychiatry movement in the 1970s yielded a social form of collectivity, which in many ways prefigured social experimentation in communes and other kinds of groups that wanted to explore living and working together based on differences among people. Nowadays, mental health is increasingly navigated through diagnoses that grant individuals a label under the umbrella of neurodiversity and expect them to seek out as individuals commercial forms of therapy and care that involves medication.

DG: Basaglia made one thing clear: that madness exists, it isn't just a social construct and nominal concept that often underlies diagnosis. You could call madness by other names: psychic malaise, unhappiness, or finding life unbearable. It exists as a form of subjectivity that isn't just a chemical matter. The question then becomes: how can you make life bearable for that person?

The second mistake today is to over-diagnose mental illness by giving it to the individual as something they should identify with, like ADHD so frequently today. Your psychic malaise exists in the relation you have with the world and with the others, so it is the relation that must change.

In *The Deviant Majority* the idea of madness as a form of resistance crops up. The person identified as mad is someone who does not accept a state of things. Family is a horrible place, society is a horrible place, and while some can manage to play along with it by way of suppression, others will say I'm not gonna take it. I'm just gonna go mad, because I can't take or accept it. The film also entertains the perspective that madness can be understood as a form of resistance against capitalism. What kind of life does capitalism offer? Madness here becomes a surviving strategy, a way of taking care of yourself. So it isn't something you are born with, but something developed in relation with others.

BC: One antifascist lesson of the antipsychiatry movement of the 1970s is that the de-institutionalization of mental asylums became a blueprint for experimenting with new social forms of collective life.

DG: Such experiments were always complex and not without problems. For example, Kingsley Hall in London (founded for a local community, hosting workers' activities and revolutionaries before WWII) became the home for the antipsychiatry practice of the Scottish psychiatrist R. D. Laing, who sought to invent a form of life shared with people suffering from schizophrenia. In the documentary *Asylum* (1972), directed by Peter Robinson, we witness a scene in which a father visits his gay son, who is living there, and says: "I am sure I can cure him by hiring a prostitute. I'll take him to a brothel with me." You can see the horror on the young man's face as he listens to his father. It is precisely these kinds of circumstances, in which people are raised, that can drive them into madness.

Now let me return some questions to you, and to the work we have ahead of us together.

As we wrote it, the aim of our research project, *Choreographing Anti-Fascism*, is to create a collection of contextually annotated

scores and scripts, reconfigured as an open repository for further use and study. These materials are intended to reveal the ways in which the practices of artists and activists diverge, intersect, and sometimes overlap in their responses to contemporary fascism.

What exactly do you have in mind?

BC: I have in mind practices of self-organization that cut across experimental artistic production and activist struggles today, producing forms of collectivity based on differentiation: open-ended, heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, horizontal, and transindividual modes of togetherness.

On the one hand, I am increasingly surrounded—in Brussels, Oslo, Zagreb, and Belgrade—by artists and cultural workers who experiment with and transform the social conditions of their work while seeking to repurpose their capacities for self-organization in acts of solidarity and protest with others in their contexts. In experimental performance practices today, collectivity and collaboration are modes of production: tools for creating a dance or an artwork that may not explicitly thematize any political issue. In some cases, collective working methods extend beyond artistic production, as artists experiment with living and working together in community (for example at Performing Arts Forum in Saint-Erme). Such experiments bring them closer to experiencing the limits of non-fascist life as they confront problems of solidarity among unequals, community infighting, competitions in radicalism and victimhood, and other tensions.

On the other hand, today's more explicit and dedicated struggles against fascism, led by those most affected by it, are multifaceted: antiracist and anticolonial; opposed to predatory, punitive capitalism and the destruction of the commons and social wealth; and resistant to anti-immigrant politics in the West, the criminalization of Palestine solidarity, transphobia, anti-disability policies, and other forms of exclusion and oppression. Here, collectivity is not merely a means but also an end. Brussels, where I live, is a city teeming with protests, riots, occupations and other forms of political organizing along these lines.

Yet many activist groups remain factionalized around their own goals and tactics. At the same time, coalition-building—convergence des luttes—remains a widely shared aspiration. What does it take to share the wealth and knowledge of being-closer-together and being-many if we are no longer gathered on a common ideological front such as socialism or anarchism, as our antifascist predecessors once were?

If artists' collectives and cultural workers are skilled at organizing work and life through nonviolent and emancipatory practices, how do their social technologies fare in contexts shaped by oppression—among those who are scapegoated by fascism and who depend on solidarity in order to survive? Although there is some circulation of these social technologies through collaborations between cultural workers and activists, moments of sustained exchange across these different worlds are rare.

By observing and collaborating with activist groups and artist-run collectives, we are trying to understand how they work, act, relate to one another, and live together, and then to rearticulate these practices through scores, diagrams, and scripts. Beyond exposing gaps in the tactics and goals of collective organization, we are also exploring what happens when these collective practices are exchanged. How can we become better at being useful to one another—and at using one another's capacities to make ourselves unusable for fascism today?

DG: Why should antifascism be choreographed? The question follows from the title of this research ("choreographing antifascism"). By contrast, I associate choreography with state-organized marching in the streets in unison, hence, with fascism

rather than antifascism.

BC: By "social choreography," I mean the ways in which social order emerges, is instilled, rehearsed, or aesthetically reflected at the level of bodies, both in their collective organization and in individual embodiment. The term was coined by Andrew Hewitt in Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement (Duke University Press, 2005). I further explored it in Public Sphere by Performance (b_books, 2012), a book I co-wrote with Ana Vujanović, in which I examine how political ideas associated with different ideologies—revolutionary socialism in Yugoslavia, for example, or bourgeois individualism—have emerged through dancing in the public sphere and through bodily gestures in the private realm.

If leftist collectives are world-making, then the forms through which they organize also embody and reflect political ideas—in this case, social and political forms of solidarity.

Dora, what does the apparatus of art allow you to do that you would not be able to do politically as a citizen? When you engage with leftist, progressive, and critical topics, you have said that one of your motivations is to destabilize the definition of art—to destabilize the medium and challenge assumptions about what art, an artwork, and an artist are supposed to be. But if we look at it from the perspective of politics, research, and education, what does the space of art enable for you? What can it do that the political action cannot?

DG: Well, that was at the center of my Documenta 13 project: what art can do that activism, or even armed struggle, cannot.

The project Klau Mich emerged from the story of Kommune 1 in Berlin in the late 1960s. They were a group of hippies, clearly on the left, with connections to the student movement through Rudi Dutschke and to what would later become the Baader–Meinhof Group through Andreas Baader, who was often at the commune. They also had ties to an older generation of intellectuals—the house they occupied had been lent to them by the writer Heinrich Böll. And they were connected to the German Situationists as well. There was an entire network linking intellectuals, artists, and various forms of leftist struggle.

The commune carried out a number of actions that could be understood as Situationist interventions or as light political actions. They called them Spaßguerilla—"fun guerrilla." One of these actions involved distributing flyers throughout Berlin that read: "Why should the Vietnamese be the only ones enjoying that burning feeling? Go and burn some department stores." As a result, they were arrested and accused of incitement to arson, since terrorism did not yet exist as a legal or political label in the way it would later. Rainer Langhans and Fritz Teufel were put on trial, but after intellectuals explained that the action was a Situationist artistic intervention, they were acquitted.

A few months later, members of what would become the Baader–Meinhof Group—Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader, Thorwald Proll, and Horst Söhnlein—set fires in two department stores in Frankfurt. No one was killed, but this was an actual act of arson. They were arrested and put on trial.

In many respects, the two trials were related. In both cases, the defendants challenged the authority of the court, questioned the relationship between the justice system and National Socialism, smiled, mocked proceedings, and behaved disrespectfully. But one action was fiction and the other was not.

Art, in many ways, functions as a trial balloon, or as an exercise in political imagination. You push an idea as far as possible but stop just before it becomes real. In doing so, however, you gain a clear sense of what reality on the other side might look like. Within those limits—and an artist quickly learns where those limits lie—art can do almost anything. We have, in a sense, a license to kill.

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