8. Curator's Trade in Ideals

Exhibitions, Exhibition History, and Networks of Artistic Solidarity in Cold War Times

Beáta Hock

Abstract

This paper summons the help of art exhibitions and the academic research field of exhibition history to recall and reimagine the socialist past from perspectives that gained ground with the emergence of studies into the 'cultural Cold War' and globalisation. Three types of exhibitions are considered. Firstly, a set of large-scale international art shows from the 1960s–80s will be evoked and the participation of protagonists from the 'Second' and 'Third World' gauged. Since most of these ventures went fairly unnoticed in mainstream historiography, the essay also reviews some 'remembering exhibitions', a genre meant to reinsert the relevance of (often forgotten) past events. The common denominator of these academic or curatorial interventions has been to produce transformative knowledge and underscore that, far from being hermetically isolated, the world behind the Iron Curtain participated in lively transcontinental cultural exchanges and currents of political activism. The third type of exhibition, a smaller-scale recent survey show, picks up this line of inquiry, while, simultaneously, throwing light on some hitherto unacknowledged dimensions of the visual culture, the material, creative and intellectual environment of some Eastern European societies in the later decades of socialism.

Introduction

Drawing on the etymological origins of the word 'curation', the editors of this book suggest an extended understanding of the notion of 'curating' which would also encompass a sort of care work towards whatever environment is being curated. This kind of support and nurture is indeed also often present in the relationship of the curator of contemporary art exhibitions to the embodied artist or, in more historically oriented projects, to the object of their inquiry. My own extended usage of the

notion of curating affiliates the work of the art curator with the academic activity of compiling a syllabus or a conference programme: in all these cases, one 'invites' the creative-intellectual output of selected individuals, arranges these in a specific structure (spatial proximity, logical sequence or thematic pairing) and watches what sense the intended audience makes of this arrangement. The most crucial aspect of curation for my own personal understanding is captured in this moment of proposing an idea, a vision, and letting others participate in its unfolding. This is quite unlike communicating an idea or vision in the form of a scholarly article, which demands a high degree of authority and (an at least attempted) full control over what is being stated. Having a liking for unfixed and collaboratively produced meaning, i most enjoy curating research-based exhibitions in which the thrill of exploration is combined with a dialogical mode of delivering research hypothesis and results.[1]

Furthermore, for the purposes of the present volume, specific sorts of care-taking curatorial interventions are solicited: strategies that help to process, and perhaps reappraise, the socialist past through a variety of (post-)socialist lenses. The strategy i am taking follows two interrelated lines of argumentation, both of which aspire to reclaim some denied truth regarding socialist arrangements and environmental realities. Socialist Eastern Europe is persistently envisioned in popular imagination as an isolated cultural area with periods in which it lacked access to cultural goods and flows from beyond its regional borders. The analytical lens through which i am reassessing this alleged isolation is the global Cold War and, within that, the political and cultural diplomatic principle of 'socialist internationalism'. My approach throws into relief the degree and ways in which East-Central Europe was deeply entangled with the wider world in the given period. The truly international and intercontinental reach of cultural exchanges among the 'friendly states' of the socialist world have long been underrated, if not altogether ignored, due to a habitual focus on the more dominant Euro-Atlantic cultural arena with which relations had indeed been cooled off.

The second strategic line entails a refashioning of the dominant art historical and curatorial account framing late-socialist art practice in Eastern Europe. Many publication and exhibition projects launched after the political change of 1989/90 were preoccupied with the so-called un- or semi-official cultural sphere. This almost exclusive attention paid to the 'underground' or 'parallel' cultural arena was a reaction to the fact that the activities of this scene had to go largely undocumented during state-socialist times, and they were, therefore, missing from the existing cultural his-

1 | The use of the lower case pronoun "i" signifies my reservations about a unique convention in the English language wherein the first-person singular is capitalised and, thus, prioritized. It comes across as a remarkably self-centred characteristic and, as such, may deserve to be denaturalised. In this sense, my usage is not unlike the initially distracting but now widely accepted replacement of the generic 'he' with gender-neutral pronouns. This usage continues T.R.O.Y.'s practice in his essay *The New World Disorder: A Global Network of Direct Democracy and Community Currency*, submitted for the Utopian World Championship 2001, organised by SOC, a Stockholm-based non-profit organisation for artistic and social experiments (http://utopianwc.com/2001/troy_text.asp, accessed 17 September 2020).

toriography of individual countries. The unofficial art of socialist Eastern Europe has been conventionally presented in this quickly consolidating narrative as politically oppositional and subversive, resisting the oppressive social and political environment of totalitarian societies.

The two lines of my inquiry will converge on the theme of the East-South axis of artistic solidarity in Cold War times. In pursuing East-South artistic encounters, i will review some recent attempts – both curatorial and academic – to recast the cartography and chronology of large-scale periodic exhibitions of international art. In addition to restoring the history of early biennales at the world's peripheries, i will also probe East European participation in these events. I will draw on *Left Performance Histories*, a research-based exhibition that i co-curated in 2018,[2] for revisiting oppositional culture and its environments in Eastern Europe during socialist rule. While not denying the relevance of the existing art critical narrative and its focus on bitter political discontent, this show prioritized some other aspects – or different lenses – with which to nuance, diversify or supplement the account received.

My broader strategic aim is to bring back to mind that socialism in Eastern Europe was not mere "history derailed"[3] and no isolated historical phenomenon either in time or space. Instead, it developed from transnationally emerging political movements in the early 20th century and continued to have global purchase in the post-war decades.

Producing Transformative Knowledge through Exhibitions and Exhibition History

Proposing an idea and the intention to produce often critical insight is an approach to exhibition making that was ushered in with the so-called 'curatorial turn' of the 1990s. This expression does not only refer to the gradual professionalisation of the conceptualising of the job and overseeing the realisation of themed shows presenting the works of (mainly) contemporary artists – but gave exhibitions and the ever-expanding research field of exhibition studies a distinctly critical character. A set of processes, which have been underway since the late 1960s, gradually made the curator's creative and active role in producing and mediating art visible.[4] The figure of the star curator emerged, whose aim is often to turn large-scale international shows into trendsetting benchmark events. Through the curatorial gesture, the exhibition room

2 | *Left Performance Histories*, neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (nGbK), Berlin, 2018. Curators: Judit Bodor, Adam Czirak, Astrid Hackel, Beáta Hock, Andrej Mirčev, Angelika Richter (https://archiv.ngbk.de/projekte/left-performance-histories/).

3 | This is how Ivan T. Berend's book title (2005) captured another period in East-Central Europe's history.

4 | These processes include 'institutional critique' and the ascendance of the group presentation, replacing the monographic show as the predominant format through which contemporary art is experienced. For a good overview on the curatorial turn, see O'Neill (2010).

no longer simply houses a compilation of art objects and the exhibition no longer merely displays artworks in celebration of the creative output of individual artists, but both become the site of knowledge production, discussion and critique. These shifts also occasioned changes within the discipline of art history. The history of exhibitions that had been, for a long time, considered as a supplementary or subordinate field within the discipline, now came to establish itself as a research area in its own right. It was recognised that "[i]n fact, exhibition histories provide critical tools to approach history in itself […] they help retracing histories of ideas; their expanded field highlights the connection between art and other realms […]. They reveal politics and policies" (Collicelli Cagol 2015).

One could argue that exhibition history as a distinct field of study was inaugurated by the London research centre Afterall's event and book series *Exhibition Histories* in 2009, each part of which focused attention on landmark shows of the past five decades.[5] Responding to the global expansion of the art world, 'biennalogy', the study of large-scale recurrent international art shows worldwide, came to constitute a considerable sub-chapter of the quickly growing new literature on exhibitions. As it is the case with most enterprises aspiring to determine a succession of key events, exhibition history and 'biennalogy' also ended up creating a purportedly universally valid canon – and, at the same time, generating their own particular exclusions and blind spots.

Despite the fact that Global Art History and World Art Studies have been buzzwords since the 2000s promising to unhinge art history's innate Western focus and biases, 'biennalogy' got going with a relentlessly Euro- or Western-centric conception of the 'international' and a comparably limited scope of the 'global'. The often referenced exhibition *The Global Contemporary: Art Worlds after 1989* at the *Zentrum für Kunst und Medien* (ZKM, Center for Art and Media) in Karlsruhe confidently designates the end of the Cold War as the beginning of a "global turn" and the emergence of art biennales worldwide.[6] While it is undoubtedly true that biennials and other large international exhibitions started to proliferate in all five continents in the past two to three decades, locating their inception in the 1990s disregards an earlier history of transcontinental artistic connections.

One can go as far back as the world fairs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries to witness that these large-scale expositions contributed greatly to an emerging perception of a globe 'out there': unified and heterogeneous at the same time. The Cold War, the closure of which the ZKM catalogue identifies as the beginning of a globalising art world, itself appears to have been another juncture of globalisation: After centuries of

5 | Afterall Research Centre is part of the University of the Arts London; it focuses on contemporary art and its relationship to a wider artistic, theoretical and social context. For more on Afterall, its publication series and the event *Exhibition Histories*, see https://www.afterall.org/books/exhibition.histories/exhibition-histories/.

6 | *The Global Contemporary: Art Worlds after 1989*, ZKM | Museum für Neue Kunst, Karlsruhe, September 2011 – February 2012; see exhibition catalogue: Belting et al. (2013).

Western/European domination, new and more polyvalent political dependencies were formed in the post-war era. This reconfiguration was heavily shaped by the processes of decolonisation and neocolonialism, and opened up a field for ideological-cultural alliances between non-core parts of the world. Eastern European socialist countries' geopolitical position in the Cold War bestowed upon them a particular role in these alliances and networks. Eastern Europe's historically peripheral status and its lack of colonial history clearly set apart the two halves of the old continent. Additionally, the Soviet Bloc countries' association with communism and an anti-imperialist ideology strongly urging decolonisation held out the promise of non-hegemonic transatlantic cultural exchanges. In this circumstance and under the banner of solidarity and socialist co-operation, political and cultural alliances between the so-called 'Third' and 'Second Worlds' were actively sought.

Anthony Gardner and Charles Green (2016) set out to supplement and recalibrate the received Western-centric biennale history in their book *Biennials, Triannials, and Documenta*, remapping it from the perspective of the Global South. They propose that there was a "second wave" of biennials between historical large-scale international art shows earmarked by the *Biennale di Venezia* in 1896 and the current tide of perennial art exhibitions reaching practically any remote pocket of the globe (Grandal Mondero 2012: 13).[7] These art shows and cultural festivals organised from the mid-1950s to the 80s, however, seem to have gone largely unnoticed in the dynamically growing field of exhibition history. One plausible explanation for the near invisibility of these events is that they took place 'at the edges of the global', far from established centres of the known art world. Furthermore, they conceived of the 'international' in a peculiar way: rather than following historically dominant circuits that were still very much focused on the Euro-Atlantic core, these art events were organised along the lines of a critical regionalism. They sometimes also consciously refrained from involving participants from the European/Western centres of art as they were bent on developing South-South cultural connections.

Gardner and Green's survey of "second wave" biennials virtually culminates with the third edition of the *Bienal de la Habana* (Third Havana Biennale) in 1989, an event of special importance from the perspective of an alternatively globalising art world. An alternative cosmopolitanism lay at the heart of the *Havana Biennale* art exhibition as a sort of decolonial move: it rarely showed First World artists and tended to emphasise Latin America's relationship with Africa more than with Europe or the US (McEvilley 1993: 115; Rojas-Sotelo 2011). The distinct majority of participating artists were from Latin America and the Caribbean in the exhibition's earliest edition in 1984. By the time of the third iteration, the regional focus was extended to all areas of the 'Third World': Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, bringing in artists from the Philippines, India, Thailand, Korea, Egypt and Sudan, to name only a few.

7 | Grandal Mondero asserts that there are currently more than a hundred biennials and other recurrent exhibitions of contemporary art, with 30 to 40 taking place each year, which is to say that one opens almost every ten days.

Cultural diplomatic motives were just as relevant in Havana's case as with most other perennial art events discussed by Gardner and Green. The *Bienal de la Habana* was part of Cuba's strategy to become a 'Third World' leader and, as such, the event was actively supported by the Cuban government. I also argue that the Havana Biennale was situated on the paradigm-changing path leading up to the curatorial turn. One of its co-curators, Gerardo Mosquera, characterised the times as one in which curators traded in ideals, conceived of themselves and artists as producers of transformative knowledge, and often had messianic ambitions or entertained optimism about the functional possibilities of culture (2010: 199). He also described Havana in its first three years as the ultimate utopian biennial, aspiring to transform the circulation of contemporary art on a global scale.

The Eastern European presence is still to be interrogated in relation to the Havana Biennale, but considering the event's 'Third World'-oriented regionalism and the geographical proximity sought as the physical basis of such regionalism, it is rather unlikely that Eastern European artists made their appearance at Havana.[8] The patterns of ideological alliance-building, however, would not rule out connections between these areas. Eastern European actors did play a role in other examples of cultural regionalism featured in *Biennials, Triannials, and Documenta*, either as the host or staple participants of particular events. Two new biennials launched as early as 1955 were such instances: the *Bienale Grafike* (Graphic Arts Biennale), hosted by Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, and the *Biennale de la Méditerranée* (Biennale for Mediterranean Countries) in Alexandria, Egypt.

Both event series brought together artists, at the height of the Cold War, from both sides of the Iron Curtain, as well as from countries subject to isolationism and post-fascist dictatorships, as Gardner and Green emphasise. For Husayn Sobhi – the Alexandria biennial's general commissioner – regionalism appeared to be the desirable way to break through contemporary geopolitical divisions. The year 1955 or the broader mid-1950s were relevant for these two exhibition events for different yet partially shared reasons. Ljubljana's Graphic Arts Biennial gestured towards an "alignment of non-aligned cultures" and so mirrored, in the cultural domain, events and forms of coalition-making underway in the political field, such as the Bandung conference (1955) promoting Afro-Asian economic and cultural co-operation to oppose (neo)colonialism (Gardner/Green 2013). Bandung was an important step toward establishing the Non-Aligned Movement, which was brought into being in 1961 in Belgrade, with Yugoslavia as its only European member. Various editions of the *Biennale Grafike* through the 1950s and 60s would invite artists from Asia, South America, Africa, Australasia and, of course, Eastern and Western Europe. Equally important, the event created a significant meeting place for artists, curators and diplomats from countries with different political arrangements who otherwise may have not easily

8 | A 'teaser' for Wiktor Komorowski's ongoing PhD project indicated, however, that East European artistic prints were on display at several international biennales, including the *Havana Biennale* (see Komorowski 2016); the subject will be revisited in the author's forthcoming essay (Komorowski 2020).

got in personal contact. This soft power formula was quickly taken up worldwide, launching a wave of similar graphic art events in Eastern Europe and far beyond (Komorowski 2018).

The *Biennale de la Méditerranée* in Cairo had its distinct political rationales as well; its first edition was meant to commemorate the third anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution that brought Gamal Abdel Nasser to presidency. There is a tendency in the scholarly literature to dismiss Nasserist era artistic production as necessarily ideological and tied to problematic politics – a stance also repeatedly encountered in post-1989 assessments of cultural life in the Eastern Bloc. Gardner and Green tilt toward this line, while Dina Ramadan, one of the few scholars explicitly engaging with the Alexandria Biennale, prefers complicating the interpretation of the underlying motives in both Nasser's national and regional agendas (Ramadan 2016). As the prevalent historical narrative and cultural memory has it, Alexandria saw its heyday between the 1860s and the 1950s when it was a cosmopolitan city with lively foreign communities. These, however, started to depart around the mid-1950s as, in the wake of the Suez War, Nasser imposed rigorous requirements for residency and citizenship as well as forcibly expelling mainly British and French nationals and Jews. Ramadan points out, however, that the cosmopolitan period overlapped precisely with growing European intervention in the country, the British occupation and, hence, direct colonial control. Early 20th century Alexandrian cosmopolitanism, the author concludes, was, therefore, to a great degree, complicit with colonialism. Seen in this light, the timing of the biennale gains special significance: its first edition took place only months after Bandung and a year before Nasser announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. This was a moment of reimagined geographies and shifting political alliances, shaped by Nasserism and a growing 'Third Worldism'. The consistent participation of countries such as Yugoslavia, Albania and a number of Arab states replaced an earlier restricted understanding of the Mediterranean, exclusively linked to "the Greco-Roman (read European) heritage as the repository of culture, history and civilization" (ibid.: 349).

Regionalism within Europe and the Continent's Internal Division

While Gardner and Green revisited what they termed as the biennials of the South, their enterprise provides inspiration to complement their critical survey and explore attempts at forging East-South cultural alliances or developing inner-European regional exchanges that cut through Cold War political divides. In what follows, i am reviewing art events that fell out of the scope of Gardner and Green's inquiry. While doing so, my focus will be on sketching their general aspirations and the kind of political agendas they supported or gained support from.

Yugoslavia is surely an expected Eastern European participant in regionalist or third-way endeavours due both to its geographical location and seminal role in realigning geopolitical fault lines – but not the only one. Under the slogan *"Die Ostsee*

muss ein Meer des Friedens sein" (Let the Baltic Sea be a sea of peace), another regionalist biennale was hosted in Rostock between 1965 and 1989. The town was East Germany's only overseas port and its *Kunsthalle* was the first newly built museum of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The undeclared cultural diplomatic aim of the *Bienniale der Ostseeländer* (Biennial of the neighbouring countries of the Baltic Sea) was to remove the GDR from the political isolation where the Hallstein Doctrine had pushed it. This West German policy (in effect between 1955 and 1970) refused to recognise the existence of the East German government and declined diplomatic relations with countries doing otherwise. Accordingly, in the early years of the *Ostsee-Bienniale* in Rostock, special relevance was attributed to the presence of artists from hostile West Germany: "Which thoughts move an artist of the Federal Republic of Germany to get involved in the *Biennale der Ostseestaaten*?", asked the Ostsee-Zeitung (Baltic Sea newspaper) in 1969 (Neumann 2016: 342). The answer then disclosed that participating West German artists often came from the political left or supported the struggle of the GDR for recognition.

In addition to the diplomatic-political objective, the *Bienniale der Ostseestaaten* (or *Biennale der Ostseeländer*) also had its aesthetic agenda. The official intention was to present the plurality of realist artistic movements and, thus, dishing up the Zhdanovist choice for (Socialist) Realism in a more permissive and palatable manner.[9] Moreover, due to the fact that an international jury selected the works in which jury members were responsible for their own countries, an even greater variety of styles – not only Realist ones! – was eventually on display: an aesthetic assortment unimaginable at the annual national art show, the *Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Dresden at the time (ibid.: 339).

A handful of Eastern European theatre makers became part of the international experimental theatre circuit of the 1960 and 70s, despite their countries' otherwise controlled cultural politics. Some of them, such as Polish directors Tadeusz Kantor, Jerzy Grotowksi and Krzysztof Jasiński, made their appearance at the *Festival of Arts Shiraz-Persepolis*.[10] Not limited to the presentation of fine arts, this international festival of arts, music, theatre and culture was held in Iran every summer for eleven years, from 1967 to 1977. In an effort to project an image of Iran in line with what Europeans at the time considered as 'civilised', Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi strove to adopt European cultural practices. Besides acquainting Iranians with recent developments in the West, the participation of non-Western nations was equally important. The limited research available on the festival underlines its blending of 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultures and the positioning of various, often vernacular or ethnic forms of cultural expression from Asia and Africa alongside Euro-American progressive contemporary culture (Mahlouji 2013). The festival was a singular site

9 | Andrei Zhdanov was Stalin's chief of ideology. His policies intended to eradicate 'anti-Soviet' and Western tendencies, which in the case of the arts, meant an official clampdown on 'formalism' and the designation of 'socialist realism' as the only acceptable model for artistic expression.

10 | I would like to thank Aga Sablinska for drawing my attention to this festival.

Fig. 8.1: An Utopian Stage, *installation view.*

of transcultural interchange, ahead of its time for several reasons. It not only broke down hierarchies between centres and peripheries but also took an innovative approach to the presentation of global art, in that the organisers no longer held tightly onto North-Atlantic aesthetic concepts in defining what constitutes art and creative practice. In deliberately departing from a binding concept of art in favour of embracing a range of creative practices across the globe, the Shiraz Festival foreshowed a crucial conceptual proposition of the new study field of Global Art, itself emerging in the 2000s. The Berlin-based gallery SAVVY Contemporary recently presented a great array of archival documents pertaining to the festival, retrieved and curated by Vali Mahlouji. The edition of Mahlouji's travelling display hosted by SAVVY situated the Shiraz Festival against the background of contemporaneous political movements such as anti-colonial struggles, the Non-Aligned Movement, 'Third Worldism' and Pan-Africanism and, thus, pointed to "the intersection of modernism, art and revolution through the radical aspirations […] which defined the 1960s and 1970s."[11] The festival had to be discontinued after clerics denounced it in 1977, accusing the art on view of being decadent, obscene and blasphemous.

Leafing through the remaining brochures of this unique festival framed by the ruins of Persepolis, one comes across only a few guests who travelled to Shiraz from Eastern Europe. In addition to the Polish trio mentioned earlier, the director Andrei Serban also features in one of the leaflets. Serban was born in Romania but attended

11 | *A Utopian Stage,* March – April 2019, SAVVY Contemporary – The Laboratory of Form-Ideas, Berlin, curated by Vali Mahlouji (https://savvy-contemporary.com/en/projects/2019/a-utopian-stage/).

from the United States where he had moved at the end of the 1960s. Supplementing the print materials with other sorts of background information might, however, reveal further protagonists. As we learn from a documentary on modern Iranian history, the piece that triggered the religious accusations was the performance *Pig, Child, Fire!* by Squat Theatre, an experimental company from New York City.[12] According to Houchang Chehabi, a scholar of Iranian studies interviewed in this film, the infamous performance eventually became a theme in the revolutionary mobilisation against the Shah. The Squat Theatre, however, was a Hungarian troupe, originally known as *Kassák Ház Studió.* They lived and worked in Budapest until they left the country in 1976. *Pig, Child, Fire!* was their first expatriate show. Performances of this piece in Rotterdam or Baltimore have a minimal archival record or discussion (e. g. Shank 1977), and the theatre's presence at the last edition of the Shiraz Festival can be read about in the remaining documentation. Yet, the intricate constellation of the troupe's place of origin, involuntary emigration, rapid absorption into the international post-dramatic theatre programming[13] and controversial appearance at the Shiraz-Persepolis Festival still awaits a thorough inquiry.

When trying to establish a sense of Eastern European contribution to the "second wave" of biennials and cultural festivals 'at the edges of the global', the researcher must be alert to similar instances of blurred or missing documentary information. This is clearly the case with the Triennale India (an event series that started in 1968) – or, at least, this is what the contradictory information i have gathered so far suggests. In the somewhat impressionistic recollections of Thomas McEvilley, an older generation US American art critic, New Delhi's Triennale was far more global in reach than its Western equivalents and displayed occasional works from Czech and Hungarian artists (1993). At the same time, Devika Singh (2018), a researcher of Indian origin who is currently working on the topic, views the event through the lens of post-colonial critique and laments over a continued "Western" dominance at the Triennale. From her specific perspective, Eastern Europe may not be necessarily distinguishable from Europe as a whole, and the presence of Eastern Bloc artists not worthy of particular mention.

A distinction between Europe's eastern and western halves was reportedly made, however, within the Latin American art scene in the period in question. A sense of imaginary belonging, projections and 'misunderstandings' structured perceptions of Eastern European art on the South American continent. As Katarzyna Cytlak (2018) asserts, culture from the Socialist Bloc was received as an alternative to what the colonising, imperialist and capitalist "Western" world had to offer (cf. also Kemp-Welch/Freire 2012: 3). The ideological alliance was also posited on the basis of shared experiences of political repression and a similar degree of marginalisation both within

12 | See the documentary *Iran: The Third Path* (2018), produced by Archival Institute (https://www.archivalinstitute.com/scholars/dr-houchang-chehabi/).

13 | In 1977 they performed in Rotterdam, Nancy, Paris, Baltimore, New York, Belgrade, Florence, Hamburg and Shiraz.

the modern world-system and in dominant art historical narratives. To be sure, the eastern part of the 'old continent' was situated outside of what most South Americans considered to be the known world, however, projected images of Eastern Europe did have their roots in reality: in the Soviet Bloc's geopolitical position during the Cold War. Similarly, East European political radicals often found inspiration in extra-European models (such as Mao's China) and expressed solidarity with the anti-colonial or independence struggles of developing countries (the Vietnam War, the Algerian or Palestinian cause, the revolutions in Latin America) as well as the civil rights movements of racial minorities in the 'Western' world.[14]

Solidarity and Socialist Co-operation: The East-South Axis

Aside from the realm of artistic and curatorial research, the imagined or actual transnational and transcontinental alliances of the 1960s and 70s have also become a subject of recent scholarship. Some undertakings, such as the conference *The Radical Sixties: Aesthetics, Politics and Histories of Solidarity* (University of Brighton, 28–29 June 2019) revisited "the Sixties" as an enduring fascination for both activists and scholars, while aiming to redirect the existing history's nearly exclusive focus on the Western World. This goal was to be achieved through mobilising a 'Third Worldist' perspective and foregrounding the impact of decolonisation struggles and anti-imperialist resistance. Such a viewpoint was meant to offer a new horizon of Leftist internationalism. The conference call for papers, however, only had North-South linkages in sight and overlooked the significance of the ideological division of Europe at the time – the salience of which, however, the above art events clearly demonstrate.[15]

Several years previously, two collaborative research projects deployed a broader spectrum when tracing the links between activists in different parts of the world in the period spanning the decades from the 1960s to the 80s. Exploring radical social and cultural movements in dictatorial southern Europe, democratic northern Europe and east of the Iron Curtain, the project *Around 1968: Activism, Networks, Trajectories* consciously ventured beyond what has traditionally been seen as the epicentre of revolt in the core countries of western Europe and the USA.[16] Most similar enterprises to revise standard accounts of late 20th century globalisation tend to focus, on the one hand, on links between the West and their former colonies or, on the other hand,

14 | The recent interest in this topic is reflected in an expanding body of literature of which Gildea/Mark (2011), Kenzler (2014), Lorenz (2015) or Nagy (2018) only represent some of the most intriguing pieces.

15 | To be fair, one of the conference keynote speaker, Vijay Prashad, nevertheless, zestfully argued that without considering Soviet Bloc countries and their persistent support for the decolonising world, the enterprise of decentralising the revolutionary 1960s would be hardly complete.

16 | The international project was based at the University of Oxford 2007–2009 and was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom and the Leverhulme Trust. Essays emerging from the project were published in Gildea/Mark (2011).

Fig. 8.2: Cartography of Artist Solidarity: Narratives and Ghosts from the International Art Exhibition for Palestine 1978.

between the countries of the 'Global South'. Further expanding the revisionist undertaking, the project *Socialism Goes Global* (2014–2018)[17] interrogated encounters between the 'Second World' (from the Soviet Union to the GDR) and the 'Third World' (from Latin America to Africa to Asia). Their underlying understanding was that both the Cold War and socialism were historical phenomena with a wider, indeed global, reach than has been generally recognised.

The *International Exhibition for Palestine* aptly illustrates the globality of solidarity networks. This show was organised in Beirut in 1978 by left-leaning artists based in Europe, exiles from Arab and South American countries among them, who shared an anti-imperialist commitment to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The aim of the event was to communicate the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause to the world and mobilise support. The organisers gathered around 200 works from thirty countries, with participants ranging from very prominent to entirely unknown fringe artists. The highest number of works came from France, Italy, Poland and Japan; Eastern Europe was further represented by Romania, Hungary and the USSR.

The *International Exhibition for Palestine* was first reconstructed in the framework of a travelling 'remembering' exhibition. Its Budapest iteration *Cartography of Artist Solidarity: Narratives and Ghosts from the International Art Exhibition for Pal-*

17 | See "Socialism Goes Global", 24–27 June 2019 (http://socialismgoesglobal.exeter.ac.uk/).

estine also explored the intersecting roles of cultural diplomacy and grassroots international solidarity actions in Hungary.[18]

The subject matter of Leftist internationalism was also taken up in the exhibition project *Left Performance Histories*, a recent co-curatorial engagement of mine.[19] One thematic area of the show explored domestic leftist criticism of the Socialist system and artists' involvement in 'Third Worldism' and the transnational networks of solidarity with developing countries. This was an embryonic attempt to probe political attitudes in the underground art scene or, more specifically, to explore artists' participation in the critical-oppositional circles of a New Left.

The Exhibition *Left Performance Histories*: Political Critique from the Left[20]

Left Performance Histories revisited action art in Eastern Europe from the 1970s and 80s with the aspiration to reclaim some denied truth to (post-)socialist environments and, in this respect, it shared some central concerns of the present collection of essays. As a result of a comprehensive backlash on communist history after 1989/90,[21] the socialist era has become largely blurred in the historical remembrance of generations coming of age in the post-socialist decades. The realisation that the democratic West, too, has all the while had its own fairly robust political Left came with considerable delay and only to those interested in contemporary history or political philosophy. The reverse is also true: the left-leaning and globally oriented intra-systemic opposition of the Eastern Bloc is similarly little known to this day to both the general public and former activists in Western societies.[22] For all the denial that socialist history faces in the contemporary world, socialism has been part of a shared European history

18 | "Remembering Exhibition" is a genre born out of the recent interest in the history of landmark exhibitions (Greenberg 2009). For further details on the Budapest station of the reconstructed *International Exhibition for Palestine*, see the booklet (Khouri/Salti 2016) produced on that occasion.

19 | For details, see "Ausstellung – Publikation – Veranstaltungsreihe: *Left Performance Histories*", nGbK, February 2018 (https://archiv.ngbk.de/projekte/left-performance-histories/).

20 | This part of the essay is a slightly modified version of related passages originally written for the exhibition catalogue; see Hock (2018).

21 | On this backlash see, for example, Buden (2009: esp. 45–49).

22 | This was quite apparent at the recent event *Vietnam: Mythen und Wirklichkeiten* (Vietnam: Myths and Realities), where the conversation revolved around how the Vietnam conflict was a projection screen for New Leftists in Western Germany and the USA (11 February 2019, https://taz.de/Vietnam-Mythen-und-Wirklichkeiten/!be=9565883813ebe99500/). Reacting to an audience question suggesting that the Vietnam War was also a salient mobilising issue in the Eastern Bloc, the speakers promptly responded that the theme had been only propagandistically addressed on a level of formal governmental politics. Thus, the idea that Vietnam's struggles may have been similarly taken up by grassroots radicals in socialist Eastern Europe was summarily dismissed.

Fig. 8.3: Left Performance Histories*, installation view.*

going back to the interwar period (and earlier), when the "spectre of communism" was roaming around Europe. To underscore the scope, indeed magnetism, of Marxism and the expectation of the socialist-communist world revolution in the early 20th century, Éva Forgács (2014) argued that it was Berlin's politically radical left-wing atmosphere that made Germany's otherwise unspectacular new capital the centre of the international progressive art world in the 1920s.[23] The notion of an egalitarian society and the related social ideas and political beliefs continued to have devotees in both parts of a divided Europe after World War II, creating a kind of unity in division between socialist people's republics and capitalist democracies. Our exhibition concept fell back on this proposition in that we set out to track down those pockets of the East European cultural scene in which the political critique of actually existing socialism did not feed on anti-socialist and pro-capitalist (or later, liberal) sentiments but, quite the opposite, on a devotion to various forms of Marxism and communist thought. We found that the socialist state apparatus was not only challenged by anti-communist positions but also by critical voices insisting on democratic socialist principles or remonstrating the bitter ideological competition of the Cold War.

From the perspective of leftist dissenters, ruling governments in Eastern Europe were not delivering on their social and political promises, hence, they charged the

23 | The recent exhibition *Comrade. Jew: We only wanted Paradise on Earth* at the Jewish Museum in Vienna (2017–2018) also engaged with the period and the attraction to the utopian idea of an egalitarian society from a specific angle.

authorities with abandoning basic socialist goals. This contestation amounted to undermining the political legitimacy of the communist rule, and the party leadership showed considerably less tolerance toward this sort of criticism than to other strands of a para-opposition. "Para-opposition" is an expression used by George Schöpflin to describe an "opposition that does not overtly question the ideological bases of the system" but does accept the leeway for a semi-autonomous political role permitted by it (1979: 155). *Agents and Provocateurs*, an earlier research-based exhibition project i co-curated, set its focus on the kind of politically provocative artistic positions or subversive gestures that have formed the core of the emerging post-socialist artistic canon.[24] We argued that most of such artists also adopted a "para-oppositional" critical stance, as described by Schöpflin. Their art works or actions at times were censored by state officials, yet, with time, became increasingly tolerated, even strategically permitted as a safety valve, for they did not fundamentally and radically question the regime's legitimacy.

The varying depth of criticism is also observable when studying Mail Art, an artistic channel that witnessed dynamic virtual encounters among artists all over the world. Through appropriating a global communication system, the international post, Mail Art also allowed participants living in the dictatorial regimes of the Soviet Bloc or the Global South to both break out of cultural isolation and avoid censorship measures. That is how information about atrocities committed by the military regimes in Latin American countries circulated in the global Mail Art network throughout the 1970s. My tapping of the Mail Art collection at the Artpool Art Research Center Budapest yielded the observation that, with the exception of networkers from the GDR, few East European artists addressed immediate local or international political themes in their works. This suggests that their retrospectively emphasised 'opposition' pertained particularly to claiming their own artistic and individual freedoms. At the same time and as a result of the peculiarities of Cold War power politics, it were often socialist countries' official state-supported cultural projects that more willingly addressed some red-hot political topics of the era, from decolonisation and imperialism to proxy wars and structural racism. Elsewhere, such contentious causes would have been typically taken up by radical and often persecuted cultural activists. The Palestinian struggle was one such area of conflict between an Israel-supporting United States and the Socialist Bloc led by the Soviet Union. Independent from the grass roots international solidarity initiative briefly introduced above, an exhibition of Palestinian folk art and crafts also travelled across Europe. On the official invitation from the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, it was showcased at the Budapest Museum of Ethnography in 1981 and several cultural centres throughout the country (László 2018: 422).

24 | *Agents of Provocateurs*, curated by Beáta Hock and Franciska Zólyom. On view at the Institute of Contemporary Art Dunaújváros, Hungary, October to December 2009, and Hartware Medium Kunstverein Dortmund, Germany, May to July 2010 (http://www.agentsandprovocateurs.net/).

Fig. 8.4: Lenin in Budapest, *photo-performance, 1972.*

Leftist critics of the system also overstepped the threshold of what the party permitted in the way of criticism in that they demanded reforms of "socialism with a human face", stating that the original goal of socialism was to restore the autonomy of the subject and generally "humanize" society.[25] Viewed through their lens, the oppressive aspects of power-wielding within both Cold War era political blocs became visible, while critical Marxist analysis reconnected this marginal group of East-Central European activists to broader transnational intellectual and aesthetic currents.

Among the exhibits of the *Left Performance Histories* show, visitors encountered art works referencing a range of left-leaning positions or intellectual attitudes (László Lakner, Marijan Molnar, Tamás Szentjóby, Hans J. Schulze and Peter Oehlmann, Želimir Žilnik, Bálint Szombathy, Zygmunt Piotrowski, Sven Stilinović) as well as a reading box with further documentation and fragmented research material on the Hungarian interdisciplinary group Orfeo and the short-lived Polish Pro Agit's "multimedia" performance *Think Communism*.[26] Further examples, such as the impact and international reach of the *Yugoslav Praxis Group* or the thematic overlaps between Joseph Beuys and East German artists Carlfriedrich Claus and A. R. Penck were addressed in a panel discussion accompanying the exhibition.

25 | For details on this powerful political language, see Trencsényi et al. (2018: esp. 371–458).

26 | Two and a half years later, a full study exhibition was devoted to the Hungarian groups *Orfeo* and *Inconnu Independent Art Group* in Budapest: *Left Turn, Right Turn – Artistic and Political Radicalism under Late Socialism*, Galeria Centralis, October – November 2019; curators: K. Nagy and M. Szarvas.

Performance as a Site of Nonconformist Social Behaviour

Rather than a comprehensive retrospective, *Left Performance Histories* zoomed in on a handful of selected topics that have often been left out of or marginalised in post-1989 discourses. Curating the socialist environment with this approach enabled us to locate and put on display not only works from artists well-known to those already familiar with the alternative culture of the former Eastern Bloc but quite a number of new discoveries even to the insider.

Approaching archives performatively was another main thread in *Left Performance Histories*, through which a second connotation of the word 'left' (as in 'left behind') was mobilised. The exhibition interrogated through a diversity of curatorial measures (including documentary display, discursive events and re-performance) how performances or the traces they left behind live on in the material-spatial environment of the exhibition room. Where do works of performance art begin and end, and how can they be presented in the context of later exhibitions? Contemplating these questions required an engagement with the relics, documentation and memory of events: all constitutive parts of the works' expanded materiality. We conceived of performance pieces as unfixed and continuously generated archives that need to be configured anew every time these works appear in public. Our exhibition, thus, explored how the histories of performance art are generated, controlled and understood over time, and, verging on the metaphysical: what constitutes the artwork and who are the archivists?

A further ambition of ours was to supplement and diversify the current dominant outline of state-socialist counter-culture. Where the state-socialist system of cultural production is frequently viewed as a system exclusively defined by control, censorship and inefficient operation, we preferred approaching and 'curating' Performance Art as a site of *jouissance:* We dished up this particular socialist environment to a post-socialist audience as a milieu in which conventional self-presentation or socially approved forms of gendered identity, sexuality and standards of beauty could be bypassed.

To that end, one 'chapter' followed up on the question of how "Eastern European Performance Art" in the 1970s and 80s negotiated gendered identities. Under this heading, we addressed some interlocking topics: women artists taking radical approaches to questions of partnership and marriage; women and men digressing from heteronormative forms of sexuality and self-presentation; and the underground fashion show as a platform for gender-bending and non-complying gendered identities. The camp and queer aesthetics of the corresponding visuals was striking in as much as sexuality in Eastern Bloc societies is generally thought to have been over-controlled or strongly normative, and the women and men in these societies have been often presented as de-eroticized asexual beings. An elderly acquaintance of ours who had lived, among other places, in the United States, attended the exhibition opening. After perusing the "gender/bending" section of the show, she said: "Well done, but nothing new to me, really; I've seen similar stuff in New York in the 1980s." She might have meant this as a slightly dismissive remark – but we were actually delighted as we felt that our efforts had brought about the desired result. After all, one of our intentions

Fig. 8.5: Left Performance Histories*, installation view.*

was to suggest that, at that point in time, in the 1980s, the discrepancy between the cultural landscapes of East and West was no longer as extreme as popular imagination would have it.

The powerful symbol of the era, the Iron Curtain, passed down to post-Cold War generations a perception of the Soviet Union and its satellite states as having been sealed off in an inferior political Bloc within a divided Europe and having lost open contact to the supreme western half of the continent. The fact that the Iron Curtain was far from being a non-permeable boundary has been repeatedly revealed in the scholarly output of recent years; my own work as a scholar, teacher and curator has similarly aimed to adjust this picture. Shifting the focus from temporarily frozen East-West connections to newly forming relationships with other continents is an analytical operation capable of shedding light on the astonishing dynamism of those decades and the often pioneering role the Soviet Bloc played in the period's global conflicts. The Bloc's political and cultural diplomatic principle of 'socialist internationalism' expressed allegiance to and sought alliance with ideologically 'friendly states' across continents. The decades of the Cold War or the legacy of state-socialism are hardly reference points for today's young generations, let alone the cultural history of those years. Yet, as i have witnessed several times, many students are inspired when they encounter this epoch and its globalised social-political struggles, often feeling their own quest for a differently organised world justified.

The show *Left Performance Histories* and our care-work for lost memories also found great resonance with local audiences, toppling record visitor numbers at the Neuer Berliner Kunstverein where it was on view. We curators interpreted this as a vivid interest in the suppressed history of the GDR and the broader socialist world in present-day Germany, a liberal capitalist democracy. Thinking about the 'Second World' in a transnational, global framing is, i believe, another salient step on the way

towards healing the wounds of history. Restoring the diverse ways in which Eastern European art scenes have been entangled with cultural actors and intellectual agendas in a wider world helps to promote critical reflection on how this world is a sum of an interlinked, interactive set of processes and relationships.

Bibliography

Belting, Hans/Buddensieg, Andrea/Weibel, Peter (eds.) (2013): The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds, Exhibition catalogue, Karlsruhe: ZKM Karlsruhe.

Berend, Ivan T. (2005): History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, DOI: 10.1525/9780520932098.

Buden, Boris (2009): Zone des Übergangs: Vom Ende des Postkommunismus, Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Collicelli Cagol, Stefano (2015): "Exhibition History and the Institution as a Medium." In: Stedelijk Studies 2, https://stedelijkstudies.com/journal/exhibition-history-and-the-institution-as-a-medium/ (accessed 7 December 2019).

Cytlak, Katarzyna (2018): "Transculturation, Cultural Transfer and the Colonial Matrix of Power on the Cold War Margins: East European Art Seen from Latin America." In: Beáta Hock/Anu Allas (eds.), Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present, New York: Routledge, pp. 162–174, DOI: 10.4324/9781351187190-12.

Forgács, Éva (2014): "Romantic Peripheries: The Dynamics of Enlightenment and Romanticism in East-Central Europe." In: Per Bäckström/Benedikt Hjartarson (eds.), Decentering the Avant-Garde, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 43–63, DOI: 10.1163/9789401210379_004.

Gardner, Anthony/Green, Charles (2013): "Biennials of the South on the Edges of the Global." In: Third Text 27/4, pp. 442–455, DOI: 10.1080/09528822.2013.810892.

Gardner, Anthony/Green, Charles (2016): Biennials, Triennials, and Documenta: The Exhibitions that Created Contemporary Art, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, DOI: 10.1002/9781119212638.

Gildea, Robert/Mark, James/Pas, Niek (2011): "European Radicals and the Third World: Imagined Solidarities and Radical Networks 1958–1973." In: Cultural and Social History 8, pp. 441–448, DOI: 10.2752/147800411x13105523597733.

Grandal Montero, Gustavo (2012): "Biennalization? What Biennalization? The Documentation of Biennials and Other Recurrent Exhibitions." In: Art Libraries Journal 37/1, pp. 13–23, DOI: 10.1017/s0307472200017296.

Greenberg, Reesa (2009): "'Remembering Exhibitions': From Point to Line to Web." In: TATE Papers 12, https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/12/remembering-exhibitions-from-point-to-line-to-web (accessed 23 November 2019).

Hock, Beáta (2018): "Performance as a Site of Nonconformist Social Behaviour: Critique from the Left." In: Judit Bodor/Astrid Hackel/Beáta Hock/Andrej Mirčev/Angelika Richter (eds.), Left Performance Histories: Recollecting Artistic Practices in Eastern Europe, Berlin: nGbK, pp. 91–104.

Kemp-Welch, Klara/Freire, Cristina (2012): "Artists' Networks in Latin America and Eastern Europe." In: ARTmargins 1/2–3, pp. 3–14, DOI: 10.1162/ARTM_e_00015.

Kenzler, Marcus (2014): "Sozialismus war für mich auch Glaubenssache: Über die Darstellung Lateinamerikas und die Verwendung christlicher Symbolik in der Kunst der DDR." In: Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 24/4, pp. 68–83, DOI: 10.26014/j.comp.2014.04.06.

Khouri, Kristine/Salti, Rasha (2016): Cartography of Artist Solidarities: Narratives and Ghosts from the International Art Exhibition for Palestine, 1978, Exhibition catalogue, Budapest: tranzit.

Komorowski, Wiktor (2016): "The Reversed Power of the Image: Graphic Art Biennials in Eastern Europe during the Cold War", Conference Paper, 3rd International Forum for Doctoral Candidates in East European Art History at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 29 April 2016, https://arthist.net/archive/12646 (accessed 28 February 2020).

Komorowski, Wiktor (2018): "Hard Ground-Soft Politics: The Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana and Biting of the Iron Curtain." In: Humanities 7/97, DOI: 10.3390/h7040097 (accessed 29 December 2019).

Komorowski, Wiktor (2020): "Transnational Cultural Space and Cold War Exhibitions of Graphic Art in Eastern Europe." In: Harriet Atkinson/Verity Clarkson/Sarah Lichtman (eds.), Exhibitions and Transnational Exchange: Art and Design, Borders and Boundaries from 1945, London: Bloomsbury.

László, Zsuzsa (2018): "Exhibition as Diplomatic Tool: The Search for Artist Solidarity." In: Third Text 32/4, pp. 412–433, DOI: 10.1080/09528822.2018.1524035.

Lorenz, Sophie (2015): "Konstruktionen einer Emotionskultur des Kalten Krieges: Das Beispiel der DDR-Solidaritätskampagne für Angela Davis." In: David Eugster/Sibylle Marti (eds.), Das Imaginäre des Kalten Krieges: Beiträge zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Ost-West-Konfliktes in Europe, Essen: Klartext, pp. 213–242.

Mahlouji, Vali (2013): "Perspectives on the Shiraz Arts Festival: A Radical Third World Rewriting." In: Fereshteh Daftari/Layla S. Diba (eds.), Iran Modern, Exhibition catalogue, New York: Asia Society Museum, pp. 87–92.

McEvilley, Thomas (1993): "Arrivederci Venice: The Third World Biennials." In: Artforum, n. p., https://www.artforum.com/print/reviews/199309/arrivederci-venice-the-third-world-biennials-55032 (accessed 28 February 2020).

Mosquera, Gerardo (2010): "The Havana Biennial: A Concrete Utopia." In: Elena Filipovic/Marieke van Hal/Solveig Ovstebo (eds.), The Biennial Reader, Bergen: Hatje Cantz, pp. 198–208.

Nagy, Kristóf (2018): "From Fringe Interest to Hegemony: The Emergence of the Soros Network in Eastern Europe." In: Beáta Hock/Anu Allas (eds.), Globalizing East European Art Histories, London: Routledge, pp. 53–63, DOI: 10.4324/9781351187190.

Neumann, Elke (2016): "The Biennale der Ostseeländer: The GDR's Main International Arts Exhibition." In: Jerome Bazin/Pascal Dubourg Glatigny/Piotr Piotrowski (eds.), Art Beyond Borders: Artistic Exchange in Communist Europe (1945–1989), Budapest: Central European University Press, pp. 335–343.

O'Neill, Paul (2010): "The Curatorial Turn: From Practice to Discourse." In: Elena Filipovic/Marieke van Hal/Solveig Øvstebø (eds.), The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, pp. 240–259.

Ramadan, Dina A. (2016): "The Alexandria Biennale and Egypt's Shifting Mediterranean." In: Adam J. Goldwyn/Renée M. Silverman (eds.), Mediterranean Modernism: Intercultural Exchange and Aesthetic Development, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 343–361, DOI: 10.1057/978-1-137-58656-8_14.

Rojas-Sotelo, Miguel (2011): "The Other Network: The Havana Biennale and the Global South." In: The Global South 5/1, pp. 153–174, DOI: 10.2979/globalsouth.5.1.153.

Schöpflin, George (1979): "Opposition and Para-Opposition: Critical Currents in Hungary, 1968–78." In: Rudolf L. Tőkés (ed.), Opposition in Eastern Europe, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 142–186, DOI: 10.1007/978-1-349-04472-6_5.

Singh, Devike (2018): Untitled conference presentation at Co-constituting the Global: Ethical Challenges and Implications, ICI Institute for Cultural Inquiry, Berlin, 22 June 2018, https://www.ici-berlin.org/events/co-constituting-the-global/ (accessed 28 February 2020).

Shank, Theodore (1977): "Squat's 'Pig, Child, Fire!'." In: TDR 21/3, pp. 95–100, DOI: 10.2307/1145154.

Trencsényi, Balázs/Kopecek, Michal/Gabrijelcic, Luka Lisjak/Falina, Maria/Baar, Monika/Janowski, Maciej (2018): A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe, Vol. 2, Negotiating Modernity in the 'Short Twentieth Century': Part 1: 1918–1968, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 371–458, DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198737155.001.0001.

T.R.O.Y. (2001): "The New World Disorder: A Global Network of Direct Democracy and Community Currency." In: The Utopian World Championship, http://utopianwc.com/2001/troy_text.asp (accessed 28 February 2020).

List of Figures

Fig. 8.1: *An Utopian Stage*, installation view. Photo: Camille Blake, 2019/Courtesy of SAVVY Contemporary.

Fig. 8.2: *Cartography of Artist Solidarity: Narratives and Ghosts from the International Art Exhibition for Palestine 1978*, Budapest, enterieur, Mayakovsky 102, tranzit.hu. Photo: Dávid Bíró, 2016.

Fig. 8.3: *Left Performance Histories*, installation view. Photo: nGbK Berlin.

Fig. 8.4: *Lenin in Budapest*, photo-performance, 1972. Courtesy of the artist Bálint Szombathy.

Fig. 8.5: *Left Performance Histories*, installation view. Photo: Andrej Mirčev, 2018/ nGbK Berlin.