

**Internationalism After the End of Globalisation**  
**October 25–26, 2019**

**MUZEUM**  
museum  
of modern art  
in warsaw



**25.10.2019**      **Conference**

10:00-10:30      Jesús Carrillo, Sebastian Cichocki, Kuba Szreder, Mabel Tapia  
– introduction

**10:30–12:00**      **Beyond Capitalist Realism**

10:30-10:45      Yaiza Hernández Velázquez, "The Universal at the end of the  
Rainbow",

10:45-11:00      Marco Baravalle, "Beyond Capitalist Realism: project and  
utopia",

11:00-11:15      Keir Milburn, "Are we in an Acid Communist Moment?",

11:15-11:30      Anti-Fascist Year, "Surprising alliances. Mapping the Anti-  
fascist Year",

11:30-12:00      Discussion

**12:00–12:15**      **Coffee break**

**12:15–13:30**      **Frontlines: natural and digital**

12:15-12:30      Joanna Bednarek, "Fear and Curiosity: Reading H.P. Lovecraft  
in Times of the Anthropocene",

12:30-12:45      Tomislav Medak, "Accelerated Technocapitalism and the  
Politics of Non-Complicity",

12:45-13:00      Ana Teixeira Pinto, "Capitalism with a Transhuman Face: The  
Afterlife of Fascism and the Digital Frontier",

13:00-13:30      Discussion

**13:30–14:30**      **Lunch break**

**14:30–16:00**      **From Internationalism to Alter-Globality**

14:30-14:45      Angela Dimitrakaki, "From Internationalism to Antinationalism:  
A Contested yet Necessary Step for Contemporary  
Antifascism",

14:45-15:00      Vasyl Cherepanyn, "Against an Anti-Communist International",

15:00-15:15      Charles Esche, "For Western Europe, decolonising must also  
mean demodernising",

15:15-15:30      Zeyno Pekünlü, "The Eclipse of Strategies",

15:30-16:00	Discussion
<b>16:00–16:15</b>	<b>Coffee break</b>
<b>16:15–17:45</b>	<b>Forms of action/forms of connection</b>
16:15-16:30	Keep it Complex, "Unite Against Dividers - Organise With Others – Make it Work",
16:30-16:45	Theo Prodromidis, "The realities and possibilities of action",
16:45-17:00	Zuzanna Hertzberg, "Artivism as every day antifascism",
17:00-17:15	Sabina Sabolović (WHW), "The revision and continuity of anti-fascism",
17:15-14:45	Discussion
<b>26.10.2019</b>	<b>Self-Organized Assembly</b>
11:00-18:00	Proposals for an Anti-fascist Internationale. Projects, actions, networks, institutions and ways of survival. Facilitation: Marsha Bradfield
11:00-11:30	Introduction: Marsha Bradfield, Kuba Szreder, Jesus Carrillo
<b>11:30-13:00</b>	<b>Self-Organized assembly with short presentations:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– proposals for projects &amp; direct actions that respond to the current crisis of capitalism, fascist revival and climate catastrophe on both local and global scale;</li> <li>– ideas for creating and enhancing networks that would be able to facilitate translocal exchange of information and coordination of activities;</li> <li>– proposals for democratizing institutions in and beyond art, promoting forms of collaboration with civil society/social movements, protecting them against anti-democratic threats (f.e. authoritarian censorship, austerity, elitism or commercialization), and enabling them as catalyst of social change;</li> <li>– practices aimed at sustaining radical social practice in contemporary art, academia and the cultural field as a whole, and fighting against systems of oppression that thwart radical practices.</li> </ul>
<b>13:00-14:00</b>	<b>Developing proposals in working groups</b>
<b>14:00-15:00</b>	<b>Lunch break</b>
<b>15:00-17:00</b>	<b>Developing proposals in working groups</b>
<b>17:00-18:00</b>	<b>Concluding plenary session</b>

## Bios and abstracts

### The Anti-Fascist Year

A country-wide initiative promoted by a coalition of public institutions, NGOs, social movements, collectives, individual artists and activists across Poland. Its goal is to support anti-fascist struggles and facilitate anti-fascist ideas and messages.

### Presentation abstract: "Surprising alliances. Mapping the Anti-fascist Year"

The Anti-fascist Year operates through a diverse network of contacts, collaborations, surprising alliances and multidirectional flows. During our intervention we will map this network focusing on how different art worlds, institutions, local authorities, NGOs, media, artists' collectives and activist groups cooperate within the frame of the Year, supporting and learning from each other. We believe that the mechanisms we developed are a good starting point for discussing how to build a wide, international anti-fascist coalition.

### Marco Baravalle

Member of S.a.L.E. Docks, a collective managing an independent space for visual arts and activism in Venice. In addition to curating the diverse programming at S.a.L.E. Docks, Baravalle is also part of INCOMMON research team (IUAV University of Venice), focusing on the relationship between art, theatre and activism.

### Presentation abstract: "Beyond Capitalist Realism: project and utopia"

If "it is easier to imagine an end to the world than an end to capitalism," then, in the midst of the current ecological crisis, climate justice movements are showing that is precisely the reproduction of capitalism that is putting an end to our world as we know it. If our understanding of capitalism as a planetary death machine grows, that does not mean that we are able to break with capitalist realism. Indeed capitalism still occupies a vast spectre of possibilities and possibles: from reactionary, populist and neofascist, to "green", "blu" or sustainable versions. So, what role can art play in this scenario? Of course it would be great if we could speak from a perspective where arts and social movements would be unified in one indistinguishable machine, but that's not the case (at least most of the time). So how to break the cage of capitalist realism? Is it possible to think art and intellectual labour as forces that put together what was previously separated, project and utopia? How do we set in motion, in our present, the imagination of alternative futures? How do we exceed the institutional art circuit? How do we transform harmless representations of alternative futures in machines able to subvert the present? And, on the other side, how do we empower our political anticapitalistic projects with the force of a constituent imagination?

### Joanna Bednarek

Philosopher, translator and writer Author of the books „Politics Beyond Form. Ontological determinations of poststructuralist political philosophy“, „Lines of Femininity. How Sexual Difference Transformed Literature and Philosophy?“, „Life that Speaks. Modern Community and Animals“, and „Origin of the Family“. Member of the editorial board of the journal „Praktyka Teoretyczna“. She translated (among others) Rosi Braidotti, Donna Haraway and Karen Barad. Collaborator of „Krytyka Polityczna“ in the years 2006-2009. Her fields of interest are: poststructuralism, feminism, autonomist marxism and literature.

### Presentation abstract: "Fear and Curiosity: Reading H.P. Lovecraft in Times of the Anthropocene"

The current rise of fascism can be seen as, among others, a reaction to the knowledge of global warming – an attempt at repressing the knowledge of the ongoing disaster and seeking illusory safety. At the same time we can observe the rise of the importance of H.P. Lovecraft's work for contemporary speculative fiction and theory. This phenomenon may be concerning, because, in the word of China Miéville, „Lovecraft is an astonishing visionary writer, and the source of his vision, in many cases, is race hatred“, and many of his advocates try to downplay his racism. However, this is not the rule, as many of

the writers and academics who use, rewrite and analyse Lovecraft's work use the tools provided by feminist, queer and left-wing theories and social movements.

As Lovecraft states, „The oldest and strongest emotion of mankind is fear, and the oldest and strongest kind of fear is fear of the unknown”. This is obviously not true; equally basic and important emotion is the irresistible curiosity about the unknown, as Lovecraft's texts themselves testify. Their current re-readings and reinterpretations, both literary and theoretical, are aimed precisely at examining the nexus of fear of the inhuman and miscenegation and the desire to merge with the despised and feared object/abject. The goal of this is to analyse the current collective libidinal assemblage and cut to the core of the fears and desires surrounding global warming and living in the anthropocene.

#### Vasyl Cherepanyn

Head of the Visual Culture Research Center (VCRC, Kyiv) and works as a lecturer at the Cultural Studies Department of the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He recently co-edited *Guidebook of The Kyiv International* (Medusa Books, 2018) and *'68 NOW* (Archive Books, 2019) and curated *The European International* (Rijksakademie van beeldende kunsten, Amsterdam) and *Hybrid Peace* (Stroom, The Hague) projects. VCRC is the organizer of *The School of Kyiv – Kyiv Biennial 2015* and *The Kyiv International – Kyiv Biennial 2017*.

#### Presentation abstract: “Against an Anti-Communist International”

From ‘decommunization’ in Ukraine and Poland to Germany’s “GDR has never existed”, from counter-revolutionary authoritarian regimes in Russia and Turkey to ruling populists in Austria and Italy, radical attitudes and hostility have continued to increase, and hate speech has spread on both national and international levels. Perhaps, it is today’s ‘anti-communism without communists’ that serves as a common negative signifier of all the political trends usually gathered under the term ‘illiberalism.’ How is declared anti-communism paving the path to neo-fascism normalizing newly emerged avatars of the old ideologies of hatred? What is needed to reclaim anti-fascist foundations of a post-war democracy in the current entourage of anti-migrant consensus and anti-Semitic backlash?

#### Angela Dimitrakaki

Angela Dimitrakaki works at the University of Edinburgh. Her research engages Marxism and feminism to think about the complexities of global capitalism, mostly in relation to art and culture. She recently co-edited the special issue of *Third Text* on anti-fascism/art/theory (Autumn 2019).

#### Presentation abstract: "From Internationalism to Antinationalism: A Contested yet Necessary Step for Contemporary Antifascism"

The presentation addresses the conference's key concepts, ‘internationalism’ and ‘globalisation’, in relation to anti-fascism as anti-capitalist political education. It argues that capitalist globalisation is hardly coming to an end but is rather, and inevitably, advancing as a complex neo-imperialist project in which neo-liberalism and nation-based protectionism play a complex role; also that ‘globalisation’, through its conceptual re-alignment with the radical imaginary of equality struggles, can be far more progressive than ‘internationalism’, a concept which ultimately retains the imaginary nation as its core and the class divide the latter is necessarily tied to and which, within a capitalist imperialist order, it organises on a global scale. The argument draws on Marxist analyses of class re-composition engaging feminism and anti-imperialism

#### Charles Esche

Director of Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven; professor of contemporary art and curating at Central Saint Martins, London and co-director of *Afterall* Journal and Books. He teaches on the Exhibition Studies MRes course at CSM, and at Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht. Outwith the museum, he (co) curated *Le Musée Égaré*, Kunsthall Oslo 2017 and *Printemps de Septembre*, Toulouse 2016; *Jakarta Biennale* 2015; *31st Sao Paulo Bienal*, 2014, *U3 Triennale*, Ljubljana, 2011; *RIWAQ Biennale*, Palestine, 2007

and 2009; Istanbul Biennale, 2005; Gwangju Biennale, 2002 amongst other international exhibitions. He is chair of CASCO, Utrecht. He received the 2012 Princess Margriet Award and the 2014 CCS Bard College Prize for Curatorial Excellence.

**Presentation abstract: "For Western Europe, decolonising must also mean demodernising"**

As the crimes of the second world war pass from living memory, it becomes possible to link anew longer historical trajectories to that terrible past. In particular, the colonial history shared by much of western Europe also played its part in Europe both west (British Isles, Scandinavia) and east (Poland, the Balkans). Museums of modern art are in many ways custodians of a part of this legacy at least once it is understood that modernity and coloniality are impossible to separate from one another. My talk will speculate on the ways that museums in western Europe might need to demodernise as their contribution to wider processes of decolonising and how a broad anti-fascist front has to address the universalist and singular ambitions behind modern art. By telling different stories and decolonising narratives of modern and contemporary art's development, I want to suggest that museums of modern art have a crucial part to play in determining a more 'pluriepistemological' present (Maria Iñiigo Clavo).

**Zuzanna Hertzberg**

Painter, author of installations, performative actions, activist and educator. She deals with subjects of memory and body, as well as issues related to a broad sense of identity and geopolitics. She participated in a number of exhibitions in Poland and abroad. She is member of Antifascist Coalition as well as co-founder of Jewish Antifascist Block.

**Presentation abstract: "Artivism as every day anti-fascism"**

Presentation will address four crucial elements of my activist praxis: art as every day anti-fascist feminism; my experience in building international connections; the Jewish Antifascist Block as a part of broader antifascist coalition and the last one: my performances, assemblages, installations, collages and the use of archives as a mean of education.

**Keep It Complex**

A collaborative and evolving organisation which confronts political issues through ideas and action. It developed out of an artist-run Remain campaign during the UK's EU referendum in 2016. Keep It Complex is about making clear what we want and collectively devising ways to get what we want: a peaceful, caring, angry, anti-austerity, factual, DIY, transnational, struggling, messy, family-friendly, queer, inclusive, intergenerational, generous, diverse society. It's about using art to have conversations with people you don't usually talk to. It's about not giving in to fear and apathy.

**Presentation abstract: "Unite Against Dividers - Organise With Others – Make it Work"**

These are the titles of the three last Annual Activation Days organised by Keep it Complex. They set the tone for a short presentation in which we will use some of our rules and tools to share what we do.

Acknowledging the fact that radical practice is always messier than radical ideas, and dissatisfied by the frequent disconnection of how art institutions make radical ideas their programme but not their lived experience, Keep it Complex is a self-organised push to insist on our terms when it comes to bridging the gap between talking and doing.

**Tomislav Medak**

Doctoral student at the Coventry University's Centre for Postdigital Cultures. Member of the theory and publishing team of the Multimedia Institute/MAMA in Zagreb, amateur librarian for the Memory of the World/Public library project, and artist in the performing arts collective BADco. His research interests are in technology, capitalist development and post-capitalist transition, with a particular focus on environmental crisis, political economy of intellectual property and unevenness of techno-science. His writing can be found at: [tom.medak.click](http://tom.medak.click)

**Presentation abstract: "Accelerated Technocapitalism and the Politics of Non-Complicity"**

Akceleracja zmian technologicznych i rosnące transnarodowe powiązania akumulacji kapitału w ciągu ostatnich The acceleration of technological change and the growing transnational interconnectedness of capital accumulation have over the last two decades precipitated the rise and fall of the hegemony of capitalist democracy and multilateral neoliberal globalisation. Essential for the neoliberal re-ordering of the global relations of production were digital networks, enabling the world-spanning supply chain economy that benefitted from the global differentials in labour costs and the ecologically unequal exchange. Technologically accelerated transnational capital accumulation processes have eroded the capacities of workers and communities to effectively contest economic processes at the levels of political participation and antagonism, while enabling an enormous redistribution toward the wealthy. They have produced a deluge of ever-cheaper consumables, while making for many more elusive the fundamentals of social well-being - food, housing, health, child and elderly care, education, social and environmental safety. This has politically and economically set the stage for the replacement of liberal with authoritarian capitalist governmentality, the emergence of unilateralist neoliberalism and the rise of fascistic tendencies that are defending the structural privileges of class, race, gender or territory.

**Keir Milburn**

Lecturer in Political Economy and Organisation at the University of Leicester. His latest book, *Generation Left*, published by Polity, explains why young people are moving to the left while older people are tending towards the right. He also co-hosts the #ACFM podcast on Novara Media

**Presentation abstract: "Are we in an Acid Communist Moment?"**

Over the last couple of years, the discourse around Acid Communism and Acid Corbynism has taken off in the UK and has even begun to influence discussion of policy. In this presentation Keir Milburn will explain the background and key debates of Acid Communism before asking questions such as: What elements of the current conjuncture have allowed these ideas to gain purchase? Conversely what in contemporary conditions threaten to lead an Acid Communist discussion astray? Is it really possible to form a politics around collective joy? And, do we really need a Weird Left?

**Zeyno Pekünlü**

Artist based in Istanbul and currently running the Work and Research Program of the Istanbul Biennial (ÇAP) for young artists and researchers. She is part of the editorial collectives of the culture and politics journals *eXpress*, *Bir+Bir* and *Red Thread*. She is also part of several local and international political networks such as *Müştereklerimiz* (Our Commons), *Dünyada Mekan* (A Place on Earth), *Solidarity Academies Network Turkey*, *IRI* (Institute of Radical Imagination).

**Presentation abstract: "The Eclipse of Strategies"**

The political scene in Turkey has been utterly unpredictable and unstable during the last decade. Accordingly, the very nature of the political field has kept alive the tension between the fear of a regime change towards even more authoritarian forms and the persistent hope to turn the tide via elections or referendums. On the other hand, the debate on strategies concerning the ways of standing up against the raising authoritarianism has never been so diverse.

In this presentation first I would like to focus on how we name the changes in the political regime that deviates from our conventional idea of a democratic government would effect our strategic decisions. Then I would like to reflect on the complicated and contradictory role of the cultural institutions in Turkey in such ambiguous and uncertain times and contexts from the perspective of artists and users of cultural institutions. Looking back from the "normalization" period of today and without turning my back on the successful examples of the past and potentials of the future, I would like to explore how past alliances ring the danger bells of the present day.

**Ana Teixeira Pinto**

Writer and cultural theorist based in Berlin. She is a lecturer at the DAI (Dutch Art Institute) and Leuphana University, Lüneburg. Her writings have appeared in publications such as *Third Text*, *Afterall*, *Springerin*, *Camera Austria*, *e-flux journal*, *Mousse*, *Frieze*, *Domus*, *Inaesthetics*, *Manifesta Journal*, or

Texte zur Kunst. She is the editor of *The Reluctant Narrator* (Sternberg Press, 2014) and of a forthcoming book series on the antipolitical turn, to be published by Sternberg Press

**Presentation abstract: "Capitalism with a Transhuman Face: The Afterlife of Fascism and the Digital Frontier"**

The most salient feature of the far-right movement, which became known as the alt-right is its relation with IT, rather than with the diminished expectations of the post-industrial working class. This, I would argue, points to a new configuration of fascist ideology taking shape under the aegis of, and working in tandem with, neoliberal governance. If every rise of Fascism bears witness to a failed revolution, one could say that the rise of cryptofascist tendencies within the tech industry bears witness to the failures of the "digital revolution," whose promises of a post-scarcity economy and socialized capital never came to pass. From this perspective the online cultural wars are a proxy for a greater battle around de-Westernization, Imperialism and white hegemony.

**Theo Prodromidis**

Artist and director based in Athens, Greece. Since 2017, he has been a Visiting Artist under the program Risk Change at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and a volunteer at the Open School for Immigrants of Piraeus. He is a member of the Institute Of Radical Imagination and a member of Solidarity Schools Network. For 2019-2020, he is a fellow of Artworks, a Stavros Niarchos Foundation Artist Fellowship Program.

**Presentation abstract: ""The realities and possibilities of action"**

The situation on the ground is prohibitive of even finding time to formulate a question, even more a question on how to act. This question has to be answered every morning, when one begins the weekly assembly, every night when inhaling teargas, every time one has to face the nationalist application of the "law and order" dogma and on the same time the attempt to co-opt social struggle and social justice, along with the withdrawal of progressive political party support for social movements.

Drawing from my experiences as an artist living in Athens, a citizen living in Exarcheia, a volunteer at the Solidarity School of Immigrants of Piraeus and member of the Solidarity Schools Network, I will attempt to present the realities and possibilities of action in education and cultural institutions now and in the immediate future.

**Sabina Sabolović**

Member of the curatorial collective What, How & for Whom/WHW formed in 1999 and based in Zagreb and Berlin (together with Ivet Ćurlin, Ana Dević and Nataša Ilić). WHW organizes production, exhibition and publishing projects and is involved in long-term collaborative platforms and cultural politics. Since 2003 WHW has programmed Gallery Nova, a city-owned space in Zagreb. Alongside this, WHW has curated international projects including 11th Istanbul Biennial, 2009; Meeting Points 7 – "Ten thousand wives and a hundred thousand tricks" (Zagreb, Antwerp, Cairo, Hong-Kong, Beirut, Vienna, Moscow), 2013-14 and "Really Useful Knowledge", Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid 2014. Most recently they curated "My Sweet Little Lamb (Everything we see could also be otherwise)" in collaboration with Kathrin Rhomberg, a series of exhibitions based on the Kontakt Art Collection and taking place across Zagreb and at the Showroom, London (in collaboration with Emily Pethick) in 2016-17. Currently members of WHW are directors of Kunsthalle Wien.

**Presentation abstract: "The revision and continuity of anti-fascism"**

The revisionism of antifascism started in Croatia with the beginning of the independent state. The reaction in art took quite a long time to develop and then boomed in small but persistent circles, supported by various out of institutional initiatives. The artists and curators reacted through symbolic gestures, interventionist projects, new forms of knowledge production... After almost thirty years, many of the strategies feel exhausted but the need for persistent antifascist struggle is greater than ever. I will try to show some of the examples of artistic resistance and open the question what kind of actions could be useful for the future?

Yaiza Hernández Velázquez

Lecturer in the Visual Cultures department at Goldsmiths, University of London. Previously, she worked for six years at Central Saint Martins-UAL, where she led the MRes in Exhibition Studies. Before returning to academia she worked for over a decade in art institutions, including as Head of Public Programmes at MACBA (Barcelona), director of CENDEAC (Murcia) and curator at CAAM (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria). Recent publications include "Imagining Curatorial Practice after 1972" in *Curating after the Global* (MIT Press, 2019), "Cortocircuitos del museo y la autonomía" in *¡Autonomización! ¡Autonomía!* (TEA, 2019) and "Who Needs Exhibition Studies?" in *El Museo Foro* (UNAM, 2019).

**Presentation abstract: "The Universal at the end of the Rainbow"**

Remaining close to the terms of Mark Fisher's own account of "capitalist realism", this short intervention will attempt to do two things. Firstly, it will explore the continuing validity of Fisher's diagnostic and the crucial role that forms of cultural production occupy there. Secondly, it will concentrate on critically interrogating one of the moments when the text turns prescriptive, with the injunction to "oppose Capital's globalism with its own authentic universality".



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