



Worlds Without End

Stories Around Borders

Lieven De Boeck

Elaine Byrne

John Byrne

Tony Cokes

Chto Delat

Dor Guez

Lawrence Abu Hamdan

Dragana Jurišić

Ari Marcopoulos

Raq5 Media Collective

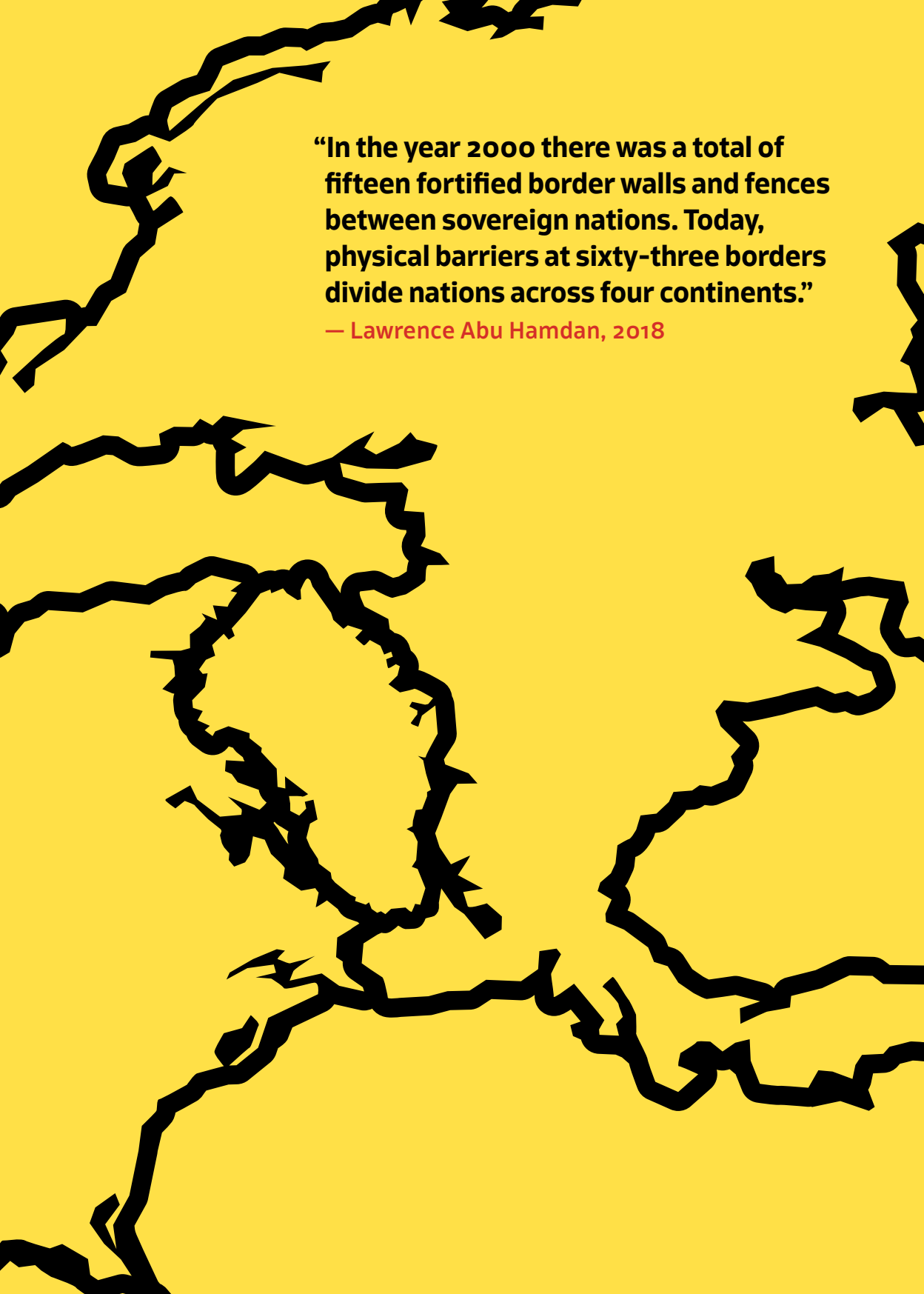
Dermot Seymour

Mark Wallinger

Hugh Lane Gallery

1 October 2020 – 31 January 2021

- 4** **Director's Foreword**
BARBARA DAWSON
- 8** **Dweller on the Threshold**
MICHAEL DEMPSEY
- 22** **Mark Wallinger**
- 24** **Ari Marcopoulos**
- 26** **Lawrence Abu Hamdan**
- 30** **Dragana Jurišić**
- 35** **Dermot Seymour**
- 37** **John Byrne**
- 41** **Border, She Wrote**
SARA REISMAN
- 56** **Dor Guez**
- 58** **Lieven De Boeck**
- 59** **Chto Delat**
- 60** **Elaine Byrne**
- 64** **Tony Cokes**
- 69** **Raqs Media Collective**
- 72** **Undoing Walls**
REHAN ANSARI
- 79** **Homework: borders within and without**
HUGH CAMPBELL
- 86** **List of Exhibited Works**
- 88** **Biographies**



“In the year 2000 there was a total of fifteen fortified border walls and fences between sovereign nations. Today, physical barriers at sixty-three borders divide nations across four continents.”

— Lawrence Abu Hamdan, 2018

Director's Foreword

BARBARA DAWSON

Historically, borders tend to be the location of international trouble spots. Prior to the global lockdown, there was a utopian vision of open borders, alongside the reality of a populist push towards border fortification. This dichotomy has now been eclipsed by a pandemic that doesn't respect borders. Politicisation of the pandemic, displacement of people, and contagion, as well as the drive towards an ever-increasing economic globalisation, have created further complex contradictions.

The curatorial idea for the exhibition *Worlds Without End* (WWE) was first conceived a year ago as a research-based collaboration between Sara Reisman, Executive and Artistic Director of the Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation, New York and Michael Dempsey, Head of Exhibitions, Hugh Lane Gallery, who are the co-curators of WWE. The exhibition was due to open to the public on 30th April 2020. In what seems like a different world then, the concerns were informed by the recent US policy on border fortification and the uncertainty of how Europe, and especially Ireland, with its border with Northern Ireland, would function post Brexit. The artists' concerns also extend to those established borders which cut through communities and neighbourhoods, bringing frustration, anger, suffering and death.

Covid-19 has turned that world on its head. The exhibition and supporting programme series, scheduled for summer 2020, will now be dealing with topics that have become more pressing and relevant as a result of the global Covid-19 pandemic.

WWE is a visual dialogue on the impact of borders on individuals and communities. These artists reveal their deep interest in current geo-political positions and social conditions with works that interrogate power structures, positions of privilege and human rights issues. The artists participating are **Lieven De Boeck** (Belgium); **Elaine Byrne** (Ireland); **John Byrne** (Ireland); **Tony Cokes** (US); **Chto Delat** (Russia); **Dor Guez** (Israel/Palestine); **Lawrence Abu Hamdan** (Jordan); **Dragana Jurišić** (Croatia); **Ari Marcopoulos** (Netherlands); **Raqs Media Collective** (India); **Dermot Seymour** (Northern Ireland) and **Mark Wallinger** (UK). Drawn from different regional traditions, these artists challenge our perceptions of national identities, envisioning utopian possibilities for understanding the place of borders, their proliferation and seeming obsolescence, in contemporary society.

Our initial conversations on borders have widened to consider how the world will look as we learn to live with the coronavirus. The introduction of social distancing is creating new psychological conditions that further exacerbate the strain on cultural and social conditions. Hugh Campbell and Rehan Ansari, writing under lockdown in Dublin and New York, both examine the borderisation question.

Covid-19 has created new fears and anxiety but it has also brought forth examples of positive, indomitable human spirit – from the arias sung from balconies in Italy to the millions of small acts of kindness towards neighbours and the more vulnerable in our societies; not to mention the work of the wonderful medical staff around the world who put their lives at risk to save others.


WWE focuses on the growing practice of fortification and surveillance created under guise of protection and care. We may never reach our utopian ideals of a world without borders, but we must at least highlight and undo the practices of those regimes which, under the guise of safeguarding their people, inflict misery and hardship on others, shattering the basic tenets of universal humanity.

In the words of Rumi, the 13th-century Persian poet:

Is this when all we have done and been
will be publicly known?

With no thinking and no emotion,
with no ideas about the soul,
and no language,
These drums are saying how empty we are.

Our thanks to Sara Reisman and Michael Dempsey for co-curating this exhibition under exceptional circumstances and from long distance. WWE is based on the Rubin Foundation's engagement with art and social justice programming in New York City and the Hugh Lane Gallery's prominent role in Dublin's civic and cultural life. Thanks also to Victoria Evans, Exhibitions Curator, Hugh Lane Gallery, and most especially to the artists who, through their work, raise many thought-provoking and uncomfortable questions as to the practices of current global power structures and economies and the resulting human fallout.



Worlds Without End

Stories Around Borders

1 October 2020 – 31 January 2021



All Day
and 24 hours
from Amsterdam as
an experience of culture
in the environment
of the "Red in Green"



Dweller on the Threshold

MICHAEL DEMPSEY

Exhibition-making can be a divinatory art. You gaze ahead to some future date and hope all your strategic decisions converge and that they'll be successful enough to hit the mark. But then the unexpected happens and it's difficult to look further. For a period of twelve months the Hugh Lane's curatorial team worked on the research and production of the *Worlds Without End* (WWE) exhibition leading up to its intended opening on 30th April 2020. Our curatorial concerns were around the rising populist push towards border fortification in Trump's America and the uncertainty about how the EU would look post-Brexit. These issues are still pertinent but who would have foreseen the profound shift that the global Black Lives Matter movement and Covid-19 pandemic would cause. The virus made a mockery of national borders, while simultaneously reinforcing them; it also underlined the inequalities dividing black from white, rich from poor, old from young, sick from well. We could not have guessed that the exhibition and events programmed for summer 2020 would be dealing so urgently with the topics of inequality that have gained agency as political reality. We find ourselves again in uncertainty. "Worlds Without End" has suddenly become an everyday reoccurrence, a forced way of life in our globalised world – this exhibition of international perspective will help us understand just how connected we are as one human family.

In **Mark Wallinger's** video *Threshold to the Kingdom* (2000) we have a nostalgic glimpse into a past world of open contact and family reunions. Its disparity from our present state is both moving and disconcerting, awakening us to the essence of what we have lost. So much has changed. As happened after 9/11,



Mark Wallinger
Threshold to the Kingdom,
2000

© Mark Wallinger. Courtesy the artist and Hauser & Wirth

a threshold has been crossed and a border has materialised to close off our past lives, leaving us to face Walter Benjamin's disturbing "aestheticization of politics" in collective public isolation.

Migration, climate change, populism and contagious diseases have always been perennial "world without end" problems, but we have arrived at a tipping point in 2020. A steady rise of *Dogma, Zeal and Vice* is appearing in the world as it slouches towards a neo-nationalist politics of identity and isolationism. Through this disturbing appearance, we can empathetically appreciate the concerns that many artists have been expressing for decades around global politics and what political theorist Chantal Mouffe expressed about these artists and their practices: [they seek to] "unveil all that is repressed by the dominant consensus" and make "visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate".¹

In recent years a number of contemporary artists have acknowledged the here-and-now as an ever-changing and disjointed process and have placed an emphasis on their lived experience as a state of flux. Their art practices often involve sensitive responsiveness to the paradoxical condition of being simultaneously situated and "displaced". The "exhibition as form" plays an important role in this, as it can be an agonistic space of exchange aimed at

1. Chantal Mouffe, <http://www.artandresearch.org.uk/v1n2/v1n2editorial.html>, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 2007), ISSN 1752-6388.

differences, and the artistic goal is to unearth frictions and begin conversations. WWE deliberates on how borders can engender new perceptions, how neighbours become enemies, how a short journey to work becomes ever longer, how cousins become illegal migrants and how culture can be weaponised. It presents encounters that are thresholds for us all – to go beyond the mindset of borders and recognise the world’s circuit of connectedness.

In *The Park* (2017–18), a film installation by **Ari Marcopoulos**, we view the action of an unfenced basketball court in Fort Greene, Brooklyn. It seems like another lifetime ago – before the social media footage of George Floyd’s arrest ignited the conversation about the American’s other pandemic – racism. In Marcopoulos’ film there are no physical barriers between the athletes and spectators. Unadorned by face masks, people pass by – sometimes traversing the activity on the court and unaware of what social distancing is yet to come. We see players join and depart apparently at random – no two-metre queuing – all to an improvised audio sound track by composer Jason Moran (referencing the story of Thelonious Monk playing his piano on the streets of his neighbourhood in Brooklyn). Where the game begins and where it ends we cannot see. It is a way of life – the kind only dreamt of by the social revolutionary artists of the International Situationists (1957–72), of an unbridled and authority-free zone now so much in the past. Who are our neighbours now? The public sphere, a 1960s ideal of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, is a fast-fading reality for how we live today. When we see how social media divides and individualises the user from their immediate surroundings, we can understand how heavily compartmentalised and fragmented into multiple (public) spheres or spaces we have become, leading to increased hostility between group identities. For black lives to matter, and the apathy of our political leaders to be challenged, we need to recognise the “borderisation” process internalised within ourselves.

Unpicking this process, **Lawrence Abu Hamdan** searches for connections between different worlds in the guise of art. His work, although philosophical in meaning, uncovers political staging that has very real implications.

2. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics* (trans. Gabriel Rockhill), (London, 2004: Bloomsbury) p.8.



The story of me as a photo
on the day when our father
burned down together
prints and negatives in
amateur photographer.
On that day I became
'refugees' with no photo
past. The day after the
time my father took a p
perfunctory snapshot to
damage for the insuran
Where he stopped, I sta

Yugoslavia fell apart
disappearance of the
one million five hundre
Yugoslavs vanished, lik
Atlantis, into the realm
places and people. Fro
beginning of the war, m
to avoid watching any
or Serbian media; they
us with lies constantly.
father purchased a sat
watched international
figure out what was re
outside our front door.
we were confronted wi
the young Bedouin in T
d'Or (1986), I could not
I could not recognise m
could not recognise the
in all my life, I could no
neighbours. What west
showing us instead, we
even to me looked like
uncivilised, with matte
and desperation in thei
being very angry. I wish



Lawrence Abu Hamdan
Walled Unwalled, 2018

Courtesy the artist

Abu Hamdan investigates the shadows that the eye cannot see and in doing so often reveals how the law can be misguided in its search for truth. The artist presents us with unforgivable crimes perpetrated by regimes who try to “Kill the juridical in man”. These violations we would rather not know about, but we should. Keep looking – or should I say, keep listening – for with Abu Hamdan listening becomes a cultural process in the work. He makes the power of aural investigation a political tool to recall memories in the gathering of evidence against war crimes. As Jacques Rancière points out: “Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of space and the possibilities of time”.² Through his installations Abu Hamdan reminds us we cannot bring back the murdered, but we can defeat the regime’s plan of erasing its victims; he shows us how borders are primarily mindsets brought about by abstract political will.

The strong political will of Josip Broz Tito anchored a “united” Yugoslavia that held together a deeply fragmented nation until his death in May 1980 when it broke up into six separate countries. Yugoslavia was the most progressive of other communist nations: it had a higher standard of living, it had separated from Moscow and its citizens were free to travel and run businesses. But Yugoslavia still fell apart in 1991. **Dragana Jurišić**’s journey as an artist began the day her family apartment in Slavonski Brod, Croatia, got burned down, together with thousands of prints and negatives which her father, an ardent



Dragana Jurišić
YU: The Lost Country,
2011–13

Courtesy the artist

amateur photographer, had accumulated. With her archived past erased in one moment, her memories became vague and indistinct. She states that on that day she became one of those “refugees” with no photographs, with no past. The timing was tragic. “Life without memory is no life at all... Our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action. Without it we are nothing”, wrote the filmmaker Luis Buñuel in his 1982 autobiography *My Last Sigh*.

As the borders of the eastern bloc crumbled, ushering in democracy, the Yugoslav state imploded into multiple cultural/ethnic conflicts, dampening the hopes of those who trusted that the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 would bring peace to all Europe. Nationalism took the place of communism in the blink of an eye and many journalists reached for Rebecca West’s 1949 novel, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, for some understanding of the historical background to the unfolding conflict. The novel is a travelogue of an epic sweep through the former Yugoslavia and its many cultural regions: Croatia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Old Serbia and Montenegro. In *YU: The Lost Country* (2011–13), Jurišić attempts to reconstruct a country that is held in the artist’s memory only by retracing the steps of the novel. It is an attempt to re-examine the conflicting emotions and memories of a country that no longer exists.



A quarter of a century earlier the Northern Irish state began to fragment under the challenges brought about by the civil rights movement. Many artists living through this period found their ability to see and speak through, but not for, those who have suffered. **Dermot Seymour** was one such artist who stood beside his work – not in front of it – to relay his experience through surreal landscape paintings. Born and raised in Belfast, Seymour made use of photorealism to depict impossible situations and disjointed realities which persuaded us to accept what was certainly an absurd situation. Looking back at his heavily militarised environment and his images of surveillance, one is reminded of how the mindset of borderisation sets in and imposes itself on daily lives. Whether it is race or creed, once this mindset takes root and is fanned by ideology or individual greed, we can witness the cycle of history repeating, no matter where the physical border lies. Seymour’s symbols of tribal identity are what unify and divide a people living on the same contested ground, reflecting a Northern Ireland that was, and can still be, divided into Orange and Green.

The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 marked the culmination of a long, difficult peace process and, it was hoped, the conclusion of the thirty-year Troubles. It became obvious that the majority of the people wanted things to be different. First it was a work of the imagination, then a process, then an agreement. The Agreement was seen as a vehicle to reach beyond borders and conceived as a far-reaching “work in progress”. As recent as May 2020, Emma de Souza took a legal challenge against the British Home Office for her right, as a person born in Northern Ireland, to be recognised as Irish, a right already enshrined in the Good Friday Agreement. Ciaran McKeown (co-founder of the NI Peace People movement) was quoted: “The past is a foreign country... But the future is also a foreign country... it’s what we do in the present that counts”. Brexit brings us once again into that foreign country.

Originally from Belfast, **John Byrne** works in multi-media and performance with a background in public art. He attended the Slade School in London, after which he developed a body of work through performance culminating with his

stint as Director of *The Border Interpretative Centre* (2000), a short-lived visitor centre and gift shop on the main Dublin / Belfast Road.

Email exchange between John Byrne and Michael Dempsey (April 2020)

MD: I was intrigued by your story of living in London in the 1980s and how your accent singled you out and was used to place you. Do you think it was a friendly curiosity or something more suspicious?

JB: Well, London is, and was then, of course, a beautifully diverse place but I suppose my accent had a particular association at that time and so, yes, I did encounter the “Oi! Paddy, where’s your bomb?” kind of attitude on occasion. But being at the Slade School of Art gave me a home, a refuge and people were generally very friendly, although some did have a folksy notion of what was to be Irish. I don’t think many really distinguished north from south, so in a way the border was diminished.

MD: Did it teach you that one could be unambiguously Irish in England?

JB: Yes, ironically, living there did that, away from the contested identity and territories of Belfast... and London, of course, was unambiguously British, so being Irish there was straightforward.

MD: How about when you moved to live in Dublin? Did the goalposts change?

JB: For some here I think a northern accent was the soundtrack to the conflict. The Horror Movie up the road they didn’t consent to being shot in the neighbourhood. At times I felt a responsibility to give a native’s perspective. There was always a broader north-south differentiation and regional prejudices predating the Troubles and partition. The border and conflict accentuated that. So, as I’d countered misconceptions on Ireland in the UK, I felt I had





John Byrne
The Border Interpretative
Centre, 2000

Courtesy the artist

to challenge perceptions on the North. A frustration by the semantics and discourse on all that drove me to the Art!

MD: Two years after the Good Friday Agreement you set about setting up “The Border Interpretative Centre”. If we cast our memories back to the 1990s, can you remind us of what the mindset of both communities was?

JB: The Agreement was a master-class in ambiguity in that it spoke to one community of the border’s continued existence and to the other of a path to unity. A victory for both but a triumph for neither. Essentially the beginning of a truce which, thankfully, through a faltering process has established long-term peace. The Border Experience that my enterprise interpreted was an apolitical wonder in the wake of this new dispensation, revealed to day-trippers and passers-by through a modest institutional folly. An act of celebratory pathos. Its existence, although short-lived, was proof that peace had arrived to a location previously intolerant to satire.

MD: “Grow your own border” takes on a new significance today. [Can you comment on] the trending global phenomenon of gaps between communities, between people and politicians and between civil ideas?

JB: My faux-delight at the border's existence encouraged its propagation by way of merchandising mementos and take-away living samples of grassy border earth. This mocked the notion that the confines of national entities somehow correspond to nature ... and so, yes, it does challenge the idea that a particular group has an inherent right of belonging to a particular place over another's ... there are plenty of retrogressive examples of toxic regimes interpreting borders out there!

MD: As we have seen recently with Covid-19, a virus doesn't recognise different jurisdictions, provoking calls for an all-island health approach which would require some joined-up thinking. Do you think this pandemic is a game changer?

JB: Being confined within the perimeters of our own households focuses minds on a shared vulnerability and perhaps the redundancy of national boundaries. The virus could persuade us of the need for a benign, voluntary Supranational Union. I have long viewed the flawed and incomplete "union" of Europe as the beginnings of a momentum towards political union globally. This may be optimistic, but this painful experience will be a powerful validation of our common humanity and hopefully curb the primacy of socio-economic growth and international competitiveness in a new reality. A reality that progresses an Earth First legacy. While the World Health Organisation has provided consistent and authoritative counsel, it lacks political license.

The geographical advantage of our location on an island is, of course, diminished by [having] the two jurisdictions. This has, perhaps predictably, amplified the pull of allegiance in the north in trusting direction as prescribed alternatively from Dublin and London. Sadly, this can be seen as a kind of rivalry and perhaps the more coherent message from Dublin will win out and add to an already diminished faith in the credentials of a short-sighted British Government intent on going its own way. This may indeed add to a set of circumstances which sees the logical pursuit of broader and enhanced all-island policies.

MD: Brexit has a long history – not just since the 2016 referendum – but it could be seen as a symptom rather than a cause. How dangerous is nationalism in Northern Ireland today?

JB: Brexit is a symptom of long fomented anti-European sentiment, nurtured in the British tabloid press and a broader right-wing faction, sadly now basking in their ignoble elevation. It's fuelled by post-imperial notions of exceptionalism and a previously inoperative English identity; it is this strain of nationalism that poses a threat to the existence of Northern Ireland. Its enthusiasts are largely dispassionate about the "precious union". A few on this island bizarrely see fomenting violence amid the disarray as a valid opportunity to advance unity. Brexit inadvertently makes that case.

The North was always a precarious home to incompatible nationalisms. A co-existence functionally aided by EU membership. The British version is now challenged by the apparent devaluation of its brand by the Trump-like "England First" political landscape in the wake of the EU referendum and deep resentment in Scotland. Irish nationalism is no more or less dangerous than any other but we should be vigilant. We have reason to be positive, too, about progressing a new inclusive welcoming Ireland that does not replace old divisions with new ones.



Are we perpetually fated to replace old divisions with new ones or can we dream of future foreign countries where borders have a flexible usage? Where movement could be porous and unfettered? Eliminate the Westphalian lottery of being born on one side of a border or another and we could tackle the luck that decides one's access to or lack of rights, security and resources. Covid-19 may have shut this dream down but if we cannot dream then walls will be made for us. **Raqs Media Collective** (co-founded by Monica Narula, Jeebesh Bagchi and Shuddhabrata Sengupta) take on this task in *Undoing Walls* (2017) in line with their self-declared mission of "kinetic contemplation". "Raqs" derives

from the whirling of dervishes; here they present a shape-shifting Jaali (meaning net or fine web) digital projection. *Undoing Walls* flows in and out like a breathing exercise, an impossible proposal for a border wall of the future. It takes into account the power of symbolic meaning and proposes the co-existence of opposites, as Mouffe proposes in agonism.

Political turbulence and displacement of people as well as the drive towards an ever-increasing economic globalisation create a complex contradiction. We are frequently obliged to take Gulliver's proposal to redraw the maps of Tartary to fit shifting and fragmenting world events. The interruption of our everyday lives by the Covid-19 pandemic gave us pause for thought, a brief interlude in which we reflected upon the systems that form the basis of our world. On the one hand we see utopian visions of open borders, while on the other, a rising populist push towards border fortification. Standing at this threshold, can we allow ourselves an opportunity to re-imagine how we think about geopolitics, ideology, and history? *Worlds Without End* focuses on the social experiences of this ever-changing cartography.

Mark Wallinger

UNITED KINGDOM



Shot in 1998, the work depicts slow-motion footage of people arriving at London City Airport, set to *Miserere*, a 17th-century rendition by the Italian composer Gregorio Allegri (c. 1582–1652) of the Bible's Psalm 51. Shot in a single take, the opaque electric doors open and close, revealing passengers and flight crew as they move into the public arrivals area. The work combines religious themes with symbolism relating to national borders. The title makes reference to the function of the airport's international arrivals doorway as an entry point to the United Kingdom, and creates the impression that these passengers have completed an arduous immigration process. Yet the title also suggests that this journey may be a passage to a heavenly kingdom. Now, in 2020, the UK has left the European Union, and the extent of freedom of movement for UK-resident European citizens and immigrants remains unknown.

Mark Wallinger
Threshold to the Kingdom,
2000

© Mark Wallinger. Courtesy the artist and Hauser & Wirth



Ari Marcopoulos

NETHERLANDS



The Park captures the action of an unfenced basketball court in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, New York. There is no physical barrier between spectators and players who conduct a seemingly continuous game of basketball without beginning or end – players joining and leaving at random. At the same time visitors to the park wander past, and sometimes cut through the activity on the court with astonishing ease and without interrupting the flow of the game. Pianist and composer Jason Moran responded in real time to the work with an improvised piano soundtrack that spontaneously translates the visual rhythms of *The Park*'s unscripted choreography.

Ari Marcopoulos
***The Park*, 2017–18**

Courtesy of the artist and Fergus McCaffrey, New York and Tokyo



Lawrence Abu Hamdan

JORDAN



Lawrence Abu Hamdan describes himself as a “Private Ear” working as an artist and audio investigator. His work explores “the politics of listening” and the role of sound and voice within law and human rights. He creates audiovisual installations, lecture performances, audio archives, photography and text, translating in-depth research and investigative work into affective, spatial experiences. For *Walled Unwalled*, the artist was approached by Amnesty International to investigate the various prisoner testimonies from their experiences inside Sednaya Prison, Syria. As he worked with the multi-disciplinary research group Forensic Architecture, sound became one of the essential tools to digitally reconstruct the interior of the prison, interlinking the series of prisoner narratives gathered as evidence for investigating human rights and violations, heard or experienced through walls of the blindfolded detainees cells.

Lawrence Abu Hamdan
***Walled Unwalled*, 2018**

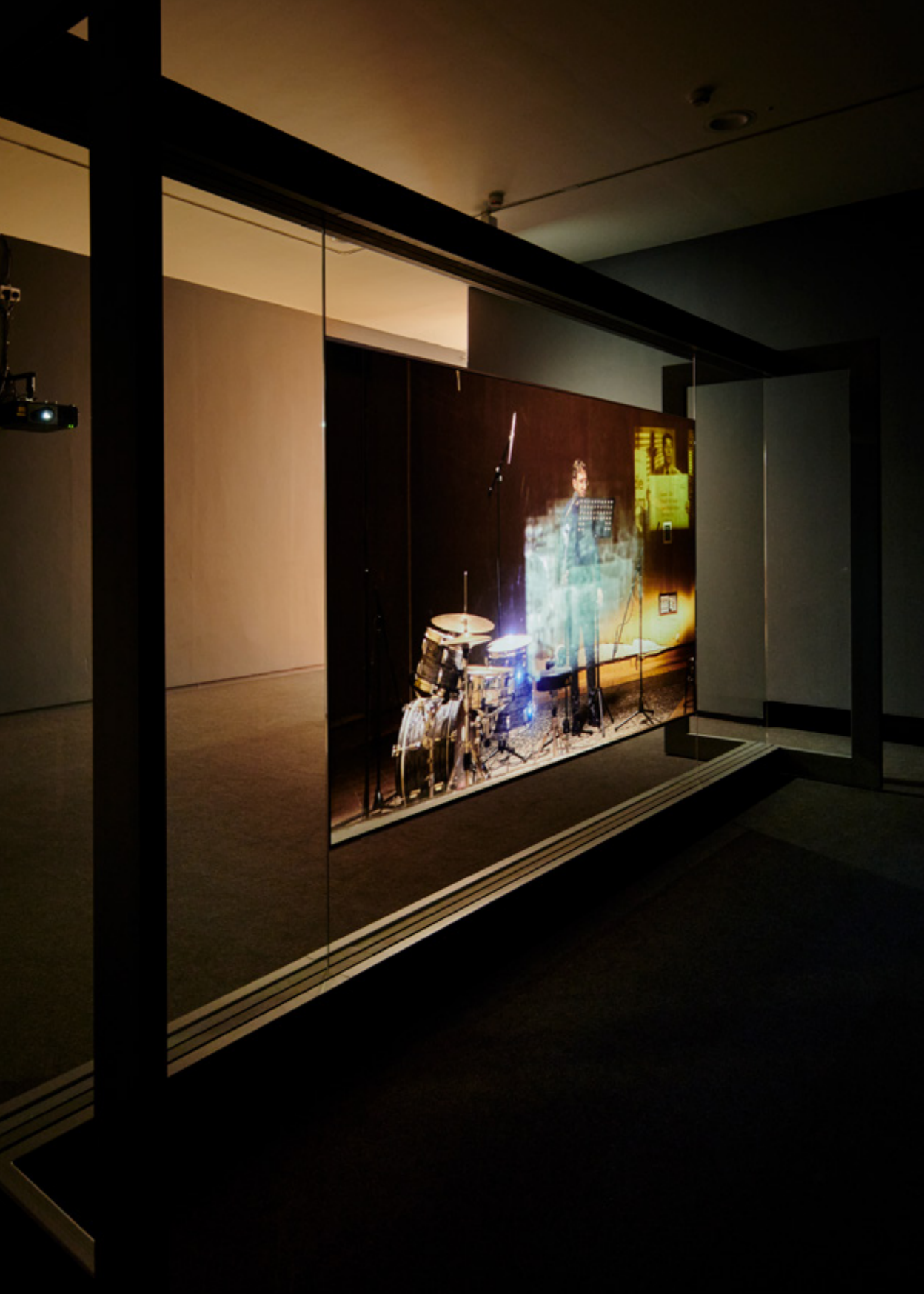
Courtesy the artist





Lawrence Abu Hamdan
***Walled Unwalled*, 2018**

Courtesy the artist



Dragana Jurišić

CROATIA



In 1991 the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disintegrated. One million five hundred thousand Yugoslavs vanished, like the citizens of Atlantis. *YU: The Lost Country* was originally conceived as a re-creation of a homeland that was lost. Jurišić explained, “It was a journey in which I would somehow draw a magical circle around the country that was once mine and, in doing so, resurrect it, following Roland Barthes’ assertion that photography is more akin to magic than to art. Instead, it turned out to be a journey

Dragana Jurišić
YU: The Lost Country,
2011–13

Courtesy the artist



of rejection. My experience was one of displacement and a sense of exile that was stronger back ‘home’ than in the foreign place where I had chosen to live. In *YU: The Lost Country*, I re-interpreted Rebecca West’s masterpiece *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1941), ritualistically retracing her journey around Yugoslavia, in an attempt to re-examine the conflicting emotions and memories of the country that was”.

Dragana Jurišić
***YU: The Lost Country*,**
2011–13

Courtesy the artist

On the tenth anniversary of my exile, I decided it was time to deal with the conflicting memories and emotions I had about my lost country. The subject I was attempting to investigate was incredibly complex: Yugoslavia, exile, memory, identity. I needed a roadmap to follow to follow, than another displaced person, traveling through the land of the displaced? Rebecca West's huge tome provided the itinerary almost to the hour.

Jean Baudrillard wrote that part of the pleasure of traveling is "to dive into places where others are compelled to live and come out unscathed, full of the malicious pleasure of abandoning them to their fate." My journey was not that much of a travel, but a return to the home that was no longer mine. I did not manage to come out unscathed. The thing with exiles is that they change their home for a suitcase. So, it made sense that I 'returned' to what was once Yugoslavia, with a camera.

Although I started work on *TD: The Lost Country*, as a way of putting my scattered worlds, thoughts and emotions into some coherent shape, it became evident, quite early on, that this was a funeral procession. I was following a ghost of a writer on her travels through a country that had disappeared. What happens in exile is that you remove yourself from reality, as you know it. You discover a home that you feel discovered you.

DRAGANA JURISIC



"The artist says I will make this event happen again, altering its shape, which was disfigured by its contacts with other events, so that its true significance is revealed; and his audience says, 'We will let that event happen again by looking at this man's picture or house, listening to his music or reading his book.'"

ooked like the others
with matted unbrushed hair
tion in their eyes. I remember
angry. I wished that some of

proxy the way
Yugoslavia. Being the other herself
Rebecca West never 'othered' Yugoslavia



Dermot Seymour

NORTHERN IRELAND



Dermot Seymour
Arise Great Zimbabwe,
1984

© Dermot Seymour. Collection
Ulster Museum

Dermot Seymour's paintings from the 1980s are positioned between the surreal and a definite sense of realism. The animals in these paintings are the silent witnesses on the lands traversing the border with Northern Ireland. The inscrutable eyes of Seymour's animals make no demands and no statements. They don't intervene in the human drama going on around them. This painting is imbued with complex symbolism – Republican graffiti and a phoenix rising from the ashes, overlooked by a menacing helicopter. The unknown man holds a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken, hinting at the great global reach of Ireland's agriculture as the tensions on the border continue.

Towards the end of the 1980s the landscape in Seymour's paintings began to tilt – terrain became steeper and more menacing as the sky opened up above. This subdued cow seems too heavy to be supported by the small amount of rock it stands on which hangs on the edge of an abyss. Seymour noted, "When you move to the west [coast of Ireland] you are living on the edge ... you become aware of the fragility of the edge". Post-Brexit, the border between the Republic and Northern Ireland has yet again become a contentious issue and, more than thirty years on, this painting is a timely historical reminder.

Dermot Seymour
Balcony of the Nation,
1989

© Dermot Seymour. Collection
Ulster Museum



Balcony of the Nation
1989
Oil on canvas
100 x 100 cm
Dermot Seymour
Ulster Museum
The painting 'Balcony of the Nation' by Dermot Seymour, 1989, is a surreal work. It depicts a black and white cow standing on a narrow, jagged, reddish-brown rock ledge that appears to be floating in a turbulent, blue and white, swirling sky. The cow is facing right. In the lower right corner of the painting, a small flag with a purple field and a yellow cross is visible on a thin pole. The overall composition is surreal and evocative.

John Byrne

IRELAND



In celebration of the new millennium, John Byrne obtained the use of a small shop located right on the border with Northern Ireland, on the main Dublin to Belfast road. The centre was adorned with a specially designed neon sign entitled “Border”. The shop was stocked with souvenirs and gifts, including ceramic miniature British army watchtowers wishing “Good luck from the border”, sticks of border candy rock, books on the border, t-shirts, bagged samples of “The Border Itself” and a selection of postcards. There was also an interpretative video examining the border’s geological history and people. After a successful opening and some initial commercial success, the centre ran into problems partly due to its reliance on a diesel generator for power and the characteristically damp weather. After less than a week, *The Border Interpretative Centre* was forced to close. It was subsequently documented in solo exhibitions at Temple Bar Gallery, Dublin, Ormeau Baths Gallery, Belfast and Galerie Agregat in Mitte, Berlin, within view of the site of the old Berlin Wall.

John Byrne
The Border Interpretative Centre, 2000

Courtesy the artist

Watch the interpretative video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQjIFANPgwk>



**THE HILLFORT AT CLOGHOGE COMMANDS SPECTACULAR VIEWS OVER THE
SURROUNDING HILLS AND VALLEYS**

John Byrne
The Border Interpretative
Centre, 2000

Courtesy the artist

BORDER

A long-exposure photograph of a building at night. The word "BORDER" is illuminated in bright blue neon above the entrance. The building's facade is lit with blue light, creating a grid-like pattern. The foreground is a wet, reflective surface, showing light trails from passing vehicles, including a prominent red and white streak.

AT LAST!!

THE BORDER INTERPRETATIVE CENTRE



NOW open

In the Summer of 2000, two years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, I negotiated the use of a small, vacant, block building on the main Dublin to Belfast road at the point where Northern Ireland meets the Republic. It had been constructed in the most basic fashion to retain future planning permission on the site of a small shop which had been destroyed in the early Troubles.

Modified with a rooftop neon Border sign, the 'Centre' contained a gift shop stocked with souvenirs and novelties including ceramic miniature British Army watchtowers with 'Good Luck from the Border', sticks of Border candy rock, books on the Border, T-shirts, bagged samples of 'The Border itself' and a selection of postcards. There was also an interpretative video examining the Border's geological history and people. A local billboard campaign accompanying the launch depicted my two children and myself enjoying a family day out on the border.

At the September opening, which attracted television crews from RTE, BBC NI and TSN, a commemorative plaque was unveiled by the well-known comedian Kevin McKee. The plaque celebrated a truce with its Keanean counterpart. In his speech McKee declared that, having seen many borders, 'our Border is the best' and is 'something that unites the whole country'.

After the successful launch and some initial commercial success, the Centre ran into problems due to its reliance on a diesel generator, the characteristically damp weather and an absence of any kind of official permission to operate. After less than a week, The Border Interpretative Centre was forced to close. The project was proof that peace had arrived to a location previously intolerant to satire.

The story of this short-lived institution has since taken on a certain prophetic force in light of the UK's decision to leave the EU. The small, unused and now overgrown building is a regular backdrop to news reports from across the globe, focused on the possibility of the undermining of the peace process and open border. The latest message that imbued this work with such darkened humour is now exposed to countless new attempts at interpretation.

John Byrne



Border, She Wrote

SARA REISMAN

I was warned about the border. The warning didn't come from law enforcement or border patrol. It came from an artist. In March of 2016, I was involved in organizing a public performance by Cuban artist Tania Bruguera, who, with a fleet of performers, staged a socially engaged performance: a referendum on borders. The public poll was titled *Referendum*, presented at the north end of Union Square Park in New York City, to mark the closing of an exhibition *When Artists Speak Truth*.¹ In early 2016, Bruguera's truth was that Americans would soon contend with the question of borders, with Donald Trump at the helm. The performance involved asking the public to participate in a vote, to respond "Yes" or "No" to the question, "Borders Kill. Should we abolish our borders?" The exchanges that ensued over the course of a ten-hour poll involved discussions between strangers about what would happen without borders. Would we be safe without secured checkpoints? How would the U.S. government be held accountable to its citizens if the flow of people across the border was left unchecked?

In early 2019, American journalist Farhad Manjoo made the argument "There's Nothing Wrong with Open Borders" in an op-ed piece for *The New York Times*. He proposed "opening up America's borders to everyone who wants to move here."² To abolish is different than to open the border, but Manjoo's impulse to change U.S. immigration policy – which has become increasingly draconian over the last decade – relates to Bruguera's impetus to question the logic of

1. *When Artists Speak Truth* was on view at The 8th Floor from November 12, to March 6, 2016. As part of the show, artist Tania Bruguera performed *Referendum* in Union Square Park in New York City on March 6, 2016. <https://www.the8thfloor.org/whenartistspeaktruth>.
2. Farhad Manjoo, "There's Nothing Wrong With Open Borders," *The New York Times*, January 16, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/16/opinion/open-borders-immigration.html>.

borders. At one point during our vote, she explained to several members of the public how passports, required for international travel, had not always been necessary; that, historically, they were a relatively recent phenomenon. In the early 20th century, as immigration swelled into the United States, the majority of people would “pass through Ellis Island. There they were given a cursory disease check, questioned, and in most cases, allowed to proceed on their journeys inward.”³ The idea of the passport was introduced in 1920 following World War I when the League of Nations was charged with upholding peace. The U.S. implemented the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924, both of which limited the influx of newcomers.⁴

As passports have become necessary for mobility and its attendant privileges, debate about whether markers of colonization – from monuments to policies – should be preserved is reverberating across the Anglosphere and the regions that British and American powers have colonized. As passports determine who can enter and remain in a country, the redistribution of nation states became an extension of colonialism as foreign policy during the 20th century. Bound up in British colonial efforts, the borderization of Palestine and Israel was driven by three competing agendas. In 1917, British Foreign Minister Alfred Balfour promised Palestine would be established as the Jewish homeland, a land, according to *Al Jazeera*, “where the natives made up more than 90 percent of the population.”⁵ This promise was in conflict with the Hussein-McMahon correspondence in which Britain ensured the Arabs’ independence from the Ottoman Empire, and the Sykes-Picot agreement, a promise to the French that Palestine would be an international zone.⁶ More than 100 years later, following the 1947 U.N. Partition Plan and the 1948 expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians,⁷ (referred to as *Nakba*, Arabic for “the catastrophe,” when Israel declared

3. Giulia Pines, “The Contentious History of the Passport,” *National Geographic*, May 16, 2017. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/features/a-history-of-the-passport/#close>.

4. Ibid.

5. Zehna Tahhan, “More than century on: The Balfour Declaration explained,” *Al Jazeera*, November 2, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/10/100-years-balfour-declaration-explained-171028055805843.html>.

6. Ibid.

7. Mohammed Haddad, “Palestine and Israel: Mapping an annexation,” *Al Jazeera*, June 26, 2020. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2020/06/palestine-israel-mapping-annexation-200604200224100.html>.



Dor Guez
***Bypass*, 2014**

Courtesy of the artist
and Dvir Gallery

independence), the conflict continues, with its internal and external borders still in question.

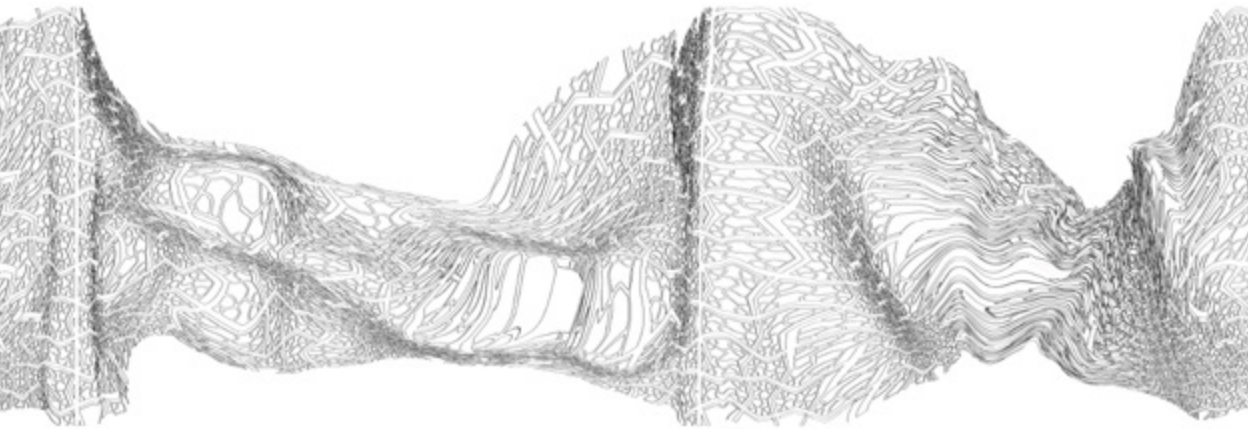
Jerusalem-born artist **Dor Guez** has recently staged performative lectures within the archive of the American Colony⁸ where he presented his research findings that draw on the histories of Zionism, the Armenian quarter in Jerusalem, the American Colony itself, as well the Christian Palestinian Archive. Initiated in 2006 when the artist found a suitcase full of family photographs under his Palestinian grandparents' bed, the Christian Palestinian Archive is a platform he established to document a minority within a minority, the Christian-Palestinian diaspora, by maintaining a digital archive of thousands of images submitted by professional and amateur photographers alike, intended for use and circulation well beyond art audiences. In his own artwork, Guez uses photography to reveal the intimacies of hybrid and contradictory identities, without relying heavily on a specific individual's characteristics, perhaps out of respect for their privacy, or in recognition of the universal nature of personhood. Presented as slides, *Bypass* (2014) is a sequence of photographs of the well-worn footpaths that circumnavigate the separation

8. The American Colony was a non-denominational utopian Christian community founded by a small group of American expatriates in Ottoman Palestine in 1881. The archive documents the life of the colony between 1870 and 1968, from the end of the Ottoman Empire to World War I and the British Mandate, and into the formation of the state of Israel, including manuscripts, correspondence and communication, journals, scrapbooks, printed matter, photographs, hand-drawn maps and ephemera. Collection items are in English, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, and Swedish. (<https://www.loc.gov/collections/american-colony-in-jerusalem/about-this-collection/>).

wall in Jerusalem, which the artist describes as being “built from the living footsteps of menial and corralled experiences.” In spite of official checkpoints and the significantly fortified wall between Jerusalem and the West Bank, many Palestinian workers must still travel illegally across a border to and from work. Guez’s photographs of their pathways acknowledge, without compromising, their efforts to traverse the border while remaining under the radar.

For those residing in the periphery and grey zones, the constant surveillance and precarity of being just under the radar is dangerously close to being caught. **Lieven De Boeck**’s *M.I.R.R.O.R.Nr3.eagle* (2010) is one such surveillance device, using a low-tech anti-theft mirror as the surface for a painting in white, based on the seal of the Executive Office of the U.S. President and the logo for the Office of Homeland Security. It incorporates pared-down symbols of an eagle holding an olive branch in its right talons, and arrows in its left, symbolizing the country’s history as an advocate for peace. The 13 stripes, stars, and arrows represent the 13 British colonies. Informed by his background in architecture, De Boeck’s work has involved the production of typologies, specifically systems of communication that have included built spaces, drawings, textiles and graphic design, as well as performance. The white painting on the convex mirror is an exaggeration of the security mirrors installed in everyday spaces like parking garages, airports, checkpoints and border patrol stations. The outline of the symbols of American peacekeeping obscures much of the mirror’s reflective surface, suggestive of the complexity of the ever-expanding surveillance state.

Like the pathways in Guez’s *Bypass* that work around actual borders, **Raqs Media Collective**’s animation *Undoing Walls* (2017) is a thought experiment that ruminates on the rationale for borders, one that shifts from what initially reads as an architectural structure, to the collapsibility of a fluttering textile. Raqs’ video is based on the premise that “a ‘dysfunctional’ wall structure be imagined to question the original intentions of the federal government. They propose that a ‘welcoming’ and useful wall be created, one serving the communities it is meant to separate, and envision an alternative solution to human segregation, when it



comes to issues such as immigration and asylum.”⁹ In *Undoing Walls*, Raqs Media Collective inverts the logic of a border wall with these questions in mind:

Can this prototype wall structure become the site where counter-narratives are inscribed and resistance takes place? Can we play the system from within the system but according to its own rules? Can a wall become a conduit as opposed to a divide by rethinking its structure? Can we imagine a wall that is intentionally permeable? Or even a self-destructive wall that conjures against its own intentions?¹⁰

By rethinking the wall as an ephemeral, porous and fluid entity, its politically oppressive power is undermined, leading to other notions of the wall as a more dynamic, and less intimidating prospect, in other words, a threshold. In *Undoing Walls* and *Bypass*, Raqs Media Collective and Guez respectively overcome the forces outlined by Jacques Derrida in his essay “Hostipitality”, in which he states, “the welcomed guest [*hôte*] is a stranger treated as a friend or ally, as opposed to the stranger treated as an enemy (friend/enemy, hospitality/hostility).”¹¹

9. Raqs Media Collective, *Undoing Walls*, n.d., <https://www.raqsmediacollective.net/works.aspx>.

10. Ibid.

11. Jacques Derrida, “Hostipitality,” *Angelaki: journal of theoretical humanities*, 5:3 (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Online, 2000), 4.

Between the works of Raqs and Guez there is a conflation of border and wall; both can be read in relation to *entrée*, they can be barriers, but they can also be shared surfaces that connect two opposing sides. The title and theme of Derrida's essay "Hostipitality" combines two words, *hospitality* and *hostility*, opposite in their meaning, in spite of their shared root, the Latin word *hospes*, which translates to guest, host, and stranger. "Hospitality is certainly, necessarily, a right, a duty, an obligation, the *greeting* of the foreign other as a friend but on the condition that the host... the one who receives, lodges, or *gives asylum* remains the *patron*, the master of the household, on the condition that he maintains his own authority *in his own home*."¹²

What happens when the authority Derrida described is dispersed to many stakeholders? Would that diffusion of state power, or that of the *patron* or master of the household, cause the structure to break down? How would the confluence of cultures and languages commingle, and would this coalescing of governance allow for *asylum*, a place of sanctuary needed in times of intense borderization? Russian collective **Chto Delat** addresses the possibilities inherent in the educational implications of cross-cultural exchange in *Creolizing* (2017), one in a series of flags that are at times positioned as art and, at other times, deployed as props for public protest. The banner reads:

De-Schooling the 1st World. FORE-Schooling the 2nd world. Creolizing.

The result of simplifying and mixing of different languages, and the cross-fertilization of cultures, creolization is also key to globalization.¹³ Chto Delat's banners are based on those used in the Soviet Houses of Culture, public spaces for workers where local party and trade union meetings were held. The banners were intended to engage party and union members to participate openly in the meeting's agenda. Chto Delat's flags synthesize image and text, drawing on themes from various intellectual, political and aesthetic positions.

Chto Delat's name translates as "What is to be done?" The group's name recalls the first socialist workers' efforts at self-organizing in Russia, outlined by

12. Ibid.

13. Robin Cohen, "Creolization and Cultural Globalization: The Soft Sounds of Fugitive Power," *Globalizations* (2007) 4:3, 369–84.



CREOLIZING

1
WORLD

2
WORLD

DE-SCHOOLING

FORE-SCHOOLING

Worlds
Worlds
Worlds



revolutionary Vladimir Lenin in his political publication *What is to be done?* (1902). Founded in 2003 in St Petersburg by a group of artists, critics, philosophers, and writers from St Petersburg, Moscow, and Nizhny Novgorod, the collective determined on a goal to merge political theory, art, and activism – an intentional practice of creolization.

One example of diffused power – where the role of “host” is distributed among many – can be found in the history of Svalbard, the Norwegian archipelago located between the mainland of Norway and the North Pole, a region that was not claimed as territory by any nation, and therefore considered a *terra nullius* – no man’s land. *Terra nullius* is complicated, having evolved out of the legal concept of *res nullius*: an object not owned by anyone.¹⁴ Svalbard is the subject and setting of **Elaine Byrne’s** *Blazing World* (2020), a combinatory video and sculptural installation that explores Svalbard’s unique form of sovereignty. Byrne’s exploration involved embarking upon a literal expedition to Svalbard, as well as extensive research of films that have depicted the islands, whether shot in situ, or, more likely, restaged elsewhere in Scandinavia due to Svalbard’s rough terrain being a challenging location for film production.

The 1920 Svalbard Treaty granted Norway sovereignty over Svalbard, while requiring that its archipelago and territorial waters are maintained for the 45 signatory countries as a zone that is demilitarized, providing equal economic access to the treaty members. The allure of Svalbard is that anyone living in the signatory states can live and work there without a visa. Drafted decades before the rise of contemporary maritime law and the 200-nautical-mile economic zones (EEZ), the treaty’s deficits resulted in long-standing discord, primarily with Russia. (Note that the Svalbard Treaty was signed in 1920, as part of the League of Nations Treaty Series, around the same time the passport was introduced).

Byrne’s installation includes a polished coal sculpture that resists identification with place, state, nation or border. Considering the environmental cost of coal,

14. Luke Campopiano, “Non-State Actors in the Arctic: Lessons from the Centennial of the Svalbard Treaty Negotiations,” *The Arctic Institute: Center for Circumpolar Security Studies*, September 24, 2019, <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/non-state-actors-arctic-lessons-centennial-svalbard-treaty-negotiations/>.



Elaine Byrne
Blazing World, 2020

Courtesy of the artist

and Norway's intention to stop mining, the sculpture serves as relic from the future, a monument to Svalbard's longtime economic driver. Shown alongside the unidentified lump of coal, Byrne's composite video challenges narrative logics and global positioning, offering a set of story lines that randomly stitches together sixty clips. It is an assemblage of found footage extracts from films set in Svalbard and the artist's own material shot on location in Svalbard; the title *Blazing World* is a reference to the 17th-century book by English writer Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, who envisioned a utopian kingdom at the center of the world, which could be accessed through the North Pole. This hollow earth's inaccessibility challenges the perception of its borders. Yet the earth's interior – in other words, its negative space – a speculative realm, is encapsulated by a three-dimensional border. What does this interiority allow?

In *Walled Unwalled* (2018), **Lawrence Abu Hamdan** reads off a statement, that comes across like an aphorism, addressing the precarious state of our relationship to walls, whether from inside or out:

“Now, no wall on earth is impermeable; today we're all wall, and no wall at all.”

Abu Hamdan's performance-based video moves through three contiguous spaces in a soundproofed recording studio at Funkhaus in Berlin, where the



artist analyzes the permeability of walls. His account of the death of Reeva Steenkamp, a South African model who was killed by her boyfriend, athlete Oscar Pistorius, on Valentine’s eve in 2013 is chilling. Pistorius claimed to have thought he was shooting an armed intruder behind the wall of Steenkamp’s bathroom. The artist describes the wall as 20-centimeter-thick concrete masonry blocks, which Pistorius claimed prevented him from seeing his girlfriend. Yet in the trial, a neighbor testified to hearing her screams, which were apparently intensified when filtered through the flimsy material of the bathroom door.

Concerned with “the politics of listening” and the role of sound and voice within law and human rights, Abu Hamdan’s work has a particular focus on using sound to “digitally reconstruct the interior of [Saydnaya] prison” in Syria. In the process of archiving prisoner narratives, his practice contributes to evidence used to investigate human rights violations, heard or experienced through walls of the blindfolded detainees.¹⁵



My research for *Worlds Without End* began in 2017 from the vantage of New York City, well before everything stopped. Originally conceived as a dialogue about the origins of revolutionary engagement in contemporary society, the initial ideas for this exhibition were prompted by reading an essay titled “A Lecture,” written in 1966 or 1967. Back in 2017, writer Rehan Ansari (who has also contributed an essay for this catalogue) shared this previously unpublished piece of writing by Hannah Arendt with me. The lecture may have been delivered at the University of Chicago where the philosopher and political theorist taught at the School of Social Thought, or as Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research, where she accepted a position the following year.¹⁶ In it, she mapped the conditions of revolutionary movements of the 20th century as “the end of imperialism under the pressure of nationalism

15. Lawrence Abu Hamdan, *Walled Unwalled*, 2018. Video installation. Trailer, uploaded June 27, 2018. <http://lawrenceabuhamdan.com/#/walled-unwalled/>.

16. This essay is included in *Thinking Without a Banister, Essays in Understanding*, Vol. 11, by Hannah Arendt, edited by J. Kohn, published by Schocken Books, New York in January 2018, under the title “The Freedom to Be Free”.

[that] has led to the dissemination of the idea of revolution all over the globe.”¹⁷ Revisiting the essay now, I am struck by how contemporary her assessment of revolutionary impulses reads. She posits that revolution can be found just beyond waning imperialism, multiplied or divided by nationalism. To this deceptively simple equation, I would add another layer of conditions leading to transformation: the effects of unchecked capitalism in the present day.

“A Lecture” outlines recurrent conditions that have motivated revolutions throughout history – namely poverty and political oppression, which Arendt distinguishes as very separate forces – as well as the origins of revolution as a concept with multiple meanings. Politically, the term was used as a metaphor to describe a movement towards a pre-established point, “a swinging back to a pre-ordained order.”¹⁸ She explains that revolution in the 17th century did not involve overthrowing a dictator, rather, it was the reestablishment of the monarchy that came after a power structure was dismantled. As the ambitions of revolutionary movements have evolved, the restoration of a previous order anew has evolved into aspirations for greater possibilities – what Arendt described as “being free to make a new beginning.”¹⁹

In the summer of 2020, cities like Dublin, New York, London, Athens, Atlanta, Seoul, and Wuhan – in other words, places and time that signify after the coronavirus’ spread – have been confronting a global health crisis, the conditions of which Arendt forecasted are now being realized in unimaginable ways. The coronavirus has exposed and amplified the circumstances of oppression and poverty experienced by many around the globe for more years than can be counted, perhaps less visible to those on the other side of hardship that is obscured by the shadows of economic inequity.

One of the outcomes that Arendt cited, “admission of all to the public realm,” has been realized as a condition of the global pandemic. All are now subject

17. Arendt, *Thinking Without a Banister*, 371.

18. Hannah Arendt, “Never Before Published Hannah Arendt on What Freedom and Revolution Really Mean: Thoughts on Poverty, Misery, and the Great Revolutions of History”, *Literary Hub* (August 15, 2017). <https://lithub.com/never-before-published-hannah-arendt-on-what-freedom-and-revolution-really-mean/>.

19. *Ibid.*

to the virus' effects, resulting in a more urgent need for public, collective action. In the United States, the administration of these commonly shared responsibilities is meant to be embedded in U.S. democratic process, according to the U.S. constitution, and it is worth noting that the rights implied by Western democracy are evidence of a revolutionary process that enabled the founding of the United States. In the first months of the pandemic, states began to close their borders in unprecedented fashion. At certain points during the crisis, crossing state lines within America might have involved temperature checks and contact tracing. As businesses reopened, similar procedures have been implemented. In a number of states where cases were leveling, there was the possibility of being fined for carrying the virus from regions experiencing a spike. Historically, U.S. states have not maintained internal border control. This marks a shift towards borderization within one of the largest countries in the world, though it remains unclear how these internal borders can realistically be maintained.

In regions where the pandemic is still raging, many continue to suffer from anxieties that have become increasingly difficult to parse: record job losses, overtaxed health care facilities, heightened awareness of racism, and impending loss of housing. Meanwhile, those who still have jobs wonder what risk each of us bears in reopening offices, schools, businesses, and returning to social life. **Tony Cokes'** text-based videos, like *Evil.12.edit.b (fear, spectra & fake emotions)* (2009), give a rhythm to the stressors that surround us and aggregate on our screens. Weaving together excerpts of theorist Brian Massumi's 2005 essay "Fear (The Spectrum Said)," Cokes' video echoes the manipulative tendencies of the media and government's public messaging. His artistic and poetic editing guides the viewer through a narrative, sometimes cohesive, at other times fragmented. In this piece, he distills the politically motivated color-coded alert system implemented in the aftermath of 9/11, a system deployed in airports, on the news, and at tollbooths on interstate highways, to alert the public to the level of the terror threat at any given time. Massumi writes:

Threat is the future cause
of a change in the present.

it had so dramatically declared
in the days following 9/11.

Tony Cokes
Evil.12.edit.b (fear, spectra
& fake emotions), 2009
(still)

Courtesy of the artist and the Shelley and Donald Rubin Private Collection. Image courtesy of the artist and Greene Naftali, New York, Hannah Hoffman, Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts Intermix, New York

The alert system was introduced to calibrate the public's anxiety. In the aftermath of 9/11, the public's fearfulness had tended to swing out of control in response to dramatic, but maddeningly vague, government warnings of an impending follow-up attack. The alert system was designed to modulate that fear. It could raise it a pitch, then lower it before it became too intense, or even worse, before habituation dampened response. Timing was everything. Less fear itself than fear fatigue became an issue of public concern. Affective modulation of the populace was now an official, central function of an increasingly time-sensitive government.²⁰

Watching Cokes' video is a reminder of how a spike in the color alert system quickly registered as news itself. As receivers of this information, we became subject to fear, produced for reasons not fully understood, an experience that is all too familiar today as we anticipate the next surge, the next wave of COVID-19 cases. The widespread trust in televised "news" following 9/11 focused the American imagination, rife with anxiety. Massumi explains, "In a time of crisis, television was once again providing a perceptual focal point for the spontaneous mass coordination of affect ... Television had [once again] become the event medium."²¹ Since Massumi's piece was written in 2005, our relationship to television has been substantially obscured by the Internet. In the realm of social media, particularly following the 2016 presidential election, it could be argued that schools of ideological thought have been bifurcated into political extremes due to our newfangled, unedited television, a.k.a. the

20. Brian Massumi, "Fear (The Spectrum Said)," *positions: east asia cultures critique*, 13: 1 (2005), 31–48. <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

21. *Ibid.*

Internet. For many people, it has become the primary source of news coverage, and while the web is a more democratic platform for participation, literally anything can be published as “fact.”

For nearly a decade, and more visibly since the summer of 2018, the U.S. has been in the throes of a national crisis at its border with Mexico. The right to seek asylum, which has long been a tenet of human rights in the United States and Western world, has not only been questioned, but has resulted in ongoing state sanctioned abusive policies carried out by border patrol authorities. In an unexpected twist of fate, on June 26, 2020, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the release of migrant children being held in detention centers, “to prevent the spread of the virus in congregate detention facilities.”²²

“Given the pandemic,” presiding Judge Dolly M. Gee wrote, “ICE must work to release the children with ‘all deliberate speed,’ either along with their parents or to suitable guardians with the consent of their parents.” Roughly 2,500 immigrants in detention centers run by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) have tested positive for the coronavirus; ICE claims it has released more than 900 detainees with underlying conditions to reduce the spread.²³ In these moments, our shared vulnerabilities reveal how our lives are stitched together in ways that are not always perceptible.

As Susan Sontag wrote in *Illness as Metaphor*: “Everyone who is born holds a dual citizenship, in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick. Although we all prefer to use only the good passport, sooner or later, each of us is obliged, at least for a spell, to identify ourselves as citizens of that other place.”²⁴ Perhaps an increased awareness of what this dual citizenship means will lead to models of mutual aid, reattaching the connective tissues of shared experience, vulnerability, a deeper appreciation for the world and a generosity towards the people who inhabit it – in other words, hospitality.

22. Miriam Jordan, “U.S. Must Release Children From Family Detention Centers, Judge Rules,” *The New York Times*, June 26, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/us/immigrant-children-detention-centers.html>.

23. Ibid.

24. Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (Ferrari, Straus and Giroux: New York, 1978), 3.

Dor Guez

ISRAEL / PALESTINE



Bypass comprises sequential images of a road daily trodden by Palestinians leaving their village to go to work in Jerusalem and returning again at the day's end. This road navigates around the separation wall. In contrast to the inherent promise of the fairy-tale path (leading the hero to his heart's desire) this road is not paved in golden cobblestones. This daily trek, almost a perfect parallel to the concrete scar of the separation wall, is built from the living footsteps of menial and corralled existences. Guez's gaze is directed downward, watchfully tracing each footstep, a witness to all those who have walked before him. The work is a testament to the survival of people who find themselves segregated and confined behind built fortifications.

Dor Guez
***Bypass*, 2014**

Courtesy of the artist
and Dvir Gallery



Lieven De Boeck

BELGIUM



M.I.R.R.O.R.Nr3.eagle is painted onto the surface of an anti-theft mirror; the symbols embedded on the mirror are the seal of the Executive Office of the US President and the logo of the Office of Homeland Security. Thirteen stars and stripes represent the original British colonies, and thirteen olives and leaves represent peace. The left talon of the eagle clutches arrows to represent the need for war to protect the nation. The work is a play on scrutiny: security mirrors, a simple surveillance technology, are installed in everyday spaces like supermarkets, shops and airports, while in this work, the symbols of the seal obscure the reflective surface. De Boeck's installation utilises a convex mirror, to make a more complex comment on the expansion of the surveillance state, especially since 9/11.

Lieven De Boeck

***M.I.R.R.O.R.Nr3.eagle*, 2010**

Courtesy of the artist and Meessen
De Clercq, Brussels

Chto Delat

RUSSIA



Creolizing is part of a series of educational flags produced by Russian collective Chto Delat positioned as both art and objects of street protests. The banner in this exhibition displays the captions: *De-Schooling the 1st World. FORE-Schooling the 2nd world. Creolizing.* Creolizing occurs when a creole language (developed from the simplifying and mixing of different languages) and cultures emerge. This flag series is based on the Soviet Houses of Culture, public spaces for workers where staged events for local party and trade union meetings were held. The traditional banners were intended to greet the members and encourage them to respond openly to the meeting's agenda. Chto Delat's flags contain both image and word games responding to the many themes from various intellectual, political and aesthetic perspectives.

Chto Delat
Creolizing, 2015

Courtesy of the artists and
KOW, Berlin, Madrid

Elaine Byrne

IRELAND



Blazing World explores the mythology surrounding the Arctic archipelago of Svalbard as well as its contentious issues of sovereignty. The islands are positioned between mainland Norway and the North Pole, and enjoy a unique status defined in the 1920 Svalbard Treaty. The Treaty grants Norway sovereignty over Svalbard, with one requirement: that the archipelago and its territorial waters remain a demilitarised and free economic zone for all 45 signatory states. Anyone living in any one of the states can live and work in Svalbard without a visa. However, the Treaty was drafted decades before the emergence of contemporary maritime law and the 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zones (EEZ); these inadequacies have led to a long-running dispute, primarily with Russia.

Elaine Byrne
***Blazing World*, 2020**

Courtesy of the artist



The title of the work is inspired by the 17th-century book *The Description of a New World, called The Blazing World* (1666) by the English writer Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. The book is a fanciful depiction of a utopian kingdom located at the centre of the world that can only be accessed via the North Pole. It is the only known work of utopian fiction by a woman, an excellent example of proto-science fiction. The idea of a hidden world as the location of origin and afterlife exists within ancient mythologies, folklore and legend, while Hollow Earth theorists believe that a gateway to another world exists at the Poles. The concept of an Arctic gateway to a kingdom in the centre of the planet has been a recurring theme in film, where these worlds were ruled over by an immortal empress.

Elaine Byrne
***Blazing World*, 2020**

Courtesy of the artist



Worlds Without End
The Earth's crust is made of many different types of rocks. Some are made of minerals that have been melted together. Others are made of minerals that have been pushed together. Some are made of minerals that have been pushed together and then melted together. Some are made of minerals that have been pushed together and then melted together.



post 9/11,
governmentality
has molded itself
to *threat*.

Tony Cokes

UNITED STATES

"I am told of a case of morbid terror, of which the subject confessed that what possessed her seemed, more than anything, to be *the fear of fear itself*." [11](#)

Now, fear can potentially self-cause even in the absence of an external sign to trigger it.

The text in the video is an excerpt from the philosopher and social theorist Brian Massumi's 2005 essay "Fear (The Spectrum Said)", and discusses the politically motivated colour coded terror alert implemented by Homeland Security Advisory System in the aftermath of 9/11 under George W. Bush's administration. According to Massumi: "Post 9/11, governmentality has molded itself to threat. A threat is unknowable. If it were known in its specifics it wouldn't be a threat ... Its future looming casts a present shadow, and that shadow is fear".

The colour-code alert ended in 2011 and has since been replaced with a bulletin system to provide the American public "with more flexible, timely and useful information regarding terrorist threats to Our Homeland", according to Department of Homeland Security. *Evil.12.edit.b* highlights the manipulative and irrational fear induced by the former advisory system. A spike in the colour alert quickly registered itself as news, producing anxiety for reasons that could never be fully understood by the American public.

Tony Cokes
Evil.12.edit.b (fear, spectra & fake emotions), 2009 (still)

Courtesy of the artist and the Shelley and Donald Rubin Private Collection. Image courtesy of the artist and Greene Naftali, New York, Hannah Hoffman, Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts Intermix, New York

Disco Inferno

The text used in *Evil.16 (Torture.Musik)* is taken from excerpts of the article “Disco Inferno” by Moustafa Bayoumi, featured in *The Nation* magazine in 2005. The article discusses how music has become a weapon of war for American forces against Muslim detainees.

Western music, from Metallica and Britney Spears to Barney the Dinosaur, has been blasted at deafeningly high volumes as a method of torturing detainees in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, where the unknown torture sites were referred to as “The Disco”. Bayoumi also highlights “the power American forces associate with American culture”. It is their belief that American music is more effective in breaking detainees than the music culture of any other country.

Tony Cokes
Evil.16 (Torture.Musik),
2009–11 (still)

Courtesy the artist, Greene Naftali,
New York, Hannah Hoffman,
Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts
Intermix, New York

He was hooded,
stripped naked
and doused
with cold water.

He was beaten
by American soldiers
who wore gloves
so as not to leave
permanent marks.

And he was left
in a room
soldiers blithely
called
The Disco,

a place where
Western music
rang out so loud
that his
interrogators were,


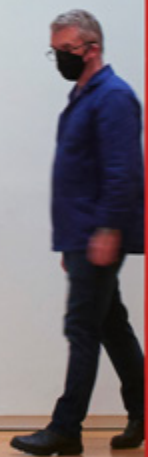
in Qutaji's words,
forced to
"talk to me via
a loudspeaker
that was placed
next to my ears."

Disco isn't dead.

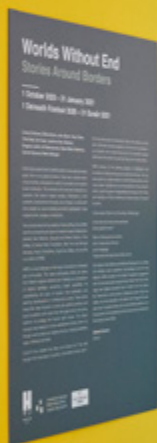
It has gone
to war.

Tony Cokes
Evil.16 (Torture.Musik),
2009–11 (still)

Courtesy the artist, Greene Naftali,
New York, Hannah Hoffman,
Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts
Intermix, New York

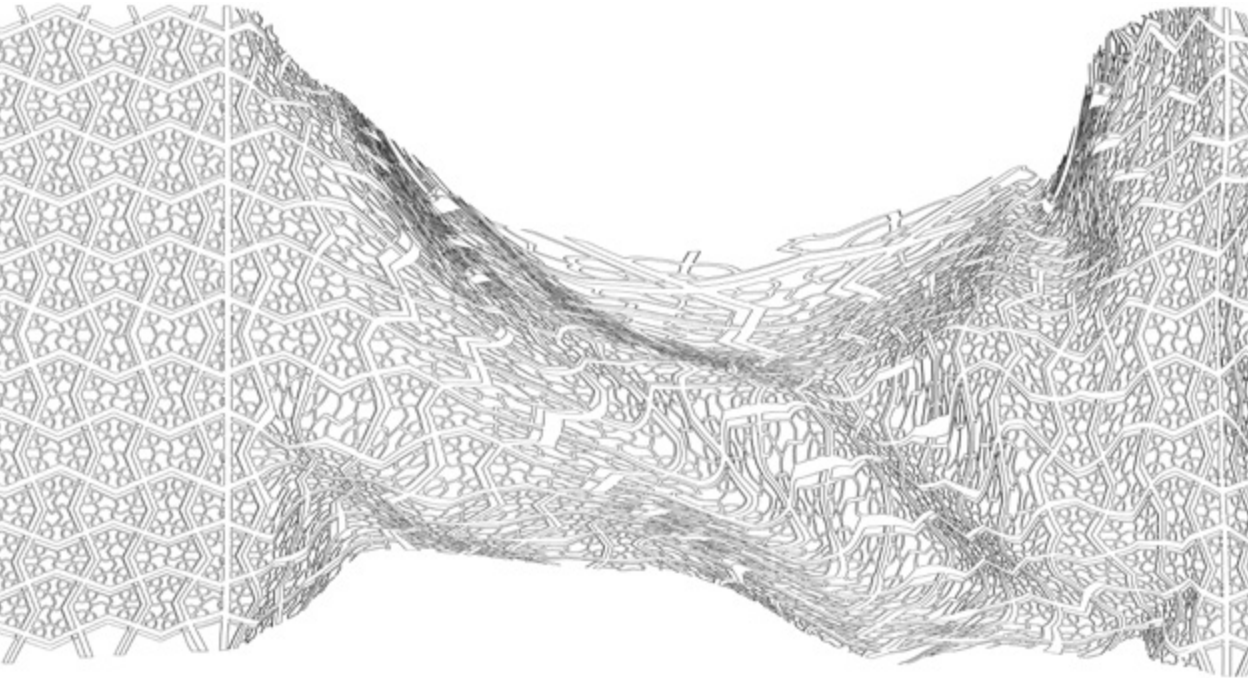


This is when
the mind begins
its rebellion
against the body.



Raqs Media Collective

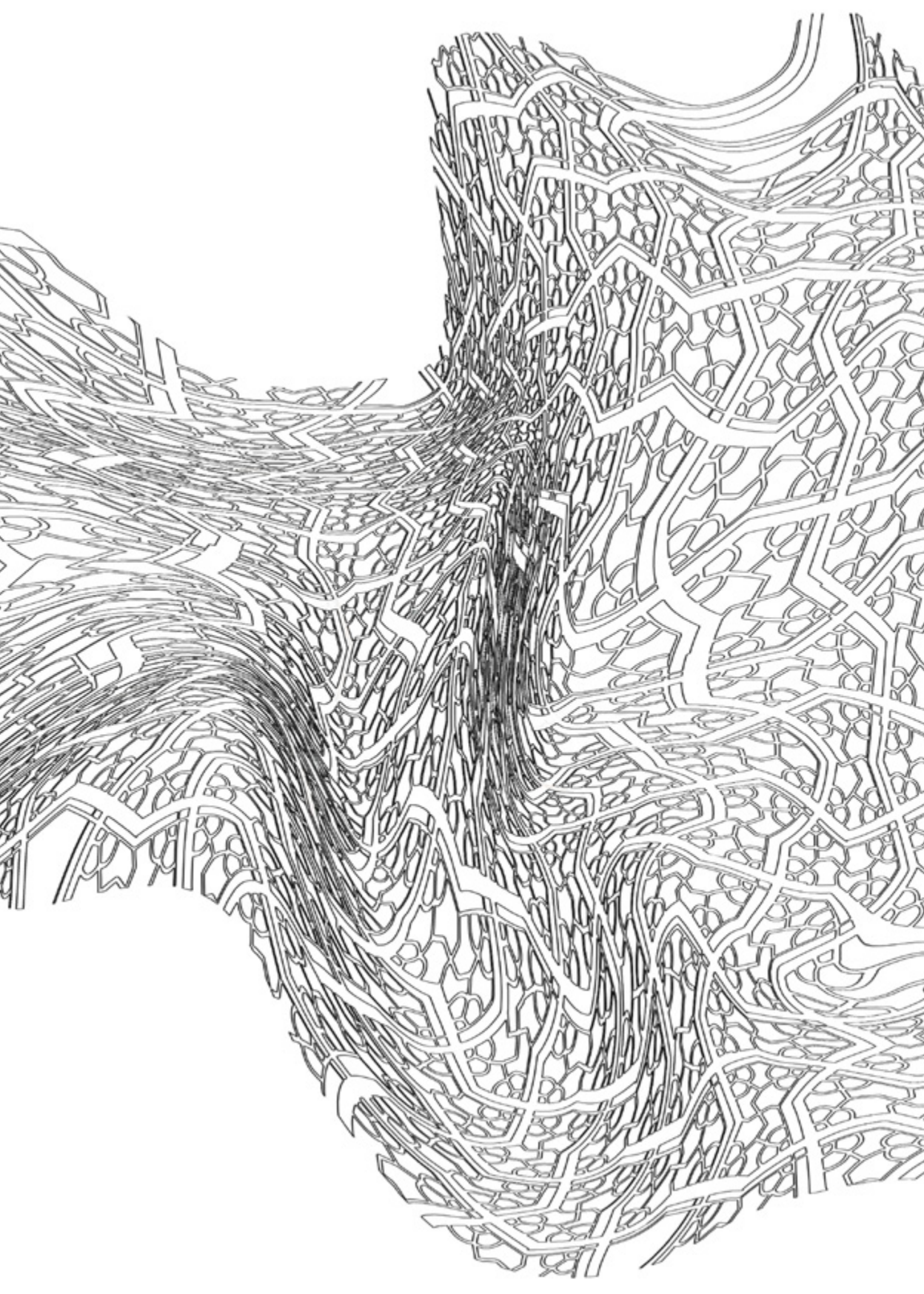
INDIA

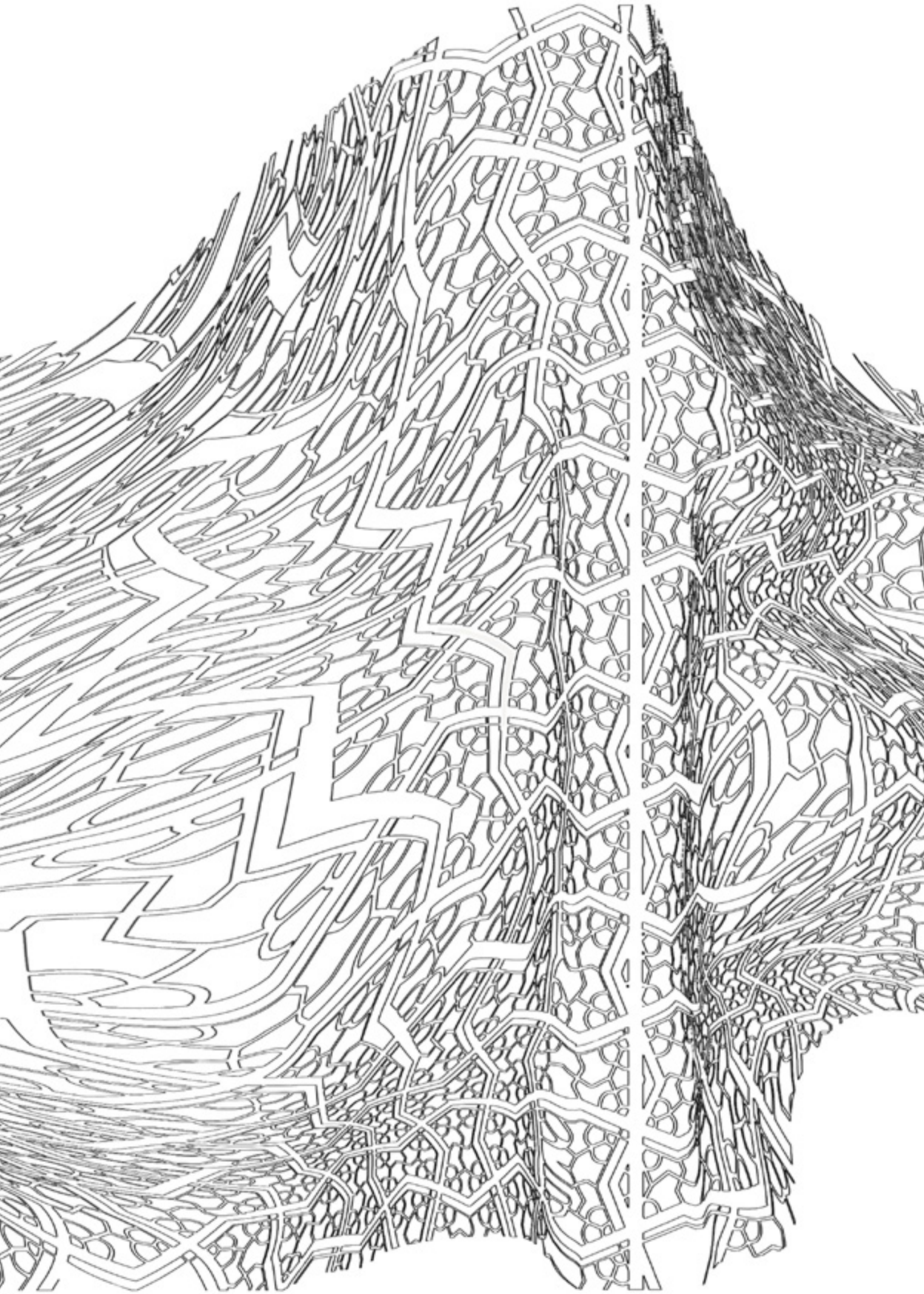


Undoing Walls is an animation that continually changes form, shapeshifting from an architectural structure, to a pattern reminiscent of the grid of an ancient city, to a fluttering textile. One way to undo a wall is to make it porous rather than impervious, by riddling it with perforations, by transforming it into a net or a sieve. *Undoing Walls* takes the perforated screen as a starting point for turning and folding space in on itself, so that the divisions between “inside” and “outside”, between “that which is kept out” and “that which is shut in”, are questioned, naturally. The wall becomes a twisting, dancing *jaali* (meaning net or fine web) which embraces shelter and permits porosity, enabling the unfettered moment of the eye across space.

Raqs Media Collective
***Undoing Walls*, 2017**

Courtesy of Raqs Media Collective





Undoing Walls

REHAN ANSARI

This is a reflection on permeability across the India-Pakistan border, and resulting bordered-up states of mind, the occasion being a recent conversation with Shuddhabrata Sengupta (Shuddha) of the Delhi-based **Raqs Media Collective**, a group of media-practitioners founded in 1992. We talked of his witnessing the Delhi protests in the winter of 2019/20,¹ where the anthems of the protests were two Pakistani poems. The protests were peaceful but faced armed intimidation by right-wing gangs and the police of an oppressive regime. In an infamous incident, the police broke into the library of Jamia Millia Islamia, a college central to the protests, and beat up students who were reading. Jamia is Shuddha's alma mater.



In this text I am going to be writing the words protest, protestors and poetry repeatedly, and it is going to look redundant, like The Jewish Question.² These protests in Delhi I accessed primarily from Shuddha's social media. They were dream protests for me: most protestors were students and women, their leaders were women, and they sang and held up posters of poetry in Urdu, the official language of Pakistan, much of it iconic Pakistani poetry of

1. The continuous protests began in December 2019 and were against the Citizenship Amendment Act (passed in Parliament), National Register of Citizens, National Population Register, which together put Indian citizenship to a religious test, and against police brutality. In late March 2020, the Covid-19 virus, and the regime, put an end to them.
2. See Marx's essay from 1843 which has a powerful argument for the civil and social emancipation of German Jews, and by extension, any minority. The part of the essay where he gives a Jewish answer to German (civilizational) questions is controversial. This winter the Muslims of Delhi did give a straightforward answer to Indian questions, having to do with the Republic and otherwise.

protest;³ it was the armed oppressors who were intimidated. The centre of the protest was Shaheen Bagh, a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood. Most of the protestors were Muslim women. They were protesting the regime's new discriminatory laws, and appealing to the secular constitution of India, which guaranteed the rights of all citizens. You would have to have spent formative years, and then many other years in Pakistan, to know why this could be a wildly exciting dream. And like the usual kind of dream, it played tricks with time and space.

Shuddha knows that I have this dream. We initially met twenty years ago when I lived in Lahore and came to Delhi on a fellowship. We recognised each other as allergic to the majoritarian political cultures where we lived. As he showed me Delhi at night – a Sufi shrine,⁴ a library,⁵ a campus,⁶ the steps of the mosque where the poet Hali spent the night;⁷ all part of the same history that Karachi and Lahore belong to – we talked about the cities of our upbringing and shadows would fall over us, darker than the night, cast by borders, frontiers, nationalisms and psychologies that form the great walls between India and Pakistan. We felt besieged twice over, by both the borders and the authoritarian regime.⁸ There were few like-minded people where we lived, and impermeable national borders kept anyone else from our different locations sharing radical commonality. In the winter of 2020, these protestors in Delhi, finding inspiration in Pakistani poems from 40, 50, 60 and 70 years ago, created a miraculous bridge across time and space, linking an understanding of authoritarianism with righteous action. Shaheen Bagh, and the proliferation

3. Written in the eras of Field Marshal Ayub Khan (1958–69), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971–77) and General Zia (1977–88). Frankly, since Pakistan was founded there has been poetry of protest.

4. Sarmad Kashani (c. 1590–1661). A saint of Delhi, buried at the steps of the Grand Mosque, born Jewish, spoke a famous blasphemy when asked to recite the kalima, one of the fundamental declarations of Islam.

5. Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani Library near ITO, Delhi. He said that because Indian Muslims are part of Indian civilization, they, a minority in India, live in a state of harmony with the majority.

6. Jamia Millia Islamia is a Central Indian University, historically a Muslim foundation, born in 1920 out of the first nationalist mass movement to challenge colonial rule. Gandhi raised funds for it.

7. Where the young poet spent his first night in Delhi after running away from his marriage in small town Western UP.

8. See Faraz's 'Mahaasra' ('The Siege').

of the protests, lifted that shadowy siege that Shuddha and I know.⁹ In another time and another place where I grew up, an identity-based majoritarianism promising fascism with a rising economy was called Islamization¹⁰ in the 1980s; now in India the same thing is called Hindutva.

Shuddha said he had never felt such hope and such despair. In the late 1990s and early 2000s he felt alone in his thinking; now he has amazing company. There are so many so astute. He also said the times are worse: the mass murderers of the 2002 Gujarat Riots are in power in Delhi in 2020.

I doubt the fascists will stay intimidated by Urdu poetry. Obviously, at first they were taken aback by its sudden appearance from an unexpected direction, fully developed, and in the hands of women. By now they probably hum the lyrics. In Islamabad, I have met many an army man and establishment bureaucrat, along with their children and in-laws, who love radical poetry.

If you grow up with despotism in Pakistan, the authoritarianism and whatever growth stands for in the public culture are forever in lockstep. The civilians are despots as well, though not professionally armed;¹¹ all in all it is repressive patriarchy. But you also grow up with Urdu poetry: Ibn-e-Insha, Faiz, Noon Meem Rashed, Habib Jalib, Ahmed Faraz, Kishwar Naheed and Fahmida Riaz. You don't look for it; the Urdu finds you, and the lyric is loneliness awaiting a revolution, describing all three conditions in ways that draw audiences

9. Events from my friendship with Shuddha illustrate how borderisation, using the term coined by the exhibition *Worlds Without End*, lays siege. Twenty years ago I lived in Lahore, Pakistan and was invited by Raqs to give a talk in Delhi, India, in the aftermath of the Kargil War. Shuddha read out my text for fear of reprisal in Pakistan against me because it was a critique of nationalism in Pakistan (*nazaria e Pakistan*). Though the text was available online under my name, Shuddha was correct about how structures of power, even those of rival nations, view dissent. On another occasion post-9/11 when I travelled to Delhi to write on the garrison state in India, about how the Indian parliament attack of 2001 was being used to create a war on terror, and Shuddha helped with introductions to civil liberties lawyers defending Afzal Guru, back in Lahore a college withdrew their teaching job offer because the Pakistani equivalent(s) of Homeland Security intimidated the dean, saying, 'Don't offer Rehan a job; he travels to India'.

10. This pietistic sounding term was the name for the regime of former Pakistani President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's Nizam e Mustafa (1977–88) that curtailed freedom of expression, political parties, instituted capital punishment, anti-women laws and arbitrary religious tests.

11. Faraz's 'Peshawarana Qatil' ('Professional Killers').

together. The audience, though, too often is the salon. You look for the public for this public art in vain. Look up at the nights of Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, and Quetta and you would think that the revolutionaries had never come; but at least the wait, the loneliness, the nights are the ones these poets describe. At most you feel alone, plus one (the poet's voice). In Delhi in the winter of 2019/20, and then across India, people agreed they saw the same interminable Pakistani nights in the company of poetry awaiting revolution, facing professional killers, and though the worst happens at dawn, they were not alone.¹² They proved this Urdu true and they sweetened Fahmida Riaz's taunting refrain to Indians: you have turned out exactly like us.¹³

I asked Shuddha what he marvelled at in this winter of protests. He said the aunties and uncles of the old left quoted Faiz, but the protestors found Jalib! Jalib's poem from the 1950s, unknown in India until this time, was used widely at protests ('I refuse to accept this').¹⁴ A young woman in Bangalore became a symbol of protest because she held up the Indian tricolour flag and yelled 'Long Live Pakistan'. The young woman who said that 'the revolution will come wearing bangles, the tilak and the hijab' expressed a combination of images which befuddles staid bordered-up notions of identity. Shuddha took photographs of protestors with his phone; he said they wanted to be identified – a gesture which turned the inevitable state surveillance on its head. We agreed it was startling to us, who belong to an Indian and Pakistani generation that always understood protest to be hidden and power to be brazen.

In the days between Zia's coup¹⁵ and the execution of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,¹⁶ as a ten-year-old I noticed the difference between the dark and very dark shadows. During this time, I overheard my father saying he wished that instead of what would happen – Zia arranging a judicial murder of a prime minister and then ruling till kingdom come – we could have three or four elections instead. On the night that the news of the execution became public,

12. Faiz's 'Subh e Azadi' ('The Dawn of Freedom').

13. Fahmida Riaz's 'Tum bilkul hum jaise nikle' ('You have turned out exactly like us').

14. Habib Jalib's 'Main nahin maanta' ('I refuse to accept this').

15. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq deposed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 5 July 1977.

16. Bhutto was executed on 4 April 1979.

I heard my father tell his friend that ‘it’s the end of thinking for ten years’. I already knew his journalist friend I. H. Burney, whose publication had been banned by Pakistani President Mohammad Ayub Khan in the early 1960s and then by Bhutto in the early ’70s.¹⁷ Uncle Burney was invited by Zia to write a white paper on Bhutto denouncing the former prime minister. Burney met with the dictator, declined the Zia commission, and came back to tell my father that this one is even worse. So began the 1980s. Whatever resistance happened in the ’80s, I was only able to find out about it decades later. For example, I found out 25 years after the fact that men in white suits came to a poetry reading by Ahmed Faraz, in Islamabad, where he recited ‘Professional Killers’ – the title tells you it is an anti-martial rule poem – and put him on a flight to London.

This time around, there were times when there were 100,000 people at Shaheen Bagh. That was on Republic Day.¹⁸ When the Jamia campus was attacked, the condemnation from universities in India crackled like electricity.¹⁹ Shuddha said that the pushback against the regime started from the first hour. Fifty-three people were killed in Delhi in the anti-Muslim riots, and he said it could easily have been five thousand. He said he learnt about citizenship this winter from the protestors: citizenship is not about birthright or papers, it’s a becoming and a practice.

I haven’t been to Shaheen Bagh, but my father has because he visited his family there. He went in 1997, fifty years after the summer he fled Delhi on a train with his mother. His trip took place because of me, because he was exasperated and then curious about why I lived in Lahore and went to Delhi; he wondered what was the point. I still don’t have an answer, even after fortnight-length Indian visas turned into annual business visas that led to a job with a newspaper in Mumbai for several years. Maybe there wasn’t a point, like on a map, but a pattern like a web, that goes on and on, and holds itself. For my father, a scientist (a chemist), everything has a point, an equation, a controlled reaction,

17. I. H. Burney, *No Illusions, Some Hopes and No Fears: The Outlook Editorials of I. H. Burney* (Karachi, 1996: Oxford University Press).

18. 26 January is a national holiday in India to honour the day in 1950 when the Constitution came into effect.

19. Mukul Kesavan, ‘The attacks on two Delhi Universities reveal Modi’s target: Muslims and their allies’. *The Guardian*, 13 January 2020.

but on the eve of his departure from Lahore for his Delhi visit, he planned to cross the border on foot. Maybe it was being on foot and then catching a train that triggered it, but he changed his mind. All night he talked about a sister of 'Alia's' who was lost during Partition and how he was going to go to Gangoh to find her.²⁰ I left the room and let my uncle deal with him. He must have talked him out of this madness, because over the course of the trip my father did no such thing. He went to places in western Uttar Pradesh where his people are from and had the usual amazing adventures that Indians and Pakistanis have when they explore their origins. There was an exchange in Shaheen Bagh with his cousin. My father told me later that he was astounded that Muzzafar bhai was devastated by the attack on the Babri Masjid in 1992.²¹ My father had said to him, 'It's one mosque, there are so many mosques, who cares if one goes! There are so many in Pakistan, take a few'. I thought to myself – I wonder who is doing better with heartbreak over the times they live in, Muzaffar or my father Masroor? Or is it too close to call?

The regime of India's Prime Minister Modi and its brown shirts have assassinated journalists writing in regional languages, stigmatised artists, calling them degenerate, placed their own zombies in institutions, and curtailed the press. Call it the Rawalpindi²² playbook, but this implementation of it by Modi and Amit Shah (Minister of Home Affairs), using their new citizenship laws, is going to make people stateless on such a scale it will take a generation of Joseph Roths to tell their story.²³ This regime has started constructing the detention camps. And they are threatening to give those camps a new use: detaining the multitudes of day labourers – out of work because of Covid-19 – who are leaving the cities and crossing state lines.

20. Alia was married to his brother, and was a mother figure as he lost his parents young. Alia's family was massacred at Partition and she was abducted and recovered. I recorded her talking about Delhi and it became a monologue in my play *Unburdened*.

21. On 6 December 1992 this 16th-century mosque in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, was attacked and demolished by Hindu right-wing activists. This triggered Hindu-Muslim riots in India and anti-Hindu tensions in the rest of South Asia. Before the national election of 1991 the Bharatiya Janata Party (the current ruling party) led a national campaign to demolish the mosque and build a temple on this site.

22. This Pakistani city's name is also used to refer to the Pakistan Army headquartered there.

23. Austrian journalist who wrote the prescient book *The Wandering Jews* in 1928 about Eastern European Jews, and other refugees, migrating to Western Europe.

So the oppressors share a playbook, and they communicate with each other over time and space. Eventually, when they are done with our time, we will be left with the ruins of civic virtue. For the generations who will know only shards of some notion of civility, it will be difficult to figure out what the whole idea could have been. As with Pakistan, there can come a time when you won't know where to begin, no matter how many years pass. My father shares his alma mater Jamia Millia Islamia with Shuddha. He has never forgotten his excitement attending Jamia's school for boys in the 1940s. I guess his family from a small town in western Uttar Pradesh had an enthusiasm for being secular AND Muslim, and were drawn to that in Jamia's identity. By my time in Pakistan it was extremely difficult to imagine how that idea works itself into an institution of public learning, or a family, for that matter. The protest at Shaheen Bagh has disbanded because of Covid-19 and the regime's crackdown. The authorities have erased the protest art on the walls and the streets. But we will remember Shaheen Bagh's continuous days of protest because it happened; it didn't have to be imagined, and we heard about it while it happened.

Homework: borders within and without

HUGH CAMPBELL

At its most fundamental, architecture has to do with the creation of boundaries. Any enclosing of any space, any differentiating of that enclosure from what lies outside it, brings into being a border. As Hillier and Hanson argued in their seminal *The Social Logic of Space*, making architecture can be understood as the selective limiting of choices, a matter of determining that space should be configured and delineated this way rather than the other, of replacing endless possibilities with one fixed version of events.

Of course this conception of architecture only holds true in instances where it acts upon a *tabula rasa* – an endless, open terrain. In reality, architecture is almost always asked to operate within existing, complex contexts, and its *modus operandi* has much more to do with opening up new possibilities than with restricting options. This it can do equally through the introduction of the new as through the dismantling or reconfiguration of the existing.

Certainly this is true at the domestic scale. The reworking and extension of existing houses is probably the most ubiquitous idiom in current architectural practice, and the one most firmly enshrined in the public imagination. In countless TV programmes, recalcitrant and unprepossessing houses are subjected to reconstruction – sometimes modest, more often radical, but invariably concerned with processes of opening up, of breaking through, of removal of the barriers that had hitherto prevented the desired life from flourishing. Borders are everywhere vanquished: Dermot Bannon designs them away; George Clarke gets stuck in with a sledgehammer; Angela Scanlon sees

them flattened in virtual reality. The resulting spaces acquire double-barrelled designations, to denote their newfound capacity to accommodate the variety of contemporary life – living/dining; kitchen/living; office/bedroom.

The contemporary house promises – and is premised upon – openness, one activity flowing into the next. The technical possibilities and idealistic beliefs which underpinned the radical domestic experiments of the modern movement have long since been subsumed into this mainstream of production, seemingly perfectly aligned with social and cultural patterns.

However, over the past months, since lockdown began in March 2020, those same social and cultural patterns have come under enormous and unexpected pressure. With horizons narrowed and the home being asked to serve an even greater variety of functions – to house everything – the matter of boundaries and borders has loomed large again. The pattern of our dwellings no longer seemed to match the pattern of our lives.

It turns out that the internal flow which we revered was premised on boundaries after all. It depended upon some aspects of life being shut out in order for it to function convincingly. Specifically, work was to be left outside. For family life to survive and thrive, the “toad work”, in Philip Larkin’s phrase, could have no place there. This is why the home is so often cast as the place of refuge and retreat – where harmony can prevail only because the other less pleasant and more demanding aspects of life are kept out. With its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century – the era of industrial revolution – this notion of the domestic idyll in fact could be argued to be a product of that which it seeks to exclude. It is precisely the proliferation of wage labour that establishes the possibility of, as well as the need for, a separate living place. Hitherto, homeplace and workplace had not been conceived as separate. Whether in the hovel of the subsistence farmer or the mansion of the landed gentry, work was conducted in and around where one lived. There was no line of demarcation, no need for separation. But from the nineteenth century onwards, the structures of labour produced the need for its counterpart, home.

Home excluded work, which enabled it. The development of cities followed suit, with factories and commercial zones spawning residential hinterlands, the degree of material progress marked by the distance from the place of work: the rich retreated further from their work while the poor stayed close to theirs. The resulting reciprocal dance – from home to work and back again – established the rhythms and the themes of a thousand fictional imaginings in literature and the visual arts.

When Covid-19 struck, work came back home. The domestic boundary, so fundamental to our society and our selves, was comprehensively breached. What had been carefully kept out was necessarily let back in. This manifested itself spatially, of course, but also in other registers. including the temporal and the digital. Over the past months when we have been at work at home, where, exactly, have we been? In spatial terms, we have distributed ourselves across all parts of the house, overlaying a new set of functional requirements on kitchen tables, in corners of living rooms. In temporal terms, we have extended the patterns of the day from early morning to late evening such that the same set of spaces becomes subject to an extended, more varied schedule. With this layering of space and distending of time, the edges of things become more and more difficult to discern. When I come off a long call in my kitchen am I still at work or suddenly now at home? If I'm scheduled to start at 8 and am eating breakfast till ten past, am I doing that at home or at work?

More ambiguating still is the digital dimension – the realm of meetings and seminars and get togethers of all kinds. Now our homeplace becomes the setting for all workplace interactions – the backdrop to our individual square of Zoom or Teams. From everyone gathering in the same place to meet, everyone stays in the same place to meet, and ends up bringing those places with them. The effect has been seen by some as levelling hierarchies and creating a new intimacy, because people in their domestic settings seem more approachable and human, by others as an intimidating intrusion – why should my boss see my messy kitchen? It has certainly introduced a new spatial and visual complexity to meetings, with each boxed backdrop adding another location,

another home to an amalgamated work scene. A single “meeting room” opens onto many individual domestic scenes. And each of those individual scenes is simultaneously accessing all the others. The physical workplace falls away, replaced by an enmeshment of private places. (On occasions where I have participated in events which were due to be held in another institution or setting, I cannot get past the feeling that everyone else is there, and I am the only one engaging remotely. Even when the evidence of my eyes tells me they are all in the same circumstance as me.)

Prompted by this sudden and universal recalibration of the work-home relationship, the architecture of the home is again being reconsidered. Where previously space was invited to bring us together, it is now being asked to allow us to be apart. Autonomy, rather than communality, becomes the most valuable currency, with everyone wanting a corner to retreat to, a door they can shut, a sense of separation. Sacred nostrums of openness and interconnectedness are once again challenged.

That same openness has also rendered increasingly inescapable that other kind of labour which is always inscribed into the home, housework. Even if the main wage-earning activity had been taking place at a remove, the home has always required the ongoing cleaning and maintenance of its fabric, its contents and its inhabitants. With everyone home all the time, the quiet rhythms of dishwashers, washing machines and vacuum cleaners have become insistent and omnipresent. Through a daily round of stacking and unstacking, cooking and cleaning, these rhythms sometimes seem to determine everything.

This was partly what was on Le Corbusier’s mind when he made his famous pronouncement that the house was a machine for living in. However, in his own canonical modernist home the Villa Savoye, near Paris, the business of running the household is in fact carefully hidden away, such that the dream of interconnecting spaces of leisure and sociability could prevail uncontradicted. A house which purports to connect everything within its dynamic flow – a flow that extends from the sweep of the car beneath the elevated *piano nobile*

through the ramping route to the rooftop – leaves the domestic staff hidden away on the ground floor.

Once again, a border is put in place, in order to sustain a fiction of domestic life. Once again, a tension emerges between a desired withdrawal from the world of labour and the continuous effort needed to maintain that withdrawal. In the grand houses of previous eras, the spatial separation between these two realms – between those being served and those who served them – was clearer. Nevertheless, it was heavily trafficked, and that traffic has fuelled a thousand novels and films from *La Règle du Jeu* to *The Remains of the Day* to *Downton Abbey*. Where there is an upstairs and a downstairs, drama is generated.

Two of the most celebrated films of recent years, *Roma* and *Parasite*, are driven by versions of this same domestic dynamic. In *Roma*, the house – a close reproduction of the childhood home of the director Alfonso Cuarón – configures and conditions relationships between the main characters: Sofia, her four children and her mother and their maids Cleo and Adela. The father, and the world of work he represents, is largely absent, his oversized American saloon car a comically disruptive presence in the porte cochère whenever it attempts to nose in. Inside, the house is arranged as a c-shape of interconnected spaces around a toplit staircase. Rooms – or zones – are sometimes demarcated by bookcases and furniture, remaining semi-defined.

This arrangement allows the lives of the family and their helpers to overlap at times, but to remain separate at others. A circuit between the kitchen, the backyard, the living quarters and the roof acts as counterpoint to the spatial sequences in the main house – it means the maids can serve those spaces without interruption, but that they also enjoy a certain privacy and autonomy. The interweaving but distinct patterns of movement allowed to the family and to the servants illuminate the divisions of class and status in Mexican society. They inhabit the same home, but on very different terms. At times, it can seem that the servants have more free rein and control over all the spaces than the family (they can sneak up the back stairs to the roof as well as sitting in the

main living spaces). At others – as when we see Cleo travel to visit her own family – the distance between privilege and bare subsistence is very evident.

In Bong Joon-Ho's *Parasite*, there is a clear chasm between the Parks' and the Kims' domestic circumstance: on the one hand, a sleek world of immaculate spaces looking onto a lush secluded garden, on the other a cramped, squalid basement affording little privacy, even when on the toilet. As the Kims, one by one, invade the Parks' domestic paradise, they begin to co-opt its patterns and privileges as their own. With the owners away, their impromptu drunken feast introduces a degree of chaos and disorder into the hitherto pristine home, but only because they have temporarily forsaken their roles as those charged with maintaining order.

Then comes the revelation [spoiler alert] of the house's concealed bunker in which the former housekeeper's husband Geun-sae has been living in secret for years, hiding from loan sharks. The world of greed and of want which the house had sought consciously to keep at bay had in fact been co-existing with it all along, secreted behind the elegant display cabinets. And even after the plot plays out its bloody climax and the house is sold, the secret chamber is now occupied by Kim senior, hiding out and signalling his presence to his son by Morse code – the illicit, undetected pulse of the hidden parasite within.

In *Parasite* and in *Roma*, the architecture of the house acts to create and sustain boundaries between a cosseted domesticity and the constant labour that sustains it – the serene passage of the swan above water, the furiously paddling feet beneath. In highlighting what lies beneath, each film in its own way lays bare and critiques the tensions and contradictions inherent in any seemingly complete domestic scene. The home, it would seem, is only ever what it is by virtue of covert, enabling forces within and without.

By requiring us to breach these tacit domestic borders, lockdown has made us freshly aware of them. In the modest circumstances of most dwellings, such borders are a matter as much of patterns of behaviour as of physical space and

enclosure – lines of demarcation between what and when is work and what and when is not. As these patterns now necessarily change, will the architecture of home follow suit? Or perhaps it is already charting the path. It is, in fact, striking how much recent domestic work by thoughtful Irish practices has sought to articulate and separate living space rather than simply merge it into one open continuum. In the Hedge House by GKMP, and a series of their more recent houses, we find a loose weave of interconnecting but differentiated spaces. In work by Robert Bourke, Ryan Kennihan and others, geometry and structure come to the fore in articulating spaces. In Clancy Moore's recent reworking of an industrial space on Avenue Road as a home, there is an unexpected formality to the arrangement of spaces around a central double-height hall.¹ In all instances, neither functions nor rooms are rigidly fixed. Nevertheless, they are distributed and articulated to provide a pronounced degree of variety and of autonomy. Such houses contain many places within themselves. Their carefully considered boundaries are enabling rather than delimiting. In this version of events, to be at home is not to be trapped within borders, but rather to be free to play across them.

1. For more details on these projects and others by these architects see: <https://www.gkmp.ie/3905822-hedge-house>; <https://www.rba.ie/project/pavilion-house/>; <http://rwka.com/project/bealalaw-house>; <https://www.clancymoore.com/>.

List of Exhibited Works

LIEVEN DE BOECK

M.I.R.R.O.R.Nr3.eagle, 2010

White painting on anti-theft mirror, Ø 80 cm

Courtesy of the artist and Meessen De Clercq, Brussels

ELAINE BYRNE

Blazing World, 2020

Anthracite coal, hot-rolled mild steel, Photograph on adhesive paper, Combinatory narrative video, Continuous computer-code-driven combinatorial video generating different continuous narratives

With thanks to Victor Raczka of Jeddo Coal and Temple University

Courtesy of the artist

JOHN BYRNE

The Border Interpretative Centre, 2000

Mixed media installation; Vinyl poster, neon sign, plaque, 10 slides, text

Courtesy of the artist

TONY COKES

Evil.12.edit.b (fear, spectra & fake emotions), 2009

HD video, color, sound, 11:43 minutes

Courtesy of the artist and the Shelley and Donald Rubin Private Collection

Evil.16 (Torture.Musik), 2009–11

HD video, color, sound, 16:27 minutes

Courtesy of the artist and Greene Naftali, New York, Hannah Hoffman, Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts Intermix, New York

CHTO DELAT

Creolizing, 2015

Mixed textiles (sewed), vinyl paint, 291 × 321 cm

Courtesy the artists and KOW, Berlin, Madrid

DOR GUEZ

Bypass, 2014

34 slides

Courtesy of the artist and Dvir Gallery

LAWRENCE ABU HAMDAN

Walled Unwalled, 2018

Single channel video installation, colour, sound, 20 minutes

Courtesy the artist

DRAGANA JURJIĆ

YU: The Lost Country, 2011–13

Installation

Courtesy of the artist

ARI MARCOPOULOS

The Park, 2017–18

Digital video with audio, 58 minutes. Score by Jason Moran

Courtesy of the artist and Fergus McCaffrey, New York and Tokyo

RAQS MEDIA COLLECTIVE

Undoing Walls, 2017

Animation loop

Courtesy Raqs Media Collective

DERMOT SEYMOUR

Arise Great Zimbabwe, 1984

Oil on canvas, 100 × 128 cm

©Dermot Seymour. Collection Ulster Museum

Balcony of the Nation, 1989

Oil on canvas, 156 × 122 cm

©Dermot Seymour. Collection Ulster Museum

MARK WALLINGER

Threshold to the Kingdom, 2000

Video projection, audio, 11 minutes 20 seconds

© Mark Wallinger. Courtesy the artist and Hauser & Wirth

Biographies

LIEVEN DE BOECK (born in Brussels) has been working for several years on an oeuvre that unfolds as a personal archive in which he incorporates various classifications and typologies. In his work, De Boeck plays with mirrorings, distortions and connections, through which he creates new meanings and interpretations of identity, signs and language, the private and the public space, the original and the copy. In 2014 Lieven De Boeck started *Studio LDB*, a collaborative art practice that explores his work since 2003. The studio develops and shares authorship through concepts of reproduction, reinterpretation, re-enactment and conceptual research on forms of presentation. This is in order to reveal hidden aspects of the work and explore alternative ways of going public.

ELAINE BYRNE, who is based between Dublin and New York, has had several solo shows including *borderline* (Dublin), *Women in Boxes* (New York), *La Diritta Via* (Rome), *Ruam* (Dublin) and *RAUMPLAN* (Limerick). Group shows include the Hugh Lane Gallery (Dublin), Douglas Hyde Gallery (Dublin), Elizabeth Foundation (NY), the Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation (NY) and ISCP (NY). She has won several prizes including the 8th Arte Laguna prize for sculpture, Venice, and the T.I.N.A art prize, Milan. She was awarded residencies at ISCP, Art OMI, Soma Mexico and the Arctic Circle. Her work can be found in various collections including the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Rosenbach Museum and Library (Philadelphia), the Office of Public Works Ireland and the Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation. Elaine has an MA in Visual Arts Practice (IADT) and was previously a fellow at the Whitney Independent study and the Art & Law Program, New York. She is currently a PhD candidate at Temple University, Philadelphia.

JOHN BYRNE, a native of Belfast, attended the Belfast College of Art & Design, and began practising as a performance artist while attending the Slade School of Art in London. Byrne has since performed at venues throughout Ireland, UK, Denmark, Poland, Germany and Latvia. Returning to Ireland in the late '90s, he performed *A Border Worrier* for the 1997 Dublin Theatre Festival, which later inspired *The Border Interpretative Centre*. He has worked on a number of commissions including a (per cent for art) work for the Loreto School in Balbriggan (2013) and a collaborative work with the Palestrina Choir entitled *Good Works*, commissioned through Create. This was performed in Cavan Cathedral (2012) and the Chapel at IMMA (2012). He has been the recipient of several Arts Council Awards and his work is in many private and public collections, including the OPW and University College Cork.

TONY COKES lives and works in Providence, Rhode Island, where he is a Professor in the Department of Modern Culture and Media at Brown University. Recent exhibitions include the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Harvard University, Cambridge; Goldsmiths Centre for Contemporary Art, London; The Shed, New York; Bergen Kunsthall, Norway; the 10th Berlin Biennale, Berlin; Hessel Museum, Annandale-on-Hudson; Whitechapel Gallery, London; ZKM, Karlsruhe; REDCAT, Los Angeles; SFMOMA, San Francisco; the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; Pera Museum, Istanbul; and the Louvre, Paris. His work is in the collections of the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh; Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris; FRAC Lorraine, Metz; Hammer Museum, Los Angeles; Kunsthallen, Copenhagen; The Museum of Modern Art, New York; Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco; The Studio Museum in Harlem, New York; Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Columbus; and the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, among others.

CHTO DELAT (What is to be done?) was founded in 2003 in St Petersburg by a working group of artists, critics, philosophers and writers from St Petersburg, Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod, with the goal of merging political theory, art and activism. The group's name recalls the first socialist workers' self-organisations in Russia, which revolutionary Vladimir Lenin outlined in his political pamphlet *What is to be done?* (1902). Chto Delat as a collective operates in diverse media such as video films, graphics and murals, learning theatre, newsletter publications, radio plays and militant theory. The artistic activities of Chto Delat are orchestrated by four member artists – Tsaplya (Olga Egorova), Nikolay Oleynikov, Gluklya (Natalia Pershina) and Dmitry Vilensky – who often cooperate with Russian and international artists and researchers in joint projects realised under the collective name.

DOR GUEZ produces photography and video installations which explore the relationships between art, narrative and memory, interrogating personal and official accounts of the past. His practice raises questions on contemporary art's role in narrating unwritten histories and in re-contextualizing visual and written documents. Guez was born into a Palestinian and Tunisian-Jewish family in Jerusalem, and now lives and works in Jaffa. Guez's work has been displayed in over 30 solo exhibitions worldwide, including the Man Museum, Nuoro (2018); DEPO, Istanbul (2017); the Museum for Islamic Art, Jerusalem (2017); the Museum of Contemporary Art, Detroit (2016); the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London (2015); and the Center for Contemporary Art, Tel Aviv (2015). He has participated in numerous important group exhibitions, including shows at the Buenos Aires Museum of Modern Art (2016) and the North Coast Art Triennial, Denmark (2016).

LAWRENCE ABU HAMDAN's interest in sound and its intersection with politics originates from his background as a touring musician and facilitator of DIY music. Abu Hamdan received his PhD in 2017 from Goldsmiths College London. In 2019 Abu Hamdan was one of the four joint winners of the Turner Prize with his exhibition *Earwitness Theatre* and his performance *After Sfx*. In 2017 his film *Rubber Coated Steel* won the Tiger short film award at the Rotterdam International Film Festival, the audience award at 25 FPS Festival in Zagreb and the Dialog Award at European Media Art festival in Osnabrück. In 2016 he won the Nam June Paik Award for new media. His works are part of collections at MoMA, Guggenheim, Van AbbeMuseum, Centre Pompidou and Tate Modern.

DRAGANA JURISIĆ Born in the former Yugoslavia and now living and working in Dublin, Jurišić works primarily with image, text and video. She has exhibited extensively and is the recipient of several awards, including the Golden Fleece Special Recognition Award, IMMA 1000 Residency Award. Her work is in a number of collections including the National Gallery of Ireland, Arts Council Collection and Irish State Art Collection. Her first book, *YU: The Lost Country*, received accolades worldwide. Jurišić's book, *Museum*, in collaboration with Paula Meehan, was published in July 2019, and received her PhD from the European Centre for Photographic Research in 2013. She is a Visiting Fellow at the University of South Wales and Assistant Professor at Dublin City University.

ARI MARCOPOULOS, artist, film-maker and photographer was born in Amsterdam in 1957. He moved to New York City in 1980, where he now lives and works. He has had several solo exhibitions including at Fotografiemuseum Amsterdam; Berkeley Art Museum, California; MoMA PS1, New York; galerie frank elbaz, Paris; Marlborough Chelsea, New York, and Alleged Gallery, New York. Marcopoulos participated in two Whitney Biennials (2008 and 2010), and his photographs are in collections including the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; New Orleans Museum of Art and Detroit Institute of Arts.

RAQS MEDIA COLLECTIVE was formed in 1992 by Jeebesh Bagchi, Monica Narula and Shuddhabrata Sengupta. The word "raqs" in several languages denotes an intensification of awareness and presence attained by whirling, turning, being in a state of revolution. Raqs Media Collective takes this sense to mean "kinetic contemplation" and a restless and energetic entanglement with the world, and with time. Raqs Media Collective practises across several forms and media; it makes art, produces performances, writes, curates exhibitions and occupies a unique position at the intersection of contemporary art, philosophical speculation and historical enquiry. The members of Raqs Media Collective live and work in Delhi, India.

DERMOT SEYMOUR was born in Belfast in 1956. He grew up during the Troubles and his first mature works explored that bizarre disturbing collision of militarised and ordinary life in both rural and urban settings. A move to the Republic of Ireland saw him continue his acerbic satirical enquiry into politics and identity, employing an ultra-realist style of painting which belied the absurd scenes he depicts. In 1997, he was included in the exhibition *When Time Began to Rant and Rage*, which toured the USA and the Walker Gallery, Liverpool. He also participated in *Collected Histories of Northern Irish Art*, at the Golden Thread Gallery, Belfast. He has had solo shows in Belfast, Dublin, New York, Berlin, Galway, Sligo and Derry. His works are in public and private collections in Ireland, the UK, the USA and Germany. He is a member of the Royal Ulster Academy and of Aosdána. He lives and works in County Mayo, Ireland and is represented by Kevin Kavanagh Gallery, Dublin.

MARK WALLINGER is one of the UK's leading contemporary artists. Having previously been nominated for the Turner Prize in 1995, he won in 2007 for his installation *State Britain*. His work *Ecce Homo* (1999–2000) was the first piece to occupy the empty plinth in Trafalgar Square. He represented Britain at the Venice Biennale in 2001. *Labyrinth* (2013), a major and permanent commission for Art on the Underground, was created to celebrate 150 years of the London Underground. In 2018, the permanent work *Writ in Water* was realised for the National Trust, to celebrate Magna Carta at Runnymede, and *The World Turned Upside Down* was unveiled in 2019 for the London School of Economics. His work is also displayed in the collections of many leading international museums including Tate, London; MoMA, New York; and Centre Pompidou, Paris.

Published on the occasion of the exhibition
Worlds Without End: Stories Around Borders

Hugh Lane Gallery
1 October 2020–31 January 2021

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