

Resist!

— The 1960s Protests,
Photography & Visual Legacy

Edited by Christine Eyene

Of Past Struggles and the Unresolved

Some Chapters in the Visual History of Resistance from the 1960s to the Present

Christine Eyene

In 1967–68, Belgian filmmaker Henri Storck produced a provocative short film depicting the tensions that were growing between the Flemish and Walloon populations at the time. Entitled *The Wall* (p. 56), the 6-minute docu-fiction reported on the erection of a wall separating Brussels in 1975, along the country's two distinct linguistic identities. The plan was to screen the film in the run-up to Belgium's 1968 general elections. However, it was never presented to the public and only resurfaced in 2015.¹

The Wall is a fitting point of entry to introduce the thought process that informed the curatorial concept developed for the Summer of Photography 2018. The exhibition *Resist! The 1960s Protests, Photography & Visual Legacy* takes its cue from the protests

that engulfed the streets of Paris in 1968. While the project highlights the visual history and symbolism of May '68, its narrative also has a place within the context of Belgium, Brussels and even BOZAR as an institution. Indeed, in the months that the student movements gained ground in Paris and spread out across many parts of the world, Brussels experienced its own share of unrest. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Centre for Fine Arts was not only a space invested by the students to voice their discontent, it also lent itself to being occupied in a way that indicated its openness to rethinking the manner in which it could cater to such forms of gatherings from an infrastructural standpoint.² Against this background, addressing the visual representation of the 1968 protest movements is not a decontextualised curatorial exercise. Rather, it partakes of a narrative fully inscribed within BOZAR's own history.

Considered in this context, *The Wall* is not just in dialogue with BOZAR's documentation of the students' 1968 sit-in. Nor, by extension, with the photograph from this collection that was extracted by Argentinian artist Marcelo Brodsky as part of *1968, the Fire of Ideas* (2014–18, pp. 36–41), a series consisting of his artistic interventions and annotations on the global archive of the 1968 protests from around the world.

An obvious aspect embodied by the short film is that, in its form and content, it bears many similarities to the social documentation of Berlin in the early 1960s. Although conceived as a fictional projection of Brussels' future, the film conveyed

the actual tension and experience then faced by Germany and its populations following the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, which brings within our scope the early years of this critical decade.

This essay proposes to provide an understanding of *Resist! The 1960s Protests, Photography & Visual Legacy* through and beyond the exhibition's physical space. This approach is motivated by the fact that, although such a project has to include a chronological foundation, by virtue of its historical nature, the complexities brought about by the interconnected geopolitics at play make it difficult for the exhibition to follow an uninterrupted linear structure. It also has to be said that, given the magnitude of the events that shook the world in the 1960s alone, this exhibition cannot in any shape or form claim to be exhaustive.³ Rather, it proposes to explore selected chapters in the timespan between the representations of growing socio-political tensions in the 1960s, up to contemporary forms of lens-based art practices expressing a clear activist positioning.

Our focus will therefore rest upon three key articulations developed across the exhibition: 'bearing witness', 'archival matter' and 'contemporary visual activism'. With a particular attention to photographs or art works that are either less known by the public, or discussed here with new insights.

Bearing witness

In an age of mass media and fast-paced circulation of images, it is very often the case that our visual knowledge of history and our experience of contemporary events are mediated by archives, the press, and now increasingly the Internet and social media that have diversified and, to a certain extent, democratised the image bank from which we are exposed to the world, be it near or distant. 'Bearing Witness' takes the visitor back in time through a selection of first-hand visual accounts of events as seen by the photographers on the scene. The images presented document some of the most important moments of the 1960s. This historical section also acknowledges the photographers' dedication to recording, and raising awareness of, crucial humanist issues.

The pictures all bear the hallmarks of photojournalism as a genre and invite reflection upon the process of image making in extreme, or even sometimes life-threatening, conditions. These images also allow us to pause on the intensity of dramatic instants and examine the diverse aesthetics of resistance born out of the photographers' gaze in the split second that could be understood in terms of what Henri Cartier-Bresson defined as the 'decisive moment'.



Leonard Freed - Children play on the west side of the Berlin Wall, West Berlin, 1961

The 1960s could be approached from a multitude of angles depending upon whether one looks at them through the prism of the mainstream narratives of the West, or from other parts of the world that have been subjected to the unbalanced power relations of colonial and imperialist dominations. Interestingly, the 1960s are also a decade that saw the dismantling of Europe's colonial empire and new aspirations for the African countries that regained their independence. In this respect, the decade is also known as that of the 'wind of change', as coined by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in an eponymous speech he delivered in Ghana on 6 January 1960. However, what signalled the enthusiasm of new democratic beginnings to some announced darker horizons to others.

Germany is a case in point with the construction of the Berlin Wall. Presented in the exhibition is a selection of images from the building of the Wall in 1961 to its fall in November 1989 as captured by various Magnum photographers. These include images of Berliners looking towards the other side of the Wall as it was being built (Burt Glinn, p. 86), or the presence of Willy Brandt, leader of the German Social Democratic Party, a vocal opponent to the Wall photographed with Robert F. Kennedy (Raymond Depardon, p. 87). The impersonal, military demarcation of the territory (René Burri, p. 85) is counterbalanced by the emotion conveyed by the reunion of two brothers (Ian Berry, p. 89). While images of the children at play (Leonard Freed, p. 59), within an austere environment that undoubtedly impacted those young lives, also give scope to imagining them as part of the generation that, twenty-eight years later, would be active participants in the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

However, it is also important for the experience of the Wall to be considered from within the then less-accessible East. The images by German photographer Gundula Schulze Eldowy (pp. 94–111), who lived in East Germany and photographed everyday life in East Berlin from 1977 to 1990, are an invaluable historical record. Her work speaks to an everyday struggle as East Berliners attempted to achieve some form of normalcy. The social interactions provide a much more in-depth, complex and multi-layered reality that goes beyond the stigma of the Wall and the stereotyped Eastern-bloc imagery. In some of her 1980s photographs, the ruins and desolate cityscapes seem to hint at the failure of the ideology in place. This failure is reinforced by images of demonstrations for a unified Germany.

Another example marking Europe's turmoil is Portugal. A selection of archival images from Coimbra University paint a picture of the movements that arose against the dictatorial regime of the *Estado Novo* (New State) established in 1933 by Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. The 1962 Academic Crisis consisted of a set of repressive measures put into action in order to counter student opposition to the dictatorship. Those unattributed images (pp. 80–83) are early

documentations of how the students' 1960s resistance, strikes and demonstrations were met with institutional repression and police violence. The second set of archive photographs, presented further on in the exhibition, relate to the 1969 Academic Mourning (pp. 158–161). This event was set in motion after an inaugural ceremony officiated by Américo Tomás (the last President of the *Estado Novo*) at the University of Coimbra and his refusal to hear the students' spokesperson Alberto Martins, the President of the Academic Association of Coimbra. Determined to continue their struggle against the regime, the students led a series of protests, occupations and strikes, and even decided to boycott their exams. Police response resulted in numerous arrests and the worst punishment for the most devoted activists was to be forcibly conscripted in the colonial war.

Weaving a narrative thread encompassing the near-entirety of the 1960s, Steve Schapiro's photographs from 1962 to 1968 showcase some of the most important moments and figures that impacted the North American and global socio-political climate (pp. 112–141). Visitors will recognise signs of the racial segregation still in place at the time and the violence with which segregationists opposed any form of change in society. Schapiro also documented the marches for equal rights, including the March to Washington in 1963 and Selma to Montgomery in 1965. Notable portraits of President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy accompany those of iconic equal rights activists Rosa Parks, Dr Martin Luther King Jr and author James Baldwin.

However, the American presence is not one that is uncritically addressed. It also reflects how the United States affected the politics of numerous countries across the world. This influence is apparent in the images of the Berlin Wall, an emblem of the fracture between the Western and Eastern blocs and a marker of the Cold War in which the United States was a key protagonist. Likewise, the 1960 images of protests against the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, captured by Japanese photographer Hiroshi Hamaya and published that same year in his *Chronicle of Grief and Anger*, demonstrated a widespread opposition from groups as diverse as workers, teachers, artists, women's organisations and students (pp. 74–79).

A main point of contention was the installation of American bases on Okinawa from which military operations were launched as part of the Vietnam War. Bruno Barbey's photographs of Japanese students' anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in 1968 and against the terms of the 1971 Reversion of Okinawa Treaty that maintained a US military presence on the Japanese archipelago, add to the many anti-war protests of the 1960s and 1970s (pp. 172–177).

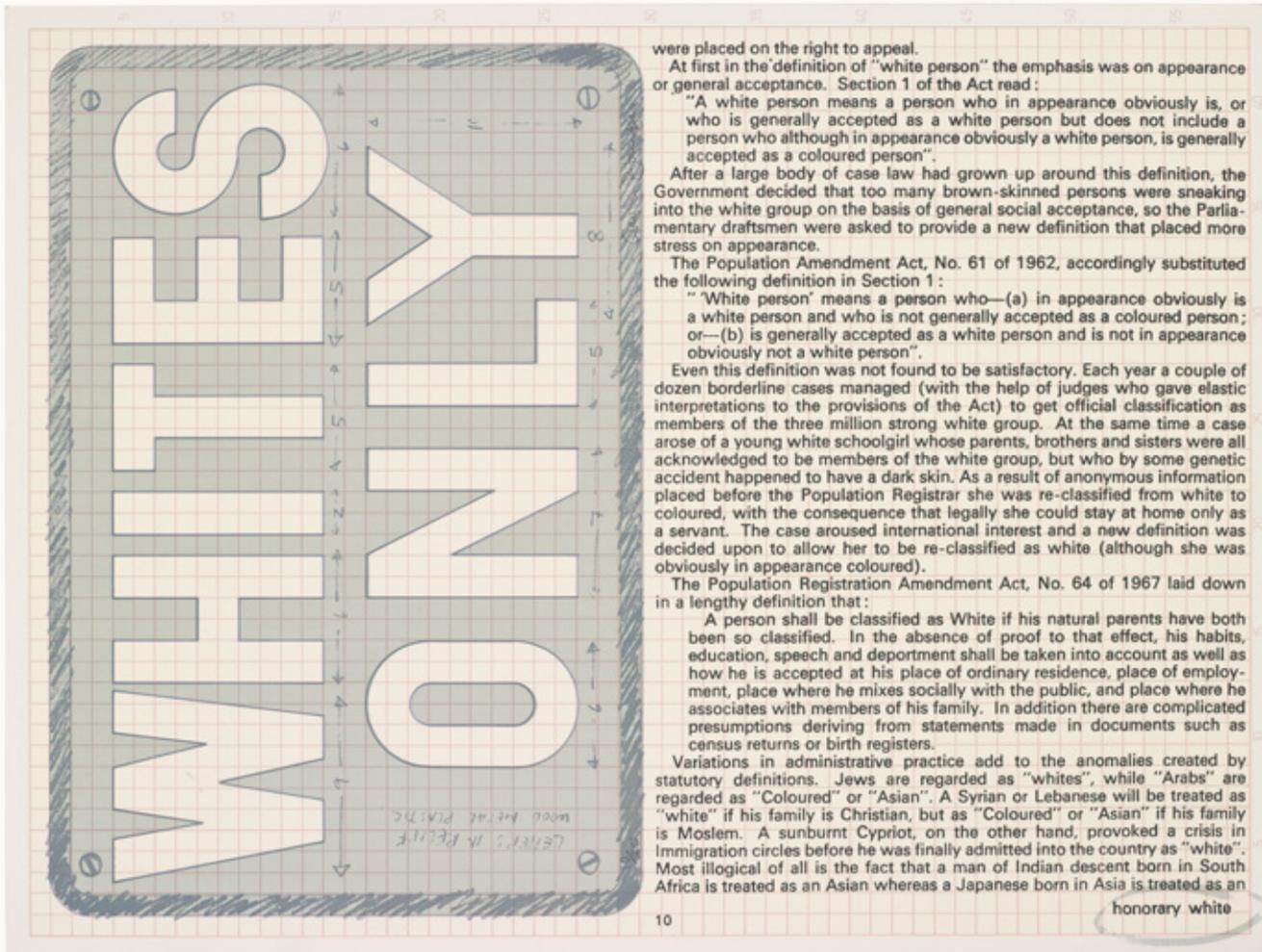
These are but some of the many voices that amplified the emblematic French students' and workers' movements of May '68.⁴ They resonated from Prague, where Josef Koudelka, then a young theatre photographer, took compelling photos of the Prague Invasion, anonymously, and was then forced into exile for his own safety, to Tlatelolco in Mexico, where the army opened fire on students gathered on the Plaza de las Tres Culturas to protest against the authoritarian government, killing both students and onlookers. In this case and many more, including the Troubles in Northern Ireland documented by Gilles Caron (pp. 162–171), the final years of the decade neither gave closure from the experience of past tragedies, nor did they help foresee brighter socio-political perspectives.

Archival matter

The central section of the exhibition adopts a transversal approach that combines lived experience (by the photographers or artists) of the topics they addressed and either the usage of archives in their creative process, or a clear visual reference to archive as aesthetics. The works in question push the boundaries of the photographic medium and include techniques such as experiments with negatives, collage, screen prints, text, installation and moving images.

An example of such experimentation is Gavin Jantjes's *A South African Colouring Book* (pp. 63, 178–179). Produced in Hamburg in 1974–75, this work consists of twelve screen prints made from collages combining photographs, press clippings, drawings and handwritten texts. The series addresses the political context of South Africa, which, despite the end of colonisation, still experienced racial segregation from the ruling white minority. Amongst the notable images used by Jantjes are photographs taken by Ernest Cole in the 1960s that contributed to incite international outrage over the mistreatment of black citizens in South Africa. Cole had to flee from his home country for fear of repression from the government and his photo-documentary, published under the title *House of Bondage – A South African Black Man Exposes in His Own Pictures and Words the Bitter Life of His Homeland* (1967), had to be smuggled out of South Africa. A decade later, conditions had not improved: works such as those by Gavin Jantjes, which exposed the inhumanity of apartheid, were forbidden by the nationalist government. Considered subversive and a threat to national security, such work was banned and their authors faced imprisonment. Gavin Jantjes and his art were officially banned in South Africa until the end of apartheid in the early 1990s.

Jantjes's influence should not be underestimated. His practice is said to have had an impact on the young minds of the key figures around whom emerged Britain's





John Akomfrah - Handsworth Songs
Film, 58 '33"
1986

Black Art Movement in the early 1980s. It is the same context that saw the birth of several black collectives, including Black Audio Film Collective, of which John Akom-frah was a founding member. Their film *Handsworth Songs* (1986, p. 64) addresses the experience of black youth through the riots that took place in Handsworth (near Birmingham) and Tottenham (North London) in 1985. Commissioned by Channel 4 for the television series *Britain: The Lie of the Land*, it combines archival material, including newsreel and still photographs, with sound collages. Although the fragmented visual texture of the film might allow the viewers to give it their own interpretation, the footage and the interviews make it clear that the underlying subject dealt with the stigmatisation of black communities during the Thatcher era (1975–90).

Precedents to the film that are not shown in the exhibition include the photographic documentation of black life in Handsworth by Vanley Burke, whose work is featured in *Handsworth Songs*. One could also mention the series of images by South African photographer George Hallett that were published in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1971 and 1972. The commission by the *TES* sought to provide a counter-discourse to the prejudicial views that gained ground in 1968 after British Conservative Member of Parliament Enoch Powell gave his inflammatory anti-immigration speech at the Conservative Political Centre in Birmingham. Known as the “Rivers of Blood” speech, his address built upon Britons’ hatred and xenophobia towards people who were in fact British citizens.⁵ In everyday life, this was reflected through a disproportionate targeting of black males by the police, notably with the discriminatory tactics of stop and search. Adding to the latter, the wrongful shooting of Dorothy Groce by the police in Brixton (South London) and the death of Cynthia Jarrett during a police search at her home in Broadwater Farm Estate (Tottenham) a week later, were the factors that triggered the riots that shook Britain in the mid-1980s.

The long-lasting relevance of *Handsworth Songs* was confirmed in August 2011 when police fatally shot Marc Duggan, who grew up on Broadwater Farm Estate. Riots ensued in Tottenham, across London, and England at large. Amongst the London boroughs that experienced violent unrests was Hackney in East London. It is this area that is meticulously re-created by Canadian artist Stan Douglas in his large-scale prints *Mare Street* and *Pembury Estate* (2017, pp. 206–207). To compose this work, Douglas used television news footage to identify the scenes, took aerial plate shots, mapped out the streets, building façades and even advertisements on the buses using Google Street View, and made 3D models of the scene to create realistic shadows of the figures and vehicles. These two pieces form part of Douglas’s series of works on the uprisings that erupted worldwide in the early 2010s, including the Arab Spring and the Occupy movements—the latter being the subject of *Take the Square* (2012, pp. 42–43), a three-screen video by Austrian artist Oliver Ressler.

They also reflect the ongoing problematic issue of racial profiling and interaction with the police with dramatic outcomes. These are now increasingly documented by amateur image-makers, members of the civil society, aware of the biases of “official” images. Often, these images circulate at the mega-speed of social media, on which they go “viral”. Such is the context from which the Black Lives Matter movement emerged.

Here, a parallel can be drawn between works by Hank Willis Thomas dating 2011–17 (pp. 67, 204–205) and the activism of American footballer Colin Kaepernick, who refused to stand during the national anthem in 2016, in protest of police brutality towards black people. This gesture caused in some sections of American society more outrage than the actual fact of unjust violence, which the American National Football League player sought to highlight. His sacking from the NFL is most telling with regard to the players’ freedom of speech and free will.

Other works lending themselves to a reappraisal based upon today’s political context include mounir fatmi’s *Out of History* (2005–06, pp. 202–203). The installation by the Moroccan artist uses material from the FBI surveillance files on the Black Panthers Party, photographs and filmed interviews with David Hilliard, one of the founding members and Chief of Staff of the Black Panthers. While the party is examined from the angle of its past glory and decline, contemporary resistance movements like Black Lives Matter, for instance, do however draw their inspiration from some of the same struggles and ideals that guided the BPP in the 1960s–80s.

Archives are also a source material in Sue Williamson’s *Truth Games* (1998, pp. 198–201), which combine press photographs and still images of footage from the hearings of the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996–98), to which are added striking words selected from these testimonies. The prints have a playful quality to them with the possibility for the Perspex words to be changed as in children’s games, just like in Jantjes’s playful concept of the colouring book.

As for archive aesthetics, these can be found in the graphic structure, the texture and inverted colours of Gideon Mendel’s damaged negatives of his anti-apartheid images (pp. 192–193). Those are presented in dialogue with Yong Xu’s *Negatives*, which alleviate the immediacy, legibility and therefore the potential risk of censorship of the pictures he took during the Tiananmen Square protests and violent repression in June 1989 (pp. 194–197).

Contemporary forms of visual activism

The new forms of visual activism that compose the final leg of the exhibition fall under the terminology of ‘lens-based’ art practices ranging from photography to video, sometimes as part of mixed-media pieces that also include digital technologies.



Hank Willis Thomas - The Cotton Bowl, 2011

These all translate a vision informed by a knowledge of history, of past struggles, and an awareness of what happens when people remain silent in the face of injustice or when threats to liberties emerge from within nations that pride themselves in being beacons of the democratic world. Works in this section address issues that have recently emerged, or longstanding problems that remain unresolved.

Examples of the former include Wolfgang Tillmans's pro-EU / anti-Brexit campaign (2016, pp. 208–210). The German-born, British-based photographer used his own visibility and network to express his position against the "Leave" campaign in the run-up to the UK's referendum on their membership of the European Union. His approach went well beyond the process of image-making (his own body of work) and graphic design, to include a dedicated activism, using traditional and new means of communication. His "Remain" message—embraced by all those in favour of cultural inclusivity and shared belonging—was disseminated on printed forms that ranged from posters to T-shirts. It was also made available to download for free. This model of posters was replicated for the 'Hayir' ('No') campaign to preserve a democratic parliamentary system in Turkey and against the rise of the far-right AfD party during Germany's federal elections, both occurring in 2017 (p. 211).

Land and territory are also an important issue addressed in *Forest Law* (2014, pp. 214–217) by Ursula Biemann and Paulo Tavares, and in Bruno Serralongue's documentation of the ZAD (Zone à Défendre / Zone to defend) (2014–16, pp. 44–55). In both cases, grass-roots action was taken to protect unspoilt nature against exploitation for economic gain in ways that are bound to create ecological disasters. *Forest Law* is a mixed-media installation presenting the research led by Swiss artist Biemann and Brazilian architect Tavares, examining the project of expansion of oil and mining extraction in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The installation includes synchronised video projections filmed in the forest that introduce the viewers to the local biodiversity and show evidence of the destructive effects of mining. The display also features maps, documents, objects and books including Biemann and Tavares' accompanying publication. The project is to be understood in light of French philosopher Michel Serres' *The Natural Contract* (1990) that provides a philosophical and methodological framework to engage with nature beyond anthropocentrism. Arguably, the most striking material is the footage of the hearings of the Kichwa people of Sarayaku, the indigenous community that took their case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2011. Based upon their own beliefs and cosmology of the living forest, they pleaded for the rights of nature to be considered and won their case in 2012 against the state of Ecuador and the mining company.

This landmark verdict is all the more important as it reinforces the rightfulness of the protests that took place between 2016 and 2017 in the Native American

reservation of Standing Rock against the Dakota Access Pipeline. In what was then the upcoming Trump era, the flux of images of violent repression against the Water Protectors and the widespread support for the preservation of the sacred grounds were widely circulated through social media.

The same applies to the visual accounts of the longstanding Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The occupation of Palestine by Israel since May 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel upon termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, is a historical colonial fact that is too often obliterated by mainstream media. Palestine continues to be a site of conquest, violence, of manipulated narratives, erasure and resistance.

Enacting a symbolic gesture along the 1949 Armistice Demarcation Line drawn to settle the hostilities after the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, Mexico-based Belgian artist Francis Alÿs walked along the 24 km portion of the Green Line in Jerusalem (pp. 218–219). The line re-created by the dribbling of green paint both acts as a reminder of the fictitious nature of borders while also implicitly commenting on the ever-expanding occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel since the Six-Day War in 1967. Alÿs also invited activists, academics and journalists Ruben Aberjil, Albert Agazarian, Yael Dayan, Jean Fisher, Rima Hamami, Amira Hass, Nazmi Jobeh, Yael Lerer, Eyal Sivan, Michael Warschawski and Eyal Weizman to react spontaneously to the video of his action. Each of them speaks from their own perspective, reflecting upon this partitioned territory, or discussing the meaning of this poetic gesture in this highly politically charged space.

Palestinian artist Larissa Sansour addresses the same topic from a futuristic perspective. Her 5'24" video, *A Space Exodus* (2009, pp. 220–221), draws from Stanley Kubrick's iconic movie, *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), to ponder on the existence of her nation and contemplate the idea of space as a possible option for its survival. In addition to the visual, marked by the Arabesque twist of the spacesuit and the planting of the Palestinian flag on the moon, the video is accompanied by the movie's famous score composed by Alex North, a rendition of Richard Strauss's *Also Sprach Zarathustra Op. 30* (1896), adapted to Oriental tones and rhythms.

Further speculating on the future, *Inverso Mundus* (2015, pp. 222–223) by Russian collective AES+F is a 38-minute video that includes still images and digital collages presented here as a four-channel projection. Set within the premise of inverted power structures or, as one could imagine, in a post-protest world, the piece shows scenes of absurd social utopias where, as the artists explain, beggars become rich, policemen turn into thieves, "metrosexual street-cleaners shower the city with refuse", "female inquisitors torture men on IKEA-style structures", and children and elders fight in a kickboxing match.

The video's aesthetic is inspired by 16th-century engravings of the *World Upside Down* that, as the collective mentions, depicted scenes such as: "a pig gutting the butcher, a child punishing his teacher, a man carrying a donkey on his back, man and woman exchanging roles and dress, and a beggar in rags magnanimously bestowing alms on a rich man. These engravings contain demons, chimeras, fish flying through the sky and death itself, variously with a scythe or in the mask of a plague doctor." *Inverso Mundus*, they add, "is a world where chimeras are pets and the Apocalypse is entertainment".

The exhibition concludes with a display of photographs and videos documenting *Monstrations* by Russian artist and activist Artem Loskutov (p. 71). Initiated in 2004 by the Contemporary Art Terrorism group in Novosibirsk, the "monstrations" were then organised by Kiss my Ba, of which Loskutov is a founding member. *Monstration* is a form of May Day event to which participants are invited to come up with their own slogan. Often absurd and apolitical, they do, however, allow for a feel of the societal mood as the slogans express the participants' feelings and sometimes concerns. As a process, *Monstration* activates all of the mechanisms of protest, ranging from mobilisation, coming up with slogans, the creation of posters, placards or banners, to staging the demonstration itself. This in turn attracts the expected anti-riot, crowd-control policing and measures of surveillance that have become more and more sophisticated as technology advances. For instance, in a video documentation of a 2015 *Monstration*, one can clearly see a surveillance van following the demonstrators. From the outset, local authorities have fined the organisers, arrested them, or sought to ban the event altogether. Loskutov has himself had to deal with justice on a number of occasions. In 2014, the Russian media watchdog even tried to censor the BBC for an interview of the artist published on their website.

Presented in the BOZAR Street, a place of public access and passage within the Centre for Fine Arts, the *Monstration* display is also meant to be an invitation for local participants to create their own slogans and banners, and place them in the exhibition space.

Also planned: an intervention by Loskutov with the hanging of large banners on the façade of the building. However, these would not contain any slogans, but rather they would act as signifiers of undetermined or open-protest messages, just as with an abstraction, whereby the medium is both object and subject upon which visitors are entitled to project their own interpretation.

Placed as such, the banners would not only be reminders of the history of the students' sit-ins at the Centre for Fine Arts, they would also engage in a dialogue with Graciela Sacco's series of posters pasted on the wall opposite the entrance. *Bocanada* (1994–2015, pp. 224–225), a term that could be translated as 'hot air' or



Artem Loskutov – Monstrations, 2004–18
(ongoing series)

1 In a statement, German-born, London-based artist and filmmaker Lutz Becker explained that *The Wall* was part of the collection of former Slade's Film Department director Thorold Dickinson, from whom he inherited it. The film was shown to the Belgian public for the first time as part of *The Written City: Politics and the production of space*, Bruges, 2015.

2 See Kurt De Boodt and Paul Dujardin's essay in this catalogue.

3 The reader will note that representations of gender-oriented liberation movements are not directly addressed in this exhibition as these were the theme of the Summer of Photography 2014. See Gabriele Schor (ed.),

Woman: The Feminist Avant-Garde of the 1970s: Works from the Sammlung Verbund, Vienna, Brussels/Vienna: BOZAR BOOKS/Sammlung Verbund, and Christine Eyene (ed.), Where we're at! Other voices on gender, Brussels/Milan: BOZAR BOOKS/Silvana Editoriale, 2014.

4 Antigoni Memou's essay published in this catalogue discusses protest photography in 1968 in further detail, including the works of Bruno Barbey and Gilles Caron featured in the exhibition.

5 In April 2018, revelations that the British Conservative government had wrongly deported citizens from former British colonies, who were in fact legally entitled to reside in Britain, has sparked national outrage.