

PUBLIC CALLING

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1 & 2 November 2016

National Theatre, Oslo

KORO
KUNST OFFENTLIGE ROM / PUBLIC ART NORWAY



Organizers' Statement

Fritt Ord Foundation and KORO – Public Art Norway/URO welcome you to the conference *Public Calling* at the National Theatre in Oslo, Norway. *Public Calling* examines the increasingly unsettled and contentious status of public space and freedom of speech in a world defined by the responses to 9/11 and 22nd of July, 2011 in Norway, and the growing list of comparable events elsewhere in the world.

“Ytringsrom,” literally “statement space” or “space of declaration,” is a Norwegian term that metaphorically denotes a space in which one can speak freely. Coming together on the main stage of the National Theatre, presenters, discussants, and listeners will consider how both space and speech are impacted by contemporary systems of mass surveillance, crackdowns on dissent, media blackouts, and surging ultra nationalisms. In contrast, participants will consider how social movements and cultural actors offer examples of how public space and free speech can be reclaimed, enacted, and invented, circumventing restrictions and reconfiguring spaces for public gathering and debate.

Public Calling comes at a time when Norway is undergoing a historical shift. On the one hand, there are faltering commitments to the country's once institutionalized systems of transparency, freedom of expression, and egalitarianism. On the other hand, discrimination is growing and austerity measures, generally associated with other geographic contexts, are being instituted.

The National Theatre was inaugurated in 1899 with Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, in which a truth-telling whistleblower is increasingly isolated and disempowered by the establishment and his community. Taking center stage – amid the leftover set design from a recent interpretation of the play – *Public Calling* will examine contemporary intersections of space and speech from multiple geographic vantage points, and from public and private spaces to online forums, in order to test how the public can still be enacted today.

Thank you for participating!

The program committee: Bente Roalsvig, Bo Krister Wallstrøm, Kristine Jærn Pilgaard, and Sarah Lookofsky.

Day 1: Tuesday

1 November 2016

10:00–16:00

10:00-10:15 DOORS OPEN AND REGISTRATION

PROLOGUE

ANDERS EIEBAKKE (NO)

Return To Home

10:15–12:00 First Act

STATES OF TERROR **Control and the Art of Resistance**

The “War on Terror” consists of an array of actions, discourses, and technologies that touch almost every part of the world and aspect of everyday life. Speakers will consider the extent of its reach, including the prosecution of whistleblowers, the suspension of established legal frameworks, and the justification of violent military and economic actions in the name of “freedom,” “justice,” “rights,” and “democracy.” What is the role of culture and art in this world order? Departing from recent works by Dutch artist Jonas Staal, the session will address how art might challenge the Us/Them divide, build transnational coalitions, and provide a platform for those otherwise excluded.

INTRODUCTION

RADHA D’SOUZA (IN/UK)

KEYNOTE

NANCY HOLLANDER (US)

9/11 – The Event that Changed our World

KEYNOTE

JONAS STAAL (NL)

Art Against the War on Terror

CONVERSATION

JONAS STAAL and NANCY HOLLANDER
with RADHA D’SOUZA

12:00–13:00 LUNCH

13:00–14:40 Second Act

NO RIGHT TO ASSEMBLY

Recent years have seen a multiplicity of restrictions on protest around the world. The session will address crackdowns on dissent historically as well as in a contemporary context of austerity and mounting state controls. Presenters will also discuss the simultaneous vibrancy, proliferation, and oppositional tactics of contemporary protest movements, from Black Lives Matter to recent protest movements in Turkey, and artists' boycotts of exhibitions and institutions.

INTRODUCTION

SARAH LOOKOFSKY (DK/US)

with art project by MARTHA ROSLER (US) – *Photographs of Protests*

KEYNOTE

NADINE EL-ENANY (UK)

“Innocence Charged with Guilt”: The Criminalization of Protest in Britain from Peterloo to Millbank

PRESENTATION

JOANNA WARSZA (PL)

I Can't Work Like This: On Protests within and outside of Art

PRESENTATION

PINAR ÖGRENCI (TR)

Becoming Witness and Suspect in Times of War

PRESENTATION

LISA ROBINSON (UK)

#Shutdown: Black Lives Matter – UK Actions and Reactions

CONVERSATION

NADINE EL-ENANY, JOANNA WARSZA, PINAR ÖGRENCI,
and LISA ROBINSON with SARAH LOOKOFSKY

14:40–15:00

COFFEE

15:00-15:30

TRUTH AS THEATRE, THEATRE AS TRUTH

**Political Bullshit, Artistic Activism, and the Dilemmas of Creatively
Engaging in Formal Political Spaces, in Five Acts**

SILAS HARREBYE (DK) & STEPHEN DUNCOMBE (US)

As state politics has become increasingly theatrical, the power of “speaking truth to power” has been called into question. Responding to this diminishing political effect of free speech, activists have mobilized affect, drawing from the arts to create new ways of engaging, facilitating, and critiquing the roles and responsibilities of the state. This relationship between art and politics, artistic activists and the welfare state, brings with it challenges of autonomy and efficacy as they struggle (or don’t) to occupy the same space and speak the same language.

15:30-16:00

DISCUSSION AND CLOSING WORDS

RADHA D’SOUZA

DAY 2: Wednesday

2 November 2016

10:00–16:30

10:00-10:15

DOORS OPEN AND REGISTRATION

10:15–12:00 Third Act

MARKS OF TERROR AND THE AURA OF LOSS

Deliberate acts of violence or terror produce irreparable ruptures. Collective narratives tell of the world as it was before the event and the world as it is now, in the shadow of the disaster. The session will examine the actions taken in the aftermath of terrifying assault, when the traumatic registering of death, destruction, and loss is modulated by the hard work of making meaning. Presenters consider how this work, carried forward at every level of scale by both political leaders and ordinary citizens, offers opportunities for collective renewal and repair. However, efforts to reclaim a shared sensibility inevitably produce complexity and dissent, those hurtful yet generative and vital elements of the public sphere. Presenters will reference already completed and proposed memorials for the 22nd of July, 2011 massacre in Norway as they consider the ethical, political, and aesthetic implications of giving substance and form to an enduring present.

INTRODUCTION

RADHAD'SOUZA

KEYNOTE

MINDY FULLILOVE (US)

Folding a Thousand Paper Cranes

PRESENTATION

MARIANNE HEIER (NO)

Practical Transparency

PRESENTATION

AHMAD GHOSSEIN (LB)

Relocating the Past

PRESENTATION

KJETIL RØED (NO)

Art, Emotions, and Trauma

CONVERSATION

ARNE JOHAN VETLESEN (NO), VEGARD GRØSLIE WENNESLAND (NO), MARIANNE HEIER, AHMAD GHOSSEIN, and KJETIL RØED with MINDY FULLILOVE

12:00–13:00 LUNCH

13:00–14:40 Fourth Act

THE POST-TRUTH CONDITION Mediascapes, Parafictions and Self-Censorship

In many parts of the world, fundamentalist groups, state and non-state actors suppress expression and block access to information. Artists are persecuted, music banned, books burned, journalists persecuted, public venues bombed, and cultural, scholarly, and political gatherings outlawed. However, there are complementary concerns about expression and access even when we are able to tap into unbounded media flows and to use multiple platforms and access points; information saturation is no guarantee against bias, censorship, and the manipulation of information. In this session, presenters examine the media's paradoxical complicity in gagging free speech and how financial and ideological imperatives sculpt "liberal" and "democratic" mediascapes so as to privilege specific messages and amplify opinions that favor the policies and agendas of the status quo.

PIA MARIA ROLL (NO) & MARIUS VON DER FEHR (NO)

National Apology

INTRODUCTION

RADHA D'SOUZA

PRESENTATION

GEORGES GITTOS (AU)

Terror Vision

PRESENTATION

ANDERS EIEBAKKE

Drones, Drawing, and Politics: Poetry and Revolution

MODERATION

RADHA D'SOUZA

14:40–15:00 COFFEE

15:00–16:30 Fifth Act

ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE Surveillance, Sources and Secrets

At the heart of this session is the courageous and frequently fatal decisions individuals make to break state, corporate, and military codes of silence. The presenters draw from a diverse slate of cases to consider the contemporary state of press freedom. This journalistic tradition and ethic is being increasingly threatened, however, by powerful private interests and punishing state action that curtail the free flow of information. The contraction of press freedom is often claimed as necessary for national security, a justification claimed in numerous cases of state intimidation of journalists and their sources, particularly whistleblowers. Presenters will elaborate on strategies to protect sources, strengthen journalistic integrity, and push back against intrusions.

KEYNOTE

JESSELYN RADACK (US)
The War on Information

PRESENTATION

ULRIK IMTIAZ ROLFSEN (NO)
Seized and Confused

PRESENTATION

TORSTEIN GRUDE (NO)
The Magnitsky Act – Behind the Scenes and Magnitsky. Act II

PRESENTATION

ERIK PAUSER (SE)
The Borneo Case

PRESENTATION

TONJE HESSEN SCHEI (NO)
The Whistleblowers of the CIA Drone War

CONVERSATION

JESSELYN RADACK, ULRIK IMTIAZ ROLFSEN, TORSTEIN GRUDE,
and ERIK PAUSER with TONJE HESSEN SCHEI

EPILOGUE

RADHA D'SOUZA

Biographies

Radha D'Souza (IN/UK) is a social justice activist from India where she worked with labour movements and democratic rights movements as an organizer and activist lawyer. D'Souza is a writer, critic, and commentator, and she has practiced law in the High Court of Mumbai in the areas of labour rights, constitutional and administrative law, public interest litigation, and human rights. She is currently a Reader in Law at the University of Westminster in London.

Stephen Duncombe (US) is a Professor of Media and Culture at New York University. He is the author and editor of six books on culture and politics, including *Dream: Re-imagining Progressive Politics in an Age of Fantasy* and *Cultural Resistance Reader*. Duncombe is also a life-long political activist, and is presently co-founder and co-director of the Center for Artistic Activism, a research and training institute based in New York City that helps activists create more like artists and artists strategize more like activists.

Anders Eiebakke (NO) is an artist constructing and operating Unmanned Aerial Systems. He is basing his drones on drawing studies of birds, and 3D prints drones that he has operated over closed areas such as military bases and national borders. His works at Manifesta 9 (2010) documented a border crossing by his unmanned aircraft from Morocco to the Spanish enclave Melilla. He recently created an installation for the Norwegian Data Protection Agency. Eiebakke is also a political activist and writer, commuting between Oslo and Gdansk.

Nadine El-Enany (UK) is Senior Lecturer at Birkbeck School of Law, University of London, where she co-directs the Centre for Research on Race and Law. El-Enany teaches and researches in the fields of migration law, European Union law, and criminal justice. She has published widely

in the field of EU asylum and immigration law. Her current research focuses on questions of race and criminal and social justice in migration, protest, and death in custody cases. El-Enany is Chair of the Runnymede Trust Emerging Scholars Race Forum. She has written for Media Diversified, the Guardian, London Review of Books, Truthout, Left Foot Forward, and Critical Legal Thinking.

Marius Von Der Fehr (NO) is a political activist, artist, and writer. He sees his work as an integral part of people's movements for social equality like Movimiento 15-M (los indignados), the popular struggles for refugees' rights, and the struggle for freedom and justice in Palestine. His last work *National Apology*, in cooperation with Pia Maria Roll, exposed the Israeli governmental propaganda machine and its coordinated attack on the non-violent BDS movement.

Mindy Thompson Fullilove (US), MD, is a research psychiatrist at New York State Psychiatric Institute and a professor of clinical psychiatry and public health at Columbia University. She was educated at Bryn Mawr College (AB, 1971) and Columbia University (MS, 1971; MD 1978). She is a board certified psychiatrist. She has conducted research on AIDS and other epidemics of poor communities, with a special interest in the relationship between the collapse of communities and decline in health. Her books include: *Urban Alchemy: Restoring Joy in America's Sorted-Out Cities*, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It*, and *The House of Joshua: Meditations on Family and Place*.

Ahmad Ghossein (LB) is a filmmaker and artist based in Beirut. He graduated from the National Academy of Art in Oslo. His practice utilizes a number of media, including video art, installation, sculpture, art in public spaces, and film. The starting point of his work is the collecting and analyzing of facts, documents, and found footage, which feeds into a body of work that draws on the potentialities of the moving image. In 2013 Ghossein completed the performative 22nd of July memorial *Relocating the Past: ruins for the future* in the Government Quarter in Oslo.

George Gittoes (AU) is an artist, activist, and internationally acclaimed documentary filmmaker with a long history of placing himself at the frontline of destructive military conflicts, showing how creative projects

can inspire communities to end violence and bring peace. For the past three decades he has established mobile studios in regions of conflict and upheaval around the world that are usually the preserve of journalists. Along with his partner Hellen Rose, he has over the last 7 years established and expanded The Yellow House, a creative center in Jalalabad, Afghanistan. Gittoes is a committed activist for the cause of freedom of speech and winner of the Sydney Peace Prize in 2015.

Torstein Grude (NO) is the film writer, director, cinematographer, and creative producer behind titles such as *Magnitsky Act – Behind the Scenes*, *Mogadishu Soldier*, *Gulabi Gang*, *Yodok Stories*, *The Act of Killing*, *The Look of Silence*, *Inside Fur*, *Digital Dissidents*, *The Pirate Bay AFK*, *Forever Pure*, *Snow Monkey*, *Love City Jalalabad*, *Back to the Square*, *Russian Lessons*, *Belarusian Waltz*, and *On a Tightrope*. These films have received more than 200 awards and honourable mentions, and additionally many nominations including two Oscars, two Asia Pacific Screen Awards, two European Academy Awards, and an Emmy.

Silas Harrebye (DK) is an Associate Professor at Dept. of Social Science and Business at Roskilde University in Denmark. He is the author of *Social Change and Creative Activism in the 21st Century – The Mirror Effect* from 2016. He publishes in academic journals on creative citizenship and social movements, and widely engages in public debates on new forms of democratic participation. Active in civil society, Harrebye has been a board member of Action Aid Denmark and the new political party The Alternative.

Marianne Heier (NO) is an artist based in Oslo. She often explores specific institutions 'from the inside,' presenting the results as performance, text, installation or spatial intervention. Heier's work can be seen as situated within an institution-critical artistic tradition; but Heier's position is rather the result of personal engagement motivated by lived experience, than of a calculated, strategic institution-critical praxis. Questions related to economy and the circulation of value are central in her work, and she has often used gifts as an artistic strategy.

Nancy Hollander (US) is a criminal defense lawyer and her practice is largely devoted to representing individuals and organizations accused

of crimes, including those involving national security issues. Hollander also served as a consultant to the defense in a high profile terrorism case in Ireland and has assisted counsel in other international cases. She currently represents two prisoners at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base and is lead appellate counsel for Chelsea Manning in the military appellate courts. Hollander has written extensively on criminal law topics, as well as teaching in numerous trial practice programs, including the National Criminal Defense College and Gerry Spence's Trial College.

Sarah Lookofsky (DK/US) is Assistant Director of the International Program at MoMA in New York. She served as General Advisor to the 2016 Berlin Biennial. Previously, she was Faculty Member and Instructor for Curatorial Studies at the Whitney Museum's Independent Study Program. Her writing has appeared in a variety of periodicals and books and she is arts editor of DIS Magazine. She has curated exhibitions at apexart, Art in General, Smack Mellon, Stacion Center for Contemporary Art and Gallery Miroslav Kraljević, among others, and is a board member of apexart and G-MK.

Pinar Öğrenci (TR) is a visual artist and writer based in Istanbul. Since the late 1990s, Öğrenci has written extensively on contemporary art and architecture in publications such as Agos, Radikal, ArtUnlimited, m-est.org, SALT Online, Arkitera, Arredemento Mimarlık, XXI. In 2010, Öğrenci founded MARSistanbul, an artist initiative that serves as a hub for artists from Turkey and abroad to host exhibition projects, talks, and performances with a particular focus on urbanism and public space.

Erik Pauser (SE) works as a director, producer and visual artist, and is co-founder of the production company Amp film. Pauser has directed and produced a number of films, including the feature documentary *The Borneo Case*, investigating the illegal logging that has annihilated more than 90% of the Malaysian Borneo rainforest, and *Palme's Secret Agent* about the Swedish support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. He has directed *The Machine*, *The Face of the Enemy*, *Snow White and the Ambassador*, and he has produced *Infected*, *Maneuvers in the Dark*, *Men Who Swim* and *Holocene* to mention a few. Pauser's films have been shown on most major networks and won international prizes.

Jesselyn Radack (US) is a national security and human rights attorney known for her defense of whistleblowers, journalists, and hacktivists. She is currently the head of the Whistleblower and Source Protection Program (WHISPeR) at ExposeFacts and previously headed the National Security and Human Rights program at the Government Accountability Project, a whistleblower protection organization. Her work focuses on the issues of secrecy, surveillance, torture, and drones, where she has been at the forefront of challenging the government's unprecedented war on whistleblowers. Among her clients are national security and intelligence community employees who have been investigated, charged, or prosecuted under the Espionage Act for allegedly mishandling classified information, including Edward Snowden, Thomas Drake, and John Kiriakou.

Lisa Robinson (UK) is an activist and co-creator of Black Lives Matter UK: Nottingham Activist Group, the first BLM Chapter in the UK/Europe. Black Lives Matter UK is a coalition of activists from across the UK who deeply believes that Black Lives Matter. The struggle is local, regional, national, and global and so must the solutions be. Robinson is also the Director of Bright Ideas Nottingham – a company that engages and involves local people in effecting changes in the places they live and work.

Ulrik Imtiaz Rolfsen (NO) is a film director, producer, and writer. He is best known for the action drama *Izzat* (2005), the award winning TV series *Taxi* (2011), and the documentary film *Voluntarily Forced* (2014). Rolfsen's recent project was directing *In The Dark*, a four-part drama, by BAFTA-winning writer Danny Brocklehurst for BBC One. His ongoing project *The Norwegian Islamist* is a documentary on Islamist extremism and the recruitment of foreign fighters by the Islamic State (ISIS). The film features a Norwegian citizen under the surveillance of the Police Security Service of Norway (PST). PST searched and seized Rolfsen's film recording concerning the terror suspect during their investigation.

Pia Maria Roll (NO) is an actor, director, dramaturg, and screenwriter. Amongst her most known productions are *Over evne III / Beyond our means* (2010), *Ship O'hoi!* (2012), *Ses i min nästa pjäs / See you in my next play* (2015), and *Nå løper vi / Run Now* (2016). Roll's latest piece was the video work *National Apology* concerning Norway's role in normalizing

the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Roll has been active in the think tank TeaterTanken since 2011.

Martha Rosler (US) is an artist working in video, photo-text, installation, and performance. Rosler's artistic practice and criticism examines social issues such as the relationships between social space and media space, particularly with respect to gender, and she has done extensive work on homelessness and housing. Her work has been exhibited extensively in international venues such as "Documenta 7," Kassel, Germany; several Whitney biennials; the New Museum, NY; the Institute of Contemporary Art, London; the Museum of Modern Art, NY; the Dia Center for the Arts, NY.

Kjetil Røed (NO) is an art critic for Aftenposten, one of Norway's major newspapers. He has written for publications including Ny Tid, Morgenbladet, Klassekampen, ArtReview, Frieze and Artforum. Recent catalogue writings include texts on Dora Garcia (Mad Marginal # 4, Sternberg Press, 2015) and Inger Sitter (Haugar Kunstmuseum/Orfeus Press, 2016). He is currently working on a series of essays on ethics and aesthetics and a book on the use of re-enactment in Scandinavian art.

Tonje Hessen Schei (NO) is an award-winning documentary filmmaker and director at Volt Film in Oslo, Norway. Schei has worked with independent documentary since 1996. Her films, including *Drone* (2014), *Play Again* (2010), and *Independent Intervention* (2006) have been screened in over 100 countries, and are used educationally by schools and universities globally. *Drone*, a documentary film on the secret CIA drone warfare, received The Most Valuable Documentary of the Year Award at Cinema for Peace in Berlin and won the Amanda Award and Gullruten for Best Documentary in 2015.

Jonas Staal (NL) is an artist currently working on his PhD research *Art and Propaganda in the 21st Century* at the PhD Arts program of the University of Leiden. His work, which takes many forms, focuses on the relationship between art, democracy, and propaganda. Staal is the founder of the artistic and political organization New World Summit and, together with BAK – basis voor actuele kunst in Utrecht, of the New World Academy. Currently Staal is constructing a new public parliament

commissioned by the autonomous Rojava government in northern Syria, to be inaugurated in 2017, and *The New World Embassy: Rojava* that will take place in Oslo City Hall 26–27 November 2016.

Arne Johan Vetlesen (NO) is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Oslo. He works within the fields of Ethics and Social Philosophy, with a special interest for the significance of emotions with regards to morality and evil and its many manifestations. Vetlesen actively participates in public debate and has published several books, like *Perception, Empathy and Judgment* (1994), *Closeness* (1997), and *Evil and Human Agency: Understanding Collective Evildoing* (2005).

Joanna Warsza (PL/DE) is a curator and writer in the fields of visual and performing arts and architecture. Currently Warsza is Head of CuratorLab at Konstfack University in Stockholm. Recently she curated Finnish Landscape at Checkpoint Helsinki (2016), the Public Program of Manifesta 10 in St. Petersburg (2014), the Georgian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale (2013), and in 2012 she was the associate curator to Artur Żmijewski at the 7th Berlin Biennale. She is an editor of the reader *I Can't Work Like This* on boycotts in contemporary art, which comes out at Sternberg Press in the autumn of 2016.

Vegard Grøslie Wennesland (NO) is a Norwegian politician representing the Labour Party. In the 2013 general election he was elected Deputy Representative for Oslo to the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget). Wennesland, a survivor of the attack on Utøya, served on the committee for the memorial *Lysningen / The Clearing*, a competition hosted by The Oslo Workers' Youth League (AUF) with the resulting process led by the artist Marianne Heier and designed by the architecture firm 3RW.

Organizers

The Fritt Ord Foundation, Oslo, is a private non-profit foundation. The paramount object of Fritt Ord is to protect and promote freedom of expression and the environment for freedom of expression in Norway, particularly by encouraging lively debate and the dauntless use of the free word. The Fritt Ord Foundation can also support other aspects of Norwegian culture, primarily those dealing with free speech. In special cases, the Fritt Ord Foundation can help promote freedom of expression in other countries. The Foundation allocates funding to applicants, and runs projects on its own and in collaboration with others.

Public Art Norway (KORO) is the Norwegian government's professional body for art in public spaces and has principal management responsibility for the Norwegian government's collection of art in public spaces. Public Art Norway's main purpose is to ensure that the people can experience high quality art in public spaces both indoors and outdoors nationwide. Public Art Norway partakes in an exchange of opinions and identity formation based on a wide range of artistic expressions. Public Art Norway also provides the management of national memorials.

URO – Public Art Norway's art program – offers production support to projects initiated by artists, curators and other free-lance art producers. URO represents a platform within Public Art Norway that has an open call; specifically aimed at facilitating a more transparent production process that is optimally detached from contextual and pragmatic constraints. URO's main goal is to provide self-initiated and rejected art projects unrestricted access to the public, thereby challenging preconceived structures of governing and thinking.

Organizers

Fritt Ord Foundation and
Public Art Norway/URO

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