

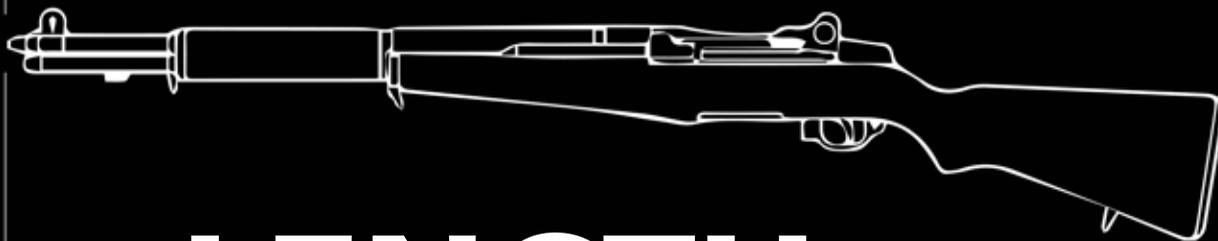
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**ART**

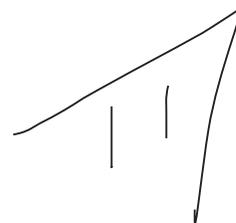
*Firearm*

**AT ARM'S**



**LENGTH**

*Length*



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M.O.  
*Art at arm's length.*

An unlimited digital companion to KVADRENNALEN (2022).

**DIY**  
edition

Main author: Thierry Mortier

Contributing authors: Anna Koch, Efva Lilja, Joana Maria Pereira, Peter Mills,  
Conny Blom, Nina Slejko Blom

Editors: Anna Koch, Lies Lecompte

Proofreading: Róisín Moriarty, RT Moriarty Proofreading Services

Design: Thierry Mortier

Uncredited photos: Thierry Mortier

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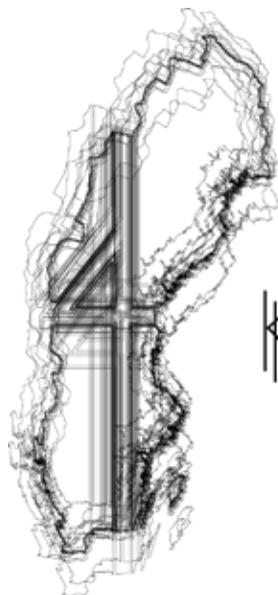
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ITS ONLY AFFILIATION IS WITH ART.



**KVADRENNALEN**

Jan. 11 - Sept. 11 2022



LEARNING AND RESEARCH / PUBLICATIONS

# MANUAL

April 2021  
September 2024

The *Manual* is a tool that gives insights into KVADRENNALEN from a number of perspectives. It aims to provide keys that make it possible to understand the issues and aspects that define(d) it, thereby **ensuring that it can be activated** (again) by any- and everyone.

The publication includes a selection of **works by 266 artists** from the seminal KVADRENNALEN, as well as **a compendium of concepts crucial to understanding the movement which is KVADRENNALEN.**

As a result, the works and concepts comprehensively articulate the multiple voices that shaped KVADRENNALEN 2022.

This is a collective endeavour as it captures the conversations, discussions, criticism and input from both active collaborators, participants and passive observers.

**VÄNLIKEN  
RÖR INTE  
KONSTEN**

**#KVADRENNALEN**

*Vänligen rör inte konsten (Please do not touch the art) slogan, KVADRENNALEN 2022.*

**PLEASE DO NOT  
TOUCH THE ART**

**#KVADRENNALEN**



# M.O.

Art at arm's length

Thierry Mortier

DIY  
edition

**The threats  
to art are  
the proof of  
its value.**

## Preface

I moved to Sweden from Flanders, Belgium, in 2018 - an election year in both countries. While attending Almedalen, the annual political festival in Gotland, SE - *where all the political parties and their party leaders gather in a democratic meeting place to interact with anyone interested, from general public to big business lobbyists* - I understood that I had traveled back in *political* time.

In the last 40 years in Flanders, I had seen the rise of the far-right culminate in a populist, separatist party assuming power and slowly destroying the federal democratic monarchy from the inside out, the arts first. And now I would have to witness the populist, far-right conservatism's *war on change* again, in my new home. The public image of an open, progressive, front-running, innovative Sweden was shattered on the spot.

It hit me that the differences between the two countries meant that the far-right populists' ascension in Sweden would take only a fraction of the time it had in Belgium. Belgium has one of the most complicated political structures, with governments on top of governments and multiple official languages in play. Sweden was straightforward in comparison: municipalities - regions - nation, done. The populist ideology would have no issues thriving here and their progression would be hard and fast.

If I didn't want to be *that guy* who buried his head in the sand because he unknowingly moved from one autocratising regime to another, then there was only one option: do something. Try to figure out and do something that could generate impact, something that would allow those working in art and culture to push through to the Culture War debate. The populist rhetoric would throw artists into the mix whether they wanted to be or not. Better to face it head on.

KVADRENNALEN - *THE QUADRENNIAL* in English - was that something:

*an idea worth trying.*

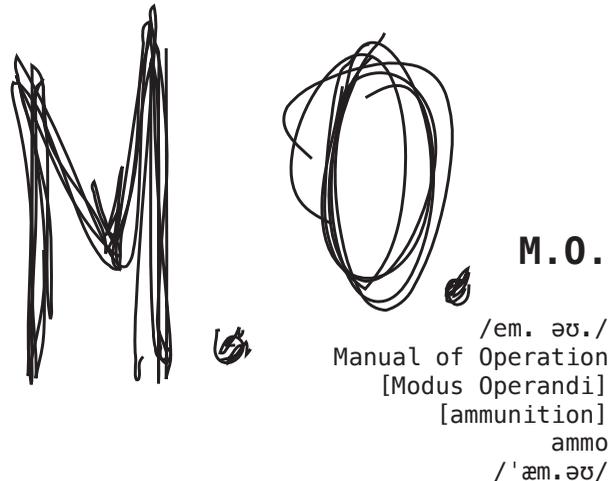
Thierry Mortier (TM), 2024, Stockholm

## Introduction

This manual seeks to give detailed insight in THE QUADRENNIAL, an open call to the entire Swedish art scene, to organise during election year 2022, in the face of imminent political repression. It ran from January 11th to September 11th, all across Sweden.

M.O. documents the thinking behind THE QUADRENNIAL, catalogues all the work(s), takes a look at the time preceding the creation of the self-organised PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT and the time following the radical political (populist) shift that took place after the election.

A chronicle of standing up *for art* in society. Starting from a place of frustration with complacency and powerlessness in the arts, it tells the story of collective empowerment eagerly yearned for by all the voices joining the movement - serving as a *modus operandi* as well as *ammunition* for future thinking and organising.

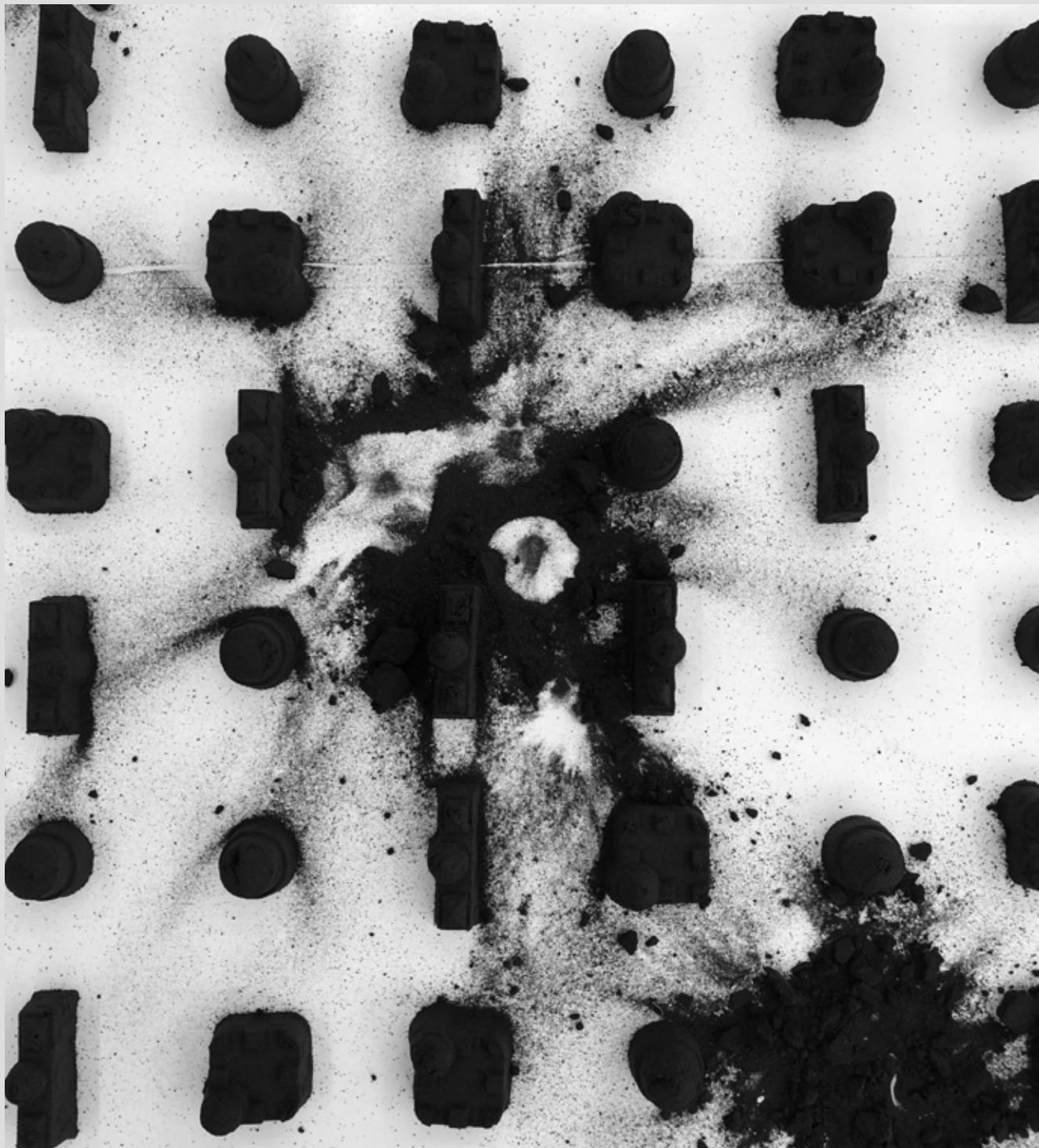


The struggle is eternal.

## Index

- 1: CONTEXT** 009/356  
sketches an incomplete context of global and local events in the run-up to the Swedish election year 2022.
- 2: IDEA** 061/356  
formulates the underlying ideas to redefine art activism to mean activism FOR art.
- 3: ERR** 110/356  
tackles issues popping up prior to and during the execution.
- 4: RESOURCES** 124/356  
delves into what was needed and what was available.
- 5: BUCKETS** 128/356  
traces the reception of the idea from different positions in the art world.
- 6: EXECUTION** 162/356  
charts what materialised on the timeline.
- 7: SUCCESS** 185/356  
catalogues nine months of art events.
- 8: MISSING** 289/356  
lists what did not materialise.
- 9: CONTINUITY** 305/356  
suggests where to next.
- 10: APPENDIX** 321/356  
marks some of the most interesting developments in 2023.

**Contemporary art  
isn't something  
anyone  
*in particular*  
desires,  
it's what  
everyone  
*in general*  
requires.**



# A slow sprint to the start

– TM

CONTEXT  
2007 – 2021



Image: V-Dem Institute, Democracy report 2023



[Extreme] Right-wing populism is on the rise globally, the climate crisis is hard to deny, and yet it is being denied publicly by those in power, blocking all measures and policies whilst enabling industry to wreck havoc. Political lies, power abuses and malicious scheming are constantly being reported. Fake news is becoming the norm, if it is not already, leaving most people without solid ground to orient themselves. Radical art manifestations addressing the current political zeitgeist are largely missing from the public debate in the Global North's welfare societies.

Let's set the stage for KVADRENNALEN.

## 2007-2008 The Global Financial Crisis

was the most severe worldwide economic crisis since the Great Depression of 1929 and sparked what would be known as the Great Recession. This was followed by the European debt crisis, which began with a deficit in Greece in late 2009 and the 2008-2011 Icelandic financial crisis. The latter involved the failure of all three major banks in Iceland and constituted the largest economic collapse suffered by any country in history.



**It checked off the first condition for the global rise of far-right populism: economic distress.**



Photo: gettyimages credit: Oli Scarff

Modernization theorists, such as Seymour Martin Lipset, have argued that there has to be very little poverty in a society to ensure that people do not succumb to the appeals of demagogues.

Therefore, for democracy to survive, a country needs to have a certain level of wealth. Empirical evidence from Adam Przeworski and colleagues provides support for this argument. They find that democracy has never failed in a country with a gross domestic product per capita of more than \$6,055 (based on 1985 US dollar rates).



90

THE LIMITS OF DEMOCRACY

91



The view that a minimum level of economic development helps sustain democracy would appear to contradict the claim that democracy has led to economic development. In fact, many question whether democracy is the best system for promoting economic growth.

As discussed in Chapter 2, democracies have avoided being among the worst-case scenarios of economic development. However, they are not the best performers either. The East Asian 'Tigers' of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan provide clear examples of how authoritarian regimes may be better placed to deliver economic development. These states achieved exceptionally high rates of economic growth between the 1950s and 1990s through the close involvement of authoritarian governments in the market.

**General Park Chung-hee (1917-79)** was a Korean politician and general who served as the president of South Korea from 1963 until his assassination in 1979.

**Lee Kuan Yew (1923-2015)** was the first prime minister of Singapore and is considered to be the founding father of the country. He ruled Singapore for three decades between 1959 and 1990.



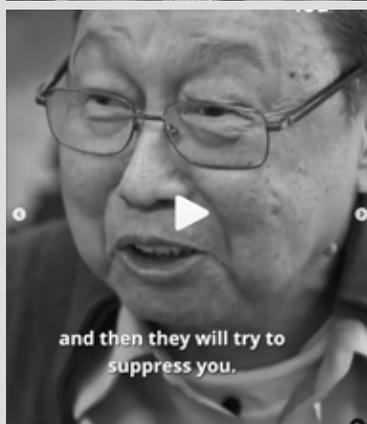
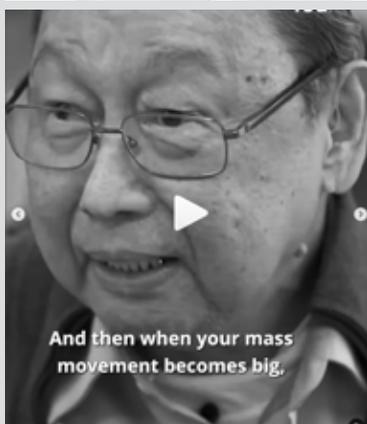
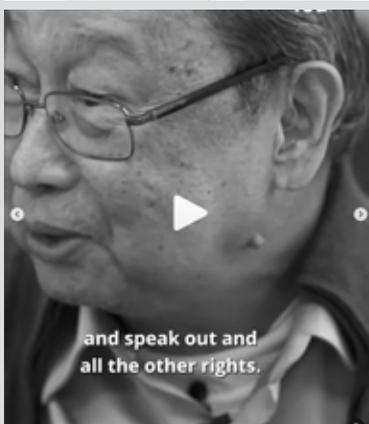
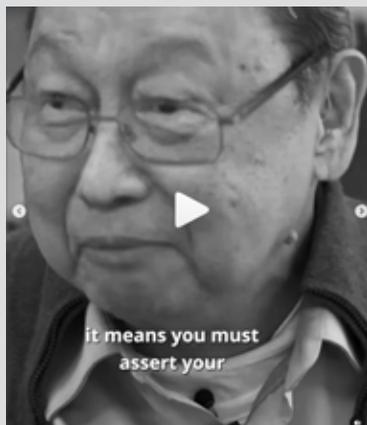
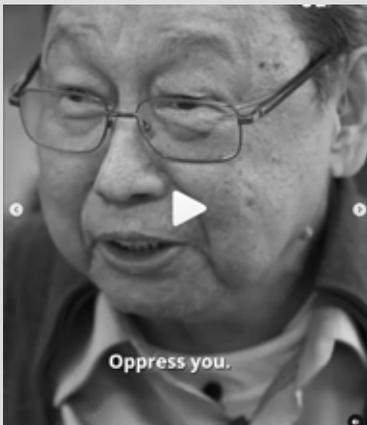
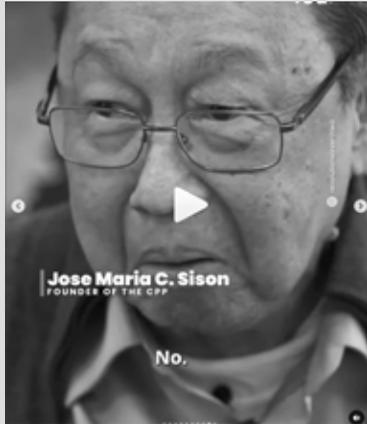
- A Seoul in the 1950s. For many, South Korea's transformation is the biggest economic development success story in history. However, it took place under a dictatorship, not a democracy. Some argue this demonstrates that autocracies are better able to deliver development.
- B Seoul in the present day. South Korea is now one of the world's wealthiest countries. In the 1980s, following mass protests, the country adopted a democratic system. Some argue the Korean case shows that democracy requires a minimum level of economic development.

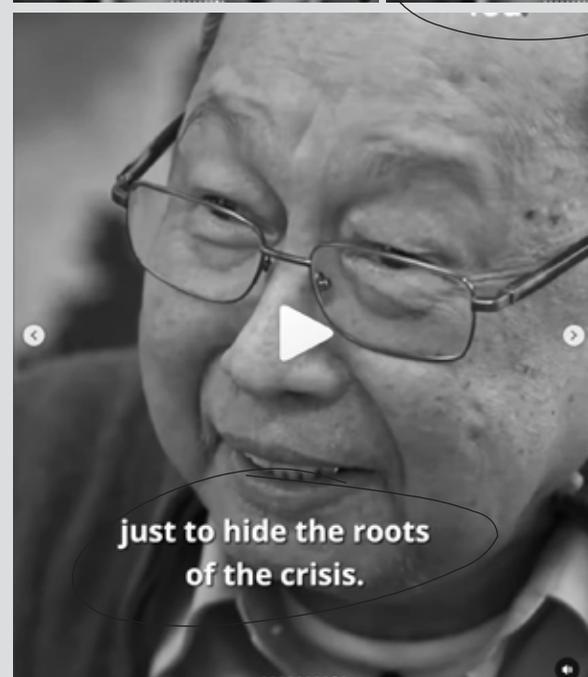
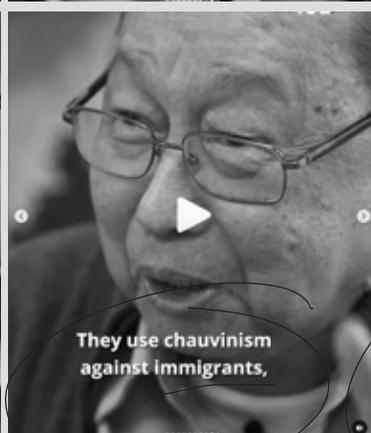
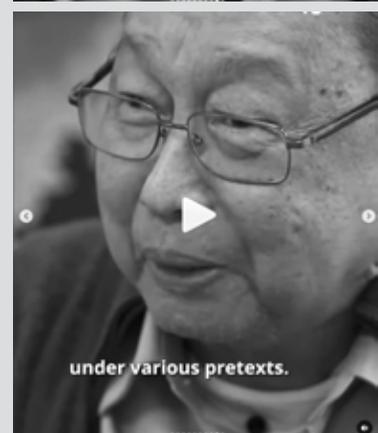
The case of South Korea is arguably the greatest success story of economic development the world has ever seen. In a single generation, the country went from being one of the poorest countries in the world to one of the richest. This transformation occurred under the authoritarian rule of **General Park Chung-hee**, whose government implemented various economic measures to promote rapid industrialization and export-led growth. This included mobilizing resources to invest in key sectors, providing subsidies and loans for companies competing in global markets, strategically using tariffs and exchange rates, and keeping labour costs low – often using repressive means.

The East Asian experience has led many, including the former Singaporean leader **Lee Kuan Yew**, to argue that dictatorships are better placed to deliver economic growth than democracies. There are several arguments for why this might be the case.

First, dictatorships may be better at using a country's resources for productive activities that promote economic growth. Democratic governments have to meet the immediate demands of voters in order to stay in power, and so are compelled to use resources quickly. Dictatorships do not face such short-term pressures to spend and can therefore make the longer term investments needed for economic growth.

From a humanitarian perspective it is difficult to find justification for populism, malicious polarisation, demonising entire sections of society, let alone the much more atrocious examples of jailing, torturing, killing your own people that are all symptoms of dictatorial regimes. Niheer Dasandi finds justification for autocratic regimes in his book "Is Democracy Failing" and it is simply: money.







# How the American Right Fell in Love With Hungary

Some U.S. conservatives are taking a cue from Prime Minister Viktor Orban — how to use the power of the state to win the culture wars.

Share full article



461

By Elisabeth Zerofsky  
Oct. 19, 2021

Photo illustration by Javier Jaén



MAGAZINE | How the American Right Fell in Love With Hungary

Dreher's motivations nonetheless differ somewhat from Carlson's. In his daily blog posts, Dreher writes mainly against what he refers to as "wokeness" — ideas about racial justice and gender identity that he believes lead Americans to hate America and children to reject their parents. After Carlson's visit, Dreher wrote that he admires Orban because he "is willing to take the hard stances necessary to keep his country from losing its collective mind under assault by woke loonies." When I asked him what he was hoping to learn during his sabbatical in Budapest, Dreher told me that he wanted to observe "to what extent politics can be a bulwark against cultural disintegration." Having seen how ineffectual the Republican Party has been, he told me, "I'm wondering, Can it be done somewhere else, and what is the cost, and is the cost worth it?" He didn't want to force his view on others, he said. But such passivity, he felt, was becoming self-defeating. The turn toward illiberal democracy — a state that rejects pluralism in favor of a narrow set of values — seemed imminent to him. "I realize that we're at a point now where we have such cultural disintegration in the U.S. that the choice might actually be between an illiberal democracy of the left or an illiberal democracy of the right," Dreher told me. "And if that's true, then I want to understand as fully as I possibly can what the implications are."

In 2021 Elisabeth Zerofsky analyses the republican infatuation in the US with Hungary's hybrid dictatorship. The two main characters, Rod Dreher, an orthodox christian conservative writer (US) and Tucker Carlson, a pro-Trump, Fox News host (US) were two of the strongest voices that helped create the perception in the US that the Culture War needed to be won with a stereotypical, charismatic leader who could set all the deviant behaviour in society - from an ultra-conservative perspective - straight again and reinstate the *myth* from before.

MAGAZINE | How the American Right Fell in Love With Hungary

Dreher's host for four months was the Danube Institute, a think tank run by John O'Sullivan, a genteel British Thatcherite in his 70s who developed a fondness for Budapest during a long career as a journalist. The institute is financed, indirectly, by the Hungarian government. Nonetheless, Dreher told me that he was entirely free to do as he pleased. "I don't think Viktor Orban is any kind of saint," he told me. He did, at times, write critically of Orban's government. In July, press accounts revealed that the Hungarian government had infected the mobile phones of investigative journalists and political opponents with spyware to track their communications. Dreher condemned the behavior, writing that it "confirmed the worst authoritarian stereotypes" about Hungary. He also criticized Orban's announcement that he would welcome the construction of a giant Chinese-funded university in Budapest, worrying that it would be an inroad for spies.

Still, the institute is meant to serve as a conduit between Central Europe and the English-speaking world, and the visitors' program is part of a broader effort by Orban to capitalize on the outside interest that his Hungarian-style "illiberal democracy" has prompted. He is inviting, at an increasing pace, important conservative thinkers and politicians to Budapest and encouraging them to learn about Hungary, while profiting from the attention that they bring with them. Budapest is to be the "intellectual home," as he put it, of 21st-century conservatism. Dreher accepted partly on the basis of his most recent book, "Live Not by Lies," which was based on conversations with Eastern and Central Europeans who'd lived under communism. In it, Dreher argues that leftist identity politics in America is bringing about a cultural revolution, in which the punishments for transgressors echo those of Soviet totalitarianism.

The problem of how to stem this perceived cultural revolution has been roiling the Republican Party. At a conference outside Washington in July titled "The Future of the American Political Economy," attended by dozens of young conservatives, a panel devoted to the ideal role of the state devolved into an uproarious brawl. A few party members argued, as they have for decades, that all government is bad. In response, Julius Krein, the 35-year-old editor of the heterodox right-wing magazine American Affairs, countered with some rough statistics: Conservatives compose a minimal percentage of Silicon Valley; their influence is declining in the corporate world; and they are all but absent from mainstream media, academia and Hollywood. But with nearly half of Congress and possibly more government control in the future, conservative cultural power would come from the state.

The Culture War was at the core of KVADRENNALEN and it took some digging to understand that it was an imported political and even theological tool. A weaponised rhetoric to both demonise and recruit voters.

In the handbook "how to install an authoritarian regime through democratic elections"\* the steps are crystal clear:

- Demonise to polarise, i.e. create an us against them rhetoric
- Silence critical voices
- Consolidate power, i.e. appoint and infiltrate the entire system with trusted pawns.

\* There is no such book, but there is a plethora of research and organisations that made the analyses and published them for all to find and understand, e.g. [thegroundtruthproject.org](http://thegroundtruthproject.org), [civil rights defenders crd.org](http://civilrightsdefenders.org), etc.

The misconception around the label of Culture War is that it's not *really* about art and culture, but it's about the broader progressive culture that embraces deviances from the (conservatist) norm, e.g. same sex marriage, trans-issues, feminism at large (e.g. #MeToo movement going after white male moguls)...

The Culture War means that the current patriarchal power structures are under threat and need to retaliate.

MAGAZINE How the American Right Fell in Love With Hungary

On the question of whether politics can serve as a “bulwark” against cultural “disintegration,” Orban had given Dreher much to think about. Orban is the politician he wishes Trump could have been: In 2018, just after re-election, Orban’s government defunded gender-studies programs at universities (then offered by only two colleges in Hungary). “A few years ago, I would have said, No, the government cannot get involved in the freedom of universities,” Dreher said. But now, “having seen how incredibly destructive these sorts of programs have been to American society,” he went on, “and how extremely intolerant people who support them are when they’re in power, I’m much more sympathetic.” As Dreher saw it, studying gender theory, which holds that gender is a social construction, led not to the consideration of ideas, but to enforced dogmas that had taken over one institution after another. This year, the U.S. Embassy to the Vatican had flown, for the first time, a rainbow flag during pride month; recently, some Jesuits had come down in favor of referring to God as “they.” Dreher cited a story he’d just read about a university chaplain in Britain who told students it was OK to question new L.G.B.T.Q. policies at the school; the college reported him to the country’s antiterrorism unit for radicalization. In his blog, Dreher often cites examples of what

Art and culture, as a proponent of progressive culture in general, becomes one of the usual suspects, i.e. one of the first victims of the broader Culture War strategy.

When minority issues are seen as threats to the reigning power then these need to be reigned in and crushed.

**A second check for the global rise of far-right populism: “majority” values under distress.**



## Frank Zappa on Crossfire 1986

Chris Casady

348K views · 17 years ago

- Frank Zappa: “The biggest threat to America today is not communism. It’s moving America toward a fascist theocracy [...] When you have a government that prefers a certain moral code derived from a certain religion and that moral code turns into legislation to suit one certain religious point of view, and if that code happens to be very, very right wing, almost toward Attila the Hun...”
- John Lofton: “Well then you are an anarchist; every form of civil government is based on some kind of morality, Frank.”
- Frank Zappa: “Morality in terms of behaviour, *not in terms of theology.*”

Excerpt from the televised panel on CNN’s “Crossfire” 1986

2010 was also the year that Belgium went 541 days without a government after the June 13 elections, making Belgium the record holder for the longest government formation after elections; a prime example of democracy's catch-22. The government formation concerned the federal Belgian government and the big winner in Flanders was the separatist-nationalist party called N-VA, the New Flemish Alliance. As the record shows: forming a *federal* government with a *separatist* party at the table is not easy.

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# Belgium divide deepens after Flemish separatists win election

New Flemish Alliance led by Bart de Wever becomes largest party with Dutch-speaking Flanders set to demand more self-rule



New Flemish Alliance leader Bart de Wever hails his party's Belgium election victory  
Photograph: Dirk Waem/EPA

A rightwing separatist party that wants independence for the Dutch-speaking region of northern Belgium has won a shock victory in the country's general election.

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Advertisement for ey.ai featuring a woman's face with a digital overlay and the text: "Face the future with confidence", "ey.ai", "confidence | value | potential", and "The better the guardian, the better the premium, the better the world needs."

2014 saw massive protests in Ukraine lead up to the ousting of elected president Yanukovich, which in turn led to the outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian war and Russia annexing Crimea.

Crimea

Analysis

# Ukraine's revolution and Russia's occupation of Crimea: how we got here

*Alan Yuhas and Raya Jalabi*

A guide to what's happening, how it got to this point, and why some people say 'the Ukraine'

- Why Russia sees Crimea as its naval stronghold



Ukrainians at a rally outside the parliament building in Kiev on the day Viktor Yanukovich reappeared in Russia, saying he was still the nation's president. Photograph: Louisa Gouliamaki/AFP

### Recent history

The standoff between Ukrainian and pro-Russian forces continues as global leaders push for a diplomatic solution to the conflict in Ukraine. On Tuesday, Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered troops near Ukraine's border to return to their bases as the US secretary of state, John Kerry, visited Kiev.

The latest developments are the result of a four-month-long deadlock between Ukrainian demonstrators and Viktor Yanukovich's government. Protests erupted on 21 November 2013 when then-president Yanukovich backtracked on promises made to sign a trade deal with the EU, allegedly at Moscow's behest. Though protests, set off by the pivot toward Russia, were initially peaceful, things turned violent in January when police tried to break up demonstrations in a violent crackdown. Dozens died before a European-brokered peace deal ended the fighting, but as violence began again, Yanukovich disappeared. He has since surfaced in Russia, claiming to be the legitimate ruler of his country.

- How did Ukraine get here (and why do some people say "the Ukraine")?
- Let's break this out with some maps
- Political divisions: Yanukovich v Tymoshenko and EU v Russia
- Why Russia is in Crimea



Wed 5 Mar 2014 20:22 CET

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**2015** The Refugee Crisis in Europe saw 1.3 million people request asylum. It accounted for the most asylum requests in a single year since World War II. Germany, Sweden, Italy and France received around two-thirds of the EU's asylum applications. **Both Sweden and Hungary were among the top recipients of EU asylum applications per capita.** The Refugee Crisis added more fuel to the European rise of the far-right.

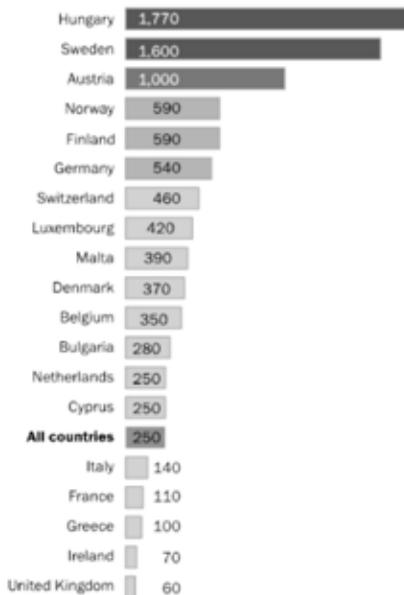
**Check number three for the rise of far-right populism: influx of immigrants.**

[regardless of the reasons (economic, climate, war), immigration is perceived as a *threat to the reigning norms and values.*]

## Europe's asylum seekers did not equally disperse across countries

### Europe's asylum seekers did not equally disperse across countries

Number of first-time asylum applications in 2015 per 100,000 people in the country's population



Note: "Europe" consists of the EU-28, Norway and Switzerland. Numbers rounded to nearest 10. Limited to countries with 50 or more asylum seekers per 100,000 in country's population.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Eurostat data, accessed June 22, 2015.

"Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015"

Since 2018, Sweden has received 5,000 quota refugees every year. In 2021, the number was 6,401, which was a consequence of the corona pandemic. For 2023, the government has proposed that Sweden should receive fewer quota refugees, 900 in total.



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from  
**2015**

**The Guardian** Opinions

**2016** The British public votes to leave the EU in the national referendum commonly referred to as the Brexit referendum. In the years following the referendum the political scheming and maliciousness at work in the “Leave” camp was extensively brought to the attention of the general public.

Ukip leader Nigel Farage was one of the highest earning EU MPs while steering the UK out of the EU.



© Nigel Farage in the European parliament in Strasbourg on Tuesday. He is among the parliament's highest earners. Photograph: Roberto Monaldo Lapresse/LaPresse via ZUMA Press/REX/Shutterstock

FRIDAY 24 JUNE 2016 WWW.INDEPENDENT.CO.UK

*EU Referendum:  
5am Special Edition*

**'We won it without  
a bullet being fired'**

- Britain votes to leave EU ● Ukip leader attacked for crass victory speech following death of Jo Cox
- Pound sinks to lowest point since miners' strike of 1985 as financial markets unravel

The INDEPENDENT

**2017** Trump becomes the 45th president of the United States and starts a 4 year long international soap opera broadcast on the daily televised news reporting around the globe. Never before has a foreign head of state featured so extensively on any national news broadcast. The political style, tactics and strategies of Trump will find eager copycats around the world, not in the least in Sweden at the SD headquarters.





NR. 35 24.8.2017 € 4,40

## KREBS- THERAPIE

Wie Patienten durch neue Regeln die beste Behandlung bekommen

## Zugspitze

Reportage über den Bau der Rekord-Seilbahn

# SEIN KAMPF

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ALEPPO stern-Reporter berichten aus der zerstörten Stadt

# stern



*Lady Diana*  
20 Jahre nach ihrem Tod:  
Was bleibt von der  
Prinzessin der Herzen?

## DER SPIEGEL

Nr. 6  
4.2.2017



AMERICA FIRST

SPIEGEL-Gespräch  
Martin Schulz: „Es geht in  
Deutschland nicht gerecht zu“

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Autos, Aktien, Anleihen –  
was tun in heißen Zeiten?

Schule  
Die unverständlichen  
Problemkinder

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## Avanti populismo

*Un secolo dopo quella russa, si prepara un'altra Rivoluzione  
d'Ottobre. Di segno opposto. Nel nome di Trump.  
E minaccia di abbattersi su tutta l'Europa. Italia compresa*

All over Europe, far-right ideology is either pushing through or is barely being stopped. Both in the Netherlands and in France the **2017** national elections are predicted to be nail-bitingly tight. In March, the Netherlands sees the far-right party take the second-most seats in parliament but remain in opposition and in May, Emmanuel Macron defeats Marine Le Pen (far-right) to become France's youngest president. Later that year, Catalonia's October independence referendum triggers a political crisis in Spain, with Carles Puigdemont, the leader for the referendum, fleeing to Brussels, BE, just hours after Spanish Attorney General, José Manuel Maza, called for charges to be filed against Catalonia's secessionist leaders for sedition and rebellion. If convicted, Puigdemont and his colleagues could face up to 30 years in jail. In November, thousands attended a far-right nationalist rally in Warsaw, Poland.

## FRANCE ELECTIONS 2022

### Macron defeats Le Pen

Victory for Emmanuel Macron makes him the first French President to be re-elected in 20 years.



**Emmanuel Macron**  
Republic on the Move

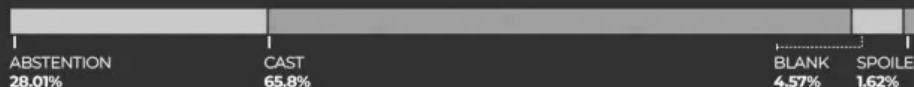
**58.5%**



**Marine Le Pen**  
National Rally

**41.4%**

#### TURNOUT



Source: AFP, Interior Ministry | Date: April 25, 2022

@AJLabs ALJAZEERA



In other news, in December 2017 the Australian parliament votes to legalize same-sex marriage, making Australia the twenty fifth country to do so. This is a sliver of openness in a global wave of nationalism and conservatism, *from a progressive perspective*, and, *from a conservative perspective*, it just adds fuel to the fire.



from  
**2017**

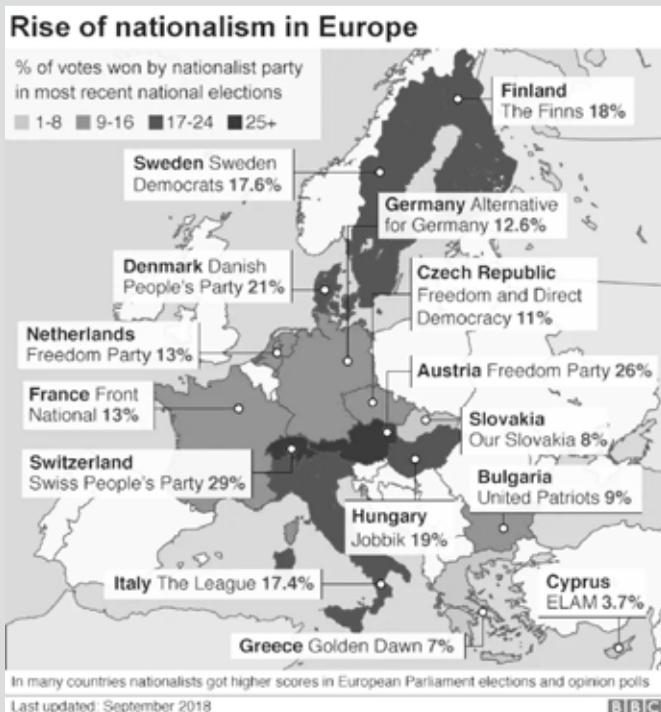
**The  
Guardian**

**2018** A new election year in Belgium and in Sweden. N-VA pushes through and becomes the biggest party in Flanders, Belgium. Art and Culture will be the first to feel the change. 5 years later a Flemish Art Canon will see the light of day. In Sweden SD gets their best election result ever, with 17.53%, still remaining the 3rd biggest party and with an unofficial *cordon sanitaire* against them.

The concept of *cordon sanitaire* is well-known in Belgium. In short, it is a political agreement never to rule with a certain party based on ethical reasons. In Belgium, an official *cordon sanitaire* has been in force since the 1980s to ensure the extreme-right party VB (Vlaams Belang/Flemish interest) always remains in the opposition.

During Almedalen week in Sweden (a.k.a, Politician's week), a few months prior to the 2018 election, every single party-leader firmly stated that their party would never rule with SD. Shortly after that, Ulf Kristersson, party leader of the Moderates (right) meets with the oldest Holocaust survivor in Sweden, Hédi Fried, who states in an interview that Ulf Kristersson turned those strong words from Almedalen into a solemn promise to her personally. Strong words and solemn promises that will soon be forgotten and broken.

The promise to Hédi Fried, which Ulf Kristersson strongly denied in media channels, will start a meme within less than a year and haunt the Moderates party leader. Regardless of whether the promise was made to Fried in private or not, it was already publicly stated at Almedalen.



DAGENS NYHETER. Nyheter Sverige Världen Ekonomi Kultur Sport Klimatet Ledare DN Debatt

SVENSK POLITIK

## Hédi Fried: Besviken på Ulf Kristersson

Hédi Fried disappointed with Ulf Kristersson

Uppdaterad 2019-12-09 Publicerad 2019-12-05

Ulf Kristersson och Hédi Fried möttes inför riksdagsvalet 2018. Foto: Paul Hansson

"Han bedyrade att han aldrig, aldrig kommer gå med på något samröre med SD".

Det sa 95-åriga Förintelseöverlevaren Hédi Fried i en intervju med DN inför valet 2018 och syftade på M-ledaren Ulf Kristersson.

I dag känner hon sig besviken.

# Harvey Weinstein claims he's been 'forgotten'. 23 women assure him quite the opposite

Christi Carras

December 17, 2019 - 8:46am

 Save Share

5

View all comments

Former movie mogul Harvey Weinstein has developed a reputation as one of Hollywood's most reviled alleged sexual predators, accused by more than 20 women of sexual harassment, assault and/or rape. But according to him, he deserves credit for advancing women's careers.

"I feel like the forgotten man," the 67-year-old told the *New York Post* in an interview in which he was characterised as whining and "clueless."



Harvey Weinstein leaves court following a bail hearing earlier this month. [AP](#)

DOUBLE ISSUE

DECEMBER 18, 2017

# Person of the Year

# TIME

THE  
SILENCE  
BREAKERS

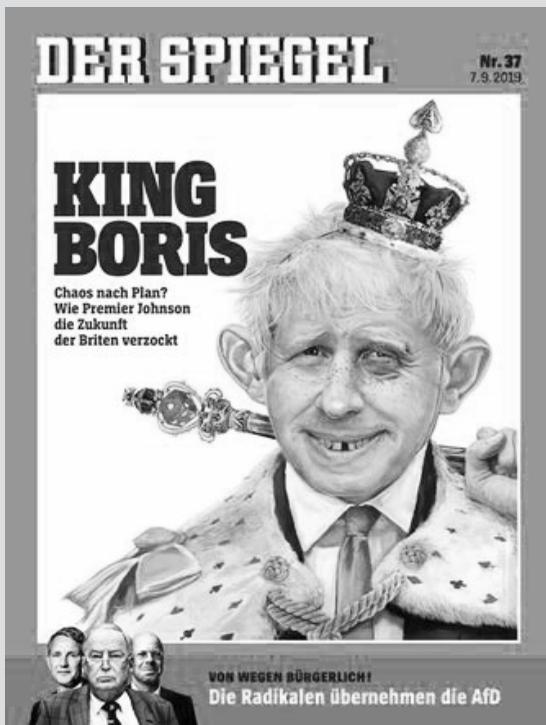
THE VOICES  
THAT LAUNCHED  
A MOVEMENT



time.com

#MeToo explodes in the rest of the world in 2018 after charges were brought against Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein (US), breaking the silence on decades of abuse.

**2019** becomes a *year of protests and demonstrations* around the globe, some of the most notable include massive protests in Hong Kong, Algeria, Sudan, Chile, Iraq, Iran, Bolivia, Nicaragua, India and even Russia. It is also the year that Boris Johnson takes over from Theresa May in the UK and Bolsonaro wins the presidential elections in Brazil. Noteworthy is that Bolsonaro shuts down the Department of Culture immediately and merges it with two other departments into the Department of Citizenship. There is a similar situation in Flanders, where the role of minister of Culture is no longer deemed a full time position in its own right. The responsibilities are merged with the minister-president's of the Flemish government. Both examples, Brazil and Flanders, are but two of many, from different countries across the globe, where the symbolic value of (political) rhetoric on Art and Culture aims to drive the general perception that art and culture are luxuries or sub-categories and not essential endeavours in society. No better way to silence critical voices than to limit their responsibilities and resources. The dismantling of the public sector's infrastructure is always a shared tactic of far-right political manoeuvres.



**BBC** Sign In Home News Sport Earth Reel Worklife

**NEWS**

Home | Israel-Gaza war | War in Ukraine | Climate | Video | World | UK | Business | Tech | Science

Asia | China | India

## Why are there protests in Hong Kong? All the context you need

© 21 May 2020

Contains some violence.

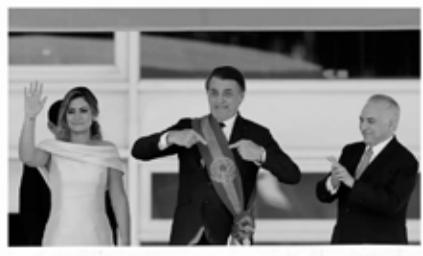
How Hong Kong got trapped in a cycle of violence

Get your copy of The Year Ahead - your essential art world companion.

Brazil News  
Gabriella Angeletti  
9 January 2019  
View

### Jair Bolsonaro's government extinguishes Brazilian ministry of culture

The departments of culture, sports and social development have merged



Jair Bolsonaro at his inauguration on 1 January 2019. AP Photo/Chris Wedel

Brazil's new far-right president, Jair Bolsonaro, has dissolved the ministries of culture, sports and social development, merging them into a single department called the ministry of citizenship. Oscar Terra, the former minister of social development under Bolsonaro's predecessor, Michel Temer, will lead the department. Taking over on 2 January in Brasilia, Terra said that the ministries "have merged, not disappeared".

DONALD TRUMP

### Trump mocks Greta Thunberg after she wins Time Person of the Year

"So ridiculous," Trump tweeted. "Greta must work on her Anger Management problem, then go to a good old fashioned movie with a friend! Chill Greta, Chill!"

### Climate crisis: 6 million people join latest wave of global protests

Week of strikes and demonstrations is 'only the beginning', say organisers

Matthew Taylor, Jonathan Watts and John Bartlett  
Fri 27 Sep 2019 19:24 CEST



📍 Demonstrators in Lisbon on Friday, part of a global climate strike joined by an estimated 2 million people worldwide. Photograph: Patricia de Melo Moreira/AFP/Getty Images  
Six million people have taken to the streets over the past week, uniting across timezones, cultures and generations to demand urgent action on the escalating ecological emergency.

### PERSON of the YEAR TIME



GRETA THUNBERG  
THE POWER OF YOUTH

Donald J. Trump  
@realDonaldTrump - Follow

So ridiculous. Greta must work on her Anger Management problem, then go to a good old fashioned movie with a friend! Chill Greta, Chill!

Roma Downey @RealRomaDowney  
Congrats @GretaThunberg

1:22 PM · Dec 12, 2019

160.5K Reply Copy link to post

Read 93.4K replies

## Sölvesborg, Sweden.

After the 2018 Swedish elections a number of municipalities in Sweden come under the direct governance of SD, the Sweden Democrats. One of those municipalities is Sölvesborg, the home town of SD party leader Jimmie Åkesson and his then wife, Louise Erixon, who became the mayor of Sölvesborg city.

In **2019** SD drafted and voted a 220-point program for the municipality, with four clear political provocations, to serve as a local, political *tour-de-force* laboratory that would pave the way for SD's rise to power in 2022. The provocations were carefully chosen to be exemplary for SD's ideology and closely followed the populist handbook in targeting minorities and immigrants. Contemporary arts, LGBTQ+, the library system and refugees all got their fair share: 1) Stop buying public art in line with the recommendations of the national cultural policy goals, 2) change the rules around the use of official flagpoles, with the result that rainbow flags may no longer be flown from them, 3) request edits, in violation of the national library law, to the local library plan, resulting in no longer buying foreign language children's books for school libraries, 4) stop participating in the national refugee spread... all textbook populist strategies to polarise voters and cement the "us vs. them" rhetoric needed to undermine established democratic principles and values.

The provocations did not miss their mark and Sölvesborg put SD on the map. Reactions started flooding traditional and social media alike.

I mounted my first exhibition *DES-*, in Stockholm, Sweden, together with Anna Edsjö (SE), architect and exhibition designer.

SVT, 9/9/2019

Sölvesborg municipality stops purchasing “challenging contemporary art”.

Sölvesborg wants to see major changes in the cultural field. Now the SD-led municipality wants to see “classic and timeless” public art in the city, and therefore wants to completely stop the purchase of “challenging contemporary art”. On Monday the proposal was voted through in the city council.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

19/10/2019

Sölvesborg kommun stoppar inköp av “utmanande samtidskonst” i SVT Nyheter

svt NYHETER

Lokalt

/ KULTUR



Men den stora allmänheten vill nog inte ha mens-konst vid matsalsbordet.

2018 föreslog Sverigedemokraterna att Liv Strömquists verk The night garden skulle bytas ut mot ett klassiskt motiv i Stockholms tunnelbana. Nu blir samma förslag verklighet i Sölvesborg, där kommunen vill sätta stopp för vad man kallar för “menskonst”. Foto: Sverigedemokraterna/SVT

## Sölvesborg kommun stoppar inköp av “utmanande samtidskonst”

Publicerad 9 september 2019

Sölvesborg vill se stora förändringar på kulturområdet. Nu vill den SD-ledda kommunen se “klassisk och tidlös” offentlig konst i staden, och vill därför helt stoppa inköp av “utmanande samtidskonst”. Under måndagen röstades förslaget igenom i kommunfullmäktige.

Under måndagen är det exakt ett år sedan svenskarna gick till valurnorna. I



Where *Sölvesborg 2019* was the start of the new “Entartete Kunst”-thinking in Sweden, the exhibition *DES- (Delenda est Sölvesborg\*)* was my start to formulate answers through art. *DES-*, set up in collaboration with Anna Edsjö, was an Art Rally Exhibit: not so much a traditional exhibition that documents and presents, but an art exhibit that tried to offer next steps and activation, grounded in community and calling for participation.

In short: the public was asked to destroy 429 black ink sand castles for a small fee. The collection could then sponsor the 6.5hr bus trip Stockholm-Sölvesborg (and back) in order for artists, art lovers, art enthusiasts... to travel to Sölvesborg and participate in a Silent Protest March. The public could claim their protest poster to make protest signs for the march and were given the opportunity to sign the *open letter to Sölvesborg* before publication.

\* After Marcus Porcius Cato’s *Delenda est Carthago* (“Carthage must be destroyed”)



The exhibition reached the local press in Sölvesborg (± 550km South of the Capital) and they published the open letter to their city. The local art scene had mixed reactions; from reaching out to collaborate on future projects to feeling patronised. Although this last reaction was to be expected, seeing as the anti-capital sentiment\* in Sweden is very present, it signalled a misreading of the seriousness and implications of what was unfolding politically on the local level, i.e. a political provocation executed on the local level to reverberate nationally needed a national reply. Unfortunately, the exhibition only gathered a fraction of the money needed for the bus trip and the silent march never materialised, nor did the national political or public reply.

### Sölvesborg/Far-right populism 1 - Art/Democracy 0

\* The sentiment that a country's Capital decides and the rest of the country needs to follow/listen without having a say. An easy breeding ground to generate polarisation.

**des-** prefix

• with canceling or separating effect in relation to the condition in question, the specified process, etc.

JFR de-

EXAMPLE: disarm; disillusioned; disintegration; disorganized

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

des- förled

- med upphävande eller avskiljande verkan i förhållande till det aktuella tillståndet, den angivna processen etc.

JFR de-

EXEMPEL: *desarmera*; *desillusionerad*; *desintegration*; *desorganiserad*

HIST.: sedan ca 1620; av fra. *dés-*, lat. *dis-* med samma betydelse











Join THE MARCH TO SPEAK UP  
TAKE #  
FREE  
SUPPORT A PROTEST POSTER  
15kr

DES-



anna  
Edsib

anna  
ugh  
DES-

## Open letter to Sölvesborg:

Sölvesborg, you sent us, the art community, a series of provocations to get our attention. You succeeded: you have our undivided attention.

Your symbolic questions - as Louise Erixon described them - require our close attention, which we can only provide if we are by your side. Let us stand together and declare Sölvesborg our new Swedish Art Capital.

Relocating our art community's headquarters to Sölvesborg will take time; we will start gradually by setting up satellite programs for our top art schools, our major museums and biggest galleries. That way we will be able to organize major art symposia, conventions, seminars, exhibitions... in our new art HQs. We will require some new infrastructures to house all these art activities; what you cannot provide, we can build together.

To celebrate our new Swedish Art Capital we are coming over to say hello! Artists, art workers, art lovers and art enthusiasts from all over the country, from Malmö to Göteborg to Stockholm to Sölvesborg and everything in between, will want to get a feel of the new art HQ surroundings. After the introduction, we will visit our new art capital much more frequently to get everything up and running.

As a community we are very connected internationally; we will want to show off our new art capital Sölvesborg to our international friends. As international tourists they will need food and beds. The restaurants, bars, hotels and B&Bs are going to prosper in the years to come.

For really big events, biennials or triennials, we'll need even more accommodations. Kassel attracts around one million visitors these days for Documenta - that's 10% of the Swedish population.

The investments will not remain without return, especially when we succeed in winning the ECOC (European Capital of Culture) in 2026. We will be pressing our Minister of Culture to get the call started. More art, more tourism and more attention.

As for your policy makers: political policies come and go. Art however always remains. The first art works in the caves are still there, but we've forgotten who was the chief of the tribe then. Yes, you'll want to elect new policy makers. You'll want people in office that understand the return of investment on art. It's normal to embrace art and its gentrification effects: throughout history art has always made the regions where it's active more lucrative for everyone - to be brutally honest, mostly for the ones surrounding the arts; that will be you, Sölvesborg.

We are looking forward to this challenge: we finally got the right incentive to stand as one and show the strength of one of the oldest disciplines in human history; utmanande menkonst. ✂

Sölvesborg is dead, long live Sölvesborg!

See you soon,

Warm wishes

Art

\* utmanande menkonst ≈ ± translates to challenging menstruation art referring to the narrative that was spun by SD politicians in favour of traditional art. This was their main argument against following the national cultural policy goals voted into parliament in 2009.

# "Gör Sölvesborg till Kulturhuvudstad"

- På tisdagen publicerades ett öppet brev riktat till Sölvesborg och dess styrande politiker.
- Avsändare är en grupp kulturpersoner, de flesta bosatta i Stockholm.
- De vill göra Sölvesborg till Europeisk Kulturhuvudstad och presenterar en vision om kommande evenemang i staden.

**KULTURDEBATT.** Bland annat planeras en tyst protestmarsch genom Sölvesborg, datum är ännu inte fastställt.

Sölvesborgs kultur- och minoritetspolitik har fått uppmärksamhet av flera olika skäl, men just det här initiativet beror framför allt på skrivningen om kommunens konstin köp.

**Enligt den nya policyen** ska Sölvesborgs kommun prioritera tidlös och klassisk konst som ger uttryck för och harmoniserar med kommunens historia, lokala identitet och fysiskt bebyggda miljö – och välja bort utmanande samtidskonst.

Samstyrets skrivning har väckt stor uppmärksamhet och nu kommer alltså ett initiativ att göra kommunen till Europeisk Kulturhuvudstad, med en mängd aktiviteter.

**Det öppna brevet** är undertecknat av 18 personer med anknytning till konst, de flesta boende i Stockholm. Flera är utbildade vid Konstfack och flera har internationell bakgrund och internationell karriär. I spetsen står Belgisk-svensken Thierry Mortier.

Det hela började med en utställning i slutet av oktober: DES (Delonida Est Sölvesborg), vilket – på svenska kan läsas som "Sölvesborg är förstört".

**Ur utställningens text:** "De senaste händelserna i Sölvesborg är strategiska hönstenar till att på kommunal nivå motarbeta de mål för den svenska kulturpolitiken som beslutats på nationell nivå. Om ingen markering görs nu, kommer de värderingar som uttryckts i Sölvesborg att växa under de kommande fyra åren – de har redan börjat spridas. När SD/KD/M tar över regeringsmakten 2022 kommer konstvärlden ha genomgått fundamentala förändringar och alla kommer att uppleva effekten av detta: institutionerna, konsthallarna, teatern, danshusen, konstskolorna, konstnärskollektiven, off spaces,

konstnärerna, konstläsarna och konstentusiasterna..."

De som besökte utställningen fick erbjudande om att förstöra en liten del av ett större konstverk. För detta betalade de en avgift som skulle finansiera en hyrbuss för att konstnärerna skulle kunna resa till Sölvesborg för en manifestation.

- Vi fick inte ihop tillräckligt med pengar, säger Thierry Mortier, så nu söker vi andra sätt att transportera oss dit.

- Utställningen ville skapa medvetenhet om vad som händer i Sölvesborg och vad som skulle bli följden om samma tänkande fick bestämma hela Sveriges kulturpolitik efter nästa val, berättar Thierry Mortier.

**DES anordnade** han tillsammans med Anna Edsjö, arkitekt och designer, och de övriga undertecknarna är utställningsbesökare.

- Det är konstskare, konsthantverkare eller konstnärer.



Anna Edsjö och Thierry Mortier är två av de 18 som har skrivit ett öppet brev till Sölvesborgs kommun i Konstens namn. Bilden kommer från den utställning som ville peka på följderna om Sölvesborgs kulturpolitik skulle gälla hela Sverige. FOTO: ELLERBÖR COLIN

**Har ni någon anknytning till Sölvesborg?**

- Så fort vi hade läst artiklar om Sölvesborg tog jag kontakt med Karin Målestam i Sölvesborgs konstförening, säger Thierry Mortier.

**Han har sedan fortsatt** att ha kontakt med henne, men vill gärna föra en dialog med alla som är be-

kymrade över utvecklingen i kommunen.

**Ni planerar manifestationer i Sölvesborg?**

- Anna Edsjö och jag har påbörjat planeringen av en tyst marsch, vi förbereder en ansökan om tillstånd.

- Vi har också startat ett upprop för att gå till kulturministern och begära att Sverige ska ansöka om

att Sölvesborg får bli "European Capital Of Culture" ECOC.

Nu återstår alltså att se vad Amanda Lind och regeringen tycker om förslaget.

**TEXT**  
INGEMAR LÖNNBOM  
ingemar.lonnbo@tblt.se  
0455-770 00

## FAKTA

### Här är det öppna brevets text

- Öppet brev till Sölvesborg:
- Sölvesborg, med en strid ström av provokationer har ni sökt fånga vår, konstvärldens, uppmärksamhet. Ni har lyckats. Ni har väckt oödlad uppmärksamhet.
- Era symboliska frågor – såsom Louise Erixon beskriver dem – kniver vår direkta uppmärksamhet.
- En uppmärksamhet vi bara kan ge er om vi står vid er sida. Låt oss stå tillsammans och förklara Sölvesborg för nya svenska Konsthuvudstad.
- Att förflytta konstvärldens högkvarter till Sölvesborg kommer att ta tid. Vi börjar gradvis med att initiera fyller för våra främsta konstskolor, museer och gallerier. På så vis kan vi organisera stora konstsymposier, mässor, seminarier, utställningar och så vidare i vårt nya konst-högkvarter. Vi kommer att behöva en del ny infrastruktur för alla dessa konständelser, det ni inte har möjlighet att erbjuda kan vi bygga tillsammans.
- För att få våra nya Konsthuvudstad kommer vi över till er för att sälja Hej Konstnärer, konstarbetare, konstläsare och konstentusiaster från hela landet, från Malmö till Göteborg till Stockholm till Sölvesborg och allt däremellan, kommer att vilja få en känsla för omgivningarna runt vårt nya Konst-högkvarter. Därefter kommer vi att besöka vår nya Konsthuvudstad mycket ofta för att sätta allt i rullning.
- Som grupp har vi väldigt många internationella kontakter, och vi vill stolt visa upp vår nya Konsthuvudstad Sölvesborg för våra internationella vänner. Som turister kommer de att behöva mat och sovpplatser. Era restauranger, baren, hotell och Bed & Breakfasts kommer att gynna de kommande åren.

- För de verkligt stora evenen, biennaler eller triennaler, behöver vi ännu mer husum. Kassel (DE) lockar cirka en miljon besökare nuförtiden för Documenta - det motsvarar 10 procent av den svenska befolkningen.
- Investeringarna kommer inte att vara förgäves, speciellt när vi lyckas vinna ECOC (European Capital of Culture) år 2026. Vi kommer att insistera på att vår Kulturminister ansöker om detta. Mer konst, mer turism och mer uppmärksamhet.
- Vad gäller er beslutsfattare: politiska riktlinjer kommer och går, men konsten består. De första konstverken i grotorna finns fortfarande kvar, men vi har glömt vem som ledde stammen då. Ja, ni kommer att vilja vilja nya beslutsfattare. Ni kommer att behöva ett styre som förstår den avkastning investeringen i konsten ger. Det är normalt att omfamna konsten och dess statusförändringsprocess: genom historien har konsten alltid skapat lukrativa samhällen där den är aktiv - för alla. För att vara riktigt ärlig, alla mest för de som omger konsten. Det vill säga er, Sölvesborg.
- Vi ser fram emot den här utmaningen, vi har antingen fått en morot som får oss att stå ensade och visa styrkan hos en av de äldsta disciplinerna i den mänskliga historien: utmanande menskonst.

Sölvesborg is dead, long live Sölvesborg!  
Vi ses snart,  
Varma hälsningar  
Konsten"

"Make Sölvesborg the capital of culture",  
Ingemar Lönnbom  
Blekinge Läns Tidning,  
Nov. 6th 2019.

KULTURREDAKTÖR:  
Ingemar Lönnbom  
0455-770 00

TIPSA OSS!  
kultur@tblt.se  
noje@tblt.se

SENASTE NYTT  
tblt.se/kultur-noje



It's unfair to state that there was no national reply to what happened in Sölvesborg at all. The minister for culture, democracy and sport, Amanda Lind (Environmental party), wrote and commented abundantly on all channels available to her. Gitte Ørskou, the newly appointed director of Moderna Museet, the contemporary art museum in Stockholm, wrote an opinion piece for the left oriented national newspaper Dagens Nyheter. Politicians from all interested parties debated the matter in Parliament and plenty of coverage and opinions were formulated and printed... to be precise, except for *verbal and written* replies, there was no national *action*-based reply, i.e. nothing happened.

No formal reprimand to the municipality for breaking the national library law, nor for disregarding the national cultural policy goals, nor for not executing the national refugee spread, which was very much SD's game plan from the start: to target minor issues that have huge *symbolic value* for the voter's base and are extremely hard to counteract, e.g. the national cultural policy is a national guideline, not a law.

It played extremely well into the hands of SD to show that nobody would stop them and they could get away with anything they set their mind to. Politically speaking it was one of many more master strokes to come that would influence the general public opinion.

Sölvesborg in the party leaders' debate



LEDARE

## Sölvesborg uppe i partiledardebatt

LEDARE | Onsdag 18 07, uppdaterad Onsdag 18 16

Debatt Kulturpolitik 17 september 2019 kl 10:38

### Politiker måste även tåla rebellisk konst

Nacka kommuns instruerande av den offentliga konsten har gått för långt. Det här är inget enskilt fenomen. Det offentliga tycks allt oftare inkräkta på den konstnärliga friheten. Sölvesborgs kommun är ett annat exempel.

Det här är en opinionstext

4 min läsning

Sara Edström  
ordförande Konstnärernas riksgesamhet

Politiken ska hålla en armlängds avstånd till konsten, skriver Konstnärernas riksgesamhet. Foto: Magnus Lejhäll, Adam Walfar, Bildbyrå

Politicians must also tolerate rebellious art

Democracy relies on fair play and doesn't have a fail-safe built into its structures (except for the vote). – TM

**2020** Covid-19 hits the world, which has an immediate impact on both the political and media rhetoric that the global public had been subjected to since the beginning of the 2000s.



## Covid pandemic drove a record drop in global carbon emissions in 2020



Empty Champs Elysees avenue is pictured on March 28, 2020 in Paris, France. The country has introduced fines for people caught violating its nationwide lockdown measures intended to stop the spread of COVID-19.

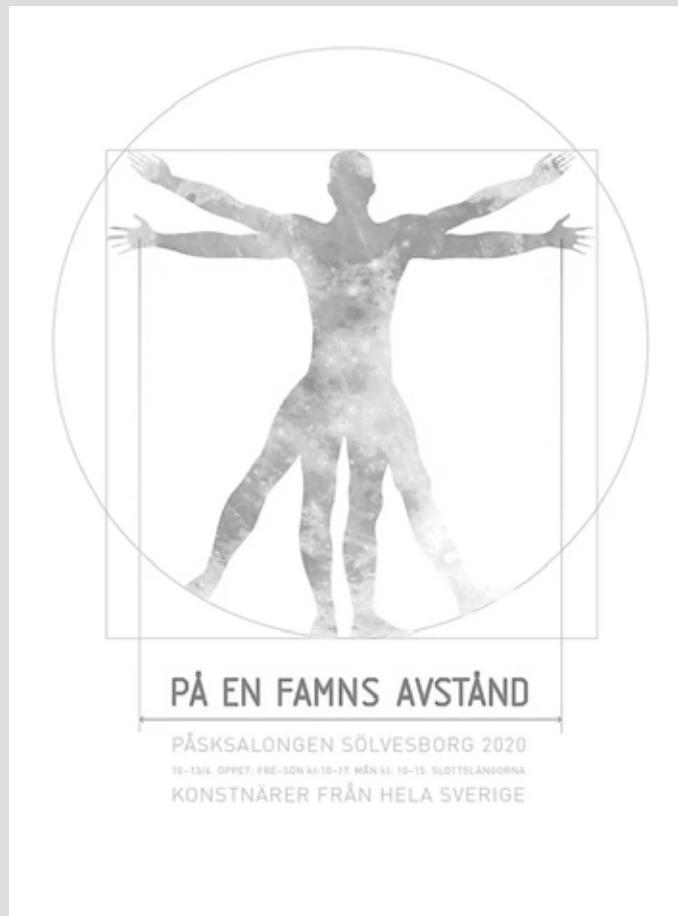
*Pascal Le Segretain | Getty Images*

For a little while, the constant demonising and efforts to split and polarise voters was paused to make way for a different narrative where *we all* replaced *us vs. them*.\*

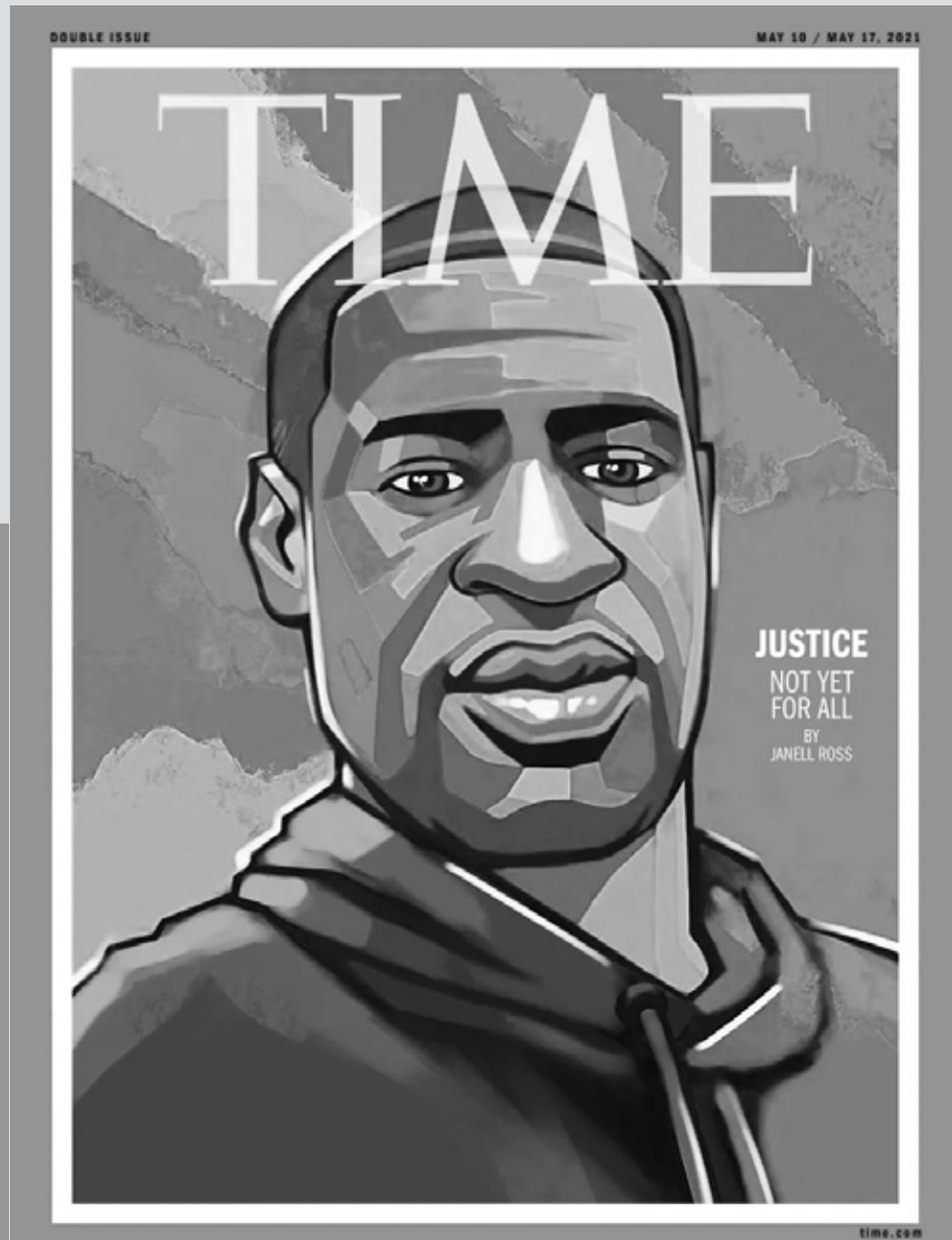
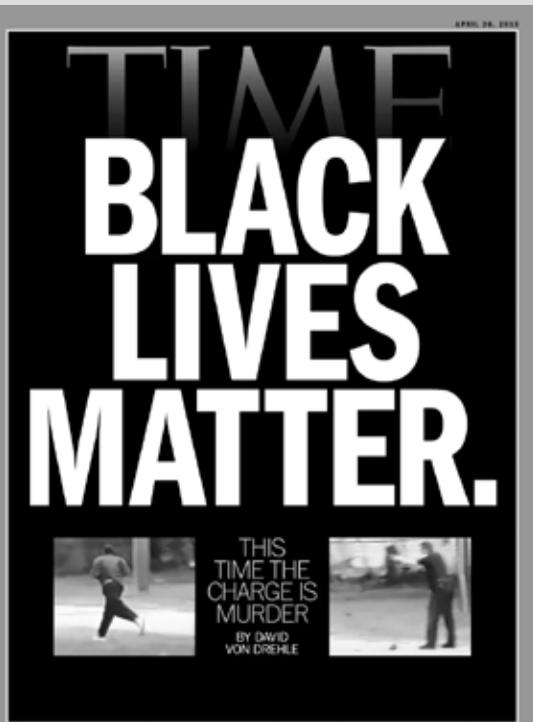
The pause did not last however and once the time came to start campaigning again the populist rhetoric was brought back with a vengeance.

\*This did not apply to those countries that had already fallen for the populist far-right, e.g. the US and Brazil kept up with the demonising but they changed targets, e.g. denying that there was a pandemic, denying that the vaccines worked, etc.

Attila Forsman, a local artist in Sölvesborg who organised an annual group exhibition in the municipal spaces there, had reached out after the DES- exhibition and had started working closely with Anna Edsjö to set up a final group show - *before the municipal council sold off their spaces* - in the heart of the Lion's den. The show "PÅ EN FAMNS AVSTÅND" (at a distance of an arm) that was set to open in April 2020, bringing together a never seen before group of local and national artists, was postponed and finally cancelled due to the pandemic restrictions.

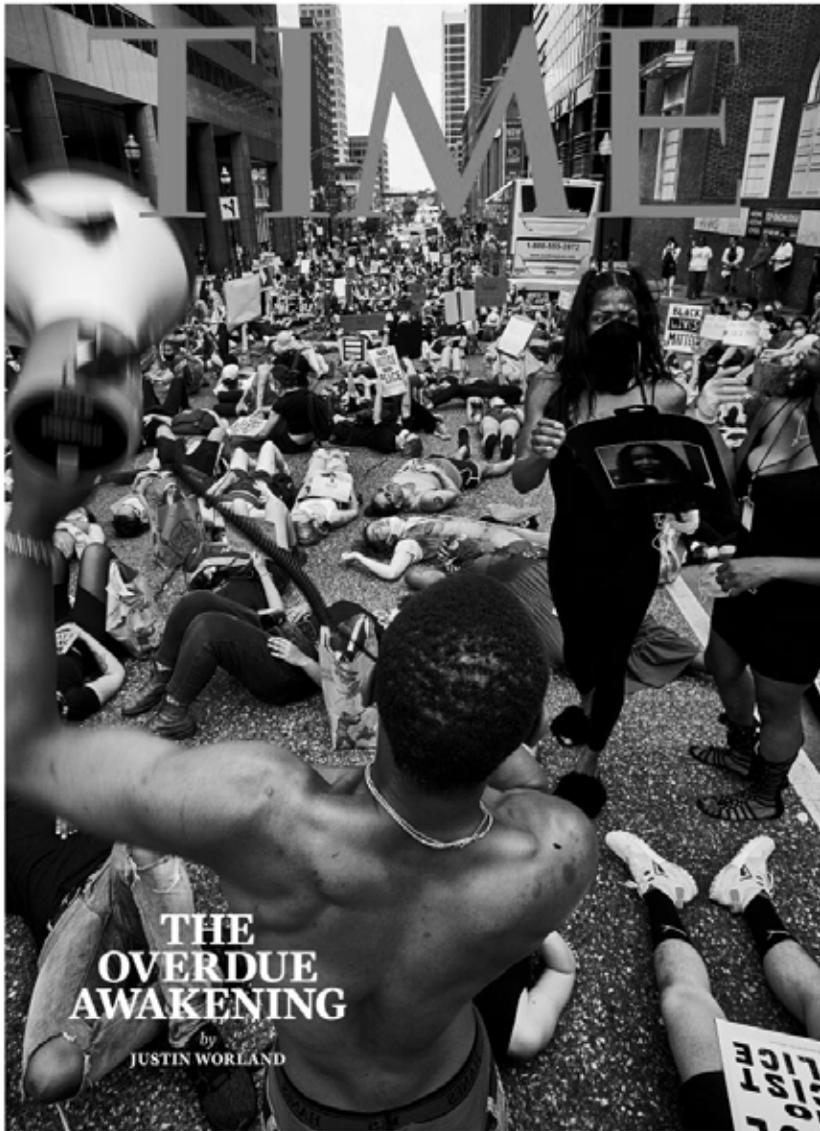


7,000km from Sweden, in the streets of Minneapolis, Minnesota, George Floyd was murdered in broad daylight by Derek Chauvin, a white police officer who knelt on Floyd's neck for more than 9 minutes while Floyd was lying face down with hands cuffed behind his back. The brutality of the murder being captured live on bystanders' phones and going viral across the globe added yet another name of unwarranted violence to the ghastly list of victims of white supremacy in the US that pushed the #BLM Black Lives Matter-movement to nationwide and international levels.

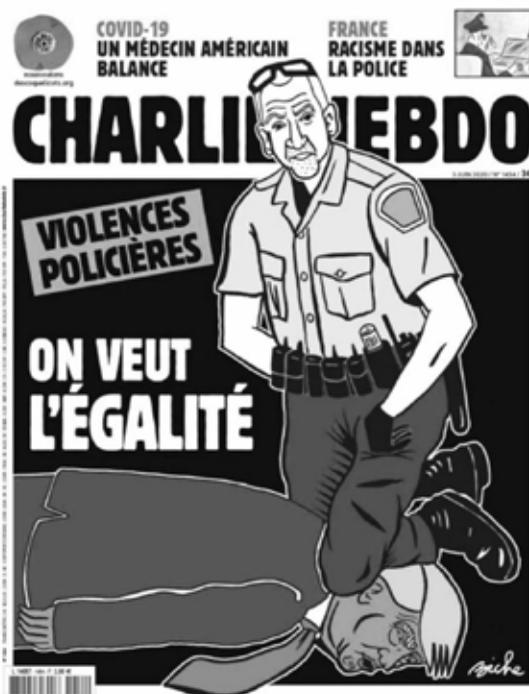


DOUBLE ISSUE

JUNE 22 / JUNE 29, 2020



time.com



In November 2020 Joe Biden and Kamala Harris won the US election race, preventing the sitting president D.J. Trump from taking up a second term.

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# US election 2020: How the world reacted to a Biden win

🕒 9 November 2020



| Joe Biden and Kamala Harris are projected to win Pennsylvania, sealing their bid for the White House

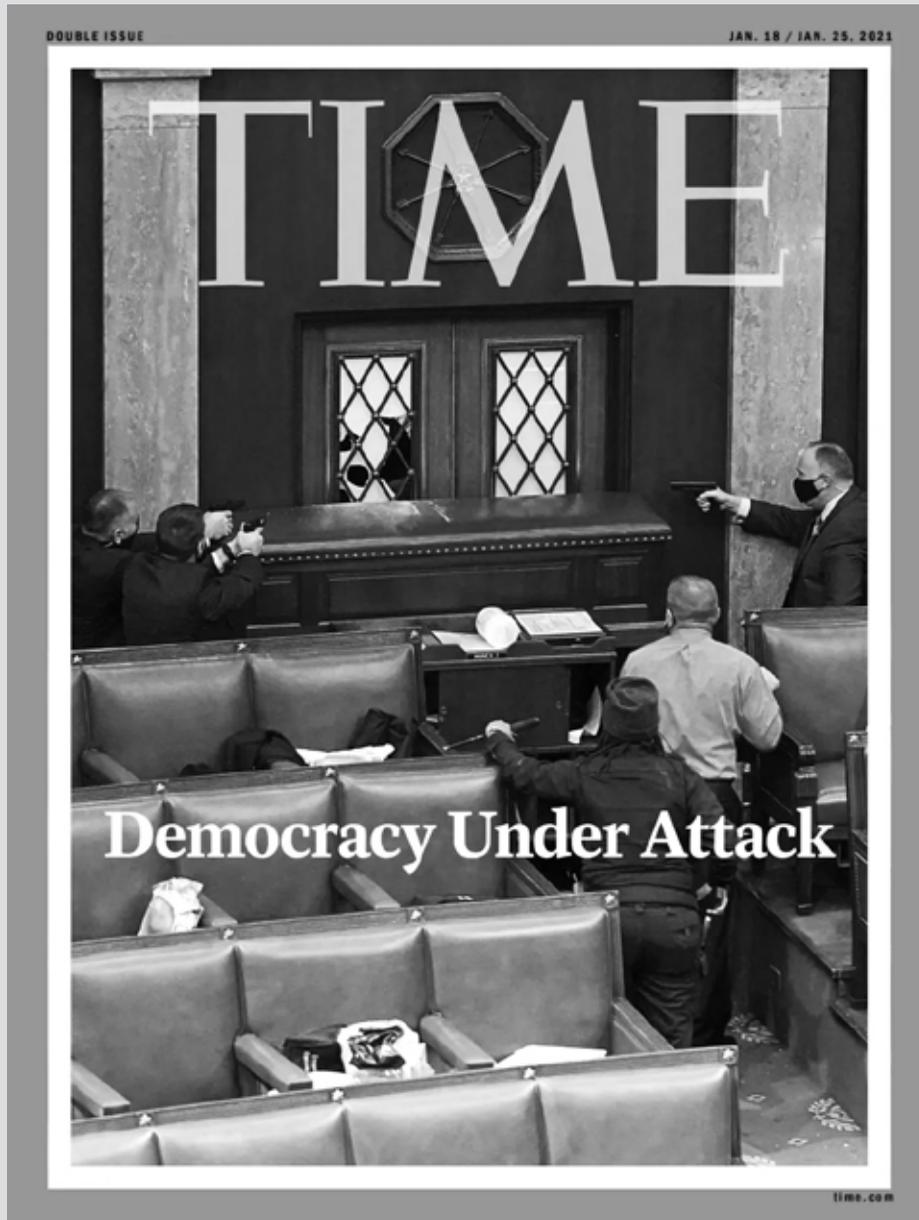
**The world is reacting to the projected victory of Joe Biden over Donald Trump in the US presidential election.**

For days, people around the world have been glued to the White House race.

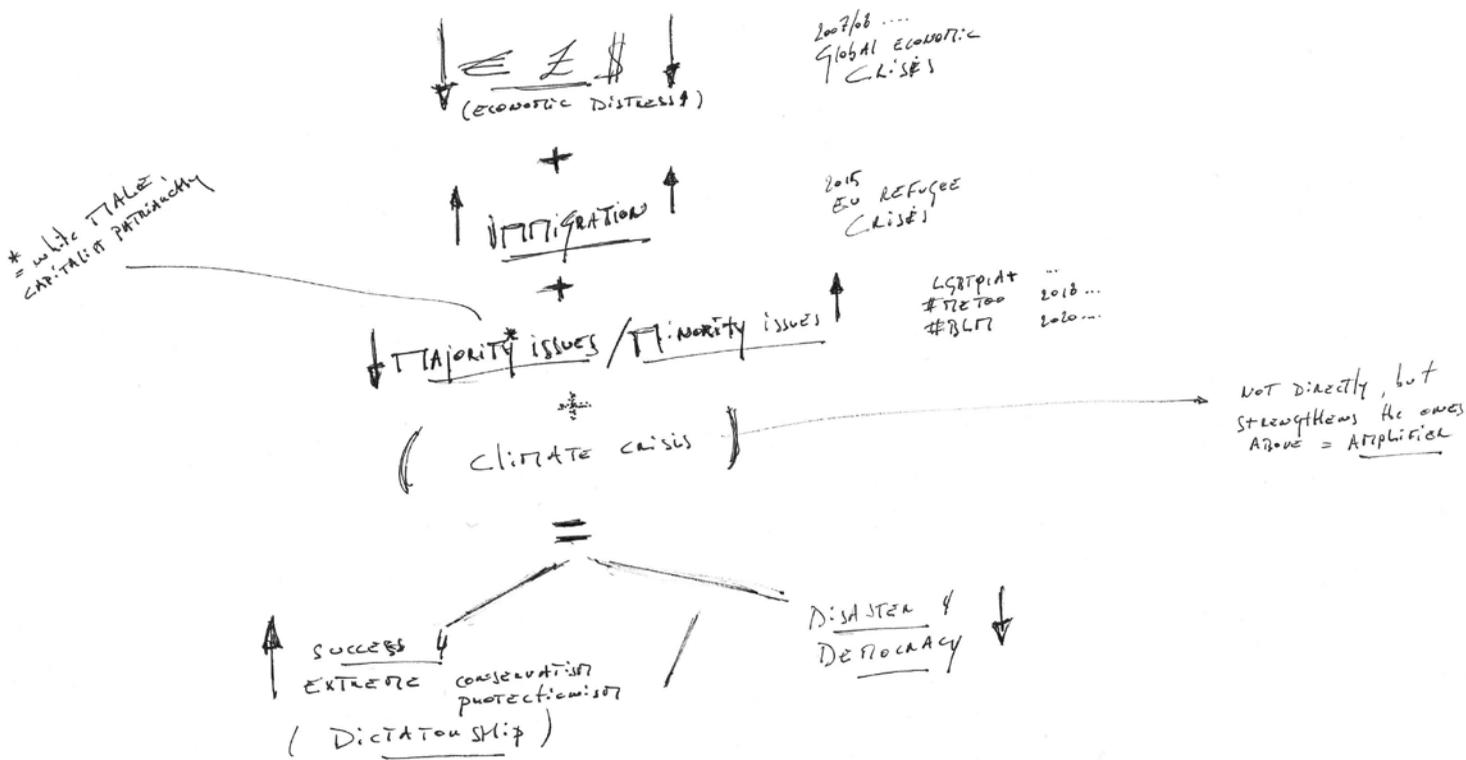
It is not just the US that the election of a new president affects - a new leader in the White House can transform the country's foreign policy and its approach to its friends and foes alike. Here is how some of the world's leaders have reacted, and where they stand with the US.

**2021** On January 6th the US Capitol was stormed by pro-Trump supporters after Trump's unsupported claim that the elections had been fraudulent. Three years later Trump would campaign again for the presidency while facing charges of insurrection and sedition across the US. Not accepting the outcome of democratic elections will be yet another populist strategy that will see itself replicated across the globe, e.g. the storming of the Brazilian parliament after Bolsonaro contested his defeat in 2022...

The scene has been set, the backdrop is up: Democracy under attack.

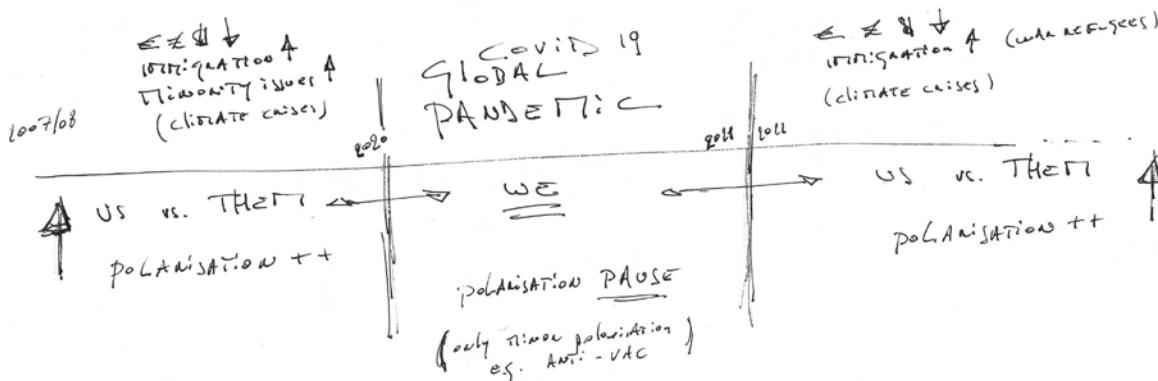


In the simplest terms and definitions: a dominant culture feels threatened through economic distress + an influx of different cultures + a perception of cultural change happening, i.e. traditional values having to make way for new values and perspectives = a protectionist, xenophobic, conservative push back that prioritises maintaining the (often mythical perception of) status quo above democratic values.



"We (i.e. our way of life)" are under threat from "Them", and democracy is not an integral part of that way of life, it is a tool to maintain that way of life, i.e. if the tool does not maintain "our" status quo then other means are available.

Mediatized  
Rhetorics



A short break in the polarisation rhetoric appeared during the global covid-19 pandemic, to be picked up again once that crisis was "over". The pandemic itself created more financial distress that worsened further once the war started in Ukraine, causing inflation all over Europe and at the same time generating another war refugee mobilisation.

In the run-up to the Swedish national elections of 2022 a plethora of organisations, thinkers, artists, activists, engaged citizens and more had voiced their concerns and predicted the radical political shift Sweden was facing; namely the imminent victory of the far-right, Trump-copycat, anti-immigration, Islamophobic and homophobic populist party SD, the Sweden Democrats.

The biggest takeaway from the context sketched above is that the battle for power - *democratic or otherwise* - is always waged on the fields of perception and belief.

*[Whoever gets the most believers wins, regardless of the story's truth value]*

## Drilling Down: What Autocrats Attack

- Censorship of the media and repression of CSOs increases and academic freedom declines in more than 25 of the autocratizing countries.
- Academic and cultural freedom, and freedom of discussion also rank among the top institutions attacked by autocratizing rulers.

## Disinformation, Polarization, and Autocratization

- Disinformation, polarization, and autocratization reinforce each other.
- Top democratizers conversely reduce the spread of disinformation substantially, and to some extent also polarization.

Disinformation and toxic levels of polarization<sup>25</sup> are global trends reinforcing and worsening autocratization.

DAGENS NYHETER, 22/08/2022

PREVENT SWEDEN FROM BECOMING A POPULIST RIGHT-WING STATE.

CONTRIBUTOR. We must admit to ourselves that Sweden isn't more resilient to populist rhetoric than any other country. Prevent Sweden from becoming a populist right-wing state, writes visual artist Thierry Mortier.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

2022-08-22 16:50 "Förhindra att Sverige blir en populistisk högerstat" - DN SE

**DAGENS NYHETER.**

En utgåva från Dagens Nyheter, 2022-08-22 kl 16:50  
Arkivera webbplatsen: <https://www.dn.se/insandare/forhindra-att-sverige-blir-en-populistisk-hogerstat/>

INSÄNDARE

*Insändare. "Förhindra att Sverige blir en populistisk högerstat"*

” ”

PUBLIKERAD 16:41



SD-ledaren Jimmie Åkesson i ett tal i Stockholm i torsdags. Vi måste förhindra att Sverige blir en populistisk högerstat, anser insändarskribenten. Foto: Alexander Mahmoud

**INSÄNDARE. Vi måste erkänna för oss själva att Sverige inte är mer motståndskraftigt mot populistisk retorik än någon annat land. Förhindra att Sverige blir en populistisk högerstat, skriver bildkonstnären Thierry Mortier.**

# The difference between *prevention* and *damage control*: timing.

Prevention means you know what you have.  
Damage control means you have no idea  
what you'll be able to salvage – if anything.

[The effort remains the same – the return, not so much]

– TM



Hong Kong protest aerial view, video still from "A Brief History of Protest in Post-Handover Hong Kong - Amy Gunia", Time.com.

**Agency  
presupposes  
Urgency .**

-TM

Compared to other European countries, Sweden still maintained a very high, institutionalised support for the arts in 2018 when I moved to Stockholm. The political trend was clearly indicating where Sweden would land in 2022 and the consequences for the Swedish art world would be dire - unsurprising, but dire. Art, as a general, abstract concept will never suffer from this or that national, political shift, but the artists and art structures in that country will and, in the specific case of talking about a democratic country being steered in the direction of autocracy, there's a direct link between the artistic freedom of expression and the more broadly defined freedom of expression that is a cornerstone for a genuine democracy, i.e. when the arts suffer, the people suffer.

The only significant difference between the international artists living and working in Sweden and the Swedish artists was that the majority of international artists didn't have to *believe* what was coming their way, because they knew. Polish, Belarussian, Hungarian, Turkish, Iranian, Brazilian, and Flemish artists *knew* for a fact that the threats made to art and culture during the political rise to power of populist ideology (Left or Right) always get turned into genuine attacks and eradication of free artistic expression once they seize power. The reason why the international artists knew is that they had already lived through it in their countries of origin. The Swedish artists got stuck with belief; they had to *believe* that the worst-case scenario was unfolding before their eyes. Not in the distant future, but right there and then. In terms of the agency needed to mobilise, there's a world of difference in terms of urgency when it comes to knowing and believing.

Anonymous:

- *When do people act?*

TM (Thierry):

- *When the feeling of urgency reaches a critical height then emotion drives action.*

Anonymous:

- *Can you push and expedite action?*

TM:

- *Kind of. By forcing the feeling of urgency, e.g. the storming of the US Capitol on Jan. 6th '21, was generated, mediated and incited through the repeated message that the democratic process had been maliciously hijacked and the election was robbed. The rhetoric around the event of D.J. Trump losing the vote created the urgency for his hard-core voter base to retaliate, i.e. act. There was however an event at the core of the insurrection. Something unexpected had happened (Trump lost), and this event was nicely contained in time and space. When there is no event to speak of, e.g. slowly eroding a democracy from within by executing strategic cuts over long periods of time, then the fall of a democracy, once all the pillars that held it up have been cut, tends to come as a surprise to the general public.*

It means that people are easily mobilised after an event has happened, i.e. *after the facts*. Expediting urgency *before the facts*, i.e. before the events start happening, is nigh on impossible because it relies on the 'belief of urgency' rather than on the 'feeling of urgency', which activates emotional responses.

Prevention is always the preferred action. Unfortunately, damage control seems to be the human M.O., the common way of approach.

### **FROM NOT VERY FUN FACTS**

The Swedish budget for art and culture has been quite stable over the last 10-15yrs and is approximately 0.6% of the national budget (ESV & SCB).

The Swedish Arts Grants Committee (Konstnärnsnämnden) listed in their 2016 report, *Demography, income and social conditions of artists*, that there were approximately 30,000 professional artists - across all disciplines - working in Sweden.

### **ONTO THE BATTLEFIELD OF (MEDIATED) PUBLIC PERCEPTION**

The larger context hinted - *not very subtly* - at the importance of perception. A dominant\* public opinion is something that is created over time and largely depends on how a certain topic is handled in mass media, e.g. if artists only get featured on prime-time news when it pertains to this or that scandal, then the dominant perception is created that artists only create scandals. Regardless of whether this is factual, it will be believed as being true and shape common opinion, primarily through the mechanism of repeating the message.

\* Dominant means a perception that the majority of people adhere to or believe to be true, e.g. *regular exercise is good for your health* can be said to be a dominant general perception when the majority of people believe that to be true. In the field of cultural analysis, cultural codes are categorised as residual, dominant, and emergent codes and contextualised in a delimited space and time, e.g. Same-sex marriage has been legal in Belgium since 2003. Although it can be said that a large part of the Belgian population accepts this - with the law in place for over 20 years, everyone 20 or younger has never known otherwise - homophobic crimes still recurrently feature in the news headlines. The cultural concept first emerged as a novel idea disrupting common acceptance. Over a long period of time support grew to a majority and it became law. The emergent, disruptive code reached a dominant status of acceptance. It replaced the then-current belief that only heterosexual marriage was morally and ethically acceptable, turning that last into a residual code - a lingering belief that incidentally explains the recurrence of homophobia. While this processual change has happened in a set of countries already, the same cultural code is nowhere to be spotted in countries that enforce anything from prison sentences to death penalties for LGBTQ+ community members, which exemplifies that cultural codes are anchored in time and space, and very often those borders are national. Finally, those cultural codes change constantly, i.e. achieving the status of a dominant code does not mean the code will keep that status, e.g. under the far-right populist rule in Poland and Hungary the equal rights of the LGBTQ+ community were heavily curtailed again.

The Culture Wars erupting everywhere around the globe can be simplified to *the local and timely battles for dominance of cultural codes* and are the main tools for political ideology to win voters and enforce regulations that receive broad support.

## ON ART

Some of the most perpetuated (mis)conceptions on art, artists and the art world in the general media [in a democratic context that financially supports the arts]:

- art is *elitist*, i.e. not for everyone
- artists are *tax-leeches*, i.e. not self-sufficient and relying on taxpayers money to survive
- art is *provocation*; morally degenerate
- artists are *individualistic*, i.e. not team players
- the art world is *outside the norm*, i.e. not a regular industry
- artists and the art world are politically *on the Left*
- art support does not generate a return on investment, *no ROI*
- art is a *luxury*, i.e. not essential for society
- art is a *hobby*, i.e. not a profession

SEE NEXT PAGE

All of these (mis)conceptions were at play in Sweden (2018-2022), which is the context for this and all subsequent chapters up to the appendix that deals with what happened *after the 2022 election*. All of them played a significant role in formulating the vision behind

## KVADRENNALEN, PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREATS.

Fun fact: in marketing and advertising "The Rule of 7" states that for an advertising message to stick with consumers, they must hear it a minimum of seven times.

Tabell 1a. Offentliga utgifter för kultur 1997–2021, nominella belopp samt årlig förändring och andel av BNP. Miljoner kronor och procent.

Table 1a. Public expenditures on culture 1997–2021 in nominal amounts, as well as annual change and share of GDP. SEK Million and percent.

År	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Staten	10 028	10 218	10 502	10 585	10 661	11 043	11 125	11 185	11 903	12 333	13 607	13 627	17 240	18 692
Regionerna	3 214	3 291	3 332	3 429	3 477	3 602	3 760	3 945	4 097	4 361	4 404	4 610	4 670	4 757
Kommunerna	9 373	9 344	9 499	9 676	10 001	10 326	10 600	10 885	11 276	11 507	11 931	12 239	12 411	12 893
<b>Summa</b>	<b>22 615</b>	<b>22 853</b>	<b>23 333</b>	<b>23 690</b>	<b>24 139</b>	<b>24 971</b>	<b>25 485</b>	<b>26 015</b>	<b>27 276</b>	<b>28 201</b>	<b>29 942</b>	<b>30 476</b>	<b>34 321</b>	<b>36 342</b>
Förändring per år, procent	3,0	1,1	2,1	1,5	1,9	3,4	2,1	2,1	4,8	3,4	6,2	1,8	12,6	5,9
Andel av BNP, procent	0,66	0,68	0,65	0,64	0,64	0,65	0,64	0,61	0,62	0,61	0,62	0,60	0,68	0,67
BNP	3 412 253	3 341 167	3 573 581	3 727 905	3 743 086	3 822 671	3 992 730	4 260 470	4 415 031	4 629 094	4 628 306	5 049 619	5 036 536	5 457 092*

Källa: Bearbetning av uppgifter från ESV och SCB.

\*Uppgiften för 2021 är preliminär.

Jumping way ahead, in Sept. 2023 the head of the Stockholm School of Economics wrote an opinion piece on the misconception of ROI of art & culture for the national Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter. He eloquently stated that the media and politically advanced opinion that *economy is the end and culture is the means* is completely upside-down, and that it should be the other way around: culture is the goal and economy is the means.

Before we get to 2023 (see appendix) two things are highly relevant about the opinion piece: 1) the art scene responded very positively to Lars Strannegård's piece and with good reason. Few art writers have formulated the connection between art and economy from a societal perspective as poignantly as Strannegård. 2) more relevant to the vision at hand: most of the outside political threats to the arts and culture do not have the thinking backwards at all, e.g. the far-right populist SD's tactics are precisely what Strannegård states. SD has a certain culture as a goal in mind and they are using economic and financial tactics to reach it. Only, it's not an open or free culture they envision, it is a directed and authoritarian culture they have in mind. The real kicker is that they propagate and perpetuate the upside-down logic to get the general public to support their crackdown on art and culture they do not approve of.



I diskussionen om kulturens eventuella lönsamhet kan det vara på sin plats att påminna om vad ekonomi i grunden handlar om, skriver Lars Strannegård.

Foto: Alexander Mahmoud

KULTURPOLITIK

## Det är befängt att kräva att kulturen ska vara lönsam

Om kulturen bidrar till arbetstillfällena och tillväxt applåderas den. Om inte pekas den mot skattnär. Men tillväxt och ökade resurser kan aldrig vara ett mål i sig, utan enbart ett medel för att uppnå något annat, skriver Lars Strannegård, rektor för Handelshögskolan i Stockholm.

Den senaste tidens kulturdiskussioner har i allt väsentligt handlat om finansieringsfrågor. Nationalmuseums hyresnivåer, ekonomiskt tillskott för att låga Naturhistoriska museets rasanade tak, och inte minst Norrköpings finansiering av kulturen har varit uppmärksammade. Niklas Rådström beskriver på dessa sidor (DN 17.9) skäligen de kärva ekonomiska villkor som de flesta i kultursektorn verkar under.

Det underliggande antagandet från politiskt håll i Norrköping är att kulturen måste bära sig. Dagens industris ledarsida ger understöd: "Om man inte kan låna pengar på sin kultur så har man heller inte berört tillräckligt många människor". Det är ingen udda syn, snarare en ytterligt spridd bild i samhället. De som inte bär sina egna kostnader etiketteras oftare som del av "kulturren" än de som genererar överskott av sin kulturproduktion. Om kulturen genererar överskott på marknadsmissliga villkor är den hedervärd och legitim. Om inte kan tillfällens som "bortskämd" och "felutsläkt" kastas in i lekens. Om kulturen presenteras som en motor som bidrar till arbetstillfällena, innovation och tillväxt applåderas den av många. Om inte pekats den mot skattnär.

Kulturen ska enligt denna syn vara självfinansierad, och allra helst generera ett överskott. Tankemodellen lyckas vara att kulturen är ett medel och ekonomin ett mål. Den manövrerar sig i frågeställningar som: Hur lönsamma är kultursatsningar? Vad är kulturen värd? Hur mäter man kultursatsningar på bästa sätt?

Det är naturligtvis legitima frågor när offentliga medel används och kassan är skral. Vad ger kulturen? Frågan förväntas besvaras i kronor och ören. Någotlunda här blandas dock medel och mål ihop, oningen förväntas. Det kan vara på sin plats att påminna om vad ekonomi i grunden handlar om. Ekonomi handlar om hushållning av resurser, och resurser är delaktiga som verktyg för att uppnå något. Tillväxt och ökade resurser är aldrig mål i sig, utan enbart medel för att uppnå något annat.

I diskussionerna om ekonomi glöms målet ofta bort. Resonemangets själva konsekvens negligeras. Allt ha pengar på sitt bankkonto är ju i grunden inte ett självändamål. Pengar tillkännas ett värde för att de möjliggör något. De ger ägaren en potential. Pengarna är alltså ett sätt att kvantifiera det möjliga. Det mätbara förklarar oss att tala förrent skäligen om det som annars ter sig svårgräpat och elendigt. Men målet med resurser, oavsett om de tillhör en individ, ett företag, en kommun eller en nation, är att de möjliggör för människor att leva innehållsrika liv. Liv som kan vara solidariska, bekväma, hälsosamma, kärleks- och meningsfulla. Ekonomi och tillväxt är ingenting annat än medel för att möjliggöra sådana liv.

I den internationella debatten har frågor om resurser som mål eller medel uppmärksamats. På Handelshögskolan inrättar vi nu en ny professor och centrumtjänst som fokuserar på frågor om välbefinnande och lycka. I en artikelserie nyligen lyfte The Economist just dessa frågor och sällre därmed strålkastarljus på centrala mål med samhällsbygget. Måken helns in modien.

I kulturens värld kan det uttryckas som att ekonomi är ett medel och kultur ett mål. Kultur bär upp samhällen och gör dem innehållsrika; kultur bidrar med meningfullhet. Den hjälper oss att lösa vår historia och samtid samtidigt som den förtjänar vår fantasi och erbjuder namn där vi kan festa våra tankar och formulera visioner om framtiden. Kulturen kan inge hopp om förändring i de dystiska böder. Den hjälper oss till närvaro, livslust, och reflektion. Den ger oss samtalssamaren och kärlek: imitation, glädje eller förändring. Den kan öppna upp för nya perspektiv och därigenom öka sannolikheten för lösningar för det framtida. Genom musik, arkitektur, litteratur, konst, mode, konstutställningar, scenkonst och film kan vi möta oss själva och andra och förstå varandras drömmar, förhoppningar och rädslor. I stort och smått är kulturen alltid närvarande, varje konstnär med sitt unika uttrycksätt och möjligheter att se och tolka världen. Kultur engagerar, frågasätter och provocerar. Kultur kan inte reduceras till ett medel för att generera lokal, regional eller nationell tillväxt.

Det är i det här sammanhang som det blir befängt att ställa frågan om kultur kan skapa ekonomi. Frågan borde ju vara precis den motsatta; hur kan vi använda ekonomiska medel till att skapa så mycket och så bra konst och kultur som möjligt? En plats, situation eller ett sammanhang där vi inte väger oss för dess mångfacetterade, komplexa natur. Där så många erfarenheter som möjligt kommer till tals. Och där kulturaktörer förväntas ägna sina krafter åt i första hand kulturskapande, och inte åt att formulera sin verksamhet i ekonomiska termer.

När medien är knappa måste blicken riktas fast mot målet. Perspektiven behöver vändas. Kulturen behöver resurser: alltså ekonomi och finansiering för att kunna fortsätta växa i vår samhällsrop. En rik och yvigt blomstrande kultur är målet; ekonomin är medlet.

Lars Strannegård är professor och rektor för Handelshögskolan i Stockholm.

Lars Strannegård

## Requiring culture to be profitable is ridiculous

If culture contributes to jobs and growth, it is applauded. If not, it is shunned. But growth and increased resources can never be an end in itself, but only a means to achieve something else, writes Lars Strannegård, Rector of the Stockholm School of Economics.

The recent cultural discussions have essentially been about funding issues. The National Museum's rent levels, financial supplements to repair the Natural History Museum's collapsing roof, and not least Norrköping's financing of culture have raised high waves of debate. Niklas Raadström described in these pages (DN 17 September) the harsh economic conditions under which most people in the cultural sector operate.

The underlying assumption from political quarters in Norrköping is that culture must support itself. The editorial page of Dagens Industri provides support: "If you can't make money from your culture, you haven't touched enough people". This is not an unusual view, but rather an extremely widespread one in society. Those who do not bear their own costs are more often labelled as part of the 'cultural elite' than those who generate a surplus from their cultural production. If culture generates a surplus under market conditions, it is honourable and legitimate. If not, labels such as 'spoilt' and 'elitist' can be thrown into the mix. If culture is presented as an engine contributing to jobs, innovation and growth, it is applauded by many.

According to this view, culture should be self-financing and preferably generate a surplus. The idea seems to be that culture is a means and the economy an end. This manifests itself in questions such as: How profitable are cultural programmes? What is culture worth? How do you best measure cultural initiatives?

These are, of course, legitimate questions when public funds are used and cash is scarce. What does culture provide? The question is expected to be answered in dollars and cents. Somewhere here, however, means and goals are mixed up, the order is confused. It may be appropriate to recall what economics is fundamentally about. Economics is about the management of resources, and resources are the same as tools to achieve something. Growth and increased resources are never ends in themselves, but merely means to achieve something else.

In discussions about economics, the end is often forgotten. The very consequence of the reasoning is neglected. Having money in your bank account is not an end in itself. Money is recognised as having value because it makes something possible. It gives the owner a potential. Money is therefore a way of quantifying the possible. The measurable enables us to speak in a supposedly factual manner about what otherwise seems elusive and ephemeral. But the purpose of resources, whether they belong to an individual, a company, a municipality or a nation, is

to enable people to live meaningful lives. Lives that can be solitary, comfortable, healthy, loving and meaningful. Economy and growth are nothing more than means to enable such lives.

In the international debate, questions about resources as ends or means have been highlighted. At the Stockholm School of Economics we are now establishing a new professorship and centre focusing on issues of well-being and happiness. In a recent series of articles, The Economist highlighted these issues and thus put the spotlight on key objectives of social construction.

In the world of culture, this can be expressed as the economy being a means and culture an end. Culture sustains societies and makes them rich in content; culture contributes meaningfulness. It helps us to interpret our past and present, while fostering our imagination and providing spaces where we can share our thoughts and formulate visions of the future. Culture can offer hope for change in the darkest of times. It helps us to be present, inward, and reflective. It gives us topics for dialogue and emotions: irritation, joy or wonder. It can open up new perspectives and thus increase the likelihood of tolerance for the unfamiliar. Through music, architecture, literature, art, fashion, crafts, performing arts and cinema, we can meet ourselves and others and understand each other's dreams, hopes and fears. In large and small ways, culture is always present, each art form with its unique way of expression and possibilities to see and interpret the world. Culture engages, questions and provokes. Culture can be interpreted as a means of generating local, regional or national growth.

It is in this context that it becomes preposterous to ask how culture can create an economy. The question should be exactly the opposite: how can we use financial resources to create as much and as good art and culture as possible? A place, situation or context where we do not shy away from its multifaceted, complex nature. Where as many experiences as possible are heard. And where cultural workers are expected to devote their energies to creating culture first and foremost, and not to formulating their activities in economic terms.

When funds are scarce, we need to look firmly at the goal. Perspectives need to be reversed. Culture needs resources: i.e. economy and funding in order to continue to grow in our society. A rich and flourishing culture is the goal; the economy is the means.

**Lars Strannegård** is Professor and Rector of the **Stockholm School of Economics**.

Translated with  
DeepL.com  
(free version)

Art cares not for freedom.  
Art needs no protection.  
Art cannot be threatened.

Free artistic expression does (need protection)  
and can (be threatened).

Free artistic expression is a contextualised right, i.e.  
the concept of free artistic expression is generated and  
guaranteed through conventions that are part of the social  
contract.

In Sweden the main conventions that guarantee free artistic  
expression (based on the general freedom of expression) include  
the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the constitution of  
the European Union, the Swedish constitution and the Cultural  
policy goals voted in Parliament in 2009.

Free artistic expression is intrinsically linked to the concept  
of democracy. No democracy, no guaranteed freedom of (artistic)  
expression. As such, all threats to the freedom of (artistic)  
expression are a direct threat to democracy.

To stand up for free artistic expression is indirectly standing  
up for democracy.



Culture Policy  
Goals voted in  
Parliament 2009

## Mål för kultur

Målen för kulturpolitiken är att kulturen ska vara en dynamisk, utmanande och obunden kraft med yttrandefriheten som grund, att alla ska ha möjlighet att delta i kulturlivet och att kreativitet, mångfald och konstnärlig kvalitet ska präglade samhällets utveckling.

## Swedish cultural policy

The current national cultural policy objectives were established in 2009.

The Swedish cultural policy objectives are formulated as follows:

*Culture is to be a dynamic, challenging and independent force based on the freedom of expression. Everyone is to have the opportunity to participate in cultural life. Creativity, diversity and artistic quality are to be integral parts of society's development.*

### The Ministry of Culture

The Ministry of Culture in Sweden is responsible for issues regarding culture, media, democracy, human rights, minorities, national minorities including Sami culture and language. The ministry also oversees anti-discrimination policy and issues regarding civil society and faith communities, as well as sport and youth.

**A simple idea:**

What if we get the entire art scene,  
all the disciplines  
(visual, sound, word, stage/performance, other),  
all the levels and positions  
(private, state, semi-private, artist, curator, director, art  
worker, other)  
together,  
during election year,  
and take a stand,  
for art,  
with our art.

Do it before the arts get cut,  
i.e. before the facts,  
before a radical political shift happens that wants to curb,  
limit, censor, and take away free artistic expression.

And avoid having to demonstrate  
when it's too late to stop the cuts.

No damage control, but prevention.

“It suffices to be a  
sign virtually in  
order to signify in  
act”

– Tractatus de Signis, John Poincot  
(John of St Thomas, 1589–1644)

When, as a group, you are perceived as being split, **show** unity. The battlefield is one of perception, i.e. you do not have to *have* unity, you only need to *show* it.

Understanding the rules of the game is the first imperative.

When the arts get cut, people demonstrate, in the hope of getting some things back. The people demonstrating are genuinely united at that point but their hope is unfounded, i.e. hope is always future-directed and virtual.

When you prevent the cuts from happening, by showing an image of cohesion and strength in numbers, the underlying unity might only be superficial, but the result is real.

It's the most natural of defences, e.g. animals lacking strong defences will make themselves look bigger or more threatening to ward off predators (deimatic behaviour), i.e. they *bluff*.

# Malcolm X

(1925 - 1965)

## "The Ballot or the Bullet"

King Solomon Baptist Church, Detroit, Michigan - April 12, 1964

2: IDEA

This afternoon we want to talk about the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet explains itself. But before we get into it, since this is the year of the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally, concerning my own personal position.

I'm still a Muslim. That is, my religion is still Islam. [applause] My religion is still Islam. I still credit Mr. Muhammad for what I know and what I am. He's the one who opened my eyes. [applause] At present I am the minister of the newly founded Muslim Mosque Incorporated, which has its offices in the Theresa Hotel right in the heart of Harlem, that's the black belt in New York City. And when we realize that Adam Clayton Powell, is a Christian minister, he has Abyssinian Baptist Church, but at the same time he's more famous for his political struggling. And Dr. King is a Christian minister from Atlanta Georgia, or in Atlanta Georgia, but he's become more famous for being involved in the civil rights struggle. There's another in New York, Rev. Galamison, I don't know if you've heard of him out here, he's a Christian minister from Brooklyn, but has become famous for his fight against the segregated school system in Brooklyn. Rev. Cleage, right here, is a Christian minister, here in Detroit, he's head of the Freedom Now Party. All of these are Christian ministers [applause] ...all of these are Christian ministers but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters in some other category.

I am a Muslim minister. The same as they are Christian ministers, I'm a Muslim minister. And I don't believe in fighting today on any one front, but on all fronts. [applause] In fact, I'm a Black Nationalist freedom fighter. [applause] Islam is my religion but I believe my religion is my personal business. [applause] It governs my personal life, my personal morals. And my religious philosophy is personal between me and the God in whom I believe, just as the religious philosophy of these others is between them and the God in whom they believe. And this is best this way. Were we to come out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the out start and we could never get together.

So today, though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic and social philosophy is black nationalism. You and I - [applause] As I say, if we bring up religion, we'll have differences, we'll have arguments, and we'll never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God, but when we come out here we have a fight that's common to all of us against a enemy who is common to all of us. [applause]

**“Were we to come out here discussing religion, we’d have too many differences from the out start and we could never get together“**

- Malcolm X, 1964, The ballot or the bullet

*How to unite the necessary, critical mass when the members are extremely opinionated is a pickle. Malcolm X tried to take religion off the table to get to the core of the civil rights movement. It’s one of the most ancient dictums, the enemy of my enemy is my friend, find common ground to stand on...*

The idea of KVADRENNALEN wasn’t about starting an art movement *à la cubist-, surrealist-, arte povera-, expressionist-dance,...-movement*, which would be an *artistic* movement; instead, it looked to start a movement *for* art, more specifically a movement *for art in society*.

Instead of talking about *religion*, Malcolm X talked about *civil rights*. Instead of talking about *art*, KVADRENNALEN needed to talk about *art in society*.

## Nothing to lose:

Doing nothing or doing the same thing that actually got us in this situation in the first place would not yield any result other than the one predicted.

The simplicity of the idea, to keep it on the actual playing field of perception, was the closest to doing nothing or doing exactly the same as always, as possible. No one would NEED to make any extraneous effort, since there is almost no effort required to create *the image of unity* (illusionary or not): PUT EVERYTHING IN THE SAME BUCKET, i.e. put all the work of artists and art organisations (that they will be doing anyway) under one massive umbrella. And, out of nowhere, the perception can spread that the most scattered industry is working together as one. One mega art festival to celebrate art in society.

And, if it doesn't yield any results, then for a considerable amount of time all disciplines, all levels, all art players will have worked together, possibly making new allies and network connections along the way, inevitably making the entire field stronger than before.

Nothing to lose? No, everything to gain and at (almost) zero cost.



**What if we  
unite  
*for nothing*  
and only  
get stronger  
together?**

**The hypothesis:**

Show the general (voting) public that art is essential for society; essential for them – as the citizens making up society, and they will never vote into power any politician that wants to limit or even take away something essential for them, the voters.

CHANGE PERCEPTION

- ...allows the execution of the idea to remain purely about art, more specifically *art in society*.
- No protest movement against one or another political ideology or party, which would make the idea political.
- ...counters the reigning public misconception that art does not matter in society. That art is nothing more than a pastime, an amusement, an entertainment, a decoration. Something that can easily be stopped, de-funded, or dismissed without making a dent into the fabric of society or the lives of the people; a misconception that has been propagated and promoted by both the media and political rhetoric, and which became blatantly clear when the global covid-19 pandemic hit. Art and culture were shut down more or less everywhere – even in Sweden where pretty much any other economic activity was allowed to remain open to the public, e.g. restaurants, bars, hotels, shops...

Countering perception is by far one of the most difficult things to do. Big brands and politicians spend billions doing just that.

Tania Bruguera speaks of useful art or *Arte Útil*. Stephen Willats calls it “counter consciousness”.

Several years ago Bruguera and the Asociación de Arte Útil began a project of discovering and archiving more than two hundred cases of *arte útil* from the end of the nineteenth century onward. This demonstrated that the intention of *arte útil* has always existed, but also that many times it was impossible to implement it.

The important thing is that the notion of *arte útil* does not necessarily imply a solution to a specific problem; it is not art for solving problems but rather art that proposes that the spectator question the system in which he or she is immersed and find indirect solutions. Spectators must be able to recognize themselves as citizens and creative entities to successfully break with the system in which they are immersed and conceive of new possibilities. As much as art is a space for experimentation from the basis of sensorial experiences, it can also be a space for the implementation of new realities.

### **3. *Arte útil* implies ethics as aesthetics.**

Art provokes the spectator's discovery of something that he or she did not know. This discovery may cause fear—even anguish. At the same time it makes the spectator question what he or she did before coming into contact with the art. Art repositions us in the world, and makes us question it.

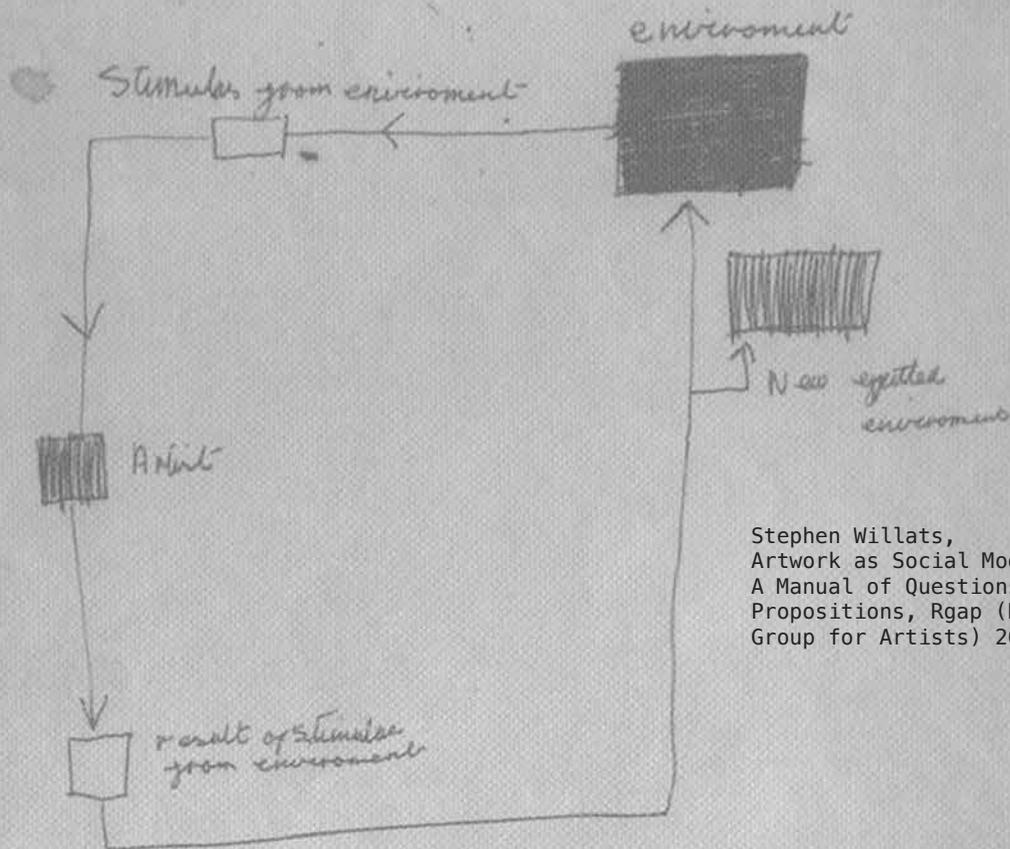
This rethinking, this implicit questioning, is perhaps the most ethical activity there is. Ethics in art is in the moment of friction, not the moment of consensus; ethics is the activity of questioning and of opening oneself to whatever other option has not previously been contemplated. Art should not conform to everyone's taste; when it does, it means that it is insufficiently critical or has fallen into populism. Above all, *arte útil* must situate spectators in contradictions and lead them to take positions, and shift the system in which it is inserted into a state of crisis.

## **ARTIST AS INITIATOR**

### **1. Every artist is an author, and every author is an initiator.**

The concept of sole authorship is just a remnant of modernism. Every artist is the author of a process—a process that he or she may initiate but that then remains open to the public that interacts with it.

# STEPHEN WILLATS ARTWORK AS SOCIAL MODEL



Stephen Willats,  
Artwork as Social Model:  
A Manual of Questions and  
Propositions, Rgap (Research  
Group for Artists) 2012, UK

A MANUAL OF QUESTIONS AND PROPOSITIONS

## INTIMATE AND DISTANCE MODELS OF PERCEPTION

There are numerous ways in which a person acquires their perception of an event or phenomenon, though generally they can be considered to fall into two categories:

1. An external source transmits information to them which subsequently affects their perception, e.g. A tells B about X.
2. They experience the event or phenomenon directly, e.g. A sees X.

Although, inevitably, a person acquires information by a combination of both means. Similarly, in looking at perceptions of art practice as an activity within society two different viewpoints can be defined:

1. Perceptions that are formed through a person directly experiencing art practice, either as an artist, audience or some other role.
2. Perceptions that are formed on art practice via some intermediary body, newspapers, television etc.

Perceptions derived from direct experience result in what I have termed Intimate Models, and indirectly formed perceptions result in Distance Models, the term 'Model' referring to the mental orderings a person has made about art practice. If art is seen as fulfilling some direct function for a person they are likely to form an Intimate Model. These functions can be diverse, but in each case direct experience plays an important part for fulfilment. If a high priority for attending to art is a dependent condition for an Intimate Model, on the other hand a low priority might be equated with a Distance Model. While it certainly might be generally true that a dividing line can be seen between people involved in the development of art, i.e. the so-called avant-garde, and the general public in terms of Intimate and Distance Models, the situation becomes more complex in practice.

For example, art might be engaged in to meet like-minded persons, so a person joins an evening institute and within their class room they develop Intimate Models of a particular mode of operation, but as far as the avant-garde is concerned, they retain a Distance Model. In this case a further definition is required for Intimate Models, and that is that a person is able to bring to bear on a work the world of references used by the artist. Distance models have a function to the communities and individuals that hold them; for example, though a person might not have met a millionaire, their Distance Models of their life style might play an important part in determining their aspirations and motivations. In a similar way, though a person holds a Distance Model of art, has not been to an Art Gallery, or met an artist, it still has some function for them.



## EXTENDING THE SOCIAL MEANING OF ART

In examining how art relates to society two fundamental modes of operation can be observed.

1. Art that reinforces perceptual stereotypes of society, while not necessarily originating them.
2. Art that instigates changes in the way we view perceptual stereotypes of society.

The first mode of operation is the most prevalent one within society as it is bound up with the process of maintaining its status quo of values and beliefs, however it is the second relationship that concerns the work of this text.

Various mechanisms within society exert pressure on the community for perceptual conformity as part of the process of stabilising social behaviour. In the absence of a counter pressure directed at initiating changes in social perception, cultural rigidity and stagnation follow. The second cited mode of operation relating art to society functions as an important agent in countering the pressure for perceptual conformity. Stereotypes are projected in society as embodying ideal representations of that society, and stem from such interconnected ideological constructs as its beliefs, aspirations, projections etc. The social need to be seen to be correct, alone, is enough to ensure that the emulation of projected stereotypes in society is a major pre-occupation in a person's life. In attempting to emulate projectional stereotypes a person contextualises them into their own group's structure of behaviour norms and conventions.

## ART AND ITS DEPENDENCY ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLE

The realisation that all 'art' is dependent on society, dependent on the relationships between people, and not the sole product of any one person, is becoming increasingly important to the shaping of future culture. This divestment of authorship is seen as more relevant to an emerging culture founded on networks of exchange, fluidity, transience, and mutuality, as it ultimately offers us the prospect of self-organisation in person and interpersonal society.



Viewing participants' responses on the Public Register Boards, 'From A Coded World'. Perivale Library.



Residents of Linacre Court viewing Display Board as part of the work 'Living Tower'.

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## CULTURAL INFLUENCE THROUGH THE ARTWORK

Artists have long been considered essential to the process by which society generates new cultural sensibilities. Whether the artist has participation in this process as a coherently stated objective is another matter, as such intentions are rarely explicitly specified. For the influence of the artist has historically been accepted as implicit, hidden, or confused with the other functions which society projects onto the artwork. Yet still the means, and it is the means that are fundamentally important, by which the artist seeks cultural influence is through the 'artwork' and hence its central position between the artist's conception and society. In this way there is a tacit understanding that the intention of the artwork is ultimately mediational, that it does, in some unspecified way, interrupt to change perceptions and understandings of an audience. But in reality this is denied by an artwork's plurality, for what is projected onto the artwork by different vested interests is a multiplicity of functions all of which, while diverse, are simultaneously significant.

There are, undoubtedly, many individual, sometimes personally defined functions for art, all of which are equally valued by society, however, they are all the ones that reinforce what society wants from its art. For example: art is a means of denoting social status, but is also a means of psychological therapy; art is a means of financial investment and is also used in education as a means of learning, and so the list goes on. But all these existing functions directly neutralise the idea of an artwork intervening to instigate change in social and cultural perception. In all these functions an intimate passivity is implied, if not directly stated, for the artist, whereby he either reinforces the existing and dominant ideological foundations of the culture,

or relieves the personal and social stress and conflict that stem from their ramifications.

This neutralisation of the artist is despite the fact that most artists, without questioning the social model of their practice, will still claim that they want to, and do, influence the social consciousness of society. But in general their unquestioning acceptance of what has been defined through art history and current social norms as a legitimate procedure for art practice, has entrapped them into reiterating existing precedence.

And this is the crux of the matter, that there is a clear historical and social division in art's function within contemporary Western society between that which reinforces and projects existing cultural idealisations, and an art that instigates changes in cultural and ultimately social perception. It must be self evident that an art which reinforces existing cultural idealisations is going to be by far the most prevalent and visible, for clearly society promotes an art that will fulfil its vested interests. This reinforcement of existing idealisations does not deny the artist the fulfilment of self-expression, providing that the meaning and form of this self-expression is held within what society has legitimised, designated through its institutions as acceptable art practice.

So I see that one outcome of my developing workshop practice for the Art Museum is that I am demonstrating the perceptual relativity inherent in institutional space, by giving it a new social parameter, one that will represent something of the complexities of external realities and societies, and conjoins the inner space of the art museum directly to those outside worlds.

## GOING BEYOND THE ICON

Art as social process opens up the possibility of new functions for an artwork, by denying any object base, but as I have said this in itself renders practice beyond the boundaries of what will currently be legitimized by the institutions of the dominant culture. And this is what is difficult for the artist to accept, that when approval from the dominant culture's institutions is not forthcoming for art as social process, it does not mean that it is 'bad art' and should be discontinued, but it simply needs to be recognized that it cannot operate within the criteria of the institutions. Other criteria for success should be embraced that embody the work's social performance, and other groups of people sought who are outside the existing institutional set-up to provide a new critique for practice that is consistent with the ideological direction of art as social process. Instead of the cult of individualism, so central to approval within the dominant culture, mutually based co-operations should be sought with other artists also working within a framework of counter consciousness. Only when a strong body of work is simultaneously being undertaken by different artists operating outside an object-based territory, who are also in communication with each other, will the lure and power of institutional individualism be neutralized. For the pragmatics of sustaining an individual practice, to the extent that it has an effect that can extend beyond just a very immediate and personal context necessitates a community that is as strong as the dominant culture's institutions and which can provide a real support.

2

Tania Bruguera and Stephen Willats et al. frame an art, from their individual artist perspectives, that remains pure while weaving it deep into other structures that are either societal or political.

Both could be misread as weaponising art or (ab)using art to reach non-art goals, but the start position (and thinking), i.e. it starts from the artists themselves and reveals an artist's thinking about what art is, needs to be... doesn't support the attribution of such ulterior motives. This is not the case when institutions or political ideologies apply the same reasoning, e.g. The Swedish Institute (SI), the public agency charged with promoting interest and trust in Sweden, ran a funding program called "creative force" (discontinued in 2023) that stated "to strengthen democracy and human rights and use media or the arts as a means to bring about change". In the case of SI, a governmental organisation states that they want art to be *used as a means* to bring about change - with the understanding that the change sought is predefined from the get-go; it's the exact same reasoning one can find in the history books around propaganda art. In the case of Bruguera and Willats, they want to see change instigated through art as a way of ensuring that the art is good. Art that cannot be critical\*, art that cannot create counter consciousness, isn't art anymore. It's not about weaponising art to reach another goal, it's about making sure art can fulfill its own definition. The difference in position is crucial.

\* what critical art means isn't the point of discussion here. The point is that criticism needs to be *possible*. The perpetuated platitude that "all art is political" has no truth value from a semiotic perspective: art is not political at all, it's not even possible for art to be political... the *perception and interpretation* of art, that's a different story. **Art is never political, the perception of art is.** A case in point was given by a Polish artist at the 2021 Contemporary Art Days, the annual conference organised by the Public Art Agency Sweden (Statens konstråd) when she spoke about the Polish art scene: at some point it was the norm that contemporary artists took up political subjects in their art. An artist taking up traditional landscape painting was looked down on by the scene. The reverse side of the coin here is that when everyone is doing the same thing, doing the opposite is a clear statement. As such, bringing landscape painting into a very politicised art scene is possibly the most critical thing to do. The art itself however only remains art, it's the perception and interpretation of the work that categorises it.

## A SOCIAL MODEL OF ART PRACTICE

What I think is urgently required now, and has been neglected for so long or submerged in emotion, is a clear, pragmatic understanding of how the artwork can be effective, in a cultural set-up that is so obviously biased against instigatory developments materialising. The gap between the artist's intention and the cultural performance of the artwork obviously needs to be closed if effective intervention is to be realised. It is the artist who will have to articulate a coherent social model of his own art practice, that takes into account relationships between the intentions given to a work, the context in which it is presented and the composition of its audience. The relationship of the artwork to these three variables should be definitely clarified and seen as positively influencing the process of its realisation.

Artwork that seeks to instigate changes in the way we perceive the dominant value structure, so that we can engage in a more person-based consciousness, must establish links with social reality. In this case a consistency must be sought between the consciousness that underlies the artist's practice and the methodologies employed in the artwork itself, since the more the work is directly related to the lives people lead, their problems and their aspirations, the more central its meaning will become. Integral connections between three variables will be essential. 1: The artwork. 2: The audience. 3: The social context.

The closer the artist can bring the perception of reality encoded and forwarded through the artwork, to the reality experienced by the audience, the more powerful are the inferred meanings for that audience. Thus the references loaded in to the work by the artist should be transferable by the audience into their own experience, to parallel situations they've encountered. So the artist will have to act strategically and centre the representations made of the counter-consciousness of self-organisation directly in parallel with the representations held by their audience of the dominant deterministic consciousness.

And it's not new: the same sentiment was already expressed in 1891 when Oscar Wilde wrote about art in "the soul of man under socialism".

Note that socialism first appeared as a term in 1832 and contrasted itself against the liberal individualism of the time.

Wilde describes art as the "most intense mode of individualism that the world has known" in an essay claiming that socialism would ensure that individualism is reachable.

mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. And when scientific men are no longer called upon to go down to a depressing East End and distribute bad cocoa and worse blankets to starving people, they will have delightful leisure in which to devise wonderful and marvellous things for their own joy and the joy of every one else. There will be great storages of force for every city, and for every house if required, and this force man will convert into heat, light, or motion, according to his needs. Is this Utopian? A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.

Now, I have said that the community by means of organisation of machinery will supply the useful things, and that the beautiful things will be made by the individual. This is not merely necessary, but it is the only possible way by which we can get either the one or the other. An individual who has to make things for the use of others, and with reference to their wants and their wishes, does not work with interest, and consequently cannot put into his work what is best in him. Upon the other hand, whenever a community or a powerful section of a community, or a government of any kind, attempts to dictate to the artist what he is to do, Art either entirely vanishes, or becomes stereotyped, or degenerates into a low and ignoble form of craft. A work of art is the unique result of a unique temperament. Its beauty comes from the fact that the author is what he is. It has nothing to do with the fact that other people want what they want. Indeed, the moment that an artist takes notice of what other people want, and tries to supply the demand, he ceases to be an artist, and becomes a dull or an amusing craftsman, an honest or a dishonest tradesman. He has no further claim to be considered as an artist. Art is the most intense mode of Individualism that the world has known. I am inclined to say that it is the only real mode of Individualism that the world has known. Crime, which, under certain conditions, may seem to have created Individualism, must take cognisance of other people and interfere with them. It belongs to the sphere of action. But alone, without any reference to his neighbours, without any interference the artist can fashion a beautiful thing; and if he does not do it solely for his own pleasure, he is not an artist at all.

And it is to be noted that it is the fact that Art is this intense form of Individualism that makes the public try to exercise over it an authority that is as immoral as it is ridiculous, and as corrupting as it is contemptible. It is not quite their fault. The public has always, and in every age, been badly brought up. They are continually asking Art to be popular, to please their want of taste, to flatter their absurd vanity, to tell them what they have been told before, to show them what they ought to be tired of seeing, to amuse them when they feel heavy after eating too much, and to distract their thoughts when they are wearied of their own stupidity. Now Art should never try to be popular. The public should try to make itself artistic. There is a very wide difference. If a man of science were told that the results of his experiments,

and the conclusions that he arrived at, should be of such a character that they would not upset the received popular notions on the subject, or disturb popular prejudice, or hurt the sensibilities of people who knew nothing about science; if a philosopher were told that he had a perfect right to speculate in the highest spheres of thought, provided that he arrived at the same conclusions as were held by those who had never thought in any sphere at all – well, nowadays the man of science and the philosopher would be considerably amused. Yet it is really a very few years since both philosophy and science were subjected to brutal popular control, to authority in fact – the authority of either the general ignorance of the community, or the terror and greed for power of an ecclesiastical or governmental class. Of course, we have to a very great extent got rid of any attempt on the part of the community, or the Church, or the Government, to interfere with the individualism of speculative thought, but the attempt to interfere with the individualism of imaginative art still lingers. In fact, it does more than linger; it is aggressive, offensive, and brutalising.

In England, the arts that have escaped best are the arts in which the public take no interest. Poetry is an instance of what I mean. We have been able to have fine poetry in England because the public do not read it, and consequently do not influence it. The public like to insult poets because they are individual, but once they have insulted them, they leave them alone. In the case of the novel and the drama, arts in which the public do take an interest, the result of the exercise of popular authority has been absolutely ridiculous. No country produces such badly written fiction, such tedious, common work in the novel form, such silly, vulgar plays as England. It must necessarily be so. The popular standard is of such a character that no artist can get to it. It is at once too easy and too difficult to be a popular novelist. It is too easy, because the requirements of the public as far as plot, style, psychology, treatment of life, and treatment of literature are concerned are within the reach of the very meanest capacity and the most uncultivated mind. It is too difficult, because to meet such requirements the artist would have to do violence to his temperament, would have to write not for the artistic joy of writing, but for the amusement of half-educated people, and so would have to suppress his individualism, forget his culture, annihilate his style, and surrender everything that is valuable in him. In the case of the drama, things are a little better; the theatre-going public like the obvious, it is true, but they do not like the tedious; and burlesque and farcical comedy, the two most popular forms, are distinct forms of art. Delightful work may be produced under burlesque and farcical conditions, and in work of this kind the artist in England is allowed very great freedom. It is when one comes to the higher forms of the drama that the result of popular control is seen. The one thing that the public dislike is novelty. Any attempt to extend the subject-matter of art is extremely distasteful to the public; and yet the vitality and progress of art depend in a large measure on the continual extension of subject-matter. The public dislike novelty because they are afraid of it. It represents to them a mode of Individualism, an assertion on the part of the artist that he selects

Note also that in 1891 Wilde felt that both science and philosophy had gotten away from control and that both scientists and philosophers would be amused at the thought that the public, church or government would want to interfere with their work.

Two centuries later the amusement has long disappeared and the "attempts to interfere" that were "aggressive, offensive and brutalising" apply again to the arts and sciences alike.

The populist handbook targets all voices of criticism.

## Art activism redefined:

The idea redefines art activism to mean **activism FOR art** (with art), instead of denoting *activism FOR a cause* with artistic expression, which uses art as a tool FOR something else.

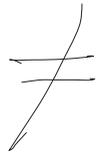
Artistic expression has always had a major impact on spreading messages both from positions of power and from positions opposing power, but it's the cause that defines the kind of activism, not the execution.



The 1968 Memphis sanitation strike.  
Photo: Ernest Withers.



Painting to the public (open-air), 2012, Koki Tanaka.  
Photo: Takashi Fujikawa



# global activism

## Art and Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

For some years now, the world has witnessed the rise of a new activism by critical citizens all over the globe in which political protest often takes the form of spontaneous, noninstitutional, mass action. These mass protests, frequently empowered by networked communication, can succeed in interrupting established systems of power – at least for a short moment in history. The increasing use of artistic expressions by these movements culminates in a kind of “performative democracy” or “artivism” – the combination of activism and art – which is perhaps the twenty-first century’s first new art form. Contributions by leading thinkers, activists, and artists address the many facets of this new social phenomenon and are framed by images of art objects, actions, and documents.

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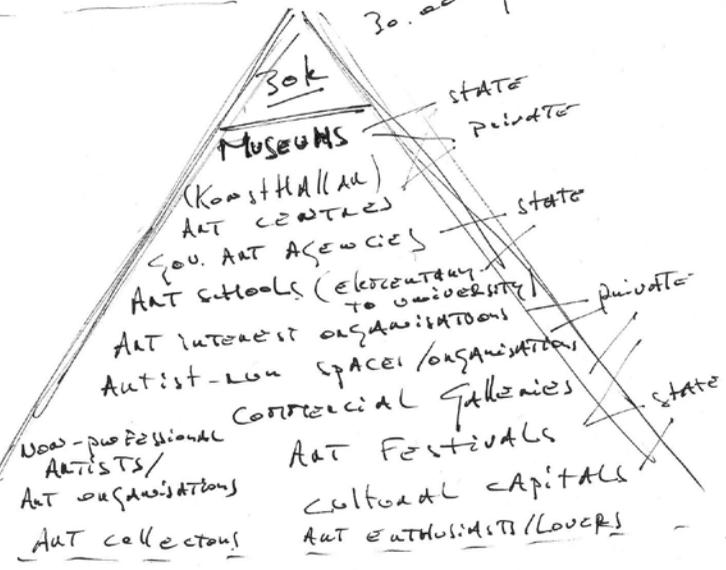


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Potential  
(Kudde wale) Scale / Scope

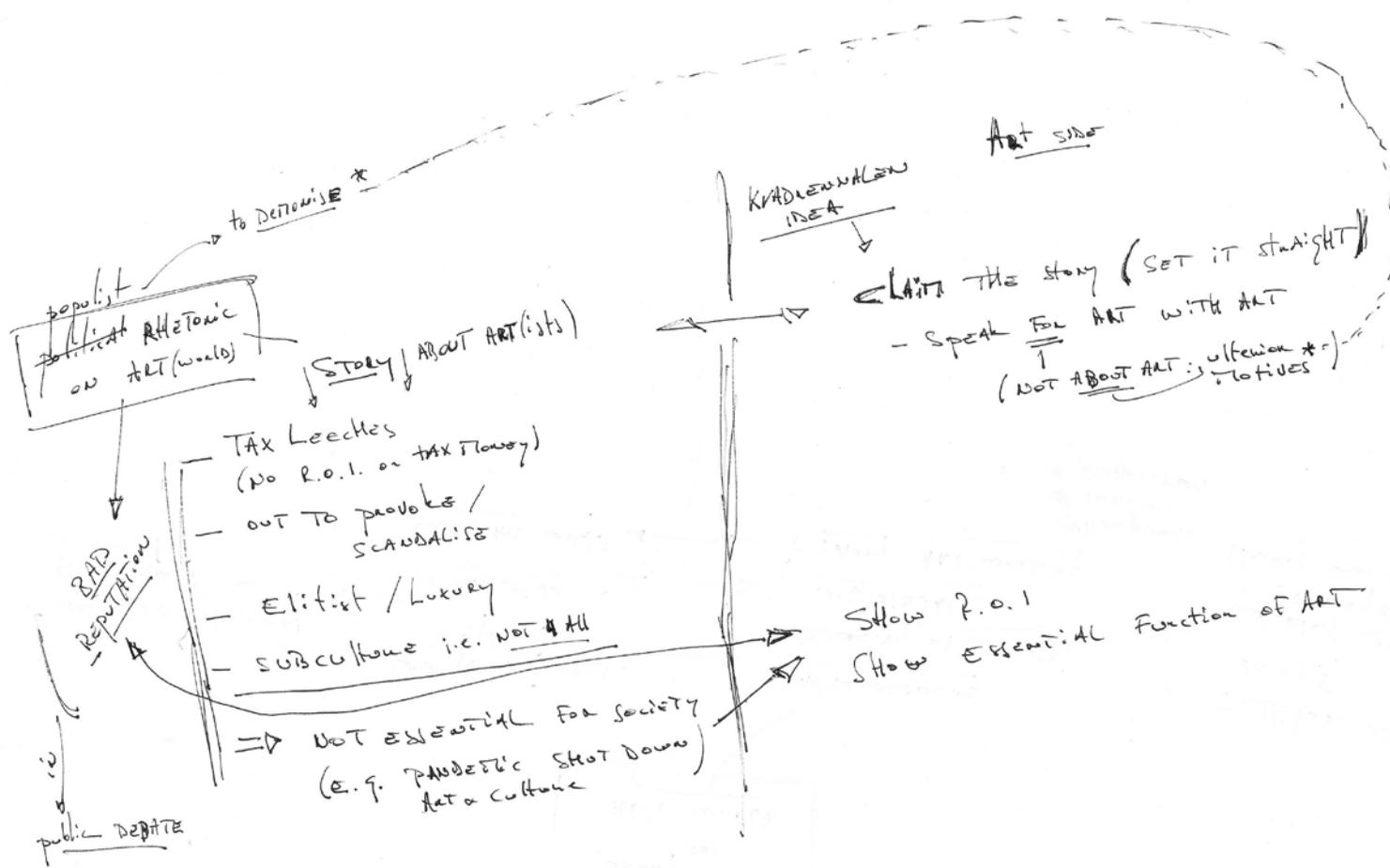
30,000 professional artists (2016, continuous increase)

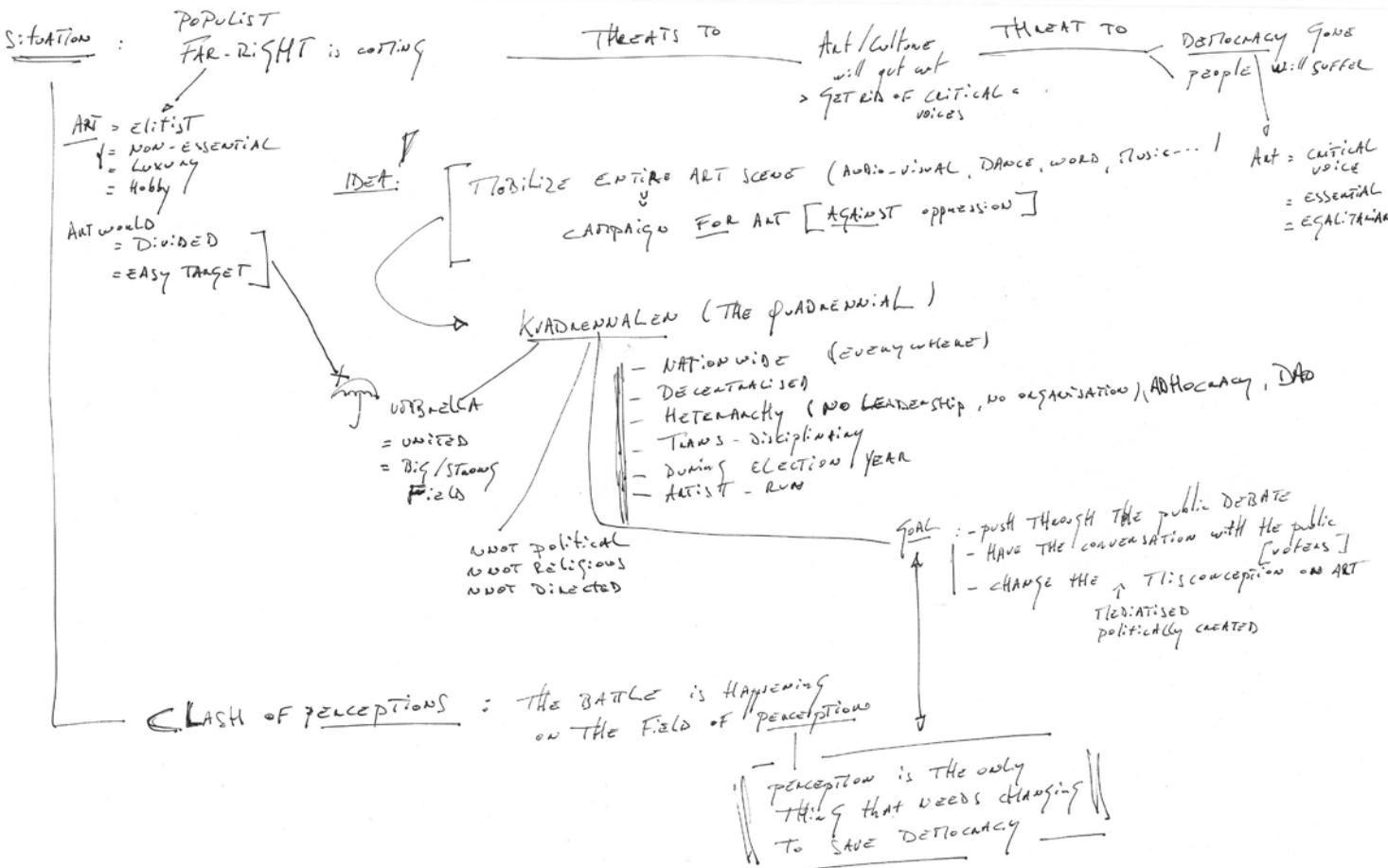
Art world



General public

30,000 professional artists in Sweden in 2016, according to The Swedish Arts Grants Committee (Konstnärnämnden). If everyone working in the structures built on top of those 30K artists joined forces with all the artists, then we'd have multiple hundred thousands of people standing up for art, i.e. the art world would show itself in numbers - the only thing politicians value and fear, i.e. the masses.



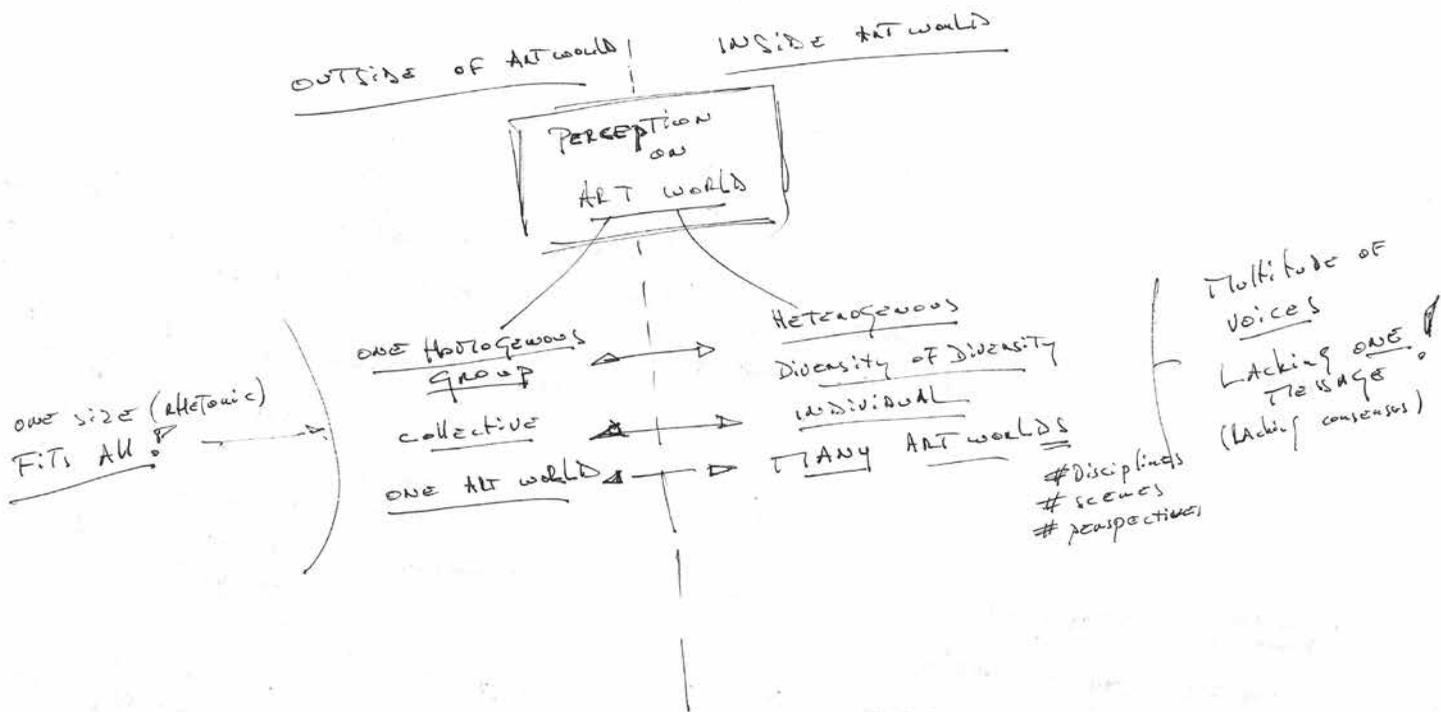


Since the battle is one of perception, it will not require any effort, except labelling all the individual efforts, already planned, as one collective effort.

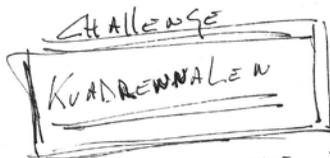
Put an umbrella over it... the media will jump at it and artists will be able to speak for art themselves and push through the public debate, that up until then is dominated by voices that speak about art, i.e. with ulterior motives.

Artists and the art world are talked about as one homogeneous group but are known to be split into a multitude of subgroups that do not agree on pretty much anything, least of all on art itself, i.e. politically there is no need to divide in order to conquer the group. Strategic cuts can easily be made without the whole group reacting, which means the group conquers itself (by not sticking together and using its numbers).

The only thing that makes politicians think twice is when, out of the blue, an entire industry, e.g. the art world, stands as one.



All art disciplines have an equivalent to group shows, biennials, festivals, and fairs, i.e. every artist, art worker, regardless of discipline, knows how to set something up as a group and create a collective perception - which means that the idea is not alien to the field; on the contrary, it's widely used and incorporated.



Group shows, Biennials, Festivals ... in all the art disciplines there are instances where the many voices come together.

Not for individual art practices, but for "Art"/Art practice in general

Have the conversation (Don't let others speak) for you

Bad reputation of art is constantly repeated. Repetition is part of the counter.

- ONE MESSAGE For ENTIRE ART world
- UNITE All THE VOICES (disciplines, sub-groups, scenes... levels, positions, ...)
- Speak For ART (NOT ABOUT: keep it PURE)  
 • IT'S "NOT politics"
- Speak To ALL (ENTIRE GENERAL public)  
 NOT ONLY THAT  
 Don't preach to the choir
- Repeat THE MESSAGE

**Thus far:**

Free artistic expression is a contextual right.  
The right is under threat from rising populist ideology.  
Art & culture are targeted within a larger Culture War.  
The attacks on art and culture are symbolic,  
and executed through (malicious mis-)direction of general  
perception.

[using art to demonise a minority group and polarise the general  
public]

Art (although not political itself) is caught in the political  
game,  
but it is not defenceless and can stand up for itself,  
subsequently defending democracy, which guarantees the freedom of  
(artistic) expression in the first place.

The concept of group shows is established and valid in the art  
world,  
[countering the existing perception and reality of a divided art  
scene]  
but the internal divisions need to be circumvented  
[cfr. Malcolm X taking religion off the table in the civil rights  
movement]

A long-term art action has the potential to counter the  
misconceptions about art,  
countering the attributed bad reputation,  
and changing the general misconception that art is superfluous in  
the general public's mind  
by having the conversation with the public, with and through art,  
that art is essential for them,  
and for the democracy they operate in.

*Could it work?*

**Reasons to believe:**

[General]

Nobody working in the art field needs any coaching in terms of execution, because it's what they do on a daily basis. No need to discuss positions on art internally, it's about the conversation with the general public. No need to talk about quality or levels, because we need to talk about all levels and all qualities indiscriminately – and no one is asked to talk for another, just for themselves as part of the one collective. There is no “extra” risk, i.e. the assumption is that everyone in the art field is already at risk. The effort is minimal: put whatever anyone sets up under one collective umbrella.

[Sweden specific]

The current wave of populist ideology is a right-wing, patriarchal, extremely conservative populism that is anti-women. The share of women in the Swedish art world is exceptional in the European landscape. Within the visual art scene, about 65% of professional artists are women, with plenty of women in positions of power in various institutions.

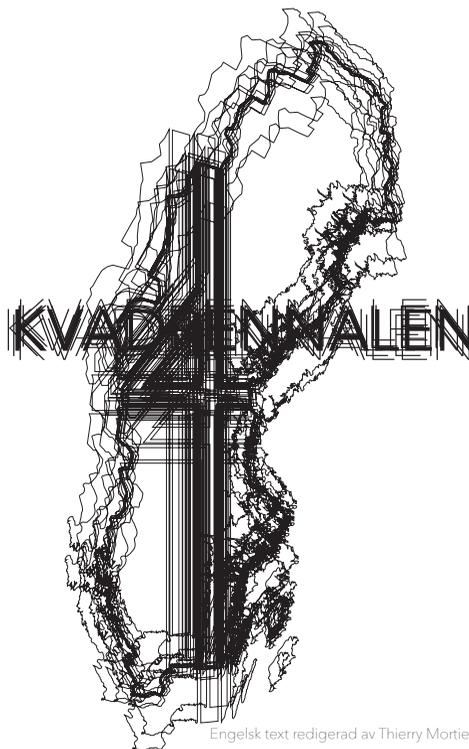
Swedish society is built on ideas of collectivism, e.g. in any given area of life, one will find member organisations running the show; from allotment-gardening, sport-clubs, homeowner associations to art studio organisations and artist-run art institutions. The collective spirit is part of the Swedish DNA; it was the reason why, during the global pandemic, Swedish society remained open: the government told the population that it was everyone's personal responsibility to care for the general well-being. People stayed home when sick out of personal responsibility for the others (and peer pressure, i.e. shaming)

The number of people working in and connected to art and culture in Sweden is more than substantial to make an impact.

The Swedish population (and the rest of the world) had just witnessed what a 16-year-old girl (Greta Thunberg) managed to mobilise around an urgency that wasn't generally shared.

Everything was in place, **the idea needed materialisation:**

**a manifesto.**



11 januari 2022, Sverige.

Engelsk text redigerad av Thierry Mortier - Svensk översättning av Tilda Dalunde

# MANIFEST

KVADRENNALEN är inte en organisation, inte kommersiell, inte ideell, inte privat och inte offentlig. KVADRENNALEN är **en samslutning** av konstnärer, professionella i konstbranschen, olika konststrum, konstinstitutioner, m.fl. **som vill visa** samhället i stort **att konstvärlden står enade** - på varje nivå, över alla disciplingränser, nu och i framtiden - **i sin delade tro på KONSTEN**, och vill visa denna enighet **genom** det enda gemensamma språket: **KONSTEN själv**.

**KVADRENNALEN ÄR INTE KNUTEN  
TILL NÅGON POLITISK ELLER RELIGIÖS INSTITUTION ELLER NÅGOT SYSTEM.  
DEN ÄR ENDAST KNUTEN TILL KONSTEN.**

Förutsättningar

Fri konst och fritt konstnärligt uttryck är kontextualiserade begrepp. Detta innebär att kontexten är en förutsättning för att begreppen ska vara giltiga. Betydelsen "fri" härrör direkt från det faktum att ett formellt, offentligt uttalande garanterat denna frihet.

För konsten själv är frihet inte en förutsättning. Den är endast en förutsättning i kontexten av ett samhälle som hävdar sig garantera den, vanligtvis som en förlängning av det demokratiska värdet av yttrandefrihet för hela befolkningen.

Inom den samtida svenska kontexten har konsten t.ex. fastslagits vara fri genom ett flertal politiska beslut: undertecknandet av FN:s deklaration om mänskliga rättigheter, undertecknandet av Europeiska konstitutionen, Sveriges grundlag och kulturpolitiska mål.

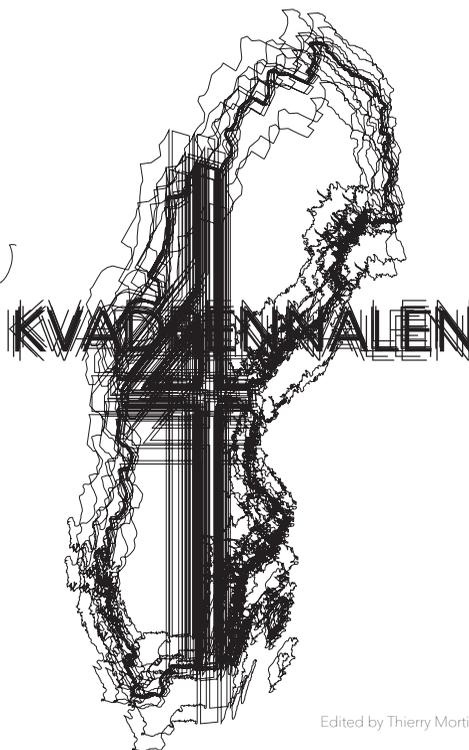
När den fria konsten och det fria konstnärliga uttrycket hotas, hotas yttrandefriheten för alla.

I skrivande stund är den fria konsten under starkt politiskt hot att begränsas, hämmas, eller, ännu värre, kontrolleras över hela Europa, i den mån den inte redan fallit offer för detta. Varje gång den fria konsten faller signalerar det ännu en demokratis slut, och då finns det bara en utväg: skadekontroll - att försöka återta det som redan gått förlorat.

KVADRENNALEN står upp för den fria konsten, innan det är för sent, innan hotet blir till faktiska bojor, munkavlar, nedskärningar och nedmonteringar, genom att peka ut den fria konstens nuvarande svagheter som ligger dolda i två vanliga missuppfattningar: 1) att konst inte är nödvändig för samhället och 2) att konstvärlden är splittrad och därför ett lätt byte för politiska röster som försöker underminera demokratiska grundsatser i jakten på makt.

**Manifest för KVADRENNALEN,  
PLATTFORM FÖR DEN SAMTIDA KONSTENS SVAR  
PÅ POLITISKA HOT.**

ENG  
LOW  
VERSION



January 11, 2022, Sweden.

Edited by Thierry Mortier - English copy editing by Laura Tynan

# MANIFESTO

IT'S AN IDEA

KVADRENNALEN is not an organisation, it is not commercial, it is not non-profit, it is not private, it is not public. KVADRENNALEN is **a coming together** of artists, art workers, art spaces, art institutions, et al **to show** the society at large **that the art world is united** at every level, across all the disciplines, now and in the future, **in their shared belief in ART**, and show this unity **with** the only shared language of **ART itself**.

**KVADRENNALEN IS NOT AFFILIATED  
WITH ANY POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION OR SYSTEM,  
ITS ONLY AFFILIATION IS WITH ART.**

KEEP IT PURE

## Premise

Free arts and free artistic expression are contextualised concepts. This means that the context is conditional for the concepts to be valid. The meaning 'free' derives directly from the fact that a formal, public statement was made that guarantees this freedom.

For art itself, freedom is not a condition. It is only a condition within the context of a society that claims to guarantee it, commonly as an extension of the democratic value of freedom of expression for the people.

E.g., within the current Swedish context, the arts are publicly stated to be free through a multitude of political decisions: the ratification of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the ratification of the EU constitution, the Swedish constitution and cultural policy goals.

When the free arts and the freedom of artistic expression are under threat, then the freedom of expression of the people is under threat.

At the time of writing, the free arts are under strong political threat of being limited, curbed or, worse, controlled, across the entire European continent, insofar that they have not fallen yet. Each time the free arts fall they signal the demise of yet another democracy, at which time there is but one recourse and that is damage control - attempts to recuperate that which is already lost.

REVISION

KVADRENNALEN is the united stand of the free arts before the facts, before the threats become outright shackles, gags, cuts, and eradication, by addressing the current weaknesses of the free arts that lie hidden in the general misconceptions that 1) art is not essential in society and 2) that the art world is divided, making it an easy target for political voices that try to undermine the democratic pillars in pursuit of power.

PERCEPTION

**This is the manifesto of KVADRENNALEN,  
PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND  
TO POLITICAL THREAT.**

# # KVADRENNALENS MANIFEST

Offentlig deklaration av principer, ställningstaganden och intentioner.

## #1 LÅT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN

Frågor som berör KONST måste besvaras på KONSTENS språk. Bara konst talar för konst. Alla andra röster talar om konst. Att tala om någonting är att ha baktankar. Exempel: politiker som talar om konst gör så för att plocka politiska poäng.

## #2 KONSTEN ÄR NÖDVÄNDIG FÖR SAMHÄLLET

Om det någonsin funnits ett samhälle som *inte* har producerat konst, så finns det inga kända redogörelser för det. Ett samhälles konstnärliga uttryck är själva beviset för att samhället existerar. KONSTEN är manifestationen av samhället.

#KONST, DÄRMED SAMHÄLLE

## #3 ETT FRITT KONSTNÄRLIGT UTTRYCK ÄR NÖDVÄNDIGT FÖR ETT FRITT, ÖPPET OCH DEMOKRATISKT SAMHÄLLE

Fritt konstnärligt uttryck är centralt för yttrandefriheten för hela befolkningen - artikel 19, Allmän förklaring om de mänskliga rättigheterna, 10.12.1948, Paris. Att hävda rätten till ett fritt konstnärligt uttryck är att hävda rätten till yttrandefrihet för hela befolkningen.

NÄR KONSTENS KRITISKA RÖSTER TYSTAS DRABBAS ALLA

## #4 KVADRENNALEN VÄLKOMNAR ALLA KONSTRÖSTER SOM TALAR FÖR KONSTEN (#1) OCH DESS NÖDVÄNDIGA PLATS I SAMHÄLLET (#2,3)

När konstens företrädare säger samma sak hörs konstens enda röst genom dem och ljuder kristallklart, vida omkring.

## #5 KONSTVÄRLDEN HAR ALLTID VARIT ENIG I SIN TRO PÅ KONST

Det enda sättet att visa konstvärldens gemensamma övertygelse och enighet för hela befolkningen, och följaktligen ändra den allmänna missuppfattningen att konstvärlden är splittrad, är genom konstens själv. (#1)

## #6 KONSTEN OCH DEN INDIVIDUELLA KONSTPRAKTIKEN ÄR OFRÄNKOMLIGT BEROENDE AV VARANDRA

Den ena kan inte existera utan den andra. Båda bidrar med styrka där delarna stärker helheten och helheten ger kraft till delarna.

När konst hotas, hotas också varje individuell konstpraktik och när en individuell konstpraktik hotas, hotas också konstens som helhet.

## #7 KVADRENNALEN ÄR FRIHET MED ANSVAR

En delad, kollektiv tro på konstens (#5) kommer med ett delat, individuellt ansvar för konstens.

När politiska representanter - politiker eller offentliga institutioner -

misslyckas med sitt offentliga uppdrag, t.ex. när politiska representanter inte säkrar det fria konstnärliga uttryckets nödvändiga plats i ett fritt, öppet och demokratiskt samhälle, faller detta ansvar på konstnärerna och de som arbetar inom konstbranschen och som materialiserar samhället i fråga genom sitt konstnärliga uttryck.

#POLITISK\_OLYDNAD KRÄVER #KONSTNÄRLIGT\_ANSVAR

## #8 KVADRENNALEN TILLHÖR KOLLEKTIVET OCH SAMTIDIGT INDIVIDIDEN

KVADRENNALEN handlar om DELAT, ICKE-CENTRALISERAT ÄGANDE: varje konstnär, professionell inom konstbranschen, konstskulptör, konststälkare, konstström och konstinstitution är ansvarig för att hävda den fria konstens nödvändiga plats i samhället, för KONSTEN (#6). KVADRENNALENS framgångar och misslyckanden hör följaktligen till den enade konstvärlden som kollektiv och varje konstnär, professionell inom konstbranschen, konstskulptör, konststälkare, konstström, konstinstitution, m.fl., individuellt.

## #9 KVADRENNALEN ÄR DISCIPLINÖVERSKRIDANDE

Tron på KONSTEN (#5) delas av alla konstdiscipliner t.ex. bild, ljud, scen, performance, ord, annan.

KONSTENS ALLA RÖSTER HAR SIN PLATS UNDER KVADRENNALEN

## #10 KVADRENNALEN OMFATTAR HELA LANDET

KONSTEN känner inga gränser i tid och rum. Den fria konstens är kontextualiserad konst i tid och rum. KVADRENNALENS enda begränsning är de begränsningar som sätts av det samhälle i vilket den gör KONSTENS röst hörd.

## #11 KVADRENNALEN PÅGÅR UNDER VALÅR

Det politiska skådespelet når sin cykliska höjdpunkt under valåren, då också baktankarna med att tala om konst når sin klimax och därmed onekligen också avslöjar politiska hot mot de fria konsterna på sitt mest öppna och ogenerade sätt.

## #12 DET ENDA AV INTRESSE FÖR KVADRENNALEN ÄR KONST OCH SAMHÄLLET MANIFESTATION GENOM KONSTNÄRLIGA UTTRYCK

När konstens nödvändiga plats, inom den kontext som är samhället, både är etablerad och erkänd i samhället, både kollektivt och individuellt, är KONSTEN skyddad från alla politiska hot, - och då har utgången av ett val ingen som helst påverkan på konstens i samhället - det spelar då alltså ingen roll vilket politiskt parti som vinner.

KVADRENNALEN har inget intresse av att ändra utgången av politiska val. KVADRENNALEN är endast intresserad av konstens och den generella synen på konstens i samhället i stort.

## #13 KONSTEN FÖRSÖKER INTE FÅ MAKT, KONSTEN ÄR MAKT

Pennan, som är mäktigare än svärdet, är och måste alltid fortsätta vara fri att skriva, teckna, koreografera, komponera, koda... för att kunna manifestera samhället.

# # POLITIKEN FÖRGÅR, KONSTEN BESTÅR

KVADRENNALEN DEFINIERAS, ORGANISERAS OCH ÄR BUNDEN AV DETTA MANIFEST SÅ SOM ALLA ÄR BUNDNA, GENOM DETTA MANIFEST, SOM SAMLAS UNDER DESS FANA

# # KVADRENNALEN MANIFESTO

Public declaration of principles, policies and intent

NOT ABOUT FOR  
GENERAL  
CONTEXTUAL  
CONVERSATION  
UNIVERSAL CONNECTION  
collective

## #1 LET ART SPEAK FOR ART

Matters of ART must be addressed in the language of ART.  
Only art speaks for art.  
All other voices speak *about* art.  
To speak about something is to have ulterior motives.  
*E.g., politicians that speak about art, do so to score voting points.*

## #2 ART IS ESSENTIAL FOR SOCIETY

If ever there existed a society that did not produce art, there is no known record of it.  
The artistic expressions of a society are proof that the society exists.  
ART is society made manifest.

#ART, THEREFORE SOCIETY

## #3 FREE ARTISTIC EXPRESSION IS ESSENTIAL FOR A FREE, OPEN AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Free artistic expression is the epitome of freedom of expression of the people - *article 19, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10.12.1948, Paris.*

To claim free artistic expression is to claim freedom of expression for the people.

WHEN ART'S CRITICAL VOICES ARE SILENCED, THE PEOPLE SUFFER

## #4 KVADRENNALEN WELCOMES ALL THE VOICES OF ART THAT SPEAK FOR ART (#1) AND ITS ESSENTIAL PLACE IN SOCIETY (#2,3)

When legions of art voices speak one message, the one voice of art rings crystal clear, far and wide.

## #5 THE ART WORLD HAS ALWAYS BEEN UNITED IN ITS BELIEF IN ART

The *only* way to show this shared belief and unity of the art world to the people, consequently changing the general misconception that the art world is divided, is through art itself. (#1)

## #6 ART AND THE INDIVIDUAL ART PRACTICE ARE IRREDUCIBLY INTERDEPENDENT

One cannot exist without the other.  
They bring mutual empowerment, where the one strengthens the whole and the whole powers the one.

When art is under threat every individual art practice is under threat.  
When one individual art practice is under threat then the whole of art is under threat.

## #7 KVADRENNALEN IS FREEDOM WITH RESPONSIBILITY

A shared, collective belief in art (#5) comes with a shared, individual art responsibility.

When political representatives - politicians or public institutions - fail to execute their societal assignment i.e., when political representatives

do not secure free artistic expression's essential place in a free, open, democratic society, then this assignment becomes the responsibility of the artists and art workers who materialise the society in question through their artistic expression.

#POLITICAL\_DISOBEDIENCE CALLS FOR #ARTISTIC\_RESPONSIBILITY

## #8 KVADRENNALEN BELONGS TO THE COLLECTIVE AND THE INDIVIDUAL AT THE SAME TIME

KVADRENNALEN is about SHARED, DECENTRALISED OWNERSHIP: every artist, art worker, art curator, art lover, art space, art institution is accountable to claim the free arts' essential place in society, for ART (#6). KVADRENNALEN's success or failure consequently belongs to the united art world as a collective and every artist, art worker, art curator, art lover, art space, art institution, et al. individually.

## #9 KVADRENNALEN IS TRANSDISCIPLINARY

The belief in ART (#5) is shared across all the art disciplines i.e. visual, sound, stage, performance, word, other.

ALL THE VOICES OF ART HAVE THEIR PLACE WITHIN KVADRENNALEN

## #10 KVADRENNALEN IS NATIONWIDE

ART knows no boundaries in time or space.  
The free arts are contextualised ART in time and space.  
KVADRENNALEN's only boundary is the boundary of the society in which it makes ART's voice heard.

## #11 KVADRENNALEN RUNS DURING ELECTION YEARS

The politics of the spectacle reach their cyclical height during election years, at which point the ulterior motives to speak about art rise to their climax, undeniably revealing the political threats to the free arts in the most open and unapologetic manner.

## #12 THE ONLY CONCERN OF KVADRENNALEN IS ART AND THE SOCIETY MADE MANIFEST THROUGH ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

When art's essential place, within the proposition that is society, is both established and recognised in society, both collectively and individually, this consequently safeguards ART from any and all political threats - at which point the outcome of an election has no impact whatsoever on art in society i.e. *then it does not matter which political parties win.*

KVADRENNALEN has no interest in changing the outcome of a political election. KVADRENNALEN is only interested in art and the general perception of art in society at large.

## #13 ART DOES NOT SEEK POWER, ART IS POWER

The pen, which is mightier than the sword, is and must always remain **free** to write, draw, choreograph, compose, code... in order to **manifest society.**

DECENTRAL  
TO  
ALL  
ROLE  
#LT

# # ART LASTS, POLITICS FADE

KVADRENNALEN IS DEFINED, ORGANISED AND BOUND BY THIS MANIFESTO  
AS ARE ALL BOUND BY THIS MANIFESTO THAT COME TOGETHER UNDER ITS BANNER

# KVADRENNALEN

## PLATTFORM FÖR DEN SAMTIDA KONSTENS SVAR PÅ POLITISKA HOT.

KVADRENNALEN är **en sammanslutning** av konstnärer, professionella i konstbranschen, olika konststrum, konstinstitutioner, m.fl. **som vill visa** samhället i stort **att konstvärlden står enade** – på varje nivå, över alla disciplingränser, nu och i framtiden – **i sin delade tro på KONSTEN**, och vill visa denna enighet **genom** det enda gemensamma språket: **KONSTEN själv**.

# MANIFEST (\*)

## #1 LÅT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN

Frågor som berör KONST måste besvaras på KONSTENS språk.

## #2 KONSTEN ÄR NÖDVÄNDIG FÖR SAMHÄLLET

KONSTEN är manifestationen av samhället.

## #3 ETT FRITT KONSTNÄRLIGT UTTRYCK ÄR NÖDVÄNDIGT FÖR ETT FRITT, ÖPPET OCH DEMOKRATISKT SAMHÄLLE (\*\*)

Att hävda rätten till ett fritt konstnärligt uttryck är att hävda rätten till yttrandefrihet för hela befolkningen – *artikel 19, Allmän förklaring om de mänskliga rättigheterna, 10.12.1948, Paris.*

NÄR KONSTENS KRITISKA RÖSTER TYSTAS DRABBAS ALLA

## #13 KONSTEN FÖRSÖKER INTE FÅ MAKT, KONSTEN ÄR MAKT

Pennan, som är mäktigare än svärdet, är och måste alltid fortsätta vara **fri** att skriva, teckna, koreografera, komponera, koda... **för att kunna manifestera samhället**.

När konstens nödvändiga plats, inom den kontext som är samhället, både är etablerad och erkänd i samhället, både kollektivt och individuellt, är KONSTEN skyddad från alla politiska hot, – och då har utgången av ett val ingen som helst påverkan på konsten i samhället.

KVADRENNALEN ÄR BUNDEN AV DETTA MANIFEST  
SÅ SOM ALLA ÄR BUNDNA, GENOM DETTA MANIFEST, SOM SAMLAS UNDER DESS FANA

KVADRENNALEN ÄR INTE KNUTEN  
TILL NÅGON POLITISK ELLER RELIGIÖS INSTITUTION ELLER NÅGOT SYSTEM  
DEN ÄR ENDAST KNUTEN TILL KONSTEN

(\*) Läs hela manifestet på [www.kvadrennalen.se](http://www.kvadrennalen.se)

(\*\*) Inom den samtida svenska kontexten har konsten t.ex. fastslagits vara fri genom ett flertal politiska beslut: undertecknandet av FN:s deklaration om mänskliga rättigheter, undertecknandet av Europeiska konstitutionen, Sveriges grundlag och kulturpolitiska mål.

EWG Vision  
 EWG Foot

# KVADRENNALEN

PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT

KVADRENNALEN is a **coming together** of artists, art workers, art spaces, art institutions, et al. **to show** the society at large **that the art world is united** at every level, across all the disciplines, now and in the future, **in their shared belief in ART**, and show this unity **with** the only shared language of **ART itself**.

## MANIFESTO (\*)

WHO HAS THE  
 TIME TO READ  
 A LONG MANIFESTO

### #1 LET ART SPEAK FOR ART

Matters of ART must be addressed in the language of ART.

### #2 ART IS ESSENTIAL FOR SOCIETY

ART is society made manifest.

### #3 FREE ARTISTIC EXPRESSION IS ESSENTIAL FOR A FREE, OPEN AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (\*\*)

To claim free artistic expression is to claim freedom of expression for the people.  
 - article 19, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10.12.1948, Paris.

WHEN ART'S CRITICAL VOICES ARE SILENCED, THE PEOPLE SUFFER

### #13 ART DOES NOT SEEK POWER, ART IS POWER

The pen, which is mightier than the sword, is and must always remain **free** to write, draw, choreograph, compose, code... in order **to manifest society**.

When art's essential place, within the proposition that is society, is both established and recognised in society, both collectively and individually, this consequently safeguards ART from any and all political threats - at which point the outcome of an election has no impact whatsoever on art in society.

KVADRENNALEN IS BOUND BY THIS MANIFESTO  
 AS ARE ALL BOUND BY THIS MANIFESTO THAT COME TOGETHER UNDER ITS BANNER

KVADRENNALEN IS NOT AFFILIATED  
 WITH ANY POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION OR SYSTEM  
 ITS ONLY AFFILIATION IS WITH ART

(\*) Read the complete KVADRENNALEN MANIFESTO on [www.kvadrennalen.se](http://www.kvadrennalen.se)

(\*\*) within the current Swedish context, the arts are publicly stated to be free through a multitude of political decisions: the ratification of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the ratification of the EU constitution, the Swedish constitution and cultural policy goals.

After almost nine months of speaking to all kinds of layers of the art scene, from artist-run spaces to private museums, in 2021 the manifesto was edited from all the conversations:

- to put something concrete in the hands of those who needed to get mobilised

[The ask was too difficult otherwise – if it wasn't then people would already have mobilised and there wouldn't be a need for a manifesto in the first place]

- to make it as general as possible in order to get to the core and not get stuck in the details where everyone has a different opinion

- to answer the societal question of why art would be essential

This last needed an answer that was indisputable and valid on all levels. There are infinite ways to answer the question but they tend to have a position perspective, i.e. if you see it as a progressive power within a progressive society then it could be easily countered by a conservative voice. The idea was to find something that applied to whichever position one takes. It was found in the negative proof, i.e. proving that **there is no society possible without art**, which is what general history teaches us: we have no knowledge that there ever existed a society without art, for the obvious fact that retrospectively we only know about societies through their *artefacts* and regardless of what function anyone wants to attribute to art, art always manifests the society it originates in, e.g. we might not like the works of art that are now considered racist, but they did manifest the society of the time\*. Similarly, far-right populists today might not enjoy LGBTQ+ art because it manifests where society is currently at.

[Their not liking it is also part of their Culture War to get rid of it; not just the art, but very much what it represents, namely a general acceptance of the people for an equal and progressive sexuality in this example]

More than anything else in the manifesto, the mobilisation Sweden needed in the run-up to the 2022 election had to be carried by this one indisputable perspective on art's function in society, namely that it manifests society's haecceity; the social, political, economic and cultural *here and now*.

\* The value judgement is our current judgement of what is considered racist today; it is not a value judgement of the art, but rather a value judgement of the previous society, which the art manifested.

### Interesting facts:

KVADRENNALEN literally translates as THE QUADRENNIAL. In Swedish the definite article is pasted to the end of the word. En kvadrennal = a quadrennial, kvadrennalen = THE QUADRENNIAL.

Although defined by the article, the whole remained unspecified: the quadrennial *of what?* It allowed everyone to fill that in themselves. The best feature however was that the word was not listed in the Swedish dictionary, where biennial and triennial are. It meant that it did not exist on social media yet (!). Having a social media tag that has never been used before is an incredible advantage in our social media-driven societies. It would be possible to claim sole ownership of the tag #KVADRENNALEN.

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KVADRENNALEN intended to manifest a platform because platforms can be open and non-directive. Whoever had a message to bring could use the platform to do just that. A platform is often the only thing needed for people to act.

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The specification “platform for contemporary art to respond to political threat” also remained general, i.e. nowhere was it stated where those threats needed to come from, or what those threats needed to be. Nor did it state any conditions about what kind of responses were expected. As such, it was open to all: left, right, liberal, apolitical, shouting, silent, explosive, intriguing... anything worked.

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Keeping it an idea and not translating it into an actual legal organisational structure, especially a decentralised one, meant that it could not be attacked legally, e.g. crippling activist organisations by burying them in legal procedures is a commonplace tactic by those in power. If one part of the movement was restrained, another would be able to pop up and continue the work. [The flip side was that it wasn't possible to find funding for it, see Chapter 4: Resources]

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The need for neutrality was not only about using non-descriptive, non-specified terminology. It also allowed for the position that when a democracy falters, it is NOT only the responsibility of those attacking but also of those not succeeding in protecting it. Politically it meant that all the parties in the Swedish government could be held accountable if the feared, radical political shift happened.

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The only novelty was to mobilise/organise *before the facts*, i.e. at a moment where it was still possible to “prevent”. Everything else was business as usual, and the inspiration for how and what to do could be found anywhere.

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Standing up for contextualised freedom of expression implies standing up for the freedom of expression for everyone. This doesn't mean one has to agree with what is being expressed; it only means that the context makes it an all-or-nothing situation because that's what the convention means, e.g. in 2021 KVADRENNALEN had a little feature on the national state-owned TV channel SVT's Culture news. KVADRENNALEN was asked to comment on the then-current debate about gangster rap which the far-right populist party SD wanted to ban from state radio. Regardless of preference or opinion on gangster rap, the only answer possible was that a ban on state radio would be undemocratic. The question represented a media-proliferated populist rhetorical trap that targets the catch-22 of democracy: testing the tolerance for intolerance. The only directive in an open society is the openness *to all* for the sake of providing openness *for all*. When one is excluded, then all are *excludable* – which is precisely the agenda of the far-right populist movement: make the open democratic society a closed, directive and authoritarian regime. It also explains why so many democracies are falling prey to internal enemies; the tolerance for all includes tolerance for those that want to destroy democratic values and use democratic principles to do so.

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It's possible to *initiate* a collective action as an individual.  
 It's impossible to *execute* a collective action as an individual.  
 It's only possible to *execute* a collective action individually.  
 The statements above do not contradict each other.

E.g. Greta Thunberg sat in front of the Swedish Parliament, ditching school on Fridays to demonstrate... by herself [individual]. Her action was replicated by others and became a collective action [collective]. But each person replicating or joining the movement did that individually [individual].

When the individuals making up the collective don't show up, there is no collective.

KVADRENNALEN turned this fact into a multi-layered benefit for all involved through its decentralisation. Whoever joined the movement was told that they owned KVADRENNALEN: they needed neither approval nor guidance; they were themselves responsible for their responses to political threats with their art [individually], they only needed to put their actions under the KVADRENNALEN banner [collective].

*Stop showing a huge diversity of individual actions and events, instead show a huge, vibrant collective representation of art and culture.*

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The banal reason for KVADRENNALEN being a quadrennial was the connection to the Swedish elections which are held every four years. [At the same time highlighting the performative character of elections]

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only  
 ABOUT  
 PERCEPTION

**developed idea:**

An art quadrennial,  
open to the entire art field,  
[all disciplines and all levels needed]  
to run\*  
nationwide  
during election year  
[when the rhetoric ABOUT art is at a climax]  
in a decentralised manner  
[allowing all art players to find their own voice]  
for 9 months  
[enough time to repeat the message and reach the entire general  
public]  
and have *the* conversation with the general public,  
why art is essential for them,  
through art.

\* "Anarchists set up anarchist structures" – Peter Mills,  
i.e. KVADRENNALEN needed to be run using the constructs and values it prophesied. Act as  
if the art world was a united front already, disregarding levels and layers. The naive,  
Utopian ideas needed to be translated into approaches that fit: practice what you preach.

Note on the Idea:

The context not only matters, it's defining. It defines why and where the issues are located. There is no point in standing up for freedom of artistic expression if there is no context that guarantees this freedom in the first place.

From a much larger perspective, thinking of setting up a movement to protect the freedom of artistic expression from political threats in one of the wealthiest, safest and most privileged countries in the world, Sweden, can easily be seen as presumptuous, even preposterous. A problem of privilege and luxury.

Shahidul Alam (artist, photojournalist, educator and social activist from Bangladesh) said it best at the World Summit on Art and Culture, Stockholm 2023, when referring to artists living and working in safe and luxurious contexts: "What are they doing with their freedom?"

From any other position, the Swedish, even Nordic, art scene was indeed privileged and spoiled, and it's both *not* and *exactly* the point. It's not the point because Swedish democracy was at risk - freedoms and rights can never be taken for granted and must be defended, constantly and consistently. And it's also exactly the point because there has not been any society yet that fully supports art and culture as an independent pillar of democracy, i.e. if the radical political shift could be stopped and all the subsequent cuts to the arts avoided then Sweden had a chance of creating an environment for the arts that had never existed, i.e. there are plenty of voices that advocate that one needs adversity to create great art and the art history books are filled with examples, but there are no examples of the opposite. Nobody knows what kind of art we would/could get if artists had nothing to fear, not financially, not in terms of appreciation, not in terms of anything. That itself would have been reason enough, from an art perspective, for setting up KVADRENNALEN. [But the loss of democracy in Sweden and the imminent crackdown on art and culture and minority groups by the populist far-right created an urgency that had nothing to do with the privilege of Swedish artists.]

**Do the  
Utopia!**

– TM



Easter riots in Sweden after the Koran burning by Rasmus Paludan Photo: Kicki Nilsson/TT

**“Even prophets  
have to be  
socially  
accepted in  
order to be  
right;  
if not, they  
are wrong.”**

- A theory of semiotics, 1979,  
Umberto Eco [1932-2016]

The idea of setting up a quadrennial was not earth shattering - except for its timing, namely trying to do it before the predicted radical political shift happens. It was kept as an *unprotected and incomplete idea* on purpose, i.e. anyone and everyone should be able to run with it. The small KVADRENNALEN team, working on the platform itself, was prepared to make all the necessary changes as they popped up: *fix it as you go*. The bottom line was to do whatever it takes to get the broadest possible support from the art scene - a most opinionated and highly principled amalgam of thinkers. Priority number one: *get the numbers, get the critical mass needed to generate impact*.

Below is a haphazard selection of interesting, expected and unexpected issues popping up in the run-up to and during the execution of KVADRENNALEN.

**TRADUTTORE, TRADITORE** (*Eng: Translator, traitor*)  
and **BAD WORDS**

Once the idea started spreading the comments started coming in. All comments and criticism that reflected *personal preferences* were discarded and answered with *everyone is free to change as they see fit*. The main thing was to stick to the purity of the program: *art is essential to society, 9 months of art programming and having the conversation with the general public*. All else were details that could be handled independently.

Some comments however touched upon cultural sensitivities not properly understood. Those proved more difficult and too important not to handle from the platform. The Italian dictum *Traduttore, traditore* is undeniable in translation especially when it comes to conveying cultural differences.

The first one was **NON-PARTISAN**, which didn't work in Swedish because it brought in associations that were the opposite to what the word means in English, i.e. non-partisan as a term was interpreted as being *very* partisan. Not a great outcome if you want your action to be perceived as neutral.

**LATIN** sayings were also *non grata*. During the populist party N-VA's rise to power in Flanders, BE, I had witnessed how the party leader had used Latin expressions at every opportunity he could. Mimicking this gimmicky mannerism however mimicked much more than intended: it revealed a white male patriarchal thinking that was not only opposite to the thinking of KVADRENNALEN, it would also alienate a large proportion of the people it was meant

to attract.

**SPECTACLE** proved a very special matter of concern. Although the Swedish translation is almost one-on-one, *spectacle* (Eng) vs. *spektakel* (Swe), it generated an insurmountable obstacle for one of the first, strong supporters. Ragna Berlin, who founded and runs a brilliant online tool for artists in Sweden (Konstpool), was instrumental in spreading KVADRENNALEN's idea and open call in her massive network. When Ragna read the Swedish version of the manifesto and hit the word *spectacle* it stopped her dead in her tracks. Although a common evaluation of politics in the 21st Century\*, the label proved too harsh in Swedish. The Swedish version of the manifesto was changed to reflect the Swedish translation of Debord's work: society of the *theatre* instead of spectacle (skådespelets samhälle). Agency is driven by emotion, and emotional sensitivity is often culturally ingrained.

The list of *bad* words goes on, but the point has been made: terminology matters. And the fact that good people will not act because the wrong word is used is both brutal and commonplace. Not everyone is comfortable with assuming the entitlement to change what they cannot accept.



"I am no longer accepting the things I can not change. I am changing the things I can not accept."

~ Angela Davis

\* Even during the World Summit on Art and Culture, 2023, it was stated before a full house that the politicians today bring more spectacle to the voters than artists bring their audience, completely in line with Guy Debord's 1969 *the society of the spectacle*.

### ARTIST-RUN

Artist-run was a key term to denote where the movement came from, not where it was meant to stay, i.e. ulterior motives could only be avoided when the conversation started from art and those producing art.

The cultural revolution in China is said to have been a peasant revolution, but it wasn't only peasants revolting.

## LOGO

The Hong Kong demonstrations didn't need a logo, neither did the people storming the US Capitol, nor any other group that has just lived through a *traumatic event (from their perspective)*. One doesn't need a symbol after the facts, i.e. the effects are in place, it's already real. A logo is a manifestation to make something real. It's one of the powers art shares with other creative endeavours such as graphic design: making something intangible tangible. Similar to giving people a manifesto to have something tangible in their hands, KVADRENNALEN got a logo on the same principle: create something to make it tangible but make it as position-less as possible. It opted for a literal representation of multiple voices bringing the same message in their own way. Superimposing the word "kvadrennalen" (the quadrennial) multiple times without perfect alignment and allowing the idea and its execution to appear through the multiple overlays. As a logo it was simple and straightforward.

The responses were mixed. When supermarket art fair, the annual art fair in Stockholm for artist-run spaces, very generously invited KVADRENNALEN to speak during the 2021 fair, we had to send a logo and an image. The people working with the publication and programming thought it was a great logo; clear, straightforward, easy to use. They loved it! And so did many others. But not all. Some genuinely hated it and couldn't see themselves associated with KVADRENNALEN because the logo conflicted with their aesthetics.



Love it or hate it, both options were fine for the core team working on KVADRENNALEN as long as it didn't translate into *an excuse not to act*. Everyone that joined *owned* KVADRENNALEN, i.e. don't like the logo, then don't use it, make your own version. Candyland, an artist-run exhibition space in Stockholm, did. Andreas Ribbung, visual artist and co-founder of Candyland, asked for the vector graphic so they could play around with it and make it fit their own expression. They added all kinds of colours and ran with it. Candyland proved that we could (all) work together, despite personal and aesthetic differences, because those do not matter in the context of fighting a bigger battle, together.

### **TOO LONG vs. NOT SPECIFIC ENOUGH**

One of the most recurring comments was *"Too much information. There's just no time to read everything"*. The other recurring comment was the exact opposite *"Can you not explain more? Repeat that people can make changes themselves."* Often both comments would come from the same people, asking to make the info shorter and more complete at the same time. A sign of the times if there ever was one. People want bite-sized information, but want to know every single detail before committing. *It doesn't work*. If one (really) wants to see change happen in complex contexts, then one needs to be prepared to do some of the work.

### **YES! YOU DO IT!**

By far the most encountered reaction when spreading the news about KVADRENNALEN was: *"Yes, finally something is being done."*, which then got people thinking and scheming, and...  
...relaying their ideas and thoughts with the misplaced assumption that someone else would execute them. *"This is a great idea, but you do it."* When you really think something is a great idea, then you get behind it yourself. You do not commission or expect others to stand up for you.

### **COLOURS**

Minimalist and heavily contrasting colours signal a distance from the subject and from reality, especially black and white colour schemes. Black and white photography is a brilliant medium in art photography and documentaries, but it doesn't reflect real life (*where everything is in colour*). Adopting a certain aesthetic signals a certain position that is both inescapable and cause for categorisation by outside viewers. *It's impossible to create a*

*neutral expression and it's equally impossible to please everyone.*

### DIVERSITY

More than anything KVADRENNALEN needed to reach all sections of the general public *and* of the art scene. While the oldest inequality was quickly broken, i.e. the male-female ratio was not an issue, the other categorisations were, e.g. the younger generations were lacking, as were the non-binary and the non-white. The core team working to set up KVADRENNALEN were all white, but not for lack of trying. The need for diversity was not a *politically correct* instilled one. Being PC wasn't even on the radar of KVADRENNALEN, it was commonsensical, it was evident. If you want to reach the biggest general public one has to *be able* to reach them, i.e. one has to be able to represent.

### BUCKETS

Nora Bateson (award-winning filmmaker, writer and educator) explained during an online Biosemiotics gathering that *everyone has their own bucket*. She explained something commonly understood in semiotics and cultural studies. Reformulating: "everyone has their own bucket that represents who they are, with their knowledge, their personality, their perspectives, their education and backgrounds,... and when an idea is handed to them they place it in their bucket and approach it with everything that's already there."

It explains how one can never fully predict how something is going to get interpreted. The buckets Nora talked about played a huge part in the reception of KVADRENNALEN. The most common example was that people filled in *which political threats* were being addressed, which political ideology was being targeted – even when the formulations had been carefully chosen not to direct such interpretations. People don't react to the formulations, but to how they perceive those formulations in their buckets and they will read things that are not explicitly there. Populists count on it and use it strategically; KVADRENNALEN struggled with it.



Photo by Wandering Indian on Unsplash

### POLITICAL ART, THE OLD SWITCHEROO TRICK

The mention of the word political in KVADRENNALEN's baseline was enough to make artists retreat. The lack of knowledge in the art world around perception is both daunting and surprising. Sweden has a strong history with what is called political art (again, the art is never political only the perception of it is), but for most artists that was something from the past. Mixing art and politics was frowned upon now. Something to avoid at all costs.

A large portion of the Swedish art scene considers themselves taking up a similar position as the old anthropologists' stance: observe and comment from the outside, no interference. The mere possibility that you can keep art pure *and* use it in a conversation about connected contexts was not even considered.

Apart from the cultural associations around what is meant by political art, it is a clear example of misdirection. The term seems straightforward but in effect hides the reality by promoting the opposite association, e.g. *civil disobedience*, in a democratic context, denotes actions where the general public break an *unjust* law. Civilians are indeed breaking laws but the political power that pushed the law – *against the good of the people* – provided the initial disobedience, namely the political disobedience to serve the people. The political disobedience is masked by turning the attention to the people standing up for themselves – *justly* – but in breach of the law nonetheless.

The mechanisms in place to secure the system of governance and power always prioritise the system, i.e. system abuse does not generate system change, but system reinforcement.

*Political art* denotes art produced by subjects, not by rulers, i.e. it is effectively public art addressing political subjects. The terms political and public in combination with art have been switched to *hide the reality by substituting the goal for the source*. Public art today primarily means politically commissioned

The Sun News Sport Fabulous TV Showbiz Money Travel



It came after protestors threw the statue of Edward Colston in the harbour in Bristol Credit: PA/Press Association

Mr Zahawi told Sky News: "My opinion is any slave trader should not have a statue."

art and political art today is publicly generated art. Rhetorical tricks to misdirect general perception and understanding. The old switcheroo is not a populist invention (although one of the favorite tactics), it's a control strategy for power in general. The words we abide by exert power over our thinking.

### TRUST

The Swedish *trust in government* is among the highest in the world. It works brilliantly when you're hit by a global pandemic, it doesn't work that well when the government is slowly eroding your democratic values. In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Trust is great, knowing when to give it is better.

### ART vs ART PRACTICE

...connects to the mis-education of artists in general, not only in Sweden. The concepts of art and one's individual art practice are irreducibly linked. It is not a chicken-and-egg example; although good philosophical fun to ponder which came first, the reality is quite simple: the concept of art predates every single artist alive today, i.e. there's not a single artist that can claim they knew of a time when the concept of art still needed to be invented.

The consequences are highly relevant: Art is the current *a priori* for any art practice or artwork produced today. It's also the *a priori* for claiming that someone is an artist. And it does not stop there. No artist without Art. No artwork without Art and the artist. No curating of artworks, without artworks, artists, Art. No curator, no art institution, no political or public art without... Whoever makes a living from an art related activity is by definition *indebted* to Art.

When a certain art expression is then threatened, it's a threat to all art and all art practices. Not understanding or choosing to ignore the implications of that is non-committal at best and inexcusable at worst.

The real kicker though comes when taking a look at governmental art institutions, e.g. state-owned museums or arts councils, etc. Who are the civil servants working there indebted to? Is it art or the state? Formulating the question like that makes the answer fairly obvious: the state. Easily understood and accepted, it

does not simplify the thinking, especially not for people working in state art institutions while trying to maintain a personal artistic or curatorial practice. (see Chapter 5: BUCKETS)

## RULES

Sweden has come a long way in terms of rules for good practices in the arts. But, just as the road to hell is paved with good intentions, those rules for good practices can have dire consequences in specific circumstances.

In 2021, the Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis published a report "How free are the arts?", commissioned by the then minister of culture Amanda Lind (Environmental Party). It showed how the arm's length principle, stating that politicians are not to intervene in the content of art, was too often ignored (more so by local politicians than by national ones). The report, meant to generate improvements in that particular situation, was eagerly taken up by the populist SD party to turn it around and propose getting rid of (even more) subsidies to the arts, i.e. instead of addressing the *issue* which was *the political intervening* they proposed to get rid of the money – which is another kind of intervening, *but a more effective one*. It's the same rhetoric we've come to know as shield-the-offender, ignore-the-victim\*. Another stereotypical *détournement*, as there are many, from a political ideological point of view.

The next example is even more insidious because it restrains the non-partisan civil servants (*non-partisan* used in its genuine meaning, i.e. *politically neutral*). It involves one of the most effective political directions possible, namely enforcing rules for good and subsequently reducing the means to execute them, which immediately paralyses the functioning. The example is easy but controversial, hence the insidiousness, and concerns the fair pay to artists, which is regulated in Sweden with what is called "MU-avtal", freely translated as "fair pay for artists". All governmental institutions have to follow *MU-avtal* that sets rules for artist fees and remuneration for artists while working on exhibitions. This is good practice, and there is nothing wrong with that, only with its consequences.

When governmental institutions do not get enough resources to follow the *MU-avtal* rules, exhibitions get cancelled or never

set up. It's a means to enforce *ethical censorship*. And it gets worse, when artists, out of their own volition, propose to forgo the *MU-avtal*, the institutions cannot or will not accept.

This last is the controversial bit from *the artist interest organisations'* perspective, who have worked hard to get the *MU-avtal* set up and properly executed, i.e. it is clear that artist interest organisations do not want artists proposing to work for free, it undermines the good work being done for artists in general. It's on the same level as 'scabs' or strikebreakers, but the comparison doesn't really fly between going on strike to get better conditions and choosing to forgo gained rights to serve a bigger cause, namely to keep those gained rights. The system in place is not fool-proof. Strike that – the system is rigged; it can and will be abused.

\* The hook that was found by SD was the open admittance by government organisations that their online forms, used to apply for subsidies, had created an atmosphere where artists changed their applications to be able to check the attention points (*the governmental agencies had to get their quota for*) such as 'inclusiveness', 'gender neutrality', 'child friendly', etc. From a far-right populist perspective this was identified as a leftist progressive culture being forced onto artists, i.e. artists were being directed into a political ideology. The logic is sound: democracy is itself a directive, but it's one that guarantees freedom for its people. The issue is not that democracy is directive, the issue is using the directive to blow it up from the inside at the expense of the people and labelling it as an opposing party ideology. In essence SD showed that it was against democracy, but substituted it with 'The Left'. Instead of proposing to change the forms, the proposal was to cut the subsidies.

## **WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS**

KVADRENNALEN was initiated by a *foreigner* in the Swedish art scene, me, which was both a weakness and a strength at the same time. Understanding when it was which was not easy. An obvious strength was bringing in an outsider's perspective that wasn't about *believing* but knowing what was coming. An equally clear weakness was that I did not have a network in the scene yet. Swedish artists had to bring that in and they did get stuck with *belief*.

On top of that, I was white, male and middle-aged, and although I could understand the language by then, I did not speak nor write Swedish, i.e. I was mute in Sweden. Not very conducive for the task at hand, namely to *voice* a stand for art. Thankfully, plenty of Swedes answered the call of KVADRENNALEN.

### **ARTIST THINKING vs. PLATFORM THINKING**

...is a challenge, i.e. not to mix what one can do as an artist with what the platform can do. *What one can do as a representative of the platform* needs to work for all the platform users, e.g. I could set up "The Most Provocative Political Performance Award" (see 9 works to piss off Jimmie) as an individual work on the platform, but the platform could not initiate that because it would implicate all the others using the platform, i.e. an artwork by an individual artist could not assume to represent every artist bringing their work to the platform. The platform, on the other hand, could create the "#Hi Jack! Program" (see Chapter 8: MISSING) which, in theory, an individual artist could have set up too, but it wouldn't have made much sense to do so. Some actions fit the individual perspective, others the collective.

### **CONSISTENT PLATFORM THINKING**

While preparing for the opening of KVADRENNALEN a suggestion was made to do a standard opening at one of the art houses in Stockholm. The idea was entertained for a good while because in any other context it would have been a great way to start any quadrennial. It took some understanding to realise that a centralised opening in an art house that represents only one of the art disciplines was not in line with what KVADRENNALEN represented. In the end KVADRENNALEN opened with decentralised openings where everyone that had signed up already got the opportunity to open KVADRENNALEN themselves. They could decide what they saw fit according to their position in the art field. Keeping the platform thinking consistent with everything it stood for was a constant exercise.

### **TIMINGS**

Everything has its time – not necessarily the time one believes it needs, but the time where it happens. Too many examples of ideas that were worked on with a certain time frame in mind had to be postponed and finally proved more fitting further down the line. It meant that we could relax when actions didn't pan out at first. There's always the possibility to reactivate, and when the time came the work would already be done. E.g. "The Most Provocative Political Performance Award" was initially planned for the start of KVADRENNALEN. When Anna-Viola Hallberg (artist, curator and director of BKN, Björkö Konstnod) heard about it, she pointed out that the timing would be completely off, and she was right.

The work was rescheduled to the week before the curtain dropped on KVADRENNALEN. Minds that collaborate see more.

### **OLD vs. NEW SYSTEM THINKING**

When talking to people in institutions and organisations the advice was eagerly given to set up a genuine "organisation": "*Then you can easily apply for money, build credibility,...*" The institution as a concept is so ingrained and uncritically accepted that it is considered as being the *only* option. The (Utopian, but crucial) work KVADRENNALEN envisaged was to work and collaborate *across and in between all the illusionary borders* that are systemic, e.g. legally recognised organisations, public vs private, professional vs amateur, all the categories within the arts... advice that proposed to comply with the existing status quo needed to be dismissed, because *old system thinking does not work to create new systems* – it only reinforces and justifies the system in play.

A little side note: people working together without *legal* structures is actually also a legally accepted structure. Before the concepts of NGOs and GOs were created, people worked together too, i.e. the volition of fitting into a pre-defined structure is simply complying, i.e. being subconsciously complicit and justifying the old system. Think about the *suffragettes*, the *civil rights movements*, the *school strike for the climate* and think about white silence in *Black Lives Matter*.

***I* cannot do  
what**

***WE* can do.**

- fact -

To err is an individual right,  
to succeed a collective plight.

- TM



**Not Found**

No system will fund actions that are perceived as being anti-system.

Note on resources:

I applied both in 2021 and 2022 to all possible organisations (governmental and private alike) that fund the arts in Sweden and the Nordics. None of the applications were accepted. The Swedish Lottery Foundation (Postkodstiftelsen), stated that it was aware of the political shifts and that it hoped to address those in the years to come - which was sad to hear, knowing that all applications are evaluated against their intended effects, i.e. to fund projects *after the facts* would *de facto* mean that the only effects could be documentation, creating awareness when it's too late.

Not securing any funds for the platform meant that quite a significant number of ideas and proposals sent in by artists to the KVADRENNALEN open call "*What artistic responses can you come up with in face of populist threats to the free arts?*"\* could not materialise (see Chapter 8: MISSING).

\*The open call initially ran with a deadline in 2021 (primarily to feel the temperature of the art field before building up everything needed to run KVADRENNALEN, and secondly because artists need deadlines, otherwise nothing happens). Once KVADRENNALEN opened, the deadline was changed to a permanent open call until the last but one day. The logic was that no idea nor proposal would be discarded because of an arbitrary deadline for practical reasons. As long as the radical political shift had not materialised, i.e. as long as there was still a chance for people to vote in favour of art, then KVADRENNALEN would accept proposals and try to execute them.

All artists proposing artworks and actions were encouraged to find their own funding. Institutions and organisations had to use their existing funds or apply for additional ones.

Without any funding to work with, all the work was done without any remuneration; on the contrary, people working for KVADRENNALEN often put in their own money to work, e.g. keeping a website up and running costs money, translating texts into English or Swedish takes time and expertise and when done for free - it actually means a double cost for the translator (not getting paid for the work and not having the time for a paid assignment),...

The core team behind KVADRENNALEN, i.e. the people that selflessly put in blood, sweat and tears, without whom KVADRENNALEN would never have made it to the opening, let alone to the finissage: ANNA KOCH (choreographer, dancer and director of Weld), THIERRY MORTIER (initiator, visual artist, SE/BE), CONNY BLOM (visual artist, co-director CAC Bukovje-Landskrona), NINA SLEJKO BLOM (Visual artist, co-director CAC Bukovje-Landskrona, SE/SI), TILDA DALUNDE (translator, visual artist), FELICIA GRÄND (press, visual artist), ANNA-VIOLA HALLBERG (visual artist, curator, director of BKN Björkö Konstnod), LIES LECOMPTE (SE/BE), ANNA EDSJÖ (architect, exhibition designer), HANNE BRUNDIN (volunteer).

Many more names feature on the list of people that worked to produce works on the platform (see Chapters 7: SUCCESS and 8: MISSING), the same applies to them, if they had not put in the time, effort and work then the KVADRENNALEN calendar would have remained empty.

Two general remarks: 1) who needs to get paid when working to safeguard one's own livelihood? (except for every subsidised industry of course, e.g. aviation, farming, defence, politics, banks,...) 2) resources always translate to money in the current capitalist system, but KVADRENNALEN's approach to resources was that money does not get fliers printed, it's people operating a printer. The collaborations sought after were often just about SHARING RESOURCES, e.g. when an artist only needs access to a decent A3 printer then that can easily be found in institutions that are running on taxpayers money already, i.e. public resources.

The true resources KVADRENNALEN was looking for and which were actually needed more than money were human resources and human resourcefulness.

If KVADRENNALEN didn't reach its potential, then the place to look, in terms of pinpointing a cause, would be to the garnered support.

**What's the  
interest rate  
like  
on immaterial  
wealth  
these days?**



Entry Signs at Moderna Museet, Stockholm.

**( PRO ) POSITION**

**( DIS ) POSITION**

**( COM ) POSITION**

**( JUXTA ) POSITION**

**( OP ) POSITION**

**POSITION**

**( PREDIS ) POSITION**

**( MIS ) POSITION**

**( INTER ) POSITION**

**( CONTRA ) POSITION**

**( TRANS ) POSITION**

**( SUPER ) POSITION**

**( RE ) POSITION**

**( POST ) POSITION**

**( . . . ) POSITION**

Chapter ERR dealt with challenges and surprises that popped up while getting the KVADRENNALEN idea ready for execution. Here the focus turns to how the idea was received by the art players taking up different positions in the field and who were asked to join, collaborate and strengthen the movement.

### ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:

#### ARTIST INTEREST ORGANISATION POSITION

The Artists' Association of Sweden, KRO (Konstnärernas Riksorganisation) is the largest artist interest organisation in the *visual arts*, representing some 3,500 professional visual artists, crafts artists and designers in Sweden. It is one of many interest organisations. Most have a specific art field they (try to) represent, and as such they are not able to represent the entire art industry themselves but are forced to join forces to get the necessary numbers to achieve impact.

## The Artists' Association of Sweden

The Artists' Association of Sweden (Konstnärernas Riksorganisation), founded in 1937, is an organization for professional visual artists, crafts artists and designers. The task of the Artists' Association of Sweden is to represent Swedish visual artists in political issues concerning art and artists' financial and social situation.

The Artists' Association of Sweden is a member of the International Association of Art (IAA / AIAP) and currently holds the position of vice president of IAA Europe as well as a position in the executive committee of IAA World.

We also hold a position on the executive committee of NNCA - Nordic Network of Crafts Associations.

[www.kro.se](http://www.kro.se)

One such umbrella organisation for artist interest organisations is KLYS, the Swedish Joint Committee for Artistic and Literary Professionals.

The misconception exists that these organisations are all unions, which is not the case on a legal, technical level, but the work

they do can be stated as being union work: joining forces to achieve better (working) conditions (for their members).

## About KLYS

KLYS is the **Swedish Joint Committee for Artistic and Literary Professionals**, an umbrella organization for collaboration between professional artists from all art disciplines in matters of common interest such as authors' rights, labor market, freedom of expression, cultural diversity, social security and tax schemes. KLYS main objective is to protect the interests of the individual members in terms of cultural politics and union concerns and to improve the social and economic situation for artistic professionals.

[www.klys.se](http://www.klys.se)

*EXCEPT NO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS ALLOWED ?*

When freedom of artistic expression and/or the arm's length principle is getting trampled, KRO is the first place to reach out to (when you're a visual artist and member). While preparing KVADRENNALEN I reached out to see if KRO would spread the open call to all the artists they represent. Getting the word out to  $\pm 10\%$  of all the professional artists in Sweden could prove a great jump start for the movement. I also asked if KRO would get behind the KVADRENNALEN idea as an organisation, and whether the KRO chairperson (artist and co-founder of an artist-run gallery in the north - *people working at KRO are in general artists themselves*) wanted to join. None of these received positive replies. The most startling answer was that "KRO could not get behind KVADRENNALEN because the organisation needed to maintain a politically neutral position".

Every interest organisation is born out of a certain *position*, i.e. it's their *not neutral* position that defines them and gives them their reason for being. KRO, set up by artists to look out and lobby for better artists' conditions out in the field, has a predefined position and it can never *be* neutral.

Was this a "bucket"-case, where the idea was interpreted as *anti-* one particular political party? Perhaps, but even if that had been the case would that constitute an issue? The possibility existed that KRO had members who, politically, vote against their own interests, i.e. vote for parties that want to take art out of the societal mix. (This would be counterproductive to say the least but everyone is free to self-sabotage). In that case, KRO could indeed have expected some protest from, for argument's sake, a minority of their members. But what of the other members? In a situation where one specific political party is going after the arts and artists, would not a majority of members *expect* KRO to take up a position of clear opposition in order to stand up for its members' interests?

Organisations like KRO and KLYS shared 95% of the ideas found in KVADRENNALEN, except KVADRENNALEN was not a paying-members organisation and it was not standing up for working conditions, but for art in society... which is an assumed premise for art interest organisations.

KRO, KLYS and their sister organisations were all using their

members' money to set up lectures, seminars, commission reports and other lobbying activities, primarily directed to the governing power – who more often than not failed to show up at those (much needed) events.

What they were not doing was using their own power fully, i.e. when you collectively have tens of thousands of members it's not enough to *just* represent; nor did they identify how the threats to their members could be countered *before the facts*. Old structures rehashing old system thinking.

\* When Egill Sæbjörnsson (IS) stated that KVADRENNALEN was actually about "doing union work", he wasn't wrong: when the ones paid to stand up for you are not preventing attacks then it's up to you to do the work.

### **ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:**

#### **SEMI-PRIVATE\* ART ORGANISATION POSITION**

\* Semi-private as in not-state-run, but commonly operating with a mix of private and tax-payers money.

**KONSTFRÄMJANDET**, the People's Movements for Art Promotion, was the second large organisation that was identified as being in line with KVADRENNALEN thinking and values. Konstfrämjandet is itself a decentralised organisation promoting "access to art in an egalitarian society". They have partnered up with pretty much all interesting players in and around art, from unions, magazines, schools to industry organisations. Their origin lies in the socialist movement.

If Konstfrämjandet would get on board as a partner then the decentralised support and guarantee that KVADRENNALEN would happen all across Sweden would be a sure thing. The first response was that all the Konstfrämjandet districts were autonomous entities, i.e. there was no central decision making. A second response was a referral to an opinion piece that had just been published by Jonas Sjöstedt, the former party leader of Vänster (The Left party), calling for a boycott of the Culture War (see further down). A final response was that artists should let others speak for them.

None of those responses made sense, but the last one was by far the most peculiar. The number one reason why art is not fully appreciated in society is because other voices are speaking for,

interpreting, directing the general perception on art (and artists). No one speaks for another without ulterior motives, however benevolent those may be.

Fortunately for KVADRENNALEN, the districts indeed operated autonomously and several individual Konstfrämjandet districts joined the movement.

**KLISTER** was a third network organisation that could prove influential to the success of KVADRENNALEN. KLISTER is “a nationwide network for small and medium-sized contemporary art institutions in Sweden.” Some of the more interesting institutions are part of this loosely formed network. The response from KLISTER was similar to Konstfrämjandet in that the network is a loose collaboration and that all the members are autonomous players. The KLISTER network did not join, but several of its members did.

**FOLK OCH KULTUR**, People and Culture, *an annual cultural policy convention* (since 2018) states in their vision: “*Together we create Sweden’s leading convention and meeting place where the importance of art and culture in the development of democracy and society is in focus.*” It was founded by interest organisations for the stage arts, for music and the County museums’ cooperation council.

Reading Folk och Kultur’s vision, one would expect a match made in heaven. When the newsletter of Folk och Kultur went out in 2022, I received half a dozen forwards of it within the first hour, which only showed the pervasive impression of a perfect fit. When reaching out to Folk och Kultur to see if they would give KVADRENNALEN a spot on their platform, we received a price quote to buy a speaker’s booth.

*“Folk och Kultur is a participant-driven convention and everyone is welcome to contribute. It is #together that we create an important convention where art and culture are in focus.”* Not having any funds at our disposal it was impossible to pay to be a participant.

If we couldn’t speak there, then perhaps we’d be invited to attend at least. Folk och Kultur states they are the leading place to lead the development of culture in society and that everyone

is welcome to contribute, but fails to state the obvious: *when you have money*. When you have the money to pay for a spot, then you are welcome to participate and develop culture in Swedish society. Spawned from an exclusive position of power (member interest organisations) the convention as a paid-for promotion platform perpetuated that exclusivity thinking.

After (repeatedly) reaching out to Folk och Kultur to understand whether artists were even part of their target audience and how an outsider was to interpret their bold vision and position, we received the reply that *we'd get a reply in the following week*. The reply is yet to come.

mail@thierrymortier.com 7 February 2022 at 13:12  
 Questions concerning the set-up of Folk och Kultur  
 To: info@folkochkultur.se

Hejhej Folk och Kultur,

I'm really looking forward to the conference this week, but I have some questions about the set-up of Folk och Kultur. Is it possible to clarify the position of Folk och Kultur, to understand whether I am actually a target audience of the conference - as an artist in Sweden?

There are two essential questions:  
 1) the **disconnect** between the **paying promotion conference model** and the goal of an **accessible and inclusive culture**.  
 2) the **catch-22** between the **ethical contract** that is in place and the **parties that should be at Folk och Kultur**.

**1) Disconnect**

In the Folk och Kultur vision it states:

"Tillsammans skapar vi Sveriges ledande konvent och mötesplats där konstens och kulturens betydelse i demokrati- och samhällsutvecklingen står i fokus." <https://folkochkultur.se/om-folk-och-kultur/om-oss/>

\*Folk och Kultur ska  
 • utveckla en bransktvivel mötesplats för samhällsutveckling med konst och kultur som grund.  
 • bidra till ett demokratiskt och hållbart samhälle genom att vara en katalysator för ett fritt och **öppnare konst- och kulturliv i hela landet**."

Folk och Kultur is set up to achieve **accessible art and culture**, but both attending and being part of the program is based on a **paying promotion conference model**?

Consequently it's whoever can pay that can actually build the platform for democracy? Or are there mechanisms to avoid this situation in place?  
 How does Folk och Kultur avoid an exclusive set-up that wants to achieve accessibility and inclusion?  
 Do artists get free entry passes to listen to people discussing their livelihood?  
 Are certain organisations asked to speak, instead of paying/proposing to speak?  
 Are the politicians also paying for speaker's slots?

\*Folk och Kultur är ett deltagarstyrt konvent och **alla är välkomna att bidra**. Tillsammans skapar vi den ledande mötesplatsen för konstens och kulturens betydelse i demokrati- och samhällsutvecklingen. <https://folkochkultur.se/om-folk-och-kultur/motsporsn/>

Det finns olika former för hur man kan bidra till Folk och Kultur, exempelvis genom samarbeten och stöd men också genom att arrangera programpunkter eller vara en del av utställningar. <https://folkochkultur.se/om-folk-och-kultur/for-samarbeten-arrangorand/>

Kostrådabild: Investering för ett arrangörspartnerskap: från 60 000 kr exkl moms.  
 Konstrådabild: Investering för ett konventpartnerskap: från 90 000 kr exkl moms.  
<https://folkochkultur.se/om-folk-och-kultur/for-samarbeten-arrangorand/>

**2) Catch-22 ethical contract**

"Genom att godkänna detta avtal intygar arrangören att denna, samt eventuella medarrangör som avser arrangera verksamhet inom ramen för Folk och Kultur arbetar **utifrån demokratiska värderingar samt respekterar och ställer sig bakom de grundläggande principerna om jämlikhet, jämställdhet och allas lika värde, enligt Europeiska konventionen om skydd för de mänskliga rättigheterna samt Sveriges nationella kulturpolitiska mål**. <https://folkochkultur.se/infotips/for-folk-och-kultur-5/>"

There is no comment on the ethical contract itself, but it creates a catch-22 situation: in order to be **representative** of the political situation Folk och Kultur **needs to get all political parties in their panel**, but parties such as SD have already gone on official record that they do not agree with the national kulturpolitisk mål, which means in order to be representative Folk och Kultur needs to have a way to circumvent their own ethical contract?

How is this made clear to the public?

In order to be relevant Folk och Kultur needs to secure a correct representation of the policy makers and political climate in which the art and culture is being set up.  
 Will all parties be present during the conference?  
 And if not, if the parties that are out to destroy an open, free art and culture are not present, how does Folk och Kultur communicate that and handle this incomplete representation?

Thank you for your responses on these essential questions.

Warm wishes

Thierry Mortier

**ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:****PRIVATE ART ORGANISATION POSITION**

After talking with the head curator of one of the bigger private museums KVADRENNALEN believed it was getting a huge player to support the idea – huge in terms of reputation. If a major player openly showed support then building the movement would go so much quicker. It would function as a catalyst, a celebrity endorsement, and plenty of players that are sensitive to riding the same wave of the big names would come running. The excitement was alive because the meeting had gone so well. There had been some poignant questions that probed KVADRENNALEN's thinking, but in the end the curator stated: "So we can just add the shows we're planning anyway and that's it. You don't need anything more from us?" They could, but didn't.

**ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:****COMMERCIAL ART GALLERY POSITION**

An important player of the art world, the commercial art galleries were not identified as primary in the KVADRENNALEN context. There was a start of a movement building in 2022 by gallery Thomas Wallner on Facebook, focusing on the economic inequalities of the art world compared to other industries. There was potential but unfortunately it did not leave the digital realm.

**ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:****STATE ART ORGANISATION POSITION**

One of the most intriguing questions about the KVADRENNALEN idea was figuring out whose responsibility it is to stand up for art in society *and* for democracy. Whomever we asked, the finger was pointed at us, the ones asking, and it was nowhere as palpable as in the conversations with the state-run art and culture organisations.

Briefly touched upon in Chapter 3: ERR, civil servants working in state art organisations are indebted to the state for their livelihood, not to art. But that's not the end of it; within a democratic context such as Sweden which has a Cultural policy goal in place to regulate art in society (see Chapter 2: Idea), it's necessary to dig even deeper into the distinction between state and democracy, and decide whether or not those can be used interchangeably. What happens when changes in government bring about changes in regime?

**KULTURRÅDET (KUR)**, The Swedish Arts Council, is a government authority whose principal task is *to implement national cultural policy determined by Parliament and distribute subsidies accordingly*. In the official governmental remit to KUR in 2022 it was literally stated that the Cultural policy goals are part of their official assignment: *“In accordance with the national cultural policy goals, the Swedish Arts Council must protect artistic freedom. The authority must report what measures the authority has taken to secure artistic freedom within the framework of the grant.”*

It partly answers the question about who’s responsible for enforcing free artistic expression, within the context that free artistic expression is only guaranteed through conventions. The guarantee comes from the government and the governmental agencies need to enforce and execute it.

In the run-up to the 2022 election, the populist SD party was in opposition in Parliament. On numerous occasions SD called for undemocratic infringements on cultural policy goals, e.g. banning gangster rap on state radio stations (2021) or the decision to stop buying challenging art on a municipal level in Sölvesborg (2019). The big threats to the artistic freedom KUR has the assignment to protect are coming from inside Parliament. Simply put, one needs to stand up to one’s boss in order to execute the boss’s assignment. A tricky situation, but not a difficult one in terms of deciding what to execute, i.e. the assignment is clear and as long as it is not revoked it applies.

In the case of KUR, the assignment is literally stated but the logic applies to all governmental art and culture organisations, from grant committees to universities to art museums to art centres across the country. The rule of the country creates the framework and the institutions are there to execute it, payed for by the taxpayers’ money.

The subsidies KUR offers are strictly regulated and did not work for a *non*-organisation like KVADRENNALEN. We reached out to ask for guidance to understand the possibilities, hoping for a chance to speak to KUR about this conundrum. We were referred to the website by the then head of KUR.

The **distinction between state and democracy** is instrumental in understanding Gene Sharp's\* statement that *institutions provide the stability of the system*, and how democracies get turned into hybrid elected forms of illiberal democracies, i.e. where autocratic ideology comes to power via the democratic process.

All civil servants are required to remain non-partisan or politically neutral in a democratic setup, thus ensuring a smooth transition from one election to another. The politicians at the top change but it has no fundamental impact on the people working in the institutions – the context of democracy is the *a priori*, the reason that justifies the non-partisan condition of employment.

All protest from civil servants when autocratic ideology seeps into the democratic process is instantly blocked by the system. The argument used is non-partisanship. The clinch is in the mixing of registers, i.e. 'no bias to *party* politics' (non-partisan) is substituted with 'no bias to the *form* of government' (democracy). And the civil servants, paid to serve the people, are being muzzled by a system defending its own destruction from within.

The *form* of government justifies the non-partisanship, when the form of government changes then all subsequent rules of conduct are invalidated and can no longer apply.

\* Gene Sharp (1928 – 2018), American political scientist and professor known for his extensive writings on nonviolent struggle.

The contract example on the next page shows how the steps function: "work in the service of the public on behalf of Sweden's citizens via the Swedish Parliament and Government" and is again repeated in the civil servant's principles to uphold.

Democracy is the *form* and the Parliament and Government execute that form. When the second executes the form in such a way that the form is no longer there, then there is a breach of contract.

Civil servants are indebted to the *form* of government, not to the ones executing that form.

# 1. Employment

## 1.1 Civil service

When you are employed by [REDACTED] this means that you work at a government authority.

As a government employee (civil servant), you work in the service of the public on behalf of Sweden's citizens, via the Swedish Parliament and Government. The university's operations are governed by public laws that apply to both government authorities and state-owned enterprises. The university and college education sector employs more civil servants than any other government activity.

### The values of civil service

No matter whether you are a teacher, researcher or administrative staff member or another type of civil servant, there are common values for the entire state sector. These values are based on laws and regulations.

For civil servants, these values are based on six principles

- Democracy - We work on behalf of the country's citizens and implement the decisions of the Swedish Parliament and Government.
- Legality - What we do must be supported by law, and we are familiar and comply with the laws that apply to our operations.
- Objectivity - We are objective and impartial and are responsible for ensuring that similar cases are handled similarly
- Freedom of opinion - Openness and freedom of expression are pillars of democracy, and as a general rule, everyone has the right to insight into what the authorities do.
- Respect - for the equal value of all people: We treat all people equally and with respect.
- Efficiency and service - We provide citizens with correct and understandable information, as quickly as possible. We work as efficiently as possible and also manage our resources carefully.

Do you wish to know more?

We will go through this information at an introduction that employees once per semester. If you wish to know more about service and Swedish administration, you can find information

## 1.2 Collective agreements

Your terms of employment are regulated by agreements between

The screenshot shows the ICRC International Humanitarian Law Databases website. The navigation bar includes 'HOME', 'IHL TREATIES', 'CUSTOMARY IHL', and 'NATIONAL PRACTICE'. Below this, there are tabs for 'RULES' and 'PRACTICE'. The main content area displays 'Rule 154. Obedience to Superior Orders' with the text: 'Rule 154. Every combatant has a duty to disobey a manifestly unlawful order.' Below the rule text, there are sections for 'Practice', 'Volume II, Chapter 43, Section D.', and 'Summary'. At the bottom, a note states: 'State practice establishes this rule as a norm of customary international law applicable to orders given in both international and non-international armed conflicts.'

In international law (see previous page) regulating armed conflicts, combatants have a *duty to disobey unlawful orders*. Democracies do not have such a fail-safe measure installed.

The Utopian thinking of KVADRENNALEN put the responsibility to safeguard democracy on the ones executing the *form* of government first, i.e. allowing autocratic voices to enter a democratic Parliament is the responsibility of the parties. After that it's the responsibility of those working in the institutions that stabilise the system, and finally the many people. When the politicians don't, then the civil servants must, and if they don't, then it's up to the people. (Example: in 2024 the German people started organising and demonstrating against AfD, the extreme right, that's starting to gain popularity again.)

The popular argument that *the vote decides*, i.e. the people are *voting in* the autocratic ideology, although true, lacks specification and does not consider the attenuating circumstances that lessen the people's culpability.

E.Coli bacteria which feed on sugar can be fooled by artificial sweeteners, *just like humans can be fooled*. "Full-blown semiotics begins with the possibility of *being fooled*" writes Frederik Stjernfelt. Or as Umberto Eco put it, "Semiotics is in principle the discipline studying *everything which can be used in order to lie*. If something cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely it cannot be used to tell the truth: it cannot in fact be used 'to tell' at all."

Is the E.Coli bacteria responsible for being tricked by artificial sweeteners? When the fourth pillar of democracy, the media, allows politicians to lie and trick the people into giving up their democratic form of government does that not merit some consideration in the argument of *the vote decides*?

Democracy from the start knew about the dangers of mob-rule, it's why checks and balances were invented. In the post-truth world, preventing the tricksters and cheaters from abusing the system's rules becomes more important than ever.

U. Eco, A theory of Semiotics

F. Stjernfelt, Sheets, Diagrams and Realism in Peirce

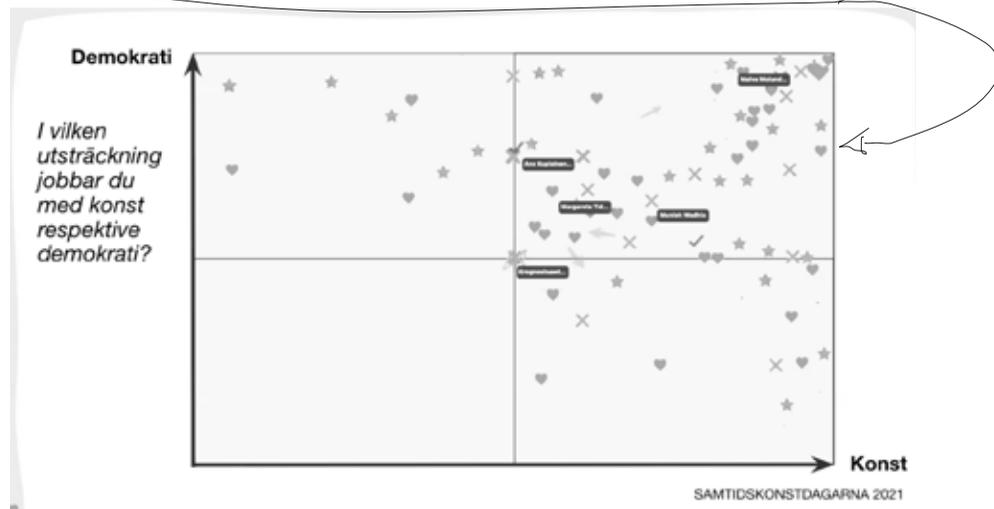
**KONSTNÄRSNÄMNDEN**, The Swedish Arts Grants Committee, has a similar formulation in their governmental remit as KUR. Their assignment differs however from KUR's in that they cater to individual artists and not only to organisations and institutions. After a number of attempts to speak with a contact there and receiving the reply that it was *a bit too busy* (to talk about safeguarding democracy), we stopped trying.

**STATENS KONSTRÅD**, the Public Art Agency Sweden, was working on collaboration models when we got in touch and immediately let us take up a spot in their upcoming annual Contemporary Art Days conference (Samtidskonstdagarna), "the largest recurring meeting place for art players in Sweden"\*. It was the only breach in the state run wall and KVADRENNALEN gratefully accepted the opportunity to speak there – primarily with civil servants working in state art organisations. Instinctively, the collaboration models assignment of Statens Konstråd felt similar to what KVADRENNALEN was aiming for, cross-border collaboration, except for the obvious difference in position, i.e. *state* and *artist* position. The attendance by artists at the Contemporary Art Days is minimal, and telling.

\* A similar description to Folk och Kultur, but here it is a state-driven initiative.

As a way to feel the room, the Contemporary Art Days conference started with a question to position yourself as an attendee. The question was "to what extent do you work with art and democracy?"

The vast majority of attendees marked themselves in the quadrant high on democracy and high on art.



**KONSTFACK**, the state University of Arts, Crafts and Design in Stockholm, replied “not for them”, when we proposed a collaboration to bring testimonies from international artists that had already lived through a radical political shift ending in repression of the art and culture field in their countries. With the school’s infrastructure and educational assignment we thought this would bring critical understanding to the soon-to-be-graduated artists and allow us to share some of the urgency from countries like Hungary, Poland, Belgium, with the art scene in Sweden. Konstfack wasn’t the only school we approached, but none of them engaged.

**SVENSKA INSTITUTET**, the Swedish Institute (SI), is a special player, it’s a governmental agency “that promotes interest and trust in Sweden around the world”, i.e. Sweden’s *nation branding agency*. As already stated in Chapter 2: Idea, SI had a program until 2023 called Creative Force that approached culture and media as a tool, i.e. it weaponised culture in the promotion of democratic values abroad. When asked if KVADRENNALEN could apply for the promotion of democracy domestically, we received the reply that domestic democracy was not their assignment, i.e. SI could fund the promotion of democracy abroad but it could not support efforts to prevent the loss of democracy in Sweden.


[Evenemang](#)
[Utlysningar](#)
[Så arbetar vi](#)
[Hem](#) / [Utlysningar](#) / [Bidrag och finansiering](#) / Creative Force

## Creative Force

Representerar du en svensk organisation som arbetar internationellt med att stärka demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter? Använder du kultur eller media som metod för positiv förändring? I så fall är kanske Creative Force något för dig. Nedan hittar du övergripande information om programmet, FAQs och steg-för-steg ansökningsinstruktioner. Nästa utlysning öppnar 15 juni och stänger 31 augusti 2021 (endast såddfinansiering).

Do you represent a Swedish organisation that works internationally to strengthen democracy and human rights? **Do you use culture or media as a method for positive change?** If so, Creative Force might be for you.

📌 Creative Force Ger Bidrag Till Internationella Projekt Som Använder Kultur Eller Media Som Ett Verktyg För Förändring.

🌐 Öppen för 29 länder. [Visa alla länder](#)

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

When asked if SI believed there was a catch-22 in their assignment, i.e. promoting democratic values when Sweden could – *possibly* – no longer be a democracy itself in the foreseeable future, SI stated that the catch-22 was not so much in the assignment but in the “policies the government chooses to pursue”. A fair and correct reply, but the result would remain the same: a disconnect.

**MODERNA MUSEET (MM)**, “*one of Europe’s leading museums for modern and contemporary art*” in Stockholm, is first and foremost a governmental institution, according to museum director Gitte Ørskou’s description to the attendees of the World Summit on Art and Culture, 2023. Regardless of whether she would use the same formulation when addressing a room full of artists, it is the honest truth.

Gitte Ørskou took up the position as MM’s director in 2019 just before Covid-19 hit the globe. She used the pandemic shut down of the governmental art institutions as the perfect opportunity to draft a manifesto for the museum (see next page).

MM’s manifesto could easily be interpreted as an open invitation to collaborate with KVADRENNALEN: “*pushing boundaries and taking new paths in the management of the museum and be the agent of change*”. All attempts to talk about collaborations that would push the boundaries were met either with silence or dismissal.

The word on the street is that MM has become a great place to work, under Ørskou’s direction, as a civil servant.

### **ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:**

#### **CURATORS POSITION**

The open call “What artistic responses can you come up with in the face of populist threats to the free arts” got **one** like on the *Nordic Curators United* Facebook group that boasted 1.5K members. At the time, curators were trying to unite and become stronger as a group themselves. Prioritising a second order activity when the first order activity, upon which your existence depends, is under threat is symptomatic of parasitic endeavours.

# MODERNA MUSEET

## MANIFEST

Under the leadership of its director, Gitte Ørskou, Moderna Museet devised a new vision in 2020 to promote the development of its activities. This resulted in a joint manifesto that can be seen as a compass, with seven policies for Moderna Museet's future.

### Moderna Museet will engage people

Our passion is to mediate art for people. We want to embrace, challenge, and inspire people and we are driven by an ambition to speak with many. We want to be inclusive and to celebrate diversity by recognizing that people arrive from different starting points. We will engage a broader audience through sharing the wonder of art.

### Moderna Museet will be an agent of change in society

We are not outside society; we are an active part of the world. As a museum, we must reflect and revise our community's view of history, as well as engage in the present, by being a platform for dialogue, debate, and interaction. We will increase our impact on society by creating space for public discourse that facilitates critical thinking and mobilizes change.

### Moderna Museet will champion the arts

The extraordinary power of art is our lifeblood. Art arises in and reflects its own time. It enables questions that generate new perspectives; artists are an enormous force and stimulate broader creativity. We will champion art because it forges new paths and enables a reflective view of both history and the present. We will celebrate art broadly and our view of art is global.

### Moderna Museet will be a stimulating platform for people and art

We want to be a vibrant, open, and dynamic museum that exists as a spirit, one that offers our audiences relevant, engaging, and direct ways of encountering art on equal terms. We will inspire, and create space for new ideas by being a stimulating platform that makes world-class art accessible to a broad audience. We will set new standards for art museums worldwide.

### The solidity of Moderna Museet will give us the authority to develop

As a state institution, it is our task to collect, preserve, display, and mediate modern and contemporary art. We will manage our cultural heritage based on the highest standards of excellence and generate research that leads to high-quality international collaborations and recognition. We will be a leading institution within our field and we believe in sharing our knowledge.

### Moderna Museet wants a holistic perspective on its work

Our collection, research, exhibitions, mediation, and communication must complement and fertilize each other; these activities cannot stand alone. We will define ourselves on the basis of the contexts in which we are involved. Our aim to make the greatest art available to as many people as possible must rest on sustainable practices that take into account environmental and social impacts.

### Moderna Museet must be driven by the courage to experiment

We must dare to push boundaries and take new paths in the way we manage our tasks. Proceeding from our fundamental stability, we want to challenge ourselves and to not be afraid for experiments to fail. We will encourage our colleagues to venture new experiments, to seek collaboration, and to find new perspectives and the playful joy of gaining new ground – and by doing so, to honor our courageous history.

**ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:****ARTISTS and ARTIST-RUN ORGANISATIONS POSITION**

Artists and artist-run organisations have only one common ground and that's their independence. To the biggest possible degree, they do as they please. With that kind of freedom comes the incredible task of having to decide for yourself what to do. Because of that last they are in fact operating on the fringes of society. They all need to provide, pay their taxes, drop off the kids at school, plan dentist visits like everybody else, but there is nobody to tell them exactly what to work on, with, for. No board to convince, no manager to speak with, no one setting their schedule for them, so they do it themselves. And get stuck with systems they need to comply with that are only tailored to following predefined paths. No creativity ~~needed~~ allowed when filling in your taxes, no freewheeling with the rent, not getting a bank loan on the illusionary promise of a guaranteed income. In other words, life's pleasures and obligations are exactly the same as for non-artists, except that the obligations are a little harder. And their sensitivity, to pretty much everything, is a little stronger. Their choice was a calling, a necessity and the struggle that comes with it is what it is. The burn-out rate in the arts is unheard of – in both senses of the word – and rarely caused by the art work, but by an oversensitivity in a burning world. What will you tackle first? The overdue rent, the climate crisis that's jeopardising your kids future, the perpetuated inequalities left and right, the daily consequences from a colonial past... or the baseless polarisation of society and radicalisation of the political elite who are about to make your struggle even harder?

A study in the US came up with 20%: 20% is, on average, the amount of time artists – regardless of where in their career they are – can put on making their art. The other 80% is taken up by a day job, doing the accounting, managing assistants, making sure the studio doesn't burn down... in short, life.

Asking artists to stand up for themselves, *themselves*, before the shit hits the fan and telling them that failure and/or success only depends on them and nobody else, isn't the easiest ask. Especially when it shouldn't be their task in the first place. The system guarantees the freedom of (artistic) expression and it's the system that is allowing its own destruction.

Many artists and artist-run organisations answered the call. Many more didn't.

### **ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:**

#### **POWER CITIZENS POSITION**

Few power citizens have *no* interest in the arts, some even go so far as to fund private art spaces. They have power in society and in the arts. Robert Weil is one of those power citizens in Swedish society. In the run-up to the elections he published an opinion piece in the national newspaper Dagens Nyheter asking for advice on who to give his vote to because he was at a loss. The party he had always voted for had totally lost touch with its ideology (at that very moment he didn't know what the future had in store). And none of the other parties had any chance of averting a doom scenario for Sweden, he believed. He finished the opinion piece with an open call: "yes, I need help. Suggest a solution, I am happy to help."

Having already reached out to everyone else and with nothing to lose, I reached out to The Robert Weil Family Foundation Secretary general saying I had an idea to pitch. There was no reply.

### **ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE:**

#### **MEDIA POSITION**

An independent media is never in the books when democracy turns autocracy. And yet, there still hasn't been a single media revolution in any of the democracies that have fallen, i.e. the media have a conundrum to solve: either provide populists with the one thing they cannot rise to power without, air time and plenty of it, preferably prime air time, or miss out on cashing in on the constant provocations that give the monster viewer ratings (or in other words, money). Another self-sabotaging parasitic behaviour pattern. If they give the populists the air time then they get the money, but they will be out of a job once the power has been secured. If they don't, then no money for them and no guarantee that they will survive the perpetual growth demand of the shareholders. A crystal clear lose-lose situation. And that's without considering the sleepless nights caused by the ethical dilemma of being an accomplice. There are other options of course, e.g. instead of letting populists spread false, half- or convoluted truths on prime time and then informing the public with fact

## DN Debatt. "Vad ska jag rösta på nu när Liberalerna svikit?"



Uppdaterad 2021-09-28 Publicerad 2021-09-27



Måste jag, som alltid röstat på Liberalerna – eller Folkpartiet som det förut hette – hitta ett nytt parti? skriver Robert Weil.

DN DEBATT 28/9.

**Robert Weil: Jag menar att humanismen måste få betydligt mer framträdande plats i politiken.**

Det stora sveket var för mig att Liberalerna lämnade den oberoende mittenpositionen och samarbetet med Centern, Socialdemokraterna, och Miljöpartiet för Sverigedemokraterna. Där förlorade jag mitt parti. Vem ska jag nu ge mitt stöd?

Detta är en opinionstext i Dagens Nyheter. Skribenten svarar för åsikter i artikeln.

Ja, jag behöver hjälp. Kom med förslag på en lösning, jag hjälper gärna till.

Varför behöll inte Skellefteå stad vårt arkitektoniskt spännande nya kulturhus byggt i vårt dynamiska Norrland? I stället sålde man det till börsnoterade Samhällsbyggnadsbolaget i Norden AB, SBB för cirka 1 miljard och hyr sedan tillbaka det med ett 50-årigt kontrakt till riktigt bra avkastning för SBB. Avkastningen troligtvis fem gånger större än räntekostnaden. SBB:s värdeförändring är vinst i miljardklassen. 2020 gjorde SBB totalt vinster genom värdeförändringar på kanske nio miljarder så för dem var det en normal affär.

Men vem kan förklara varför kulturen inte har råd med sina egna hem. Ja, jag vet att de flesta kulturinstitutioner inte äger sina hus utan hyr av staten till alltför höga hyror som gör att staten ska få ha sin avkastning på samma nivå som de privata ägarna. Lika oförståeligt blir det när universiteten hyr av det statliga Akademiska Hus. Utbildningspengar och kulturpengar till fastighetsvinster, här till staten. Leka affär är så roligt. Vara lika duktiga som det privata.

**Ja, var finns mitt parti?** Humanismen måste få betydligt mer framträdande plats i politiken. Jag bär med mig Pessoa's tankar om uppror mot konventioner. Naturens orättvisor kommer vi kanske inte undan, men de som vi själva skapat kan vi också förändra.

Why didn't the city of Skellefteå keep our architecturally exciting new cultural centre built in our dynamic Norrland? Instead, it was sold to the (stock-exchange) listed SBB for approximately 1 billion and then they leased it back with a 50-year contract at a really good return for SBB.

Who can explain why culture does not know what to do with their own houses? Yes, I know that most cultural institutions do not own their houses, but rent from the state at far too high rent levels, which means that the state has the same level of revenue as the private property owners. It becomes just as incomprehensible when the universities rent from the state-run Akademiska Hus. Education money and cultural money for real estate profits, here here to the state. Playing business is so much fun. Be as good as the private sector.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

The Robert Weil Family Foundation is dedicated to defending and nurturing an open democratic society through initiatives in the field of the arts. As a knowledgeable business man and influential patron of the arts, Robert Weil's debate article unsurprisingly showed both his business acumen and ensuing incredulity when analysing the Swedish state's track record of "caring" for art and culture.

Both Robert Weil (in 2021) and Lars Strannegård (in 2023, see chapter 2: Idea) talked common sense when sharing their views – incorporating both the economic and political perspectives – on art in society, it doesn't mean that they were naive in terms of what impact their debate articles would generate.

check programs during the graveyard slot, the media outlets could choose to stop every twisted logic and lie on the spot. When the rise to power is not complete yet, the power still resides in the hands of the media.

KVADRENNALEN managed to get a 1-minute feature on national TV and 1 opinion piece published in a national newspaper. Media is scarce for artists talking politics, not so much for politicians talking art.

svt NYHETER Nyheter Lokalt Sport SVT Play Barn

/ KULTUR

## Ny konstfestival hålls under valåret: "Ett svar på politiska hot"

UPPDATERAD 3 NOVEMBER 2021 PUBLICERAD 3 NOVEMBER 2021

Konsten har blivit mer politiserad och det hotar den konstnärliga friheten, menar konstnären Thierry Mortier. Nu mobiliserar han konstvärlden för att manifestera emot utvecklingen – genom en konstfestival som hålls under valåret.

– Det är en hyllning till konsten, vi vill stå upp för konstnärlig frihet genom att göra konst, säger han.



SVT.SE

**Konstnärer mobiliserar mot politisk styrning**

Konsten har blivit mer politiserad och det hotar den konstnärliga ...

Artists mobilise against political control

New art festival held in the election year: "A response to political threats"

Art has become more politicized and this threatens artistic freedom, says artist Thierry Mortier. He is now mobilizing the art world to protest against this trend – through an art festival held during the election year.

– "It's a celebration of art, we want to stand up for artistic freedom by making art," he says.

Translated with DeepL.com

### ANOTHER KIND OF CULTURE: POLITICAL PARTIES POSITION

The two extremes in the Swedish Parliament in the run-up to 9/11 2022 were the left party Vänster (Left) and the extreme right party SD (Sweden Democrats). SD put all its money on the Culture War, V ran away from it as fast as it could.

The example from the right comes from a lengthy interview with SD party leader Jimmie Åkesson in the tabloid paper Expressen. Åkesson very calmly and sensibly explained to the journalist that he had little interest in telling people what to like in terms of art and culture, but he was very interested if that art and culture was funded by the taxpayer. After all, the first and foremost responsibility of a politician was taking (good) care of the money. If certain people didn't like certain art being subsidised

Not DEDUCATION BUT MONEY

by the state that meant that *not everyone was getting their penny's worth* and it's time to intervene politically. It sounds rational, and it is even logical... when you do not subscribe to the idea of democracy. Taxes in a democratic set-up are indeed about redistribution of resources, to make sure everyone gets something back. It's not implied that everyone gets the same thing back and needs to like the same art, quite the opposite. Democracy is *not* 'everyone pays and only a few get something they like', that's called something else.

EXPRESSEN

SD i Sölvesborg vill köpa in mindre "utmanande" samtidskonst



SD i Sölvesborg vill köpa in mindre "utmanande" samtidskonst.

SD in Sölvesborg wants to buy less "challenging" contemporary art.

Jimmie Åkesson always made a point of substituting "challenging" with "provocative" or "offensive" in relation to contemporary art. *Challenging* is the terminology used in the Cultural policy goal, by consistently pushing a directed interpretation he's conditioning the listeners and slowly eroding the support for the Cultural policy.

– Mitt mål är inte att Sverigedemokraterna ska växa för sakens skull. Det är inget självändamål. Vi finns för att vi vill förändra samhället. Vem som sedan genomför den förändringen spelar inte så stor roll.

Hemma i Sölvesborg kan SD-ledaren se samhället förändras – snabbt. Där styr nämligen partiet genom kommunalrådet Louise Erixon, partiledarens sambo, i en koalition med Moderaterna, Kristdemokraterna och det lokala Sol-partiet.

Det har till exempel bestämts att kommunen framöver ska köpa in "mindre utmanande samtidskonst".

**Men vad är då utmanande samtidskonst?**

– Jag vet inte om jag är en person som ska svara på det, säger Jimmie Åkesson – och sen svarar han i alla fall:

– Det här är ju känsliga frågor, vilket är helt obegripligt för mig. Det här handlar ju om hur man använder skattepengar. Ska de användas för att köpa in konstföremål som provocerar och väcker anstöt eller ska de användas till att köpa in sådant som skapar sammanhållning och förenar kommunens invånare. Jag väljer det senare.

– I stället för att köpa in en tavla med menskonst så kanske man kan ha en byst av någon tidigare framträdande person från kommunen som alla kan relatera till.

**But what is challenging contemporary art?**

– I don't know if I'm the person to answer that, says Jimmie Åkesson – and then he answers anyway:

– These are sensitive issues, which is completely incomprehensible to me. This is about how to use tax money. Should they be used to buy art objects that provoke and cause offense or should they be used to buy things that create cohesion and unite the inhabitants of the municipality. I choose the latter.

– Instead of buying a painting of menstruation art, maybe you could have a bust of some former prominent person from the municipality that everyone can relate to.

Translated with DeepL.com

The example from the left comes from a debate article published on the online news site Dagens Arena by the former party leader Jonas Sjöstedt (V) calling for a boycott on the Culture War. As many before him, he had analysed the rise of global far-right populism and had closely followed what happened in Hungary, Poland

and elsewhere. The tactics used were always the same, he claimed, and the solution he advocated was to run away from it. The alternative option to face it head on did not occur when he wrote down that the tactics of the Culture War are always predictable – which translates to: *if you know what's coming prepare for it.*

When democracy falters, it's every party's responsibility. Not only those trying to sabotage it, also those watching the tinkering under their noses. *Wir haben es nicht gewusst, nie wieder.*



### Bojkotta kulturkriget



**KOLUMNEN** Man ska undvika att utvärdera sin motståndares politiska konflikter. Det kan bli särskilt betydelsefullt inför valet 2022, skriver Jonas Söderbäck.

Artikl Lindgren mynnade ut i ett bra citat. En av mina favoriter är "men om det blev krig och ingen gick ut". Det finns någon väldigt vacker i den bilden. Historien är desovärre full av krig och konflikter som artister och bönder fått utstå för sina kungar och generer utan att geiva nå något intresse av dem. Det är ingen slump att en av Internationals verser, som numera sällan sjungs, handlar om att "Ier furstarn löpger har vi slagit". Genom historien finns också berättelserna om myterna, cedervagns- och krigsfröhet. Den svenska arbetarrörelsen kan se tillbaka på motståndet mot att starta krig mot Norge vid unionsupplösningen 1905 med stolthet. Det var ju för vil att svenskar och norrmän inte började skjuta på varandra då.

Bilden har sina paralleller inom politiken. Man ska undvika att utvärdera sin motståndares politiska konflikter. Den som väljer lämnat för debatten har större möjligheter att vinna den. Varje valrörelse är en betroringsmanövr om vilka frågor som anses värtiga och som står i fokus. Det kan bli särskilt betydelsefullt inför valet 2022.

SD, M, KD och numera även L vill inte bara att migration och kriminalitet ska stå i centrum för den politiska debatten, de åskar också kulturkriget. Det följer ett internationellt mönster från den nya höger där gränserna mellan rasist och konservativt allt mer suddats ut, istället för en motström som handlar om klass, välfärd och jämlikhet vill de måla upp en motström mellan "vanligt folk" och en verklighetsfrämmand "vänster" som bara bryr sig om perfila frågor och betar traditionella vilderingar. Ju konstigare saker man kan förutspå med dessa "vänster", desto bättre för högern. Folkmajoriteten som gäller att grilla på fredagen och behövs kora till till jobbet ställa mot ett gäng privilegierade surdegbakande identitetspolitiker på Södermalms. Så kan de högerpolitiker vars politik konsekvent gynnar de rikaste och som generellt impopulära privatiseringar förvandla sig till småfolkets försvarare.

**Det mediala intresset för klimatinvesteringar, ottrygga jobb och misslyckade privatiseringar verkar inte kitta redaktionerna på samma sätt som de blåbruna favoritfrågorna.**

Månåret är tydligt. Sverigedemokrater och kristdemokrater går till stormas mot menuskost. Jag har sett det uppregade gånger. Men jag har faktiskt aldrig sett någon till vänster som varit särskilt intresserad på frågan. Moderata riksdagsledamöter och kommunpolitiker gör väl för att få igång en debatt om en höjv-stap i form av en enhörning i Malmö, den sätts i motsvarande till att lösa de flesta grundläggande samhällsproblem, lite oklart hur. Moderata riksdagsledamöter och kommunpolitiker gör väl för att få igång en debatt om en höjv-stap i form av en enhörning i Malmö, den sätts i motsvarande till att lösa de flesta grundläggande samhällsproblem, lite oklart hur. Moderata riksdagsledamöter och kommunpolitiker gör väl för att få igång en debatt om en höjv-stap i form av en enhörning i Malmö, den sätts i motsvarande till att lösa de flesta grundläggande samhällsproblem, lite oklart hur.

Men för att det ska bli någon fart måste vänstern delta. Annars blir ju inte bilden av en elitistisk vänster som står långt från vanligt folk så trovärdig. När jag var ordförande för Vänsterpartiet tyckte jag ofta att det var fruktansvärt.

Jag ville debattera ekonomisk jämlikhet, vinst i välfärden, bostadsbrist, klimatkris och ottrygga jobb. Debatten om markens och enhörningsstapen tackade jag nej till. Men det mediala intresset för klimatinvesteringar, ottrygga jobb och misslyckade privatiseringar var ofta begränsat, det verkade inte kitta redaktionerna på samma sätt som de blåbruna favoritfrågorna.

Vi har idag den lätt bärra situationen att de blåbruna fokuserar på skruvad identitetspolitik OCH beskylter vänstern för att vara identitetspolitisk. Samtidigt som vänstern förklarar få genoslag för debatten om klimatfrågan och vårt samhälles grundläggande sociala och ekonomiska utmaningar.

I partiledarbereterna för det **Nordiska Dagpartiet** som försöker leda in debatten på marknadsfrågor, vinst i välfärden och ekonomiska klyffor samtidigt som högern gör allt för att debatten ska handla om något annat.

De blåbruna fokuserar på identitetspolitik och symbolfrågor samtidigt som de striker högt om att den vänstern som gör det. Det är en strategi som använts framgångsrikt av blåbruna krafter i många länder, se bara på de debatter som makten i Ungern och Polen driver eller vilka frågor som Trump eller Salvini försöker hålla igång. Det har tydliga likheter med de svenska blåbruna. Udden riktas mot muskatern, feministerna, högerna och de som gäller konstig konst.

Men strategin har också sina svagheter. Traditionellt har högern fokuserat på frågor om vinst och företagsande. Nu är högern närmast förlorande i debatten om den ekonomiska politiken. I klimatpolitiken har de blåbruna inget att bidra med förutom långa inlägg för den kärnkraft som snabbt konkurreras ut av förnybar energi som är billigare och byggs ut på kortare tid. Deras stöd för de extrema privatiseringarna i välfärden har inte förenskning bland deras egna väljare. Inga demokratiskt samlat för marknadsfrågor eller för ottrygga jobb. Socialdemokraternas generellt dessutom flera av högerna favoritreformer med borttagning, vinstskatt, attacker på anställningstryggheten och "In" hyresinställning. Konflikten mellan makten och blir tydlig. Kvar finns kulturkriget, migrationen och kriminaliteten.

Det har varit fascinerande och deprimerande att se hur snabbt sammanslagningen i ett blåbrunt block har skett. Kristdemokrater och moderater läser allt oftare som verktygsdemokrater. Bland partiernas provokationer och debattor på sociala medier har språkröret och samhällsbeskrivningen blivit allt mer liknande mellan företrädarna för de tre partierna.

I SD:s grundläggande rasistiska idévärld har ingen förändrats, där är det frället högern som har nämnt sig dem. Partiet har inte bara historiska rötter i nazism och fascism, fascistiska idéstrukturer och beskrivning av politiska konflikter är levande blanda många av partiets medlemmar.

I den ekonomiska politiken är SD allt fastare förklarade på högerkanten och under tydligt inflytande från arbetsglämska olika organisationer. Det är inte självklart. I länder som Danmark och Frankrike har Dansk Folkeparti och Le Pen bland annat väntat positioner för att föröka lösa arbetsglämska. Men i Sverige vill SD privatisera välfärden, inkludera marknadsfrågor och så skändar LAS. Sammanslagningen till ett blåbrunt block har varit oönskad, men partierna har varit sig i olika frågor. Jag vet att många till höger ogillar att beskrivas som en del av ett blåbrunt block, men det är en helt riktig och korrekt benämning. Lika sann som att SD är ett rasistiskt parti.

Om valet handlar om de blåbruna favoritfrågor så är det ryckeln till valframgång. Om det handlar om klimat, vinst i välfärden, ottrygga jobb och ekonomisk ojämlikhet så kommer de att få det svårt. Socialdemokraterna har några utmaningar framför sig. De kommer säkert att föröka gå till storma mot vinst i välfärden och ojämlikheten i valrörelsen 2022, men trovärdigheten blir låg när de samtidigt genomför stora delar av högerns program.

Dessutom vet alla att även om Socialdemokraterna talar emot privatiseringar av välfärden och ekonomiska klyffor i valrörelsen så kan de skriva på ett antal om att göra precis tvärtom efter valet, så som skedde i januari 2018. Socialdemokraternas har praxisgången en utmaning. De framställer sig som garanten mot Sverigedemokraternas och deras politik samtidigt som de godtar bilden av att migrationen är för stor och måste strömmas åt ytterligare, detta trots att politiken redan lagts om.

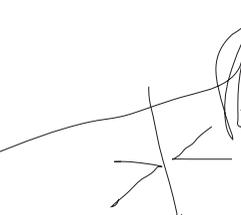
Detta ger Vänsterpartiet ett särskilt ansvar inför valrörelsen. Ett ansvar att göra fram politiska förslag i frågor som den höga långtidsarbetslösheten, att antingen begränsa vinsterna i välfärden och klimatet. Ett ansvar att inte låta sig provoceras av de blåbruna symbolfrågor och ruddibler och istället föra debatten till enhörningar till välfärdigheter. Ett starkare vänsterparti kommer att behövas för att ett nytt rödgrönt alternativ efter 2022 ska kunna bli igenom en **marknadsgott** och styra. Ett direkt inflytande från vänster är det enda som kan bli regeringssystemet en **svaga**.

Så när högern kallar till kulturkrig om menuskost och enhörningar, gå inte dit. Flyd istället in den på en debatt om klimat, ottrygga jobb och marknadsfrågor.

**Jonas Söderbäck är före detta partiledare för Vänsterpartiet och ledare hos Dagens Arena.**

When Konstfrämjandet referred to the article it had already been published for two weeks. By the time I wrote a rebuttal and had it translated, a month had passed since its publication – which was used as the reason by Dagens Arena not to publish the reply: *not current anymore*. Three years on, the Culture War is still waging.

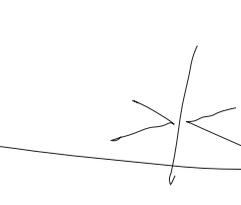
Rebuttal by TM. **RE: Boycott the Culture War? No, win the culture battle to win the war!**



**You have to defeat your opponents in their political conflicts, which is especially important for the 2022 election. An art perspective on Jonas Sjöstedt's flight from the Culture War.**

When Jonas writes in Dagens Arena (25.5.21) that “the Sweden Democrats and Christian Democrats go to war against menstruation art. [...] **But I have never actually seen anyone on the left particularly interested in the issue.**” he hits the nail on the head. It's a lack of interest in culture together with an error in judgement, namely that the Culture War is not of interest, not worth the effort or worse a trap, that sees him advise against picking up the gauntlet when it is thrown down.

The culture battle is the only battle that needs to be won to win the war. The Culture War encapsulates everything that interests Jonas when it comes to economic equality, profits in welfare, housing shortages, the climate crisis and job insecurity. It is in the Culture War that the right-wing actually shows how undemocratic and unequal their thinking is and it's there that the threat to democracy needs to be stopped. In all other areas, the rhetoric of the right is less extreme, less obvious, and it is much more difficult to point out how un-Swedish their path is.



Only opposing right-wing populism when it hides its true face makes these parties appear as normal and democratic. Running away from the Culture War is the worst thing you can do to Astrid Lindgren's memory because it translates to “what if there's a war and the ones that need to defend the one thing that needs protection don't even bother to show up”. What's at stake in the Culture War is not art and culture – the smallest area of government spending – but a democratic Sweden.

The government crisis today shows what happens when the Left tries to pick the battle

of the housing shortage: SD jumps at the chance to call for a vote of no confidence and the Left's own theme gets hijacked and appropriated to serve a completely different agenda. In the art field this is known as *détournement* – an appropriation that puts an idea completely on its head.

A lesser known political *détournement* was the concept of ‘degeneration’. The term was coined in 1892 by the German orthodox Jew Max Nordau to describe the degenerate society of the time. Less than 40 years later, the concept was turned upside down and used to ridicule (and worse) an entire generation of contemporary artists – many of them Jewish – in 1930s Germany. The ‘Entartete kunst’ exhibition drew millions of visitors, while testimonies from moderate Germans at the time showed the same thinking as Jonas: “this is but a small and uninteresting culture issue”.

Jonas states that he's frustrated to have seen this happen so many times already. So is everyone working in art and culture, but with an important difference: we're not frustrated to see the Right try the same thing over and over again, we're used to that; we are frustrated with both the Center and the Left turning their backs on the only battle that matters, time and time again, and it's happening again here in Sweden.

When the Right calls for a Culture War about menstruation art and unicorns, go there! Both the Left and the Center should have prepared for this battle as soon as they realized that it's a systemic pattern of populism. It's a bit late to say you didn't know. When both the Left and the Center turn their backs on culture, then it's up to one of the most essential, and most vulnerable, areas of society to fend for itself: art and culture, because “...I've never actually seen anyone on the Left particularly interested in the issue.” If there is a war and only one party shows up, the one that's absent loses by default.

A different tune came from the former party leader of the Social democrats, Göran Persson, during an online seminar organised by the social democratic think tank *Tiden*. The clip went viral the next day. Persson actually criticised his party for not bringing forward potential party leaders that had an interest in Culture and he hoped to see that change.

In all the interviews with other parties in the days that followed everyone eagerly repeated or supported the sentiment. And quite a few voices from the art field, from all positions, welcomed Persson's call out.

**Never fear politicians that do not show an interest in art and culture; fear the ones that do.**

12/09/2021

Göran Perssons virala utspel: Vill se kulturintresserad partiledare | SVT Nyheter

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/ KULTUR



Göran Perssons virala utspel: Vill se kulturintresserad partiledare

Visa alla (2)

### Göran Perssons virala utspel: Vill se kulturintresserad partiledare

UPPDATERAD 8 SEPTEMBER 2021. PUBLICERAD 7 SEPTEMBER 2021

Nästa partiledare för Socialdemokraterna bör vara en person med starkt kulturintresse. Det uttryckte den före detta statsministern Göran Persson i ett seminarium arrangerat av socialdemokratiska tankesmedjan *Tiden* igår. Ett dygn senare har filmsekvensen blivit viral – och välkommen.

**#1000 DAGAR KULTUR**, *1000 days of culture* was an initiative started in reaction to what happened in Sölvesborg in 2019. The idea was very much in line with KVADRENNALEN's thinking, namely "to implement as many actions, one per day, **to demonstrate the role of culture in a vibrant democracy.**" from Dec. 16, 2019 until Sept. 11, 2024 (= 1000 days).

It was initiated by Riksteatern, the national theatre infrastructure organisation with over 40,000 members, and joined by 16 major players and houses in theatre, dance, circus, opera and film. When the pandemic hit the initiative was put on hold. No one of the core KVADRENNALEN team had heard of the initiative until we spoke with the National Lottery fund. We reached out immediately to see what was happening at their end. *Would they revive it once the pandemic was over?* KVADRENNALEN was missing exactly what they had already brought together – theatre, film, opera, circus – and they were the big houses at that. It would make total sense to join forces.

Except for a number of talks, the 1000 days of culture initiative never reactivated – not in the activist manner with which it started in their debate article from 2019 (see next page).

#1000 DAGAR KULTUR

Om initiativet Nyheter Organisationer

Om initiativet

## Om 1 000 dagar kultur

Visa på kulturens roll för vår demokrati under tusen dagar. Det är tanken med initiativet #1000-dagar kultur som 17 kulturverksamheter står bakom. Initiativet startade den 16 december 2019 då det var exakt tusen dagar kvar till nästa val i Sverige. Organisationerna genomför tillsammans flera insatser och aktiviteter inom ramen för samarbetet.

CIRKUS CIRKÖR

FASCHING

Folkets Hus och Parken

FOLKOPERAN

FRYSHUSET

Göteborgs Stadsteater

KULTURHUSET STADSTEATERN

Lärlärdagen

MALMÖ STADSTEATER

Mångkulturellt Centrum

REGIO TEATER ULF

RIKSTEATERN

SCENKONST ÖST

Svenska Filminstitutet

OPERA SLÅDA

Svenska Filminstitutet

SVENSKA FILMINSTITUTET

Show the role of culture in our democracy for a thousand days. That is the idea behind the 1 000 Days of Culture initiative, which is supported by 17 cultural organizations. The initiative was launched on December 16, 2019, exactly one thousand days before the next election in Sweden. The organizations together carry out several actions and activities within the framework of the collaboration.

DN DEBATT

## DN Debatt. "Vi kräver ett starkare skydd för kulturen i grundlagen"



UPPLAGA 2000 12/16 PUBLICERAD 2016/12/16



I Solvesborgs kommun har det under kort tid fattats en rad uppmärksammade beslut som bland annat resulterat i att kommunen inte längre ska köpa in det samstyret kallar för "utmanande samstämmokost", skänka arkitektöförlägg. Bilden visar "Stig Bonberg" skulpturgrupp från 1948 föreställande de svenskiska Ark och Enöla på Stortorget i Solvesborg. Foto: Johan Nilsson/TT

DN DEBATT 16/12. Den svenska kulturpolitiken har blivit ett ideologiskt slagfält där vedertagna politiska överenskommelser utmanas. Vi kräver nu att regeringen tillsätter en utredning som undersöker hur kulturen kan få samma dignitet som bostad, utbildning, social omsorg och övriga grundläggande rättigheter i lagen, skriver företrädare för 17 kulturinstitutioner.

Vi ser med bestörtning ett Sverige där kulturpolitiken blivit ett ideologiskt slagfält och där vedertagna politiska överenskommelser utmanas. I en tid av populism och nationalism nedmonteras demokratier runt om i vår omvärld och yttrandefriheten begränsas. Ofta genom att direkt kontrollera och styra kulturen. Den alarmerande utvecklingen visar att det rättsliga skyddet för kulturen inte är tillräckligt starkt för att stå emot politisk påverkan. Det är ett hot mot ett av de viktigaste fundamenten för vår demokrati, nämligen allas rätt att utöva och

ta del av en fri och obunden kultur. Det är hög tid att kulturen får samma rättsliga dignitet som andra välfärdsrättigheter.

**Kultur i alla dess former, från teater, cirkus och dans till bildkonst, litteratur, musik och film bidrar till en levande demokrati.** Den ger oss perspektiv på oss själva, våra medmänniskor, samhället vi lever i och vår gemensamma historia och kulturarv. Kultur gör världen lite större. Att fritid kunna delta i kulturlivet och uttrycka sig genom konst är en mänsklig rättighet enligt FN:s internationella konvention om ekonomiska, sociala och kulturella rättigheter.

Det är även allas lika rätt att delta och uttrycka sig som utgör grunden för många verksamheter inom kultursektorn. Att verksamheterna är helt eller delvis offentligt finansierad utifrån dessa rättigheter kan ses som en garanti för att alla som bor i Sverige ska ha möjlighet att tillgå kultur som är fri och obunden.

**Den 16 december är det 1 000 dagar kvar till nästa val. Då bjuder vi in organisationer till ett gemensamt initiativ som syftar till att genomföra lika många insatser, om en dag, som ska visa på kulturens roll för en livskraftig demokrati.**

TEXT

Anders Fremberg, vd, Cirkus cirklar

Anna Sermer, vd, Svenska filminstitutet

Björn Sandmark, vd, Göteborgs stadsteater

Calle Nathanson, vd, Folkets hus och parker

Challa Gustavsson, tf teaterchef, Darsens hus

Eric Birath, vd, Färsching

Francesca Quartey, vd, Västerbottensteatern

Jesper Larsson, vd, Kulturhuset stadsteatern

Johan Oloqvist, vd, Fryshuset

Kitte Wagner, vd, Malmö stadsteater

Leif Magnusson, chef, Mångkulturellt centrum

Magnus Aspegren, vd, Blåsteatern

Monica Fredriksson, vd, Folkoperan

Petra Brylander, vd, Uppsala stadsteater

Pia Kronqvist, vd, Scenkonst Öst

Robert Uitto, ordförande, Länsteatern i Sverige

Stefan Hansen, vd, Unga Klara

Bristen i det rättsliga skyddet blir tydligt i grundlagens utformning. Grundlagen slår fast att offentliga verksamheter ska verka för den enskildes kulturella välfärd. Men lagen gör sedan prioriteringsordningen att "särskilt ska det allmänna trygga" rätten till ett antal specifika rättigheter så som bostad, utbildning och social omsorg och där utelämnas kulturen. Dessa rättigheter är oenkligen avgörande i en demokrati. Men prioriteringsordningen biter till en tid när kulturen inte var satt under systematisk attack. Rätten till kultur förtjänar samma skyddsvärde som rätten till utbildning och bostad.

**Inom svensk kulturpolitik har det sedan länge rätt enighet över partigränserna kring hur offentliga medel ska användas för att stötta ett fritt och levande kulturliv.** Delvis genom de kulturpolitiska målen som reviderades senast 2009 av riksdagen och som slår fast att alla ska ha möjlighet att delta i kulturlivet och att kulturen ska vara en dynamisk, utmanande och obunden kraft. Riksdagspartierna har även varit eniga kring principen om armlängds avstånd, vilket innebär att politiken skapar förutsättningarna men inte lägger sig i kulturens innehåll. Principen är ingen lag, men något som såväl stat som regioner och kommuner ställer sig bakom.

Under den senaste tiden har vi dock sett flera exempel på hur politiker på kommunal nivå ifrågasätter och utmanar de rådande överenskommelserna. Det ger en oroande fingervisning för vad som kan ske på nationell nivå om några år.

- Vi ser det tydligt i Solvesborgs kommun där det under kort tid fattats en rad uppmärksammade beslut som bland annat resulterat i att kommunen inte längre ska köpa in det samstyret kallar för "utmanande samstämmokost".

- Eller när en ledamot i kultur- och fritidsnämnden i Täby kommun krävde att ett samtal på biblioteket om höbq-frågor skulle stoppas. Detta på grund av att samtalet uppfattades som destruktivt och ifrågasättande av könsrollerna.

- I Naeka kommun efterlevdes inte principen om armlängds avstånd när kommunen förhindrade konstverk som var samhällskritiska, rebelliska eller aggressiva från att visas upp under gatukonstfestivalen Wall Street Naeka.

Att sätta detta i relation till hur situationen ser ut i andra europeiska länder kan anses vara extremt. Men i bland annat Polen ser vi hur kontrollerandet av kultur blivit ett viktigt verktyg för ideologisk propaganda. Det har bland annat tagit sig uttryck i att en politiskt laddad film stoppades av landets kulturdepartement under pågående filmfestival. Eller att chefen för Andra världskrigsmuseet avskedades då museet inte var tillräckligt patriotiskt enligt regeringen.

**Ett starkare lagskydd behövs för att säkerställa att den offentligt finansierade kulturen står fri från direkt politisk påverkan och inte blir ett ideologiskt verktyg för rådande makt.** Vi har tidigare inte sett något behov av en kulturlag för att slå fast det offentliga ansvar för att kultur ska finnas i hela landet och att principen om armlängds avstånd efterlevs. Men när principen sätts ur spel menar vi att frågan om att ytterligare lagstada om kulturens frihet och integritet har kommit i ny dager.

Därför ställer vi krav på regeringen att tillsätta en utredning som undersöker hur kulturen kan få samma dignitet som bostad, utbildning, social omsorg och övriga grundläggande rättigheter i lagen. Förstärkning av det rättsliga skyddet bör beaktas vid sidan av det uppdrag som Myndigheten för kulturanalys nyligen fick av kultur- och demokratiminister Amanda Lind för att se över just principen om armlängds avstånd.

Parallellt med att det rättsliga skyddet ses över behöver förståelsen för kulturens roll i en demokrati öka och få en bredare acceptans, både bland politiker och allmänheten. Fler måste se vikten av ett mångfacetterat filmtubud, offentlig konst som utmanar och att scenkonst framförs över hela landet. Som helt eller delvis offentligt finansierade verksamheter ser vi det som vår uppgift att öka förståelsen. Därför väljer vi nu att kraftsamla tillsammans.

**Den 16 december är det 1 000 dagar kvar till nästa val.** Då bjuder vi in organisationer till ett gemensamt initiativ som syftar till att genomföra lika många insatser, om en dag, som ska visa på kulturens roll för en livskraftig demokrati. Delvis genom att lyfta det vi redan gör, men även genom att skapa plattformar för diskussioner om kultur. Så som debattlägg, informationspridning, samtal med politiker och medborgare. Små som stora insatser. Vi uppmanar alla aktörer som vill att ansluta sig till initiativet. Det är vår övertygelse att vi, mer än någonsin, måste ta debatten om kulturens roll.

Vi kommer att göra det varje dag, tusen gånger om.

DN Debate."We demand stronger protection for culture in the constitution"

DN DEBATT 16/12. Swedish cultural policy has become an ideological battlefield where accepted political agreements are challenged. We now demand that the government set up an inquiry to investigate how culture can be given the same dignity as housing, education, social care and other basic rights in the law, write representatives of 17 cultural institutions.

We see with dismay a Sweden where cultural policy has become an ideological battlefield and where accepted political agreements are being challenged. In a time of populism and nationalism, democracies around the world are being dismantled and freedom of expression is being restricted. Often by directly controlling and directing culture. This alarming development shows that the legal protection of culture is not strong enough to withstand political influence. This is a threat to one of the most important foundations of our democracy, namely the right of everyone to practise and enjoy a free and independent culture. It is high time that culture is given the same legal dignity as other welfare rights.

Culture in all its forms, from theatre, circus and dance to visual arts, literature, music and film, contributes to a living democracy. It gives us perspective on ourselves, our fellow human beings, the society we live in and our shared history and cultural heritage. Culture makes the world a little bigger. Being able to freely participate in cultural life and express yourself through art is a human right under the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

It is also everyone's equal right to participate and express themselves that forms the basis for many activities in the cultural sector. The fact that the activities are wholly or partly publicly funded on the basis of these rights can be seen as a guarantee that everyone living in Sweden should have the opportunity to access culture that is free and independent.

**On 16 December there are 1 000 days left until the next election. We are inviting organisations to participate in a joint initiative aimed at carrying out as many actions, one per day, to demonstrate the role of culture in a viable democracy.**

The lack of legal protection is evident in the design of the constitution. The Constitution states that public organisations should work for the cultural welfare of the individual. However, the law then prioritises the right to a number of specific rights such as housing, education and social care, with culture being excluded. These rights are undoubtedly crucial in a democracy. But the prioritisation scheme belongs to a time when culture was not under systematic attack. The right to culture deserves the same protection as the right to education and housing.

**In Swedish cultural policy, there has long been a cross-party consensus on how public funds should be used to support a free and vibrant cultural life.** Partly through the cultural policy goals, which were last revised in 2009 by the Parliament and which state that everyone should have the opportunity to participate in cultural life and that culture should be a dynamic, challenging and independent force. The parliamentary parties have also agreed on the arm's length principle, which means that politics creates the conditions but does not interfere with the content of culture. The principle is not a law, but something that the state, regions and municipalities support.

Recently, however, we have seen several examples of how politicians at municipal level are questioning and challenging the

prevailing agreements. This gives a worrying indication of what may happen at national level in a few years' time.

- We see this clearly in **Sölvesborg municipality**, where a number of high-profile decisions have been made in a short time, resulting in the municipality no longer purchasing what the council calls "challenging contemporary art".
- Or when a member of the culture and leisure committee in **Täby municipality** demanded that a conversation at the library about LGBTQ issues be stopped. This was because the conversation was perceived as destructive and questioning gender roles.
- In **Nacka municipality**, the principle of arm's length distance was not observed when the municipality prevented artworks that were critical of society, rebellious or aggressive from being displayed during the Wall Street Nacka street art festival.

Relating the situation to other European countries can be considered extreme. But in Poland, for example, we see how the control of culture has become an important tool for ideological propaganda. For example, a politically charged film was stopped by the country's Ministry of Culture during a film festival. And, the head of the World War II Museum was dismissed because the museum was not sufficiently patriotic according to the government.

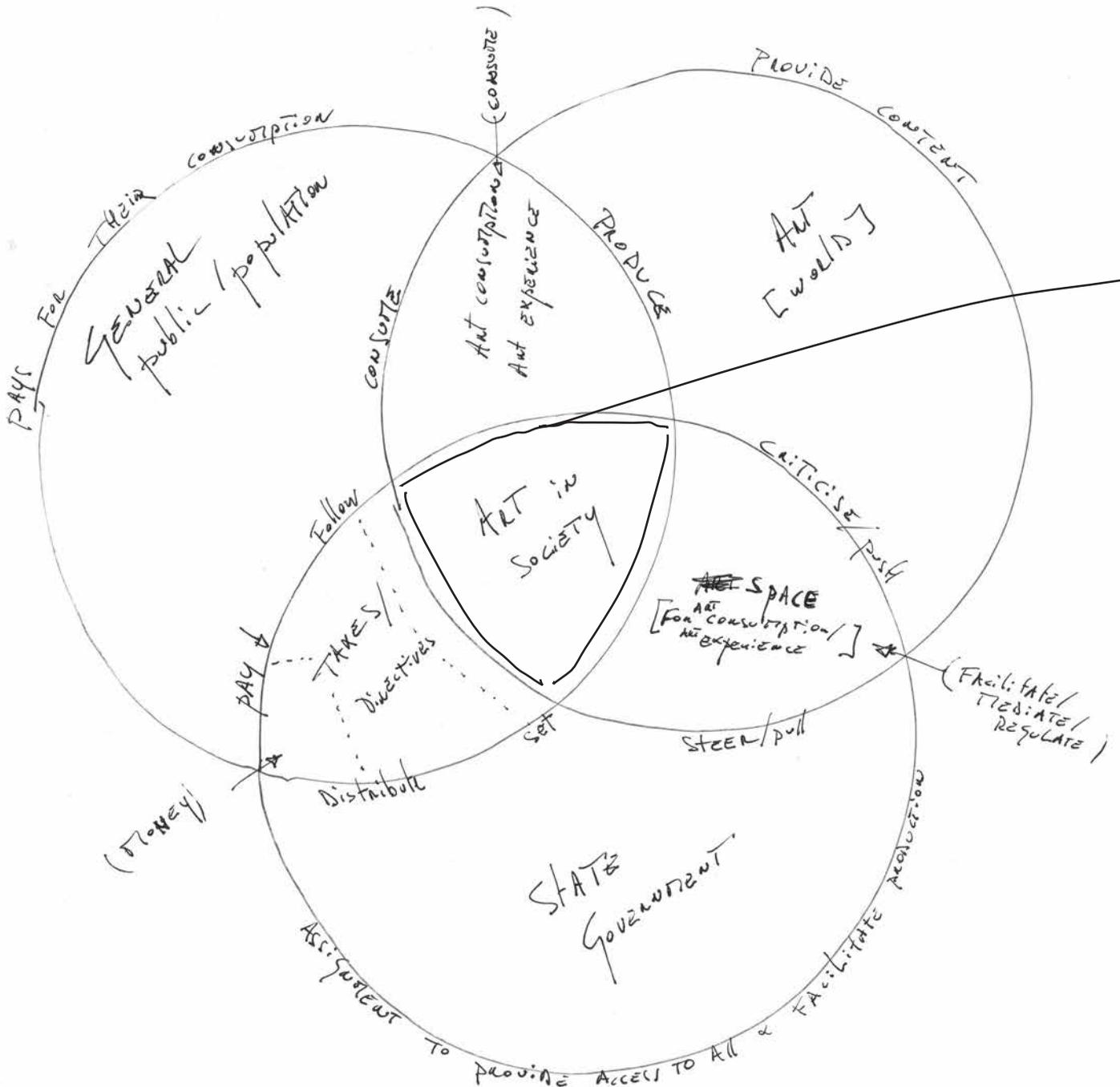
**Stronger legal protection is needed to ensure that publicly funded culture is free from direct political influence and does not become an ideological tool for corrupting power.** Previously we saw no need for a cultural law to establish the public sector's responsibility for ensuring that culture is available throughout the country and that the principle of arm's length is respected. But when the principle is put out of play we believe that the question becomes pressing to secure the freedom and integrity of culture into law.

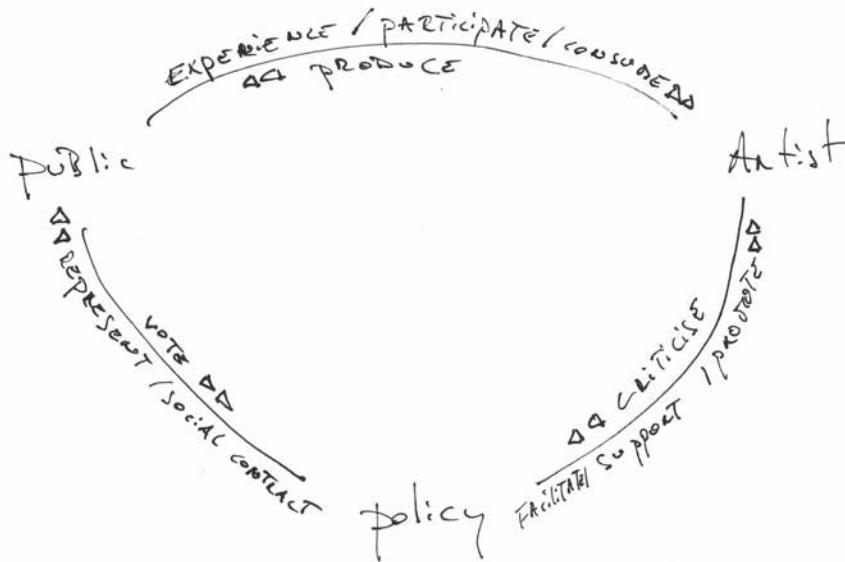
We therefore demand that the government start an inquiry to investigate how culture can be given the same dignity as housing, education, social care and other fundamental rights in law. Strengthening legal protection should be considered alongside the assignment recently given to the Swedish Agency for Cultural Analysis by the Minister for Culture and Democracy, Amanda Lind, to review the principle of arm's length.

In parallel with the review of legal protection, the understanding of the role of culture in a democracy needs to increase and gain wider acceptance, both among politicians and the public. More people need to recognise the importance of a diverse range of films, challenging public art and performing arts across the country. As fully or partly publicly funded organisations, we see it as our task to increase understanding. That is why we have decided to join forces together.

**On 16 December, there are 1 000 days left until the next elections.** We are inviting organisations to participate in a joint initiative that aims to implement as many actions, one per day, to demonstrate the role of culture in a vibrant democracy. Partly by highlighting what we already do, but also by creating platforms for discussions about culture. Such as opinion pieces, information dissemination, dialogues with politicians and citizens, small and large initiatives. We invite all actors who want to join the initiative. It is our conviction that, more than ever, we must engage in the debate on the role of culture.

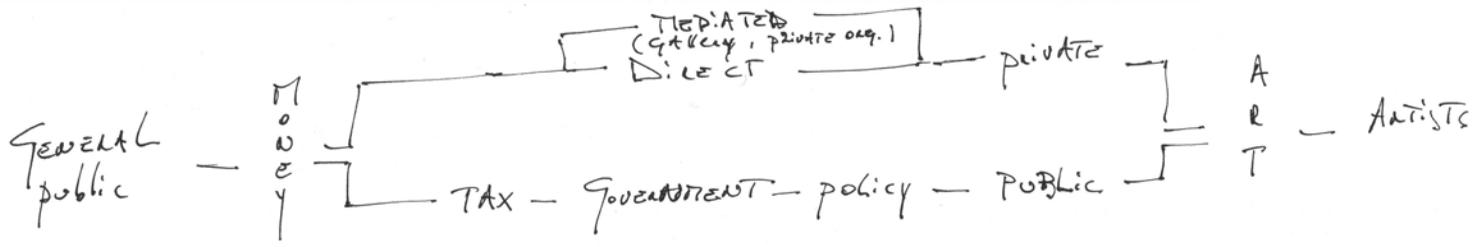
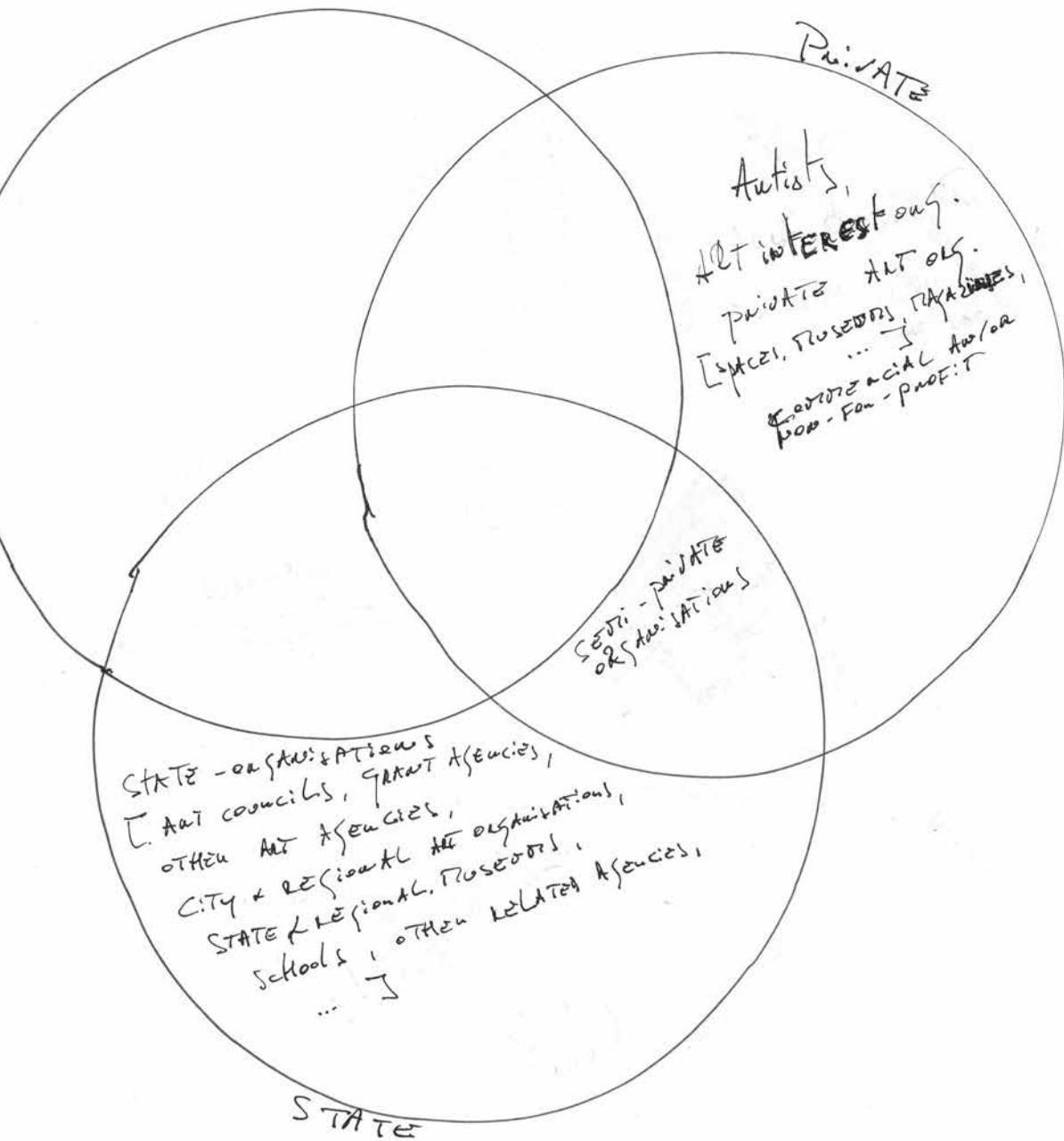
We will do it every day, a thousand times over.





“And this is the crux of the matter, that there is a clear historical and social division in art's function within contemporary Western society between that which reinforces and projects existing cultural idealisations, and an art that instigates changes in cultural and ultimately social perception. It must be self evident that an art which reinforces existing cultural idealisations is going to be by far the most prevalent and visible, for clearly **society promotes an art that will fulfill its vested interests**. This reinforcement of existing idealisations does not deny the artist the fulfillment of self-expression, providing that the meaning and form of this self-expression is held within what society has legitimised, designated through its institutions as acceptable art practice.”

– Stephen Willats, Art work as Social Model



note on the buckets:

Everyone has a position (a bucket) from where they act. By plotting the different positions within the context of art in society, and specifically freedom of artistic expression, it becomes clear who (logically) is responsible for safeguarding this last, and by extension also the freedom of expression for all and democracy as a whole, namely the ones that have it in their job description and are getting paid for it: politicians and civil servants. When they fail to execute their assignments and break the social contract with the people paying for their democracy, it's up to the people themselves to act.

There's an abundance of reasons and excuses that can be found to explain the inaction in all the positions listed. Most, if not all, can be considered instilled by *the system*, e.g. fear of losing face, fear of missing out, fear of aiming too high or not high enough, fear of losing money, fear of reputation loss, fear of competition, fear of lack of quality,... fears that can all be attributed to (unwritten and unstated) adherence to rules of conduct that only make sense if the system is considered justified. They matter little.

More relevant is the tipping point between observing and becoming part of the problem, e.g. plenty of people were in positions where they could have helped the KVADRENNALEN movement without compromising their organisation's stance. Some could even have jump started it. All the network organisations could have offered their network platform for distribution of the message, without committing their network to any position. Instead the KVADRENNALEN team had to build all the member lists themselves before reaching out individually. Hundreds of mails and time badly spent instead of one mail and hours saved. Organisations and people with high press credibility could have tipped their contacts by adding their name to the list. Stating the importance of executing a timely idea and not considering what you can bring to it - proactively - is not paying lip service or lacking solidarity, it's failure to aid.

KVADRENNALEN did not explicitly identify which political threats the arts were facing, nor did it state whether those threats came from outside or inside the art field itself - because it was both at the same time. Politicians without any noteworthy knowledge

of the art field talk about art and culture as self-proclaimed experts and art workers in all kinds of organisations are more concerned with their internal power relations and politics than with art. If we were to plot the positions in the field of agriculture, aviation, economy, construction, education, health-care, we would find the exact same positions and thinking. Umbrella thinking by those not willing to take up responsibility and (often frustration-driven) activism from those tired of waiting for change. The art field is but one of many human areas of industry, the people remain the same and so does their behaviour on the ground.

The advice to let others speak for you, to organise according to accepted (old system) structures, to execute ideas others came up with but will not execute themselves, to wait it out and see what will materialise, isn't so much advice as it's a reflection of the adviser's position and thinking.

Nathalie Gabrielson identified in her art piece "The Campaign"\* that power resides in distribution. Not opening up structures for novel uses, when new challenges merit new approaches, is by far the best option to call a halt to change.

Gene Sharp taught us that it's institutions that stabilise systems, but the system cares little about who's in charge; democracy or autocracy all alike, the system will provide.

But, the people tend to care.

\* The Campaign investigated ideological behaviours in Sweden during the 70s and 80s which transformed the foundation of the social model and affected the definition of Swedish national identity. The work was shown in 2020 at Index foundation, Stockholm.

"I wouldn't have minded if someone with more power and influence in the Swedish Art scene had stolen the idea, or alternatively had formulated an even better one. Heck, if they had I would have worked *for* them. If the hierarchy thing proved more important to them than actually doing something, I would have preferred them running the show over standing idly by any day of the week. The idea would have been an enormous success. Any one of them could have done it, any of the artist interest organisations or Konstfrämjandet with their spread over the entire country or one of the influential private institutions or...

Of the three options: partner up, take over, pay lip service, only the last one constitutes a (political) threat itself. No position is without culpability in this story, or any story for that matter. Not the people failing to convince the partners, needed for the movement to succeed, and not the ones failing to show up when needed." – TM

VÄNLIGEN  
RÖR INTE  
MÖNSTERN

#KVADRENNALBY

**“It’s union  
work.”**

- Egill Sæbjörnsson (IS), 2022, Kummelholmen



© Sarah Charlesworth (US), United We Stand / Nation Divided, 1979  
Image trace: TM

From Sarah Charlesworth's series Modern History.  
The original work shows covers of two Scottish tabloid newspapers,  
published on March 3rd, 1979,  
juxtaposed one next to the other,  
making conflicting claims.  
Charlesworth removed all photos and text from the newspaper covers,  
leaving only the headlines and mastheads in place.

**“Vision  
without action  
is a daydream.**

**--**

**Action  
without vision  
is a night-  
mare.”**

- Japanese proverb

KVADRENNALEN's challenge was one of *general perception*, its target, *the general public*, and its medium, *all possible channels that could manifest the message*. What form the message would take was up to those who wanted to use the PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT. Building the platform was about getting the minimal tools operational to allow the movement to work.

## STRATEGY

Trying all strategies at once is the same as not having a strategy at all. Just doing. Urgency and lack of time formulated a plan of action that focused solely on generating action and adapting the plan on-the-go. It did not mean the vision was lacking; on the contrary, if the PLATFORM generated action, any kind of action, the vision would be achieved.

– Bryony McIntyre: *what strategy are you using?\**

– TM: *all strategies we can think of. The platform is virtual, in terms that it's the relations, the people and organisations joining that give the platform its shape. It's not physical or material as such. And, since we need to reach the entire general public, we need to use all the channels available, all the forms of expression possible. It's impossible to find one channel and one form that speaks to all. Plus, we don't know what people are going to come up with. The thing we need to ensure is that the platform stays up until the end.*

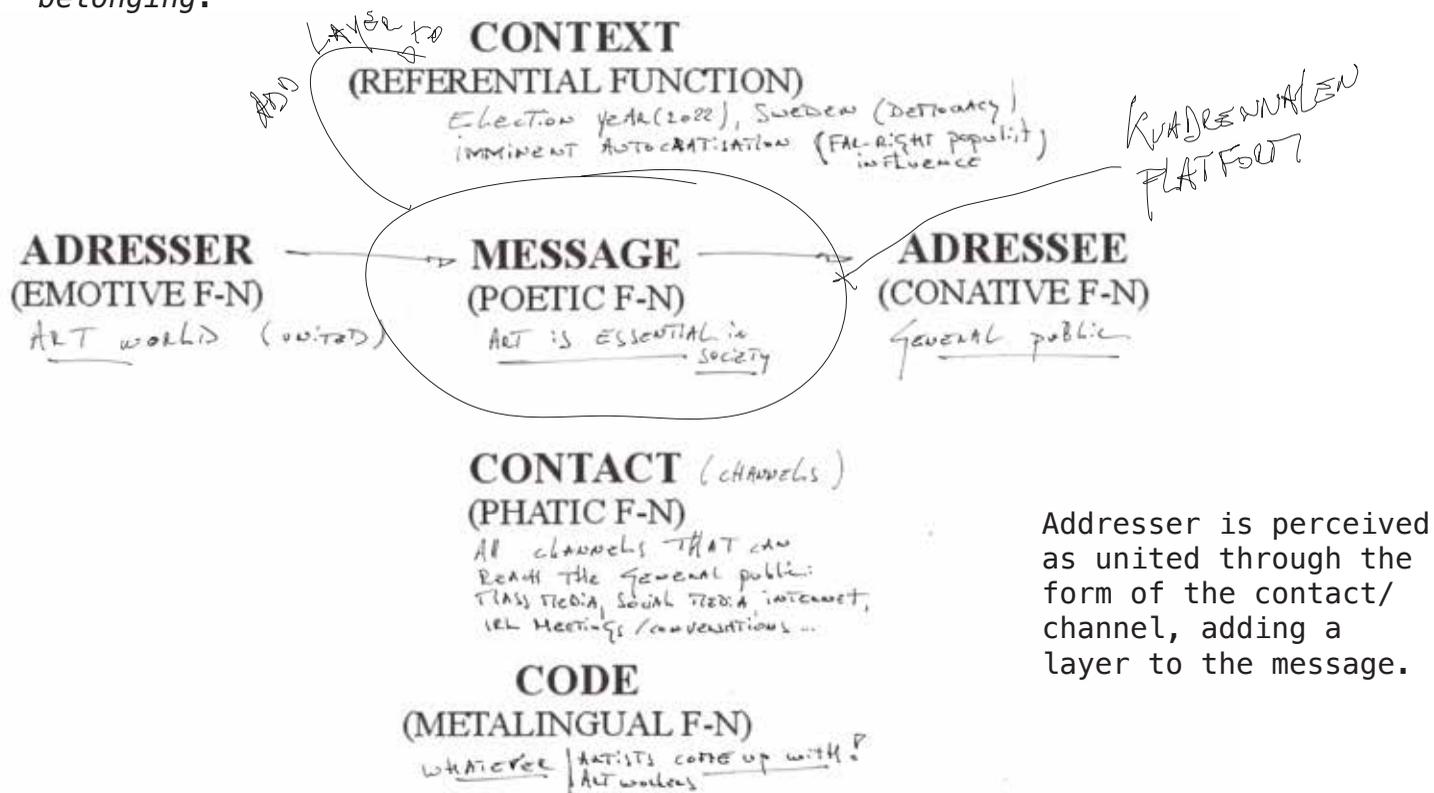
\* Excerpt from a conversation with Bryony McIntyre, one of the founders of the Edinburgh-based political arts organisation, Arika, May 2022, Stockholm. Bryony had been invited by IASPIS (The International Artists Studio Program in Stockholm financed by the Swedish Government) to share her experiences of working to strengthen the connection between art production and social change through a political arts organization.

## EXECUTION

Art and culture were being used in political rhetoric as one of the tools to *sow division* in the bigger Culture War. The idea of KVADRENNALEN centred around opposing just that, *show unity*. Unity in the art field isn't Utopian, it's straight-out impossible. *Showing* unity isn't, that's a trick, a layer to put on top. Dress everyone in black shirts and you get a *perceived unity* in the street, *unity-in-formation*.

Art is often talked about as being a conversation, a communication. KVADRENNALEN's goal was to engage in that conversation with the general public and counter the conditioned perception that art is non-essential, a luxury, a waste of tax expenditure,... and bring a different message forward. The KVADRENNALEN PLATFORM needed to be built in the *phatic function* of Roman Jakobson's communication model, which deals with establishing a connection between addresser and addressee. By changing the *form* of CONTACT from *individual* to *collective*, the message would get an additional layer, where the PLATFORM itself triggers the *perception* of unity. When the message is repeated over and over again, by all different voices, that art is essential, it becomes a ubiquitous truth.

In more concrete terms, the execution meant building the skeleton of an umbrella-structure that could function as a proof point for an art field with one voice; writing a manifesto, constructing and maintaining an on-line presence (website, SoMe channels), appealing to the press for traditional mass media coverage, figuring out paraphernalia that could signal *belonging*.



Addresser is perceived as united through the form of the contact/channel, adding a layer to the message.

## OPEN CALL (FEELING THE TEMPERATURE)

Most executions sought their inspiration in the *familiar* within the art field, e.g. no better way to bring artists together than in what they are already familiar with: *a group show*. An *open call* was just as commonplace. The call had one question: “What artistic responses can you come up with in the face of populist threats to the free arts?”, and was launched just before the summer of 2021 to see whether the field would respond and as a way to spread the idea.



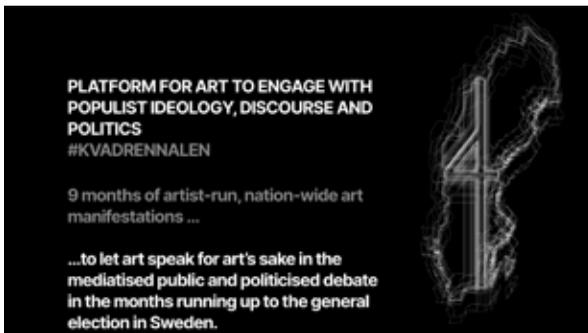
It was spread by word-of-mouth, newsletters from established networks in the art field like Konstpool, Weld, Candyland, CAC, individual artists, etc., through speaking opportunities, e.g. Konstfack summer course on artist-run spaces by Andreas Ribbung and Alice Máselníková, Supermarket art fair, Contemporary Art Days, SVT Culture news, et al. The deadline was tight but garnered enough proposals *to start believing*.

## WEBSITE (A CENTRAL ADDRESS)

As mentioned in chapter 2: Idea, the word KVADRENNALEN did not exist in the dictionary, making it a sure bet that the URL, Some handles and hashtags would be available. A pristine online presence could be built up without any lingering associations. A central point to find more information.

The 2021 site was given a more activist aesthetic which fit its intent: *launching a call to action*. When KVADRENNALEN opened in 2022, the website got a makeover into the *most neutral expression possible*. Any aesthetic and/or emotional direction was superfluous: the website needed to be functional\*: all the colour and emotional direction needed to come from the content the artists, art workers and art spaces wanted to place on the platform.

\* As stated before, every attempt to have a neutral perception is illusionary, it cannot be done: even neutral is an emotional direction – the choice of a font is already a direction people react to.



KVADRENNALEN.se 2021



KVADRENNALEN.se 2022

Designing an online presence that would signal an upbeat, positive and inclusive expression filled with colour, was repeatedly discussed. Although a proven tactic in business, the *double target audience* (1. recruiting within the field of art and 2. talking to the general public), made it too schizophrenic a challenge.

## CALENDAR

The heart of KVADRENNALEN, and also its *defence*, was the calendar. The proof point of KVADRENNALEN's logic. It would list all the events, actions, and works of the Swedish trans-disciplinary art field and serve as the only security mechanism for KVADRENNALEN's idea and its community.

If an event, action or other was promoted with #KVADRENNALEN and it didn't feature in the official calendar then it wasn't part of the official program.

The open call was open to all ideas anyone was seriously considering as a worthwhile effort during election year. A proposal to set fire to the Parliament as an artistic statement would need some serious arguments to be considered appropriate for the calendar and would (most likely) have gotten the recommendation to do it in the submitter's own name, i.e. not as a KVADRENNALEN sanctioned event. The issue never came up.

## KVADRENNALEN

JAN 11 - SEPT 11 2022

## #DISCLAIMER

IF IT'S NOT IN THE KVADRENNALEN KALENDAR THEN IT'S NOT PART OF THE OFFICIAL KVADRENNALEN PROGRAM

KVADRENNALEN is an idea and ideas can easily get hijacked.

When you come into contact with an event, an exhibition, a show, some kind of manifestation that flags the banner of #KVADRENNALEN and you find out it's not listed anywhere on the KALENDAR or WEBSITE then it's not really KVADRENNALEN.

DOES IT MEAN IT'S BAD?

Not necessarily. Whoever is behind it, might just be lacking some information or might just have forgotten to send through their info about their event. Or it's a lone wolf doing great things on their own and nobody told us about them yet, so we haven't been able to ask them to join the pack.

CAN IT BE BAD?

Yes, of course. It can be a genuine, malicious attempt to undermine the cause KVADRENNALEN is working for namely to stand up for the free artistic expression as an essential part of an open, tolerant and democratic society. If you come across anything out there that's not on the KALENDAR and that you believe is not in line with the KVADRENNALEN manifesto (which is a positive stand for art in society), PLEASE get in touch [forenado@kvadrennalen.se](mailto:forenado@kvadrennalen.se)

**BUTTONS, STICKERS, PARAPHERNALIA**

Once KVADRENNALEN was up and running, the movement building needed to keep recruiting people. More tangible objects to work with and be confronted by were needed. Buttons, stickers, T-shirts, tote bags, anything common in marketing and promotion would do. The challenge was what to put on them.

Visiting Marabouparken art space in snowy winter Stockholm answered the question in the most blatant, kick-yourself-for-not-spotting-the-obvious manner: **PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH THE ART**. Probably the most common signage found in the visual art world, whose ambiguous and unclear message in a museum setting became pertinently urgent and focused in the KVADRENNALEN context\*. It wasn't about inventing the perfect slogan for the movement to convince people, it was about spotting a familiar, already accepted rule that would do the job. People subscribed to the motto with an approval rooted in their already established, pre-existing habits. Seeing *Please don't touch the art* on a button pinned on a coat's lapel made people nod in acquiescence. To let people connect with something familiar is much easier than imposing an (undesired, or unwillingly admitted) uniformity.

\* One cannot actually touch art, one can only touch tangible artworks - objects representing art - (museum setting), but politicians can go after the arts - as a field of industry - and have a severe impact on art production, access and experience (KVADRENNALEN context).









Elisabeth Ohlson



Diego Galafassi



Torbjörn Johansson



Egill Sæbjörnsson



Leif Elggren

Mattias Bäcklin



Lies Lecompte

Daniela Hedman

### MOBILISING vs. ORGANISING

Not knowing any better, KVADRENNALEN mobilised those who didn't need convincing, those who had been trying to figure out what to do, those who had been ready to act for a long time already. It offered a platform other platform builders responded to because they recognised what it was. Those who didn't recognise the potential actionability on offer interpreted it as an (important) awareness campaign.

This last is a reminder of the awareness-action gap which denotes the divide between people's awareness of a problem and their actions in response to (their awareness of) the problem. Tons of theories and research conclusions have been formulated to explain both the gap and the factors influencing individual and collective behaviour: *Pluralistic Ignorance* sees people who might be aware of social issues but hesitate to act because they believe their views are the minority, leading to inaction despite widespread discontent. *Diffusion of Responsibility* and *Bystander Effect* occurs when people are less likely to undertake action because they assume someone else will take charge or step forward. There's *Social Identity Theory* (belonging or not), *Information Cascade* (following the flock), *Social Learning Theory* (learning through observing, imitating, and modelling others), the list goes on and on, for the simple reason that it's an issue. The awareness-action gap is an issue when change is deemed necessary and it can only be achieved collectively.

It is also solvable, i.e. it's what big business, unions and politicians work on every day: get consumers to buy *en masse*, get workers to join forces for better working conditions, get potential voters to commit. It costs both effort and money, but it gets solved daily. Why else does Coca Cola spend astronomical amounts of money on marketing and promotion if not to get their consumers to act, i.e. keep buying their product. When such financial resources are not available they need to be substituted with human resources and resourcefulness, i.e. time and effort.

KVADRENNALEN was constantly on the clock; every day that passed by, the threats to the freedom of artistic expression were getting closer to being executed.

Reaching out to entire networks always meant that at least a couple of people warmed up to the idea. Not having the (human) resources to follow-up, again and again, to push them across the gap, meant that those half-warm leads didn't ignite. People stuck in the action-awareness gap don't make the jump by themselves, they have to be pushed and managed. *They need organising.*

The difference between mobilising and organising is massive and became apparent after the deadline of 9/11 2022 (election day). In Feb-March 2023 the 6 weeks online Core fundamentals training "Organizing for Power", by Jane McAlevey (US) in collaboration with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (DE), made that clear in the first half hour of the course. It teaches how to get people to commit (*to causes they believe in but don't do anything about*), and more importantly, how to ensure they stick to their commitments and actually show up to act.

## ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

Menu



RLS — Topics — Inequality and Social Struggle... — Labour and Trade Unions — Organizing for Power

### Organizing for Power

Organizing for Power (O4P) is an online training programme for organizers worldwide. Since its creation in 2019 as a joint collaboration between the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and US-based organizer Jane McAlevey, O4P has trained more than 35,000 people from 1,400+ organizations in over 110 countries. The programme's skills-focused curriculum — highlighted by our six-week Core Fundamentals training — teaches its participants how to build disciplined majorities capable of winning measurable victories through well-planned campaigns.

The mobilising efforts of KVADRENNALEN reinvented and experienced everything that organisers like Jane McAlevey or organisations like Greenpeace, XR, et al. have known and worked with for years. With hindsight it's easy to pinpoint the *mistakes* made; at the time of making them that knowledge was not present.

Figuring out all kinds of actions one can set up to start a conversation with the general public and the powers that be is not particularly hard. Anyone can do it, and if you need a head start then delve into all the protest actions that have already occurred in the world – the global year of protest, 2019, is a good year to start with – or check out the work of Gene Sharp, who listed 198 ways of non-violent protest in 1973 – since then people have continued the work and have added digital, online ways.

## 198 METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

### The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

#### Formal Statements

1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

#### Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Signwriting and earthwriting

#### Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

#### Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobing
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

#### Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternalization
34. Vigils

#### Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

#### Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

#### Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

#### Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

#### Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

### The Methods of Social Noncooperation

#### Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

#### Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

#### Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

### The Methods of Economic Noncooperation:

#### Economic Boycotts

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

#### Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workers' boycott
79. Producers' boycott

#### Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

#### Action by Owners and Management

81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

#### Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

#### Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

### The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

#### Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike
98. Quisic walkout (lightning strike)

#### Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

### Strikes by Special Groups

101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

### Ordinary Industrial Strikes

105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

### Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed Strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (stick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

### Multi-Industry Strikes

116. Generalized strike
117. General strike

### Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

### The Methods of Political Noncooperation

#### Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

#### Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

#### Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sit-down
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

#### Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

#### Domestic Governmental Action

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

#### International Governmental Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

### The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

#### Psychological Intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
  - a. Fast of moral pressure
  - b. Hunger strike
  - c. Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

#### Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raid
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

#### Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

#### Economic Intervention

181. Reverse Strike
182. Stay-in Strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of Blockades
185. Politically Motivated Counterfeiting
186. Prehaste Purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

#### Political Intervention

193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Far too often people struggling for democratic rights and justice are not aware of the full range of methods of nonviolent action. Wise strategy, attention to the dynamics of nonviolent struggle, and careful selection of methods can increase a group's chances of success.

Gene Sharp's researched and catalogued these 198 methods and provided a rich selection of historical examples in his seminal work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.



Stickers are great to spread a message but one needs some decent sticker action efforts. Posters are great too – there's a reason why our cities are filled with them. The buttons served multiple uses at once: people got something tangible and easy to use as conversation starters, it allowed them to publicly show belonging and/or support, and it's a low-threshold online media content generator, quick to snap a photo of and post online.

@amandalind\_  
Previous minister of culture Amanda Lind using KVADRENNALEN's button to drive home a point, while profiling herself as one of few politicians who understand the importance of free artistic expression in a democracy.

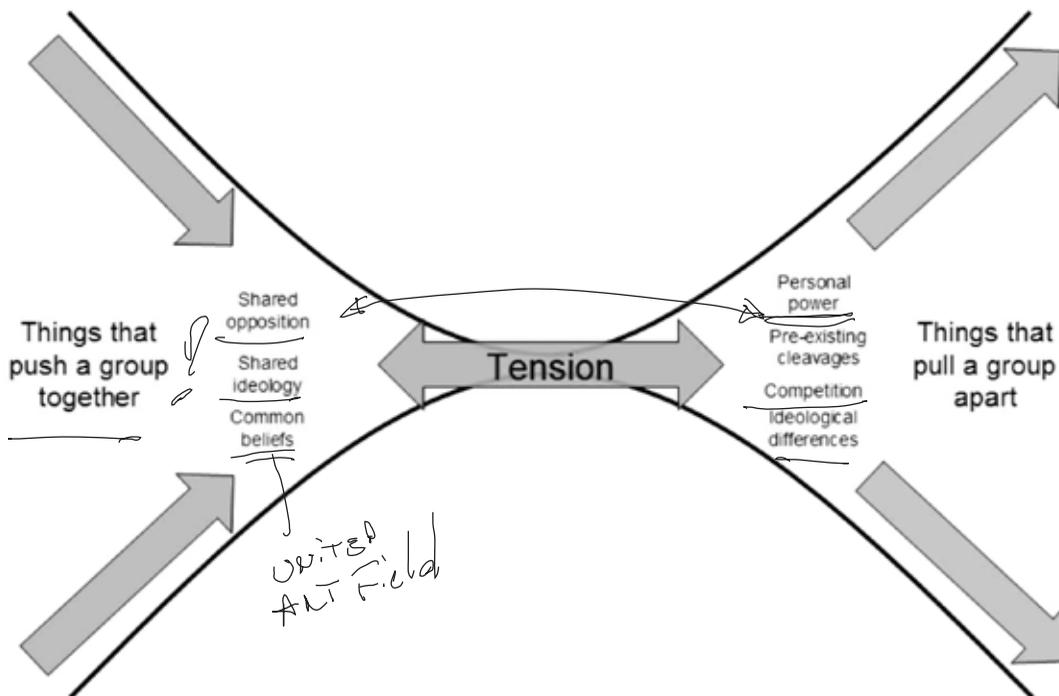


Even *Organizing for Power* talked about pins and buttons, but were more prudent with their public display, especially in an actual union-building effort: when organising a movement it is not advisable to show the ones in power that your movement is slowly building momentum, for the obvious fact that it gives the powers in charge the time to retaliate early. In that setting you want to build outside of the public eye first and show your numbers and strength only when they've been accounted for.

In KVADRENNALEN's case, nobody was watching outside of the art field and seeing more people around you with buttons could tap some of the awareness-action gap theories that dealt with modeling the behaviour of others belonging to your social identity groups.

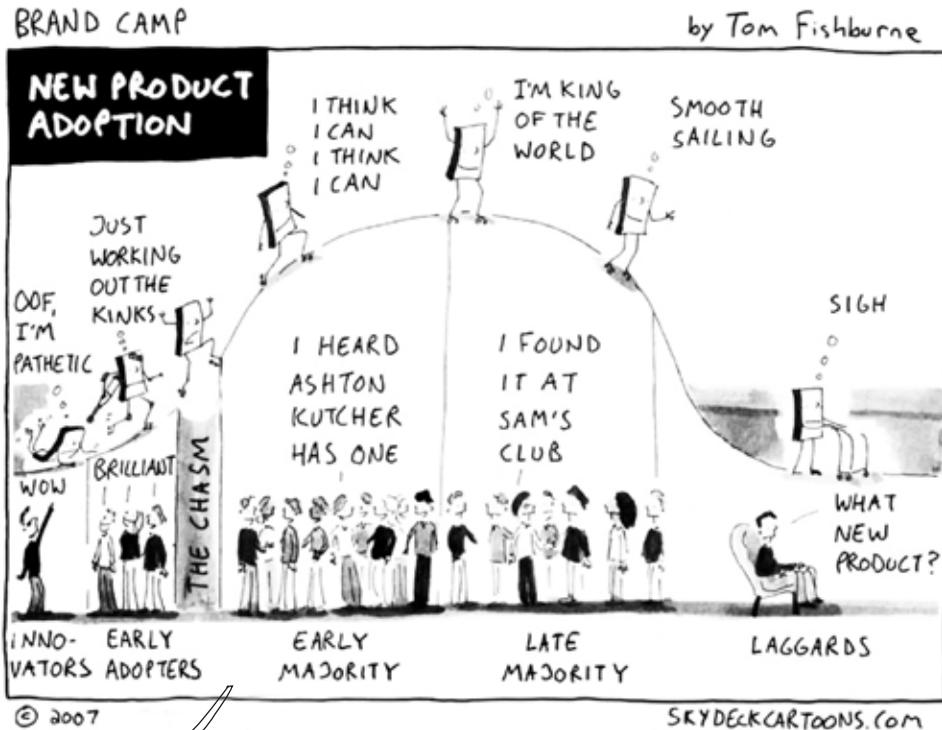
Leader identification/personal power and non-execution were more problematic for the overall set-up. The first refers to identifying those people that can generate following for an idea, because they are already centres of following themselves, e.g. respected artists, curators, directors. Identifying who they are is not difficult when you know the field, and if you do not know it yourself, people will easily identify them for you. The issue is the conversation and the timing to get them on board. Natural leaders in a field of industry know the power they have and are protective of it. Not understanding the dynamics of genuine organising, many leaders were approached but the approach failed to activate them.

## Identifying & Exploiting fracture points



When the leader identification and, more importantly, the leader recruitment fails because the conversation doesn't consider the personal power of those leaders and possible emotional sentiment of bringing competition to their doorsteps, then potential leaders can inadvertently become adversaries.

The second, non-execution or non-compliance, was about 1) not getting the proof points of the movement up, and 2) not having the means to follow up. When artists and organisations joined they were told that: everyone owned KVADRENNALEN (autonomous decision making), the hashtag #KVADRENNALEN needed to be used next to their own hashtags and they needed to mention that they were part of KVADRENNALEN and display the manifesto on site if they had physical events. A *quid pro quo* set-up: they were featured in the calendar and on the KVADRENNALEN website, and in return, KVADRENNALEN would be featured on their channels. When the *quo* didn't happen it meant the skeleton of the umbrella was there but the canopy in between the ribs was not, i.e. we'd all get wet if it started raining.



### NAIVETÉ AS A STRATEGY

Prefiguration, in an activist context, refers to strategies and practices, here and now, to bring about change (new system) without reproducing or taking recourse to the very structures that are being opposed (old system). In short, it's practice what you preach and lead by example, e.g. if you envisage an accessible art field, take away the thresholds (= consistent with the message).

At its core, prefiguration is very different from the *Organizing for Power* approach which brings in hierarchies and management. The first wants people to figure it out themselves (internal responsibility), the second takes people by the hand and shows them how to do it (external responsibility and pressure). From the *old system* perspective, prefiguration can be interpreted as a naive approach, but both approaches aim to empower the masses.

Naiveté is commonly defined as a lack of experience or judgment, implying a pre-accepted and established order that is sound to follow. When that established order is being questioned then the connected naiveté is mute. Working *collectively* to ensure the survival of the *individual* was a challenge to the status quo in the art field *and* a difficult habit to pick up.

KVADRENNALEN's prefiguration was both ideological and practical – a matter of *double necessity*: 1) it fit to execute the changes needed as if they were already in place – do the Utopia, act as if the art world is already united – protecting the idea from criticism\* in the meantime, *and* 2) the (human) resources were not available to force the movement, i.e. actively organising instead of mobilising.

\* On criticism: in *Cultural Activism Today. The Art of Over-Identification*. 2007, BAVO (Gideon Boie & Matthias Pauwels), the chapter on *Today's Blackmail of Constructive Critique* argues in favour of a *pure criticism* in the arts instead of an expected *constructive criticism* that suffers the (unjust) demands to provide solutions. An unwritten conditional to be allowed to criticise, in other words a well-established tactic *to silence criticism*.

1) Art doesn't carry the burden of responsibility to formulate solutions, i.e. within the context of art – even art in society – *the blackmail of constructive critique* puts its finger on a very sore point, which has diluted art's strength as a critic of society.

2) in non-art contexts the burden of responsibility needs to be considered in terms of the *constructive criticism's blackmail*. Two Swedish examples: 2a) The Sweden Democrats were dismissed in 2018 as always criticising without coming up with alternatives or solutions, which was a valid point in the political context. When running for office your solutions are the content of the political program you're proposing. Politicians have the burden of responsibility to come up with solutions, i.e. constructive criticism should be the norm. 2b) Today, Greta Thunberg (2003), barely old enough to legally buy alcohol in a store in Sweden, is constantly criticised for not offering solutions and *only* criticising policy. As a young adult and environmental activist Greta does not carry the responsibility of having to offer solutions; criticising and calling on those in power is very much the extent of her responsibility. Here, constructive criticism's blackmail is one of many tactics used to undermine and silence her voice.

like an incompetent, ignorant imbecile who stepped out of line and should better stick to his own field of expertise. Needless to say, such reasoning could not be further removed from democratic politics proper, which, according to political philosopher Jacques Rancière, precisely takes place when somebody makes a claim that s/he is unauthorized or unqualified to do.<sup>3</sup> It is precisely this 'stepping out of line' that is foreclosed in the situation described above by sticking to a strongly hierarchized image of society in which politics is regarded as a specialized field of expertise populated by political professionals who are the sole masters of the art of politics.

### **Today's Blackmail of Constructive Critique**

One of the most symptomatic manifestations of this onslaught on any real critique, i.e. critique that does not limit itself to mere window dressing, is no doubt today's insistence on constructive critique. What has become completely unacceptable is

## ALWAYS CHOOSE THE WORST OPTION. ARTISTIC RESISTANCE AND THE STRATEGY OF OVER-IDENTIFICATION

to 'merely' criticize, that is, to critically diagnose and analyse society's contradictions without at the same time offering a concrete alternative or solution for the predicaments analysed. The latter has become the sole criterion according to which every criticism is judged. Think of the reception of the work of documentary activist Michael Moore, especially his *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), which investigates the murky reality behind the U.S. war against terror both abroad and at home. Even within enlightened circles, it is common to downplay Moore as someone who is always the first to know what is wrong with something and to blame it on someone without ever coming up with a suggestion as to how things could be done better. In the case of *Fahrenheit 9/11*, for example, critics might wonder how Moore *himself* would deal with the undeniably real threat of global terrorism. This allows one to dismiss his critical documentaries as suffering from the same disease inflicted upon the Democrats in the U.S. who, although extremely critical of Bush, are said to be equally incapable of offering an alternative to war.

This demand for giving concrete alternatives is, of course, the standard way in which people affirm their authority with regard to a certain matter, neutralize any criticism and continue business as usual. Nothing is more effective to silence one's fiercest critics than to simply turn the tables and ask the latter: "so, since you always seem to know better, what would *you* do then?" This change of register – from a discussion of problems to one of solutions, from political critique to pragmatic politics – is meant to catch the critic off guard, who as a rule cannot do more than regurgitate the same critical points or mumble some general propositions. The latter is then used to expose the critic as a cowardly, impotent figure deriving some sort of hysterical satisfaction from asking critical questions for the sake of asking them, yet shrugging away from the much more difficult and risky task of assuming responsibility and coming up with concrete solutions to the

## CULTURAL ACTIVISM TODAY. THE ART OF OVER-IDENTIFICATION

problems addressed.<sup>4</sup> The underlying blackmail is thus all too clear: 'either you offer constructive criticism with concrete solutions to go with it or you shut up!'

It is therefore clear that the demand for constructive criticism deals a direct blow to any real critique. After all, *radical* critique – by its very nature – cannot immediately be made productive within the existing order *since the latter is radically put into question*. Radical critique challenges the very standard by which productivity is measured. It is no coincidence that such censorship – which the demand for concrete counterproposals undoubtedly is – is most often exercised when the critic hits a central nerve of the system, a fundamental issue that cannot be solved without a radical change of the existing order. Precisely the latter makes it so difficult for the critic to respond to this demand, since it asks of him/her the superhuman task of not only creating, through his/her critical labour, a mental space where a radically new set of ideological coordinates could be invented, but also to fill in that space *and* translate it into practicable policy for everyday situations.

A first, appropriate response on the part of critical forces would be to simply snub this impossible demand and tell those in power to solve their own problems, since *they* created them in the first place and have the mandate and power to do so.

In other words, the critic should expose the demand to propose concrete alternatives as illegitimate, unfair and ultimately a sign of the ruling order's *own* impotence. After all, *the existing order demands of its critic everything that it (the existing order) – with all its means and expertise – fails to do*. By exposing the inappropriateness of this demand, the critic should therefore be able to project his/her alleged impotence back onto the ruling order. The latter, however, is only possible when critical actors stop playing today's game of pragmatic post-politics and defend their right to criticize without offering any alternatives.

NEW vs OLD System

note on execution:

Art thinking is different from Activist thinking is different from Political thinking is different from Economic thinking is different from Social thinking is different from Environmental thinking is different from...

*Activism For Art* is still activism, which means the rules of activism come first in terms of executing for impact. Until everyone becomes a polymath, i.e. people whose knowledge covers many different areas and fields, we'll remain doomed to re-invent the wheel over and over again when taking our first steps in unknown territory. No area is out of reach for artists, traditionally they surpass national averages in terms of level of education and general interest, but it doesn't guarantee that they can deliver on the same level, or on the level needed, as seasoned professionals in other fields of industry - especially when under time duress. Outsourcing to capable outsiders is costly but a time saver that allows everyone to do what they do best, but it hinges on the conditional that funds are available. The ancient old Achilles heel of the artist's condition is the lack of funds which has seen them develop into the epitome of DIY businesses run by single individuals splitting themselves into accountants, marketeers, Social Media campaigners,... and producers of art. All-rounders *will* manage to figure it all out, it doesn't mean they can execute.

Those who  
love peace must  
learn to organize as  
effectively as those  
who love war.

Martin Luther King Jr.

Resources of interest:

**The Centre for Artistic Activism** (US) [c4aa.org](http://c4aa.org)

**Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung** (DE)  
[rosalux.de](http://rosalux.de)

**Organising for Power** (DE/US)  
[rosalux.de/en/o4p](http://rosalux.de/en/o4p)

**Gene Sharp** (US, 1928-2018)  
American political scientist. He was the founder of the Albert Einstein Institution, a non-profit organization dedicated to advancing the study of nonviolent action, and professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

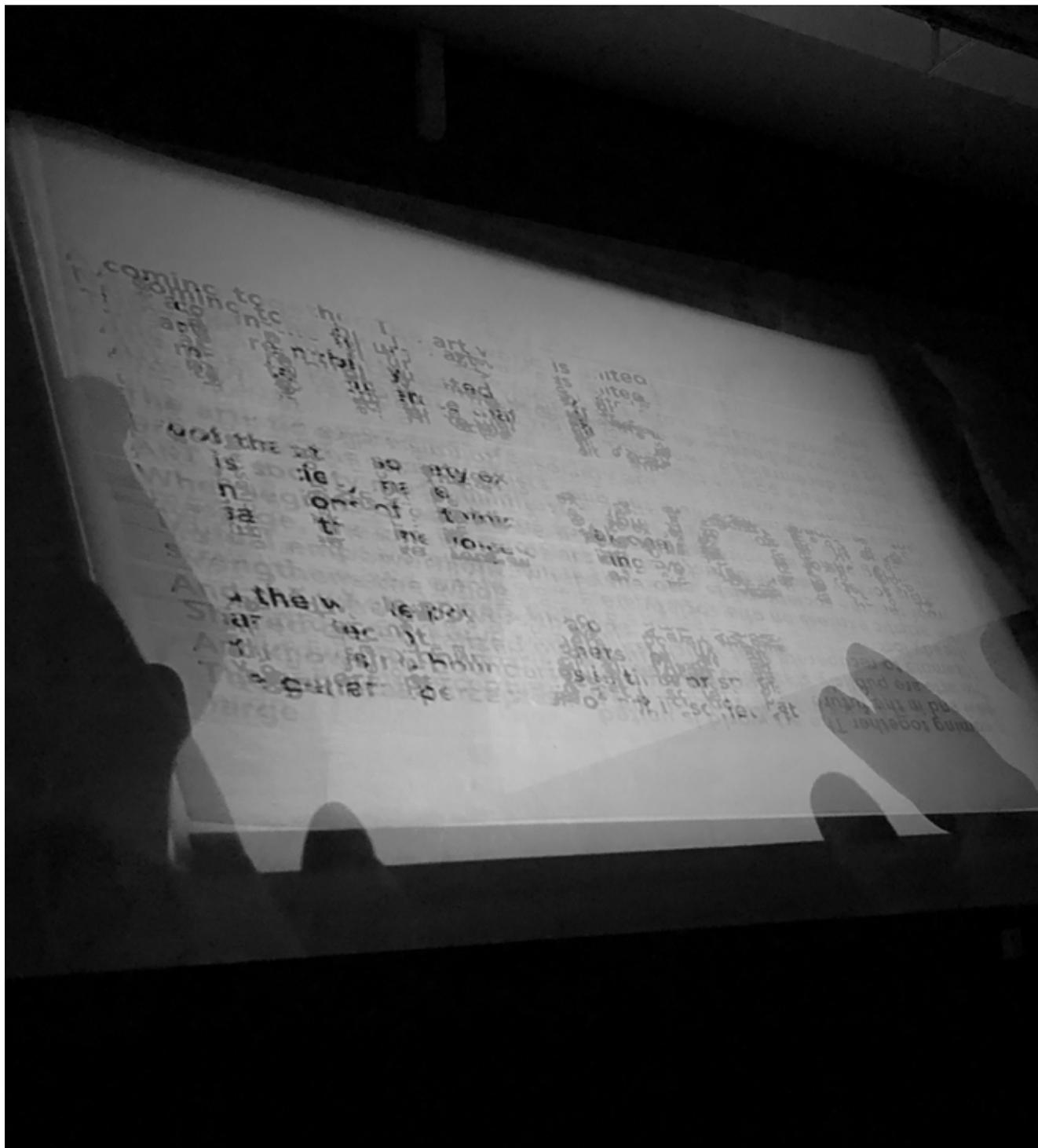
# AKTA KONSTEN!

Beware of the art!

MUSEUM OF  
ARTISTIC PROCESS AND  
PUBLIC ART  
**SKISSERNAS MUSEUM**

There's  
nothing  
naïve  
about  
naïveté.

- when there's nobody else doing *it*,  
(then) you are the best at *it*, by default  
- no contest.



THIS IS THE WORK OF ART, January 11th 2022, Opening of KVADRENNALEN by Björkö Konstnod  
Photo: Anna-Viola Hallberg

**“Kultur  
ist nicht  
alles, aber  
ohne Kultur  
ist alles  
nichts.”**

– Karl Valentin.

– Culture isn't everything,  
but without culture everything is nothing.–

When the task at hand is impossible, *doing it* is already a success.

In the nine months between January 11th and September 11th 2022, the KVADRENNALEN calendar listed 154 events, in 70 different locations, by 51 organisers.

154 more events than zero. Not only was the online calendar and the website up and running, it was filled with events that the general public could attend.

### **JANUARY 11th, 2022, KVADRENNALEN OPENS**

On the day the Swedish Parliament held its first official session to open the new calendar year 2022, 13 artists and art spaces officially opened KVADRENNALEN.

Right before the Christmas holidays the pandemic measures had softened only to get tightened again by the Swedish Health Agency in the first week of January. It meant that *live* events were no longer possible when KVADRENNALEN was supposed to open.

Everyone that set up an opening had *carte blanche*, except for one single condition: integrate a reading of KVADRENNALEN's manifesto. What that reading was meant to be was not specified.

Per Hüttner, Vision Forum, did a live reading of the manifesto on YouTube, from Egypt, where he was travelling to meet with the art scene there. While reading the manifesto he also changed it, making it his own.

Daniela Hedman printed the manifesto and pinned it on the tenants notice board of the apartment block where she lives. Having the conversation with the general public starts with your neighbours.

Torbjörn Johansson convinced someone he'd met while travelling in the Canary Islands to read the manifesto aloud while he filmed. Torbjörn shared an artistically edited version of the reading on his online channels.

IntraGalactic arts collective set up an online meeting to read the manifesto at plenum.

Fylkingen, Kummelholmen, Joakim Stampe all went onto their digital channels to tell the world they were opening KVADRENNALEN officially.

Conny Blom & Nina Slejko Blom / CAC devoted their online CAC JOURNAL to KVADRENNALEN.

Weld filmed Nefeli Oikonomou, one of the artists rehearsing in their space at the time, performing a reading. And Anna Koch, the director of Weld, shared an *unwrapping* of the KVADRENNALEN poster online.

I (TM) performed 13 public readings at 13 different locations around Stockholm and shared a collage video of it.

Detroit Stockholm recorded a reading by several of the Detroit members as an alternating group reading.

Vlady Stroligo created a work where the manifesto could be heard in an old-school public phone booth.

And Björkö Konstnod (BKN) HYBRID held the only *open to the public* opening about two hours drive from Stockholm. Being in the countryside BKN decided they could maintain covid-19 safety measures and still set up an art program open to a public daring to venture out. They even lit up a winter BBQ for any guests showing up.

Whatever happened in the coming months, KVADRENNALEN opened the day it said it would. The manifesto was out. KVADRENNALEN was an instant success.

Ten days later, Candyland opened KVADRENNALEN with their first show of the year. With the pandemic measures still in force, the show was on view from the street with a brave audience standing on the curb in the winter cold.

KVADRENNALEN ran for 244 days, 8 months spread over 9 calendar months.

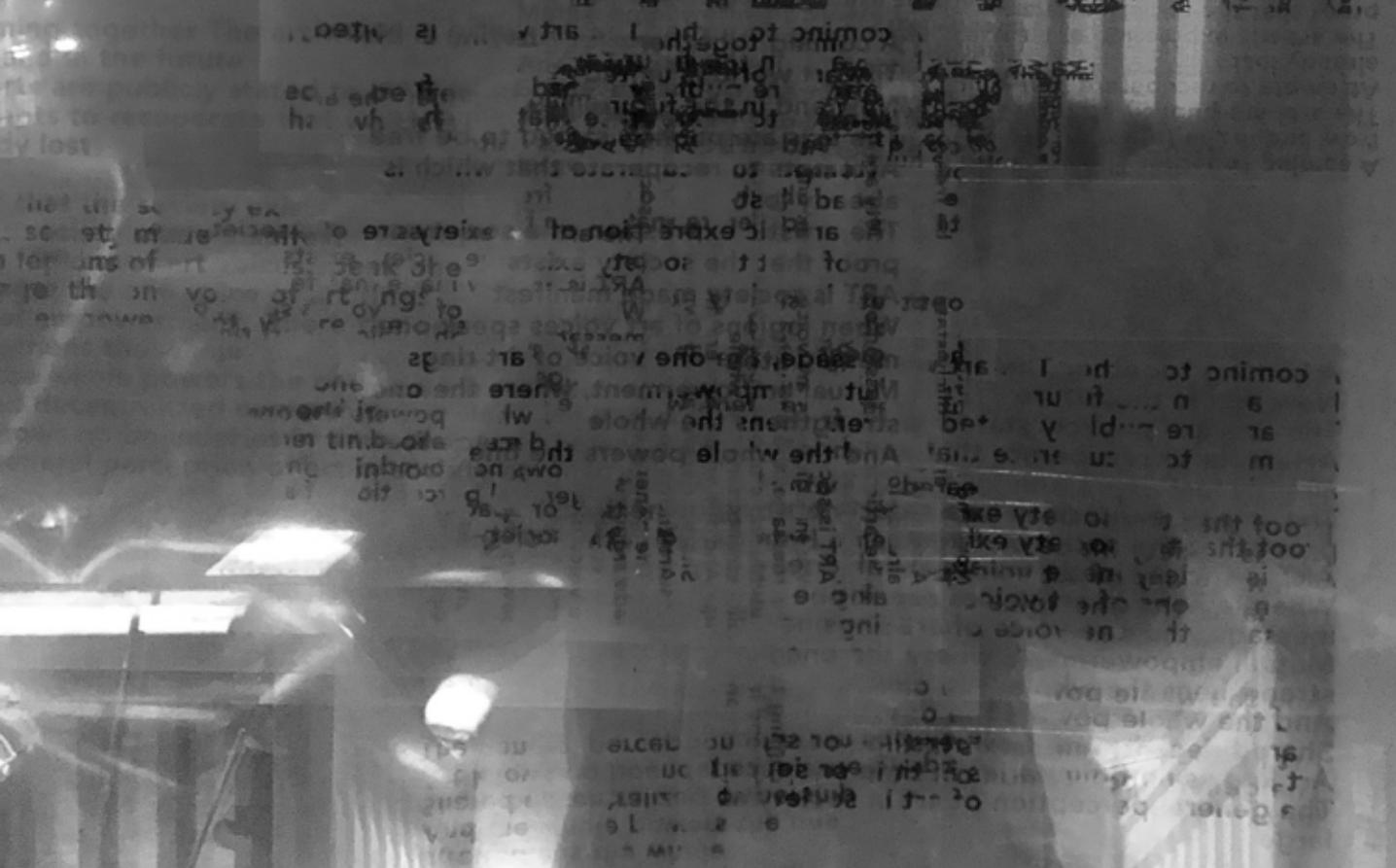
In the words of BKN: **“This is the work of art.”**

HYBRID by BKN/Björkö Konstnod.  
Inaugural program of  
KVADRENNALEN

THIS IS

THE WORK

OF ART



HYBRID by BKN/Björkö Konstnod.  
Inaugural program of  
KVADRENNALEN

@ BKN/Björkö Konstnod

11.01.2022



# INAUGURAL SCREENING PROGRAM @ HYBRID by BKN

## Title Screening Program: conscious choice/medvetat val

The program by BKN artists is a response to the mobilization of the Swedish Art Sphere during the national election year. The original inaugural screening program launched on January 11th might expand during the course of 8 months.

Please view program in full screen mode!



WEB VIDEO PROGRAM:  
KVADRENNALEN MANIFESTO, 6 min  
TOUCHING TIME, 3 min  
INTERLUDE, MOSS BREATH, 1 min

## HYBRID ART SPHERE PROGRAM

The opening of the 3 month long art program within KVADRENNALEN takes place in a number of venues across the country among these is HYBRID by BKN/Björkö Konstnod.

Conscious Choice/Medvetat val. Screening of the videoprogram above and special installation by Zoey Hart.

Date: Jan 11, 2020 Inaugural program of KVADRENNALEN

Time: 2pm-8 pm (Collective reading of manifest at 6 pm)

Venue: Studio 28 at HYBRID Art Sphere BKN

Address: Simpelövsgatan 739, 76453 Björkö, Sweden

2-8 pm Screening of video program + Video installation by Zoey Hart

7-8 pm Live Manifesto reading & Talk (The reading takes place in Swedish)



## KVADRENNALEN

It is not an organisation, it is not commercial, it is not non-profit, it is not private, it is not public. It is a coming together of artists, art workers, art spaces, art institutions, to show the society at large that the artworld is united at every level, across all the disciplines, now and in the future, in their shared belief in art, and show this united with the only shared language of art itself.

It is an artist-run, nation-wide, 9-month long art programme that runs in parallel to the political agenda of an election year - from January 11th until election day September 11th 2022. Its aim is to unite the largest possible group of artists, artist-run organisations (across the disciplines visual, sound, stage, word, ...) in Sweden, before the radical political shift, that is getting ready to take over, becomes reality.

## HYBRID

Is the exhibition program at BKN/Björkö Konstnod. It is a transformative, dynamic space for art that engages with life and nature, a space for developing concepts of community and poetic investigations. HYBRID seeks to explore and interpret possibilities beyond the violence of algorithms, egotism, deforestation, narrow-mindedness and repression. From its core HYBRID extends to sites indoors and outdoors on or off the island.

KVADRENNALEN

## SCREENING PROGRAM

### Title: KVADRENNALEN MANIFESTO - THIS IS A WORK OF ART

Media: Video  
Duration: 6:01 min  
Artist: Zoey Hart

Context: Hart addressed the Kvadrennal Manifesto during her residency at BKN

Statement: "The critical importance of art is embedded in its ability to communicate with and beyond words. To emphasize the urgency of ongoing critical dialogue within art and society, THIS IS THE WORK OF ART considers text as image, framing performance as a labor of communication, community, and clarifying the work of the artist as a socially-engaged player on a unified global stage." Zoey Hart

### Title: TOUCHING TIME

Media: Video (1 ch), color with sound.  
Duration: 3 min

Artists: Oona Hyland och Anna Viola Hallberg

Context: TOUCHING TIME is the first collaboration between artists Anna Viola Hallberg (Sweden) and Oona Hyland (Ireland). It was realized at Björkö Konstnod during Hyland's residency (AIR BKN), where the artist Hallberg at the time also was holding the position as curator. TOUCHING TIME is an adaption of Hylands work on paper. The tactile paperworks are traces exploring the inside of tree bark, a surface rarely seen, (this put as a metaphor of the exploration of trauma, power and silences, installation, texts and narrator -Hyland. Video (camera & editing) -Hallberg.

Statement: "The personal as political... who are we on the fringe of the grand history writing, the ones of us who experienced silence and trauma? The video work is an attempt to move towards a general discussion on what forgetting, silence and trauma means and its implications in today's society"

### Title: INTERLUDE, MOSS BREATH

Media: Video (3:16), segment from Rehydration Clinic installation

### Title: THE ONCTATION. Original title IL DETTATO/

Media: Stop-Motion Animation (Digital Video)

Duration: 4 min

Artists: Tomas Creuz and Lovina Chamello

### Title: LYSSNERSKAN (Norwegian title: Lysseske)

Media: Performance/Video

Duration: 3:30

Artists: Zoey Hart & Beatrice Alvestad Lopez

Context/Statement: Lysseske- is a collaboration between New York artist Zoey Hart and Stockholm-based artist Beatrice Alvestad Lopez. They started their collaboration at Björkö residency in December 2021 curated by Anna Viola Hallberg. Their shared passion for nature led to the exploration of moss and lichen rich in the local area through sound, film, and performance. Lysseske is the Swedish translation for the Norwegian Lyttseskan, meaning close listeners. The Lysseske are listening as they softly tap the drum, the pulse, and breath into being. Moss became and is a living entity, circulating water as breath bringing us well. By exercises of embodying moss, breathing in it, drum taps, and poetry they get closer to the beat of teeming life.

### Title: THE MAKING OF: THIS IS THE WORK OF ART

Media: Video/New media text activation of the KVADRENNALEN manifesto

Duration: 1 min

Artists: Zoey Hart with BKN artists (Åsa Öhrn, Alexandra Kostrubala, Tom Creuz, Johan Lundin, Anna Viola Hallberg and filmmaker Håkan Berthas.)

Context: Process video of: THIS IS THE WORK OF ART from work in BKN studios.

Statement: "The critical importance of art is embedded in its ability to communicate with and beyond words. To emphasize the urgency of ongoing critical dialogue within art and society, THIS IS THE WORK OF ART considers text as image, framing performance as a labor of communication, community, and clarifying the work of the artist as a socially-engaged player on a unified global stage." Zoey Hart

#kvadrennalen, #K12, #HYBRID, #BKN, #björkökonstnod, #björkökonstnod, #medvetatval, #consciouschoice, #val2022, #valinbrev22, #kulturuppgift1, #konst

Program at HYBRID with support from:

KULTURENS  
stiftelse för kulturforskning

# 7: SUCCESS

HYBRID by BKN/Björkö Konstnod. Inaugural program of KVADRENNALEN

Screening of video program + Video installation by Zoey Hart

Live Manifesto reading & Talk

Artists:  
Zoey Hart and Beatrice Alvestad Lopez,  
Oona Hyland,  
Anna Viola Hallberg,  
Alexandra Kostrubala,  
Åsa Öhrn,  
Johan Lundin,  
Tomas Creuz and film maker  
Håkan Berthas



KVADRENNALEN, PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT.

vision forum program [Subscribe](#) [Share](#) [Download](#) [Clip](#)



Daniela Hedman is in Södermalm. 14h - [...](#)  
I officially declare KVADRENNALEN open!  
#kvadrennalen2022 #kvadrennalen

# Journal

Conceptual Art Journal

January 2022



**KVADRENNALEN**  
JAN. 11 - SEPT. 11 2022  
What is happening?!  
The Museum of Contemporary Art is sending a surrealist painter "exploring spontaneity and remaining a perennial child" to represent Slovenia at the 59th Venice Biennale?  
??  
But heads have fallen  
Execut professionalism.  
Under its rightwing populist government, Slovenian culture politics is now riddled with menace and impossible stupidity.  
It hurts to watch  
And so quiet all went!  
21st century.  
We must interfere before Sweden follows suit.  
Join us!  
We are Kvadrennalen and so are our wives!



## Weld förklarar härmed KVADRENNALEN öppnad

KVADRENNALEN är inte en organisation, inte kommersiell, inte ideell, inte privat och inte offentlig. KVADRENNALEN är **en sammanslutning** av konstnärer, professionella i konstbranschen, olika konststrum, konstinstitutioner, m. fl. **som vill visa** samhället i stort **att konstvärlden står enade** – på varje nivå, över alla disciplinränder, nu och i framtiden – i **sin delade tro** på KONSTEN, och vill visa denna enighet **genom** det enda gemensamma språket: **KONSTEN själv.**



### #1 LÅT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN

Frågor som berör KONST måste besvaras på KONSTENS språk.

### #2 KONSTEN ÄR NÖDVÄNDIG FÖR SAMHÄLLET

KONSTEN är manifestationen av samhället.

### #3 ETT FRITT KONSTNÄRLIGT UTTRYCK ÄR NÖDVÄNDIGT FÖR ETT FRITT, ÖPPET OCH DEMOKRATISKT SAMHÄLLE

Att hävda rätten till ett fritt konstnärligt uttryck är att hävda rätten till yttrandefrihet för hela befolkningen – artikel 19, Allmän förklaring om de mänskliga rättigheterna, 10.12.1948, Paris.

Fylkingen declare KVADRENNALEN officially opened!

2022-01-11



# KVADRENNALEN

intragalacticartscollective · a day ago Text

Vi läser manifest / We read a manifesto

Initiated by Thierry Mortier Kvadrennalen is set up to propose 9 months of arts programming to voice artistic responses to populist threats to the free arts in Sweden. Kvadrennalen, platform for contemporary arts, January 11 - September 11, 2022.



Jan. 11 - Sept. 11 2022

Torbjörn Johansson is in Valle Gran Rey. 10h · 🌐

Jag förklarar härmed KVADRENNALEN öppnad. Tack Mark Moir.



kummelholmen.se

KUMMELHOLMEN FÖRKLARAR HÄRMED KVADRENNALEN



#KVADRENNALENS MANIFEST  
Offentlig deklaration av position, ställningstaganden och intentioner.  
#1 LÄT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN

Detroit Stockholm 15h · 🌐



Detroit Stockholm » Detroit Stockholm opens KVADRENNALEN 2022 17h · 🌐

WE OFFICIALLY DECLARE KVADRENNALEN OPEN! ❤️

Representing Detroit: Fritz Østeb, Hinni Huttunen, Malin Neuman and Felicia Gränd.

Joukim Stampe 17h · 🌐

KVADRENNALEN, PLATFORM FÖR KONTEMPORÄR KONST FÖR ATT REAGERA PÅ POLITISKT HOT är ett 9 månader långt, decentraliserat, konstnärligt, landsomfattande, tvärvetenskapligt konstprogram för att ge uttryck för konstnärliga svar på populistiska hot mot den fria konsten i Sverige.

Med denna offentliga publicering förklarar jag KVADRENNALEN officiellt öppnad! 11 januari, Göteborg, Sverige.

Joukim Stampe... See more



**KVADRENNALEN** PLATFORM FÖR DEN SAMTIDIGA KONSTENS SVAR PÅ POLITISKA HOT.

KVADRENNALEN är en samarbetsform mellan konstnärer, professionella, konstvetenskapliga, politiska, konstvetenskapliga, och även allmänna konstintresserade som vill uttrycka sina svar på politiska hot mot den fria konsten i Sverige. I den utsträckning som de konstnärliga ställningstaganden, till exempel på uttryck som #1 LÄT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN, och vilka dessa svar kan ge uttryck för genom konstnärliga svar.

**#1 LÄT KONSTEN TALA FÖR KONSTEN**  
Följer som konstnärligt svar på politiska hot.

**#2 KONSTEN ÄR NÖDVÄNDIG FÖR SAMHÄLLET**  
Konst är nödvändig för samhället.

**#3 ETT FRITT KONSTNÄRLIGT UTTRYCK ÄR NÖDVÄNDIGT FÖR ETT FRITT, ÖPPET OCH DEMOKRATISKT SAMHÄLLE**  
Att ha ett fritt konstnärligt uttryck är ett nödvändigt villkor för ett fritt, öppet och demokratiskt samhälle.

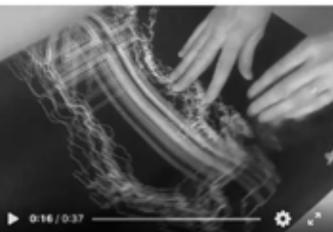
**#13 KONSTEN FÖRSÖKER INTE FÅ MAKTT, KONSTEN ÄR MAKTT**  
Konst är nödvändig för samhället, är ett nödvändigt villkor för ett fritt, öppet och demokratiskt samhälle, och det är nödvändigt att den ska ges uttryck genom konstnärliga svar.

KVADRENNALEN ÄR EN KONSTFORM FÖR ATT REAGERA PÅ POLITISKA HOT. DEN ÄR EN KONSTFORM FÖR ATT REAGERA PÅ POLITISKA HOT. DEN ÄR EN KONSTFORM FÖR ATT REAGERA PÅ POLITISKA HOT.

Weld 20h · 🌐

★ Favourites · 20h · 🌐

#kvadrennalen



0:16 / 0:37



KVADRENNALEN MANIFESTO  
#1 LET ART SPEAK FOR ART

**KVADRENNALEN Opening 11 JAN 2022 (6min15)**

2 years ago | More

thierry mortier + Follow

VladyArt 18h · 🌐

#kvadrennalen #kvadrennalen2022 KVADRENNALEN



1:10 / 2:28

Conny Blom, Eight Month Performance  
at CAC Bukovje/Landskrona and elsewhere

11.01–11.09 2022

Photo: Felicia Gränd



## 7: SUCCESS

Battling with Malevolent Forces  
@ Signal Malmö

Artists:  
Alice Creischer,  
Iza Tarasewicz

13.01-27.03 2022



*There is a vault in Spitzbergen  
in the side of the mountain  
for all seeds from all over the world.  
It was put there by the same companies  
that destroy these seeds  
by undertaking their appropriation.*



Elena Tzotzi

WHAT IF WE UNITE  
FOR NOTHING AND  
ONLY GET STRONGER  
TOGETHER?

KACREINWALDEN





Ella Tillema, Give me  
a weapon that works,  
Linköping



More by Ella Tillema in the KVADRENNALEN Calendar:

Ella Tillema @ In Your Face, Ålands Konstmuseum, Åland. 13.05-04.09 2022

Ella Tillema @ Skapa din röst 2022 – konst som politiskt verktyg, workshop with Filip Rahim Hansson (initiator) and Ella Tillema, Malmö. 24 & 28.08 2022

Candyland officially opens KVADRENNALEN 2022,  
with:  
GREBNELLAW,  
OONA/NANO/ONAN/ANNO/ANON/NONA,

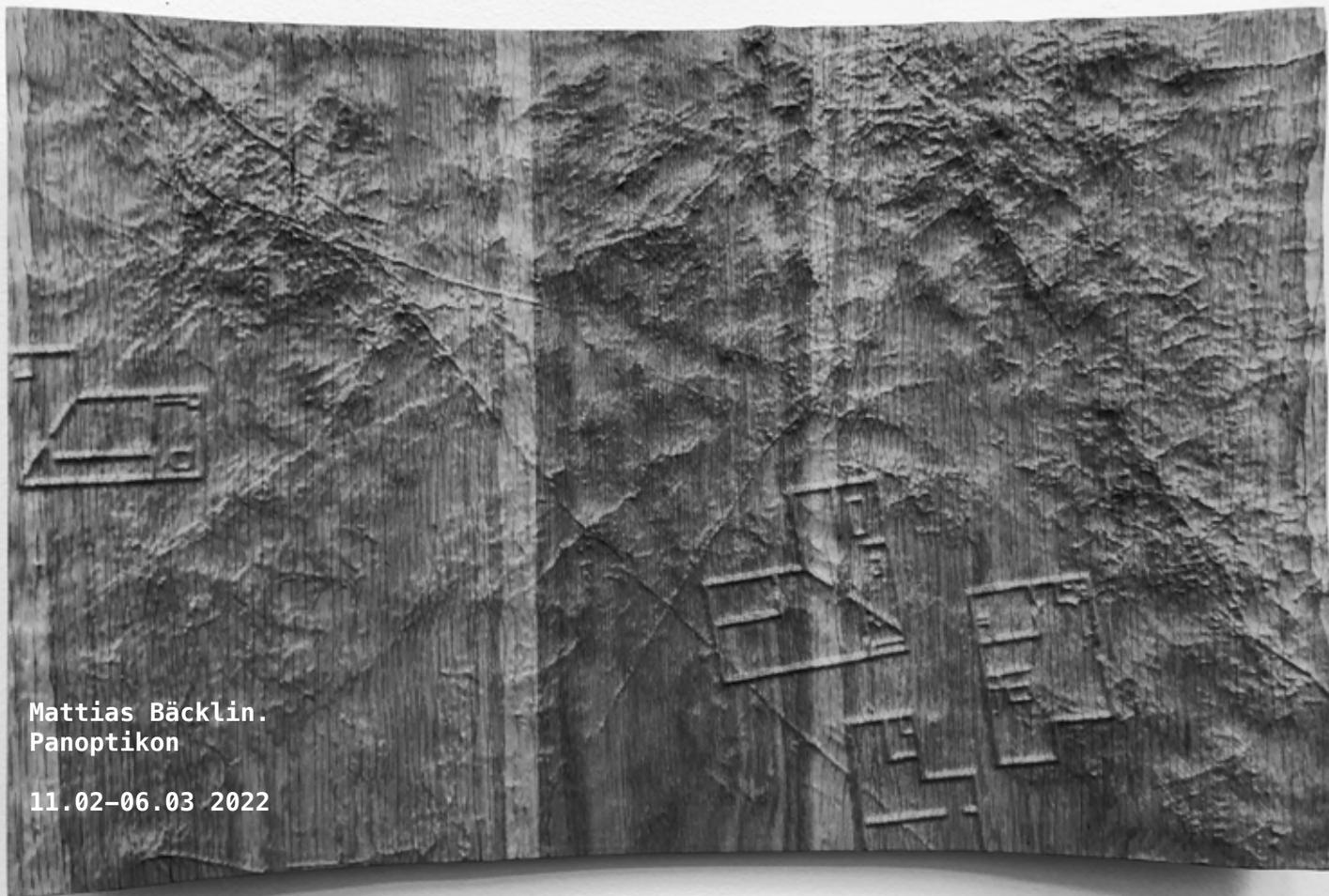
@ Candyland, Stockholm

21.01-06.02 2022

Öppet fredag-söndag kl 13-16  
[www.candyland.se](http://www.candyland.se)







Mattias Bäcklin.  
Panoptikon

11.02-06.03 2022



More @ **CandyLand**:

Sara Lundberg  
Den oskrivna berättelsen  
11.03-27.03 2022

Belinda Morén, Øistein Sæthren Dahle  
När jag tänker på dig känns det som  
att du tänker på mig med  
01.04-24.04 2022

Danny Reveco  
Hacer con lo que se tenga a mano  
29.04-15.05 2022



Sandra Lazzarini  
Bucato

20.05-05.06 2022

Daisuke Takeya  
Candyland @SUPERMARKET 2022  
26.05-29.05 2022

Örjan Wallert  
Allegori med föremål  
10.06-07.08 2022

Mindaugas Gapševičius & Maria  
Safronova Wahlström  
You and I, You and Me  
10.08-13.08 2022

Lina Hagelbäck och Christina  
Isinger  
Bli min mor  
26.08-10.09 2022





**Timo Menke**

Allt skä bort – Allt går igen.  
Växjö Konsthall,  
Växjö

29.01–13.03 2022

Photos: Timo Menke

Eva Ingemarsson  
SKUGGBILD  
@ **Atalante**, Göteborg

03.02–20.02 2022

Photos: Beata Rydén





**Alexandra Kostrubala, Åsa Öhrn, Johan Lundin**  
The Whole About the Hole Too  
(Live painting, song, performance)  
Public space at Liljevalchs, Stockholm

04.02.2022

Alexandra Kostrubala, Åsa Öhrn, Johan Lundin,  
Regenerating materia for a better destiny  
+ PEACE2022 – ARTISTS AGAINST THE WAR –  
(A digital program of peace/anti-war statements made by 315 artists from  
25 countries. Curator Josef Ka)  
@Closetgallery, Stockholm

23.04.2022



Mats Gustafsson and Johan Jönsson  
(concert/performance)

@ KHIMAIRA  
20.03.2022



More @ **KHIMAIRA**:

Ellen Arkbro and Mareike Lee  
(concert/performance)  
07.02.2022

Johan Arrias and Helene Berg  
(concert/performance)  
20.02.2022

Ida Lundén and Sofia Stenström  
(concert/performance)  
03.04.2022

Karin Hellqvist and Katt Hernandez  
(concert/performance)  
20.05.2022

@ **Kulturskyddsföreningen**

(Alvaro Campo, Ulrika Sparre, Vilhelm Gustafsson Mattias Bäcklin, Cecilia Ömalm)

**Ulrika Sparre,**  
Allt är bra,  
Public space at Stureplan,  
Stockholm

09.02-07.03 2022

Photo: Ulrika Sparre

**Mattias Bäcklin**

Trädsläckaren,  
Public Space,  
multiple locations

21.07-11.09 2022

Photo: Mattias Bäcklin



Temporary HeadQuarters  
 @ Färgfabriken  
 17.02–27.03.2022



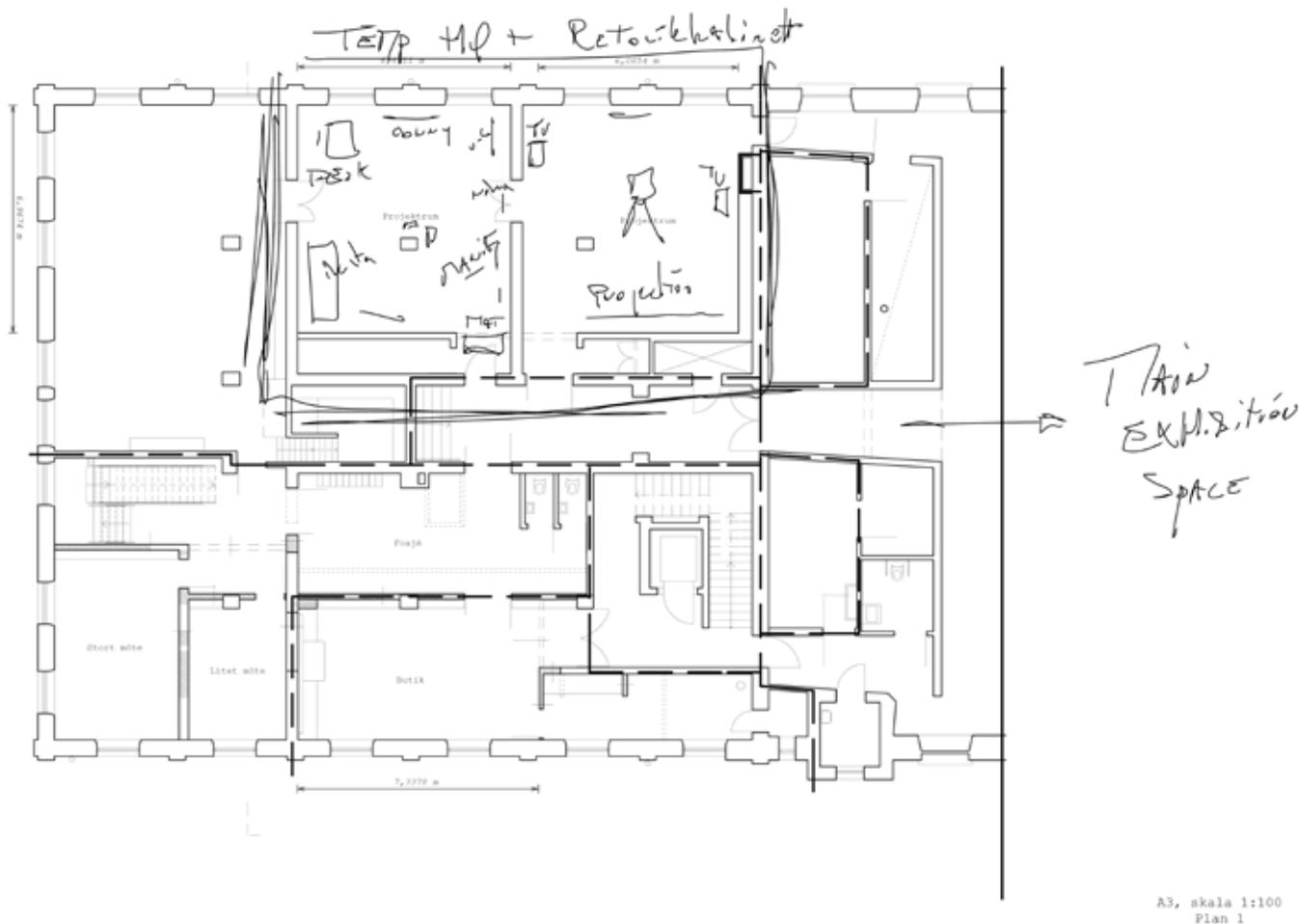
Färgfabriken was the only big semi-private art institution that committed to KVADRENNALEN fully, which might have had something to do with the then artistic director Joachim Granit being an artist himself. Joachim proposed to actually house KVADRENNALEN for six weeks in February–March on the Färgfabriken premises. As a decentralised movement KVADRENNALEN did not need a central space from where to operate, but the invitation to work from inside an institution, this early in the 9 month timeline, offered the opportunity to present a miniature version of what KVADRENNALEN was all about and set up an example of trans-positional collaboration. Färgfabriken even secured a minimal production budget to use, alongside the in-house resources.

The idea of KVADRENNALEN was a confrontation of positions within the art world and a call to work together in a novel manner. Bringing that prefiguration mindset of KVADRENNALEN into the daily work settings of a team that was used to working institutionally was not without risk of altercations or misunderstandings. Färgfabriken most generously offered space, time and resources and still, as KVADRENNALEN's initiator, I pushed to get more. Could an institution and the people working there be convinced that they themselves were KVADRENNALEN and have them think about KVADRENNALEN as their own, i.e. not as an invited project.

It offered a rich and rewarding feeding ground for conversations on all layers. The Temporary HeadQuarters became a space to work from and meet one another: artists, art institutions (private, public, semi-public,

small, medium, big, ...) and general public.

On Thursday 17th of February 2022 I set up shop as coordinator for the six week Temporary HeadQuarters at Färgfabriken where KVADRENNALEN had the two project spaces, while the big BECKERS Grant solo show by Laleh Kazemi Veisari would run in the main Färgfabriken space. The BECKERS Grant exhibition is Färgfabriken's biggest and annual show, which meant that next to space, time and resources, KVADRENNALEN would also get the largest possible Färgfabriken public to boot.



For the duration of the six weeks the HeadQuarters were open by appointment, with Retorikkabinett open to the general public for four weeks during Färgfabriken opening hours.

Retorikkabinett  
 @ Färgfabriken  
 03.03–27.03.2022

Retorikkabinett was a 4 weeks, open to all, program of workshops, lectures, video screenings, performances, and plenty of art to respond to political threats.

Art and performances at Retorikkabinett:

**Conny Blom/CAC**, “Vägen till helvetet är kantad med goda föresatser”, (publication).

**Conny Blom/CAC**, “Brev till medelklassen – Kill the Poor – Svensk numerologi” (installation).

**Conny Blom/CAC**, “Inga inställda tåg i helgen” (Kollektivtrafikdikter) (publication).

**Efva Lilja**, With Love... (dance performance).

**Ella Tillema**, Pamfletter 2009–2022 (video).

**Maria Nordsø Lundberg** and **Andrea Diaz**, Sound Art Performance. (via Flat Octopus)

**Nina Slejko Blom/CAC**, “What kind of State rules over us” (zine)

**Nina Slejko Blom/CAC**, “Fun, Fun, Fun” (silk-screen print)

**Nina Slejko Blom/CAC**, “Guessing game” (interactive)

**Noemi Sjöberg**, Gamefields (video).

**PETER**, Blank (performance).

**Simon Sjöström**, Sound Art Performance. (via CAC)

**Sverigeakrobaterna**, Remissvar (video).

**Sverigeakrobaterna**, Analogue, growing instagram feed.

**Thierry Mortier**, “Vänligen rör inte konsten” (street displays).

**Thierry Mortier**, “De som är här är härifrån – efter Walter Swennen” (doormat).

**Thierry Mortier**, “National Flag 2022–2026” (interactive).

**ulla-stina K Landberg**, “Not to harm” (painting) (via BKN)

**Vlady**, Conversation (video).

**Vlady**, EU Loading (painting).

Talks and workshops at Retorikkabinett:

**Conny Blom/CAC**, talk.

**PETER**, workshop.

**Thierry Mortier**, talk.

**KVADRENNALEN** content:

Talk @ Supermarket Art Fair (2021) (video).

Politisk Obunden (2021) (video).

Manifesto SWE and ENG.

“Why is art essential?” (interactive)

Those that are here, are from  
here. - after Walter Swennen, TM.

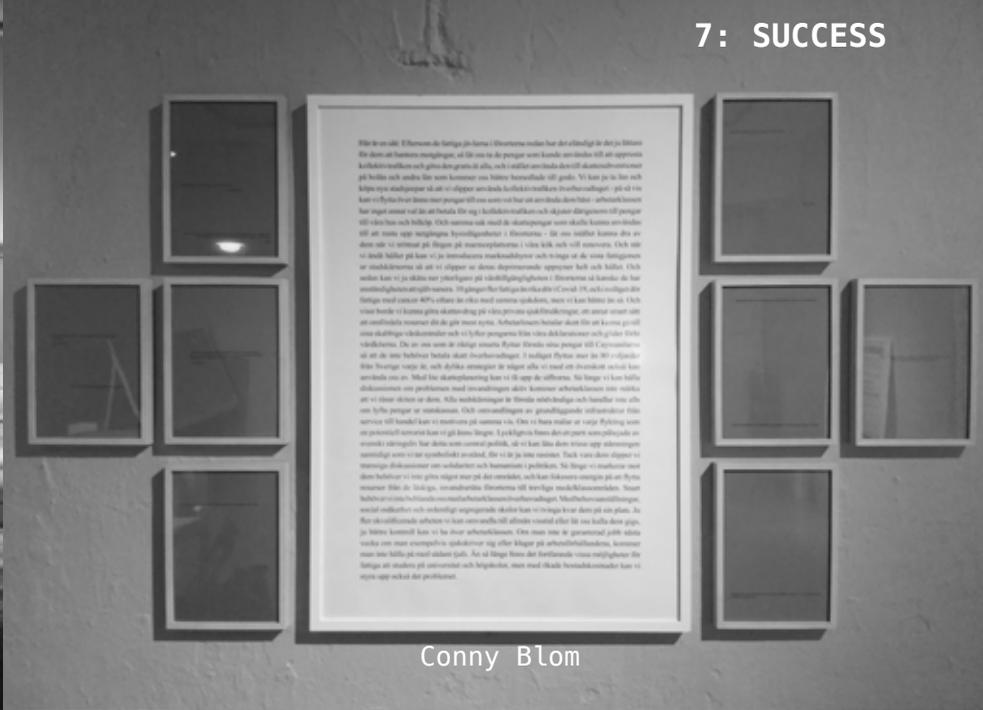




Vlady



7: SUCCESS



Conny Blom



Thierry Mortier

Sverigeakrobaterna

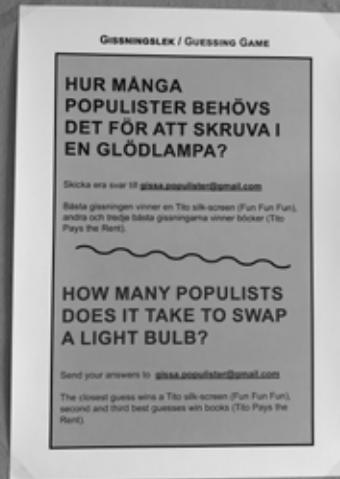


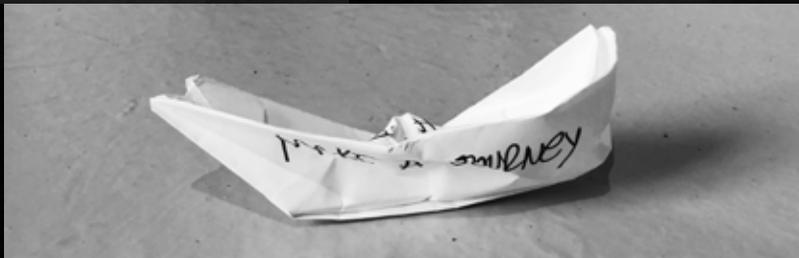
Thierry Mortier



Conny Blom

Nina Slejko Blom







**Efva Lilja**  
With Love...  
Dance  
24.03.2022



**Simon Sjöström**  
Sound Art Performance  
26.03.2022





KVADRENNALEN opened with Covid-19 restrictions in place. As those restrictions were being lifted and life was about to resume again, the war that started Feb. 24th, 2022, shone yet another light on what KVADRENNALEN was building up to: achieve critical mass by election date and have the conversation about art's essential place in society with the general public.

When people are losing their lives, loved ones, homes and cities, the idea of making a big fuss about art seems both the *least* and *most* important thing one can do. How can one equate *art* with a *life*? How can one *not* oppose the *horrendous absurdity* of those in power - deciding over the lives and deaths of common people at a whim - with *common sense and creativity*?

The proximity of Russia to Sweden saw the news reports blare out horrible images on a daily basis in the first couple of weeks of the war. After that, a change of perspective emerged that would dominate the general perception for the next few years: Sweden's membership to NATO. The priority was no longer Ukraine at war, but what that war meant for Sweden. Empathy made room for self-interest in a mere couple of weeks.

The powers that be base their decisions on *belief* and prediction on a daily basis. The difference between a grass-roots movement and the top of the hierarchy: the *numbers*. Only a handful of people needed to believe that Sweden should change course and become a NATO member - without consulting the citizens who would pay the bill. Whereas in a bottom-up direction, *everyone needs to believe to act together*.

When Russia invaded Ukraine, the core team of KVADRENNALEN was forced to consider the impact of the hideous spectacle unfolding on the international stage. The impact on political rhetoric was immediate. The impact on the general public's mindset would soon follow suit. KVADRENNALEN remained a positive response to political threats. If anything, the war was an extra incentive to carry on the conversation:

Make art not war.



An apartment building destroyed after shelling the day before in Ukraine's second-biggest city of Kharkiv, Ukraine, March 8, 2022. (AFP Photo)

An apartment building destroyed after shelling the day before in Ukraine's second-biggest city of Kharkiv, Ukraine, March 8, 2022 (© AFP Photo)

Vlady,  
#yellowblue,  
"Since the beginning of the war Vlady  
has been posting a yellow-blue photo a  
day, taken with his smartphone.  
A clear action to #supportukraine as  
well as putting an emphasis on the 2022  
Swedish parliament election as every-  
thing is connected in the #yellowblue.

24.02-11.09.2022





**Thierry Mortier,**  
180 seconds to remember  
(instruction performance)

Every 24th of the month,  
From 12:02 until 12:05,  
Yellow and Blue smoke shells  
are lit and smoke for three minutes  
to remember the ongoing war in Ukraine  
(and elsewhere).

24.04.2022 **KUMMELHOLMEN**, Stockholm.  
24.05.2022 **Accelerator**, Stockholm,  
and **Konstepidemin**, Göteborg.  
24.06.2022 **Perrongen**, Katrineholm  
24.07.2022 **Björkö konstnod**, Björkö.  
24.08.2022 **Konsthall C**, Stockholm.  
24.09.2022 **Färgfabriken**, Stockholm.

*“Art serves as a societal memory... and  
nobody says that memory needs to be a  
distant one” – TM*

FRIENDS LUNCH  
@ BKN BJÖRKÖ KONSTNOD

HDMI 1 No Signal

Artists:

Mark Rautenbach (ZA),  
Roula Samiotaki (GR/SE),  
Joana Maria Pereira (PT),  
Alevtina Kakhidze (UA),  
Edka Jarzab (PL)

curator:

Anna-Viola Hallberg (SE)

10.09.2022







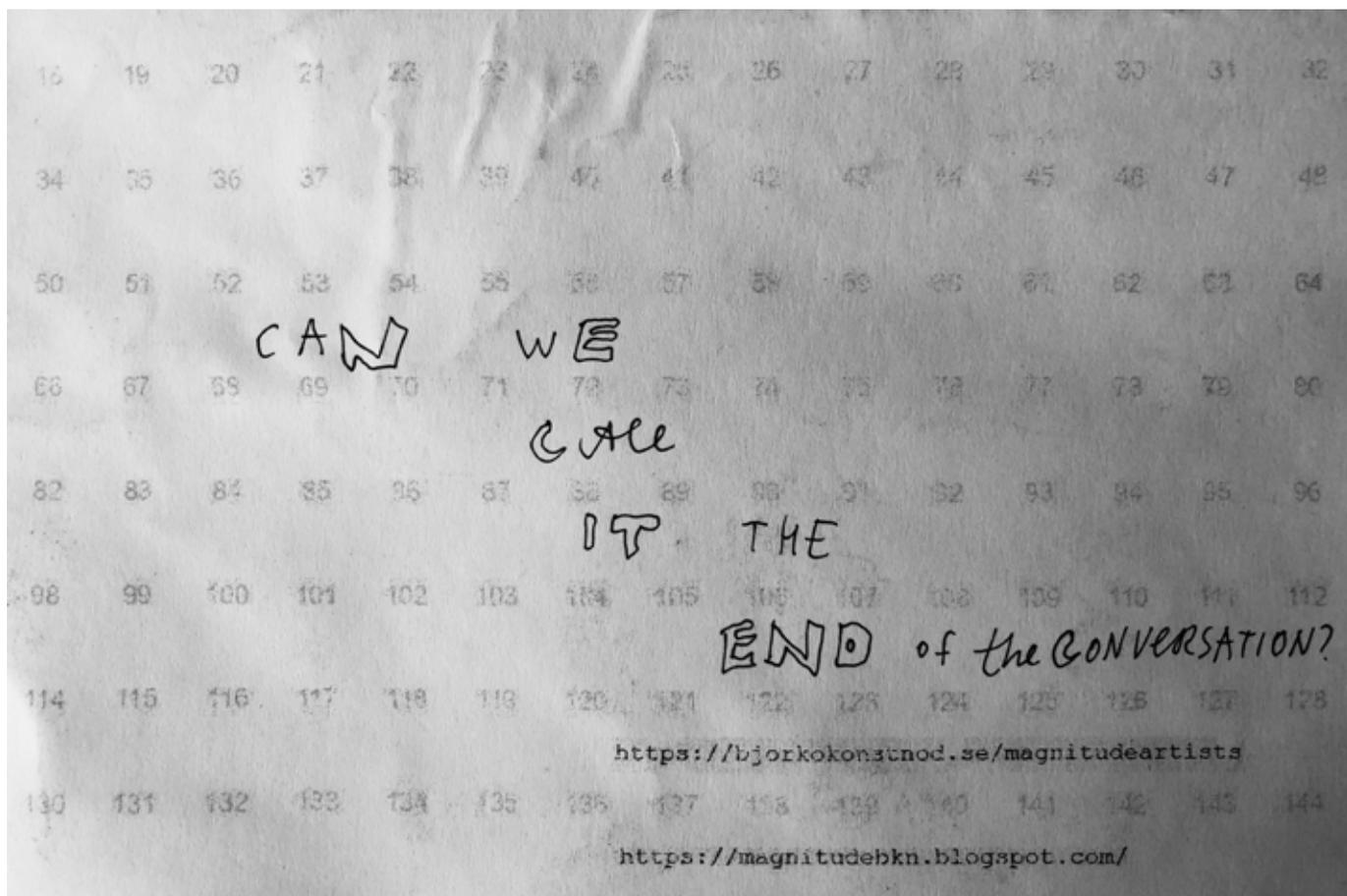
More @ **BKN BJÖRKÖ KONSTNOD**

INTRA NATURA by Lola Muñoz  
 + open studio's:  
 Yi Wen Chen (TW),  
 Annika Schuh (DE),  
 Anna Wallander (SE),  
 Lola Muñoz (ES),  
 Zoey Heart (US).

26.02-12.03.2022

Lycksalighetens Ö  
 Artists:  
 Juliette Veckens (FR) and  
 Lucas Brouwer (NL),  
 Colby Smith (US),  
 Anna-Lena Moberg (SE),  
 Oona Hyland (IE),  
 Yi Wen Chen (TW),  
 Ying Yan Lau (FR/HK).  
 Curator:  
 Anna-Viola Hallberg

02.07-11.09.2022



**PETER (Peter Mills)**  
Public Interventions

08.03.2022, Växjö  
10.03.2022, Kalmar C  
11.03.2022, Vimmerby  
12.03.2022, Vimmerby  
13.03.2022, Västervik  
14.03.2022, Finspång  
15.03.2022, Nyköping  
20.03.2022, Köping  
29.03.2022, Landvetter  
01.04.2022, Lund  
03.04.2022, Arvika  
07.04.2022, Knivsta  
08.04.2022, Alfta  
10.04.2022, Umeå

---

A General Assembly  
@ Weld, Stockholm  
18.06.2022

---

Participatory Public Interventions

08.08.2022 Hjorthagen  
09.08.2022 Solna  
10.08.2022 Farsta  
11.08.2022 Södermalm  
11.08.2022 #Konstlarm in front of  
Riksdagen  
15.08.2022 Åsta  
16.08.2022 Kärrtorp  
17.08.2022 Hässelby strand  
18.08.2022 Kungsholmen  
18.08.2022 #Konstlarm in front of  
Riksdagen  
19.08.2022 Akalla  
22.08.2022 Högdalen  
23.08.2022 Skärholmen  
24.08.2022 Sickla  
25.08.2022 Östermalm  
25.08.2022 #Konstlarm in front of  
Riksdagen  
26.08.2022 Lidingö centrum

29.08.2022 Märsta  
30.08.2022 Hornstull  
31.08.2022 Brådjup Blekinge  
01.09.2022 Brådjup Blekinge  
02.09.2022 Brådjup Blekinge  
03.09.2022 Brådjup Blekinge  
05.09.2022 Uppsala  
06.09.2022 Vasastan  
07.09.2022 Stockholm city center  
- Vasaparken  
- Odenplan  
- Stockholm School of Economics  
- Drottninggatan  
08.09.2022 Stockholm city center  
- Sergels torg  
- Valstuga  
- Riksgatan  
08.09.2022 #Konstlarm in front of  
Riksdagen  
09.09.2022 Stockholm city center  
- Mynttorget  
- Västerlånggatan  
- Stortorget  
- Slussen  
10.09.2022 Stockholms universitet  
11.09.2022 Voting booth



**PETER** (Peter Mills)  
A General Assembly  
Gustav Adolfs torg, Stockholm  
04.08.2022

**PETER** (Peter Mills)  
@ BRÄDJUPA, Blekinge Dansfestival  
31.08-04.09.2022



Photos: Peter Mills



Spin, Sing and dance  
for as long as you  
can outside the  
Notrlandsoperan  
Umeå 10<sup>th</sup> of April  
at 18.00

**PETER (Mills)**  
Public and Participatory interventions across Sweden

Photos: Peter Mills



## 12 x manifested manifesto art + thematic walks @ Weld

Weld invited 12 artists to create and share artistic manifestos based on their artistic practices, retaining the intimacy, complexity and questioning that is at the heart of all art.

Starting March 30th until election day, every other Wednesday, as a recurring ritual, the public was invited to join a conversation walk for which the artist, whose manifesto would be revealed at the end of the walk, proposed the conversation theme.

The walks started from Weld's premises and ended at Norra Bantorget where the manifesto was mounted on The Branting Monument in the centre of Stockholm.

### Participating artists:

30.03.2022 Frida Orupabo  
 13.04.2022 Beth Laurin  
 27.04.2022 Lisa Grip  
 11.05.2022 Igor Grubić  
 25.05.2022 Balsam Karam  
 08.06.2022 Hanna Rajs Lara  
 22.06.2022 Nino Mick  
 06.07.2022 Malin Arnell  
 20.07.2022 Afrang Nordlöf Malekian  
 03.08.2022 Manuel Pelmuş  
 17.08.2022 Raša Todosijević  
 31.08.2022 Gry Tingskog





Five Tender Days,  
Choreography and Art in two locations in the city.  
Curated by: Marie Fahlin and Anna Koch.  
@ Weld  
08.06–12.06.2022

@ Weld: exhibition with choreographic events.  
Exhibited artists: Diana Orving, Johan Thurfjell, Roberto Peyre,  
Lisa Grip, Thierry Mortier.

Choreography and dance:  
Frédéric Gies, Anna Pehrsson, Marie Fahlin, Anna Koch and invited  
guests.

@ Amphitheatre in Rålambshovsparken:  
open space for choreography and art.  
Interactive work Labryo by Roberto N Peyre/Barbara Crescimanno with:  
Majulah Drammeh, Anna Öberg, Shaya Khalil, Caio Marques, Roberto  
Peyre.

Technosomatic workshop by Frédéric Gies, music by DJ Fiedel.





Labryo



Technosomatic workshop

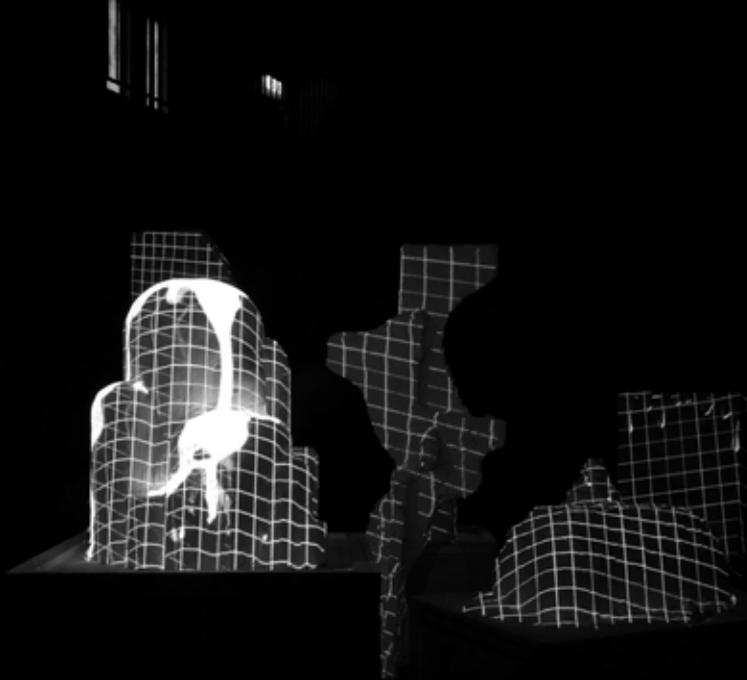


Tyst vandring / Silent Walk  
**Räserbyrån and Ingo Reulecke,**  
KUMMELHOLMEN  
03.04.2022

Färgfabriken  
08.04.2022  
09.04.2022

Photos: Räserbyrån





**Egill Sæbjörnsson,**  
Object Species, Sculptures,  
Kummelholmen  
09.04–15.05.2022



M.O. 237/356

**Jody Wood,**  
First Aid Kit,  
Skövde Culture Center and  
City Hall  
07.07–09.11.2022



Artist Talk with Jody Wood  
“Collectivizing Action: Art, Health, and a Responsive State”  
Skövde Art Museum/Konstmuseet

Tomas Asplund Gustafsson, Curator at Skövde Art Museum, is leading the discussion together with Jody Wood, Martha Albertson Fineman, Ulrika Andersson and Titti Mattsson. Some of the topics we are going to discuss are: What is the role of art in society today? Can art inform and improve politics? And can we reconcile the idea of state or collective responsibility with notions of individual choice and liberty?  
09.09.2022

Jody Wood,  
Folkets apotek,  
Skövde Konstmuseet  
14.04–09.11.2022



Photos: Jody Wood



Adriana Jardim Mayr



@ **DUO Contradiction**, Stockholm  
#ArtWindowAtFridhemsplan

- 23.04–11.05.2022 Youlian Tabakov  
Vernissage with music by Gottlieb  
Skvortsoff, Jari Enqvist  
Performance by Teater MaskArado  
DJ Madame ZjuZju  
14.05–01.06.2022 Leira Lauberg  
04.06–22.06.2022 Isteván Molnár  
25.06–27.06.2022 Balovin&Beccato  
02.07–20.07.2022 José Figueroa  
23.07–09.08.2022 Adriana Jardim  
Mayr  
13.08–30.08.2022 Freddy Soto  
03.09–20.09.2022 Jari Enqvist



music community

## Färgfabriken 26-03-2022

by Simon Sjöström



## Digital Album

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1. Färgfabriken 26-03-2022 23:16

With a world radio receiver and a home-built analogue modular synthesizer in a suitcase, Simon Sjöström explores intuitive soundscapes. In March Sjöström performed at Färgfabriken in Stockholm and we are happy to present the recording of this performance to a broader audience.

Simon Sjöström, born in 1984, is educated at Örebro Konstskola, Linnéuniversitetet (BFA) and Kungliga Konsthögskolan, Stockholm (MFA, current, 2022).

released May 12, 2022

Simon Sjöström

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CAC Bukovje / Landskrona

Landskrona, Sweden

Conceptual Art Centre Bukovje/Landskrona is a zero budget institution run by artists Nina Slejko Blom and Conny Blom. With CAC Bukovje Digital Editions they promote quality sound art. All profit from sales go directly to the authors.

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CAC Bukovje/Landskrona  
"Release: Simon Sjöström  
Färgfabriken 26-03-2022"

19.05.2022

Conny Blom

More @ CAC Bukovje/Landskrona, Nina Slejko Blom,  
Conny Blom

"Meet Nina Slejko Blom, Conny Blom + CAC Bukovje  
/Landskrona and their books at Malmö Artist's  
Book Biennial"

@ MABB2022, Malmö.

06-07.05.2022

CAC 11 @ Malmö

Book release: Eleven Years of CAC Bukovje/  
Landskrona

14.05.2022

CAC 11 @ Hjärne

Book release: Eleven Years of CAC Bukovje/  
Landskrona

26.08.2022



VINSTSTYRD  
LOKALISERING  
AV  
OFFENTLIGT  
FINANSIERAD  
VÅRD

\* **9 works to piss off Jimmie** was the collective title of a series of works I (TM) worked on in pursuit of a spark that could grab the field and public's attention. Without any doubt, there were artists working in Sweden capable of bringing works of a similar magnitude as Alfredo Jaar or Yoko Ono, Santiago Sierra and Valie export. However, until they found their way to KVADRENNALEN, I, as initiating artist, took it as a challenge to *lead* a leaderless movement by *example* and *produce artistic responses* that could inspire others to pick up the gauntlet and start cracking on with their master pieces and responses.

The 9 works were personal contributions to the platform of KVADRENNALEN, which meant that there was no issue with directing my efforts to one particular party – the Jimmie in the title refers to Jimmie Åkesson, party leader of SD. Party neutrality was only necessary when representing the platform, not as an individual artist using the platform to voice artistic responses.

The most promising works in terms of potential impact and newsworthiness were either too funding-dependent and/or too collective, i.e. time consuming and didn't materialise (in time). Those that needed minimal funds or which could be executed individually scored a lot less in potential impact.

**1) Postcards Sweden / Vykort Sverige:** was conceived to fill the predicted summer hiatus. Sweden notoriously shuts down for a minimum of 6 weeks in the summer where nothing happens and the country is there to be overrun by tourists, domestic and foreign.

Although traditionally seen as a low-engagement period, it offered an untapped potential not only to keep the conversation going but to raise it to a higher level.

Postcards Sweden invited one hundred artists, across all the disciplines, to conceive of a *billboard postcard* that would represent how the artist saw the Swedish state anno 2022. Not the traditional pic-

turesque view of lakes and forests, but something more revealing about the *state* of Sweden. A nationwide exhibition to be displayed on one hundred billboards across the country. Since everyone would be travelling anyway: an exhibition *en route*.

It took the Swedish Institute's weaponising-art-for-democracy approach in an execution that has been set up successfully before by names like Felix-Gonzales Torres, Yoko Ono and John Lennon or, closer to home, Hanne Lise Thomsen (DK).

By the time the last funding application returned negatively, the list of confirmed artists was already half way.

Not executed  
Lack of funding.

**2) Blenda 2.022:** was a scaled-down alternative to Postcards Sweden – conceived of in collaboration with Ella Tillema.

Blenda is a famous Swedish painting from 1860 by August Malmström, showing a mythical victory of Swedish women over the invading Danish army.



August Malmström, Blenda, 1860.

## \* 9 works to piss off Jimmie

Starting from the premise that far-right ideology is patriarchal, misogynistic and hell-bent on tradition and mythology, launching a call for contemporary reworks of Blenda would generate a multi-level reality check: remind the history buffs of the powerful women that have always populated our history – more often conveniently overlooked or worse, written out of history altogether, but still there nonetheless – and highlight the current powerful women in Swedish society today.

The project was proposed to the museum that houses the original Blenda painting, but was turned down in the end – again – for lack of funding.

Not executed

Lack of funding.

**3) Bibylon:** see appendix. Bibylon didn't make it within the time frame of KVADREN-NALEN, but materialised in 2023 with the support of WELD and funding by the Swedish Arts Council.

Completed in 2023.

**4) Half mast/ Halv-stång:** the annual political gathering Almedalen in Gotland is the place to bring alternatives in front of the general public. The drawback of *the place to be* is that every lobby group, industry, politician and journalist invades the small city of Visby, making it the most expensive week to both travel and stay on the island. Ideas/dreams to gather artists in big numbers to mount impactful art actions are easy to formulate, but extremely hard to execute without funding.

The Half mast instruction piece was an attempt to circumvent money and change the channel from live events at a specific location to a hybrid of online and live action across both the internet and the physical territory of Sweden.

It was a call out to everyone in Sweden dreading the imminent loss of democracy in their beloved country to lower the Swedish flag to **Half mast** at the moment Jimmie Åkesson took the stage to deliver his party leader speech at Almedalen – signaling the death of Swedish democracy.

An empowering gesture for all those looking to express their malcontentment with the current political direction which only required: access to a flag pole (or some creativity), social media and loads of civil courage (to show their neighbours and social media network where they stood politically).

(A less than overwhelming number of) People responded.

Done!

### 5) Nettonollinvandring FB adds:

Nettonollinvandring, meaning *net zero immigration* in English, was a term established by SD as a core party program point, promoting them as the anti-immigration party on the ballot.

Three Facebook ads ran for a week targeting the regions and cities in Sweden with the most SD voters, highlighting the consequences of an anti-immigration vote to the voters' own daily life.

Three areas regarded as important Swedish Welfare issues were connected in a straightforward manner with immigration flows: pension, travel and population growth.

The ads received over 24,000 interactions online.

Done!

### 6) The Most Provocative Political Performance Award 2022:

Within the broad Art field, awards and prizes are a common tactic to attract media and public attention, e.g. the Venice Art Biennial has the golden Lions and there are

tons of other annual (international) prizes in the visual arts like the Turner Prize (UK), but also in dance (Sadler's Wells Rose Prize, UK), literature (Booker Prize [Eng], Nobel Prize), theatre (Olivier Awards London),...

The Most Provocative Political Performance award was to shine a light on some of the performances executed by politicians in the period between elections. A timely reminder of the level of entitlement those running for office had dared manifest in public without even flinching.

The general public was presented with a selection of 31 Provocative Political Performances that occurred between 2019–2022 and which they could then vote for online.

All the parties with seats in Parliament were represented. The performances ranged from moderately / forgetting that the camera was still on in an online video meeting / to extremely provocative / actions that would get regular people fired on the spot from any other day job: flirting with the borders of hate crime legislation, financial system abuses, conflicts of interest, being convicted and maintaining innocence, not following covid regulations, telling lies, power abuses, sexual harassments, attacks on the free press,... /.

The top three Most Provocative Political Performances according to the popular vote:

**Winner – Ebba Busch**, party leader of the Christian Democrats (KD) for her outrage over the police *not* using live ammunition during the Easter riots in response to the Koran burnings by Danish/Swedish politician Rasmus Paludan.

**Runner-up** (by just one vote) –

**Jimmie Åkesson**, party leader of the Sweden Democrats (SD) for his trip to the Turkish–Greek border, *during covid-restrictions*, to hand out leaflets to refugees informing them not to come to Sweden because “Sweden is full” signed by “The Swedish people”.

**Respectable third place –**

**Ulf Kristersson**, party leader of the Moderates (M) for the long-running controversy around his broken promise to Holocaust survivor Hédi Fried, never to work with the Extreme Right.

What the overseeing professional Jury had to say:

*“Perhaps a little unexpected, but we believe the people have voted for the most consistent performer. Some performers, like the two runners-up, might have put more efforts in setting up one very strong and memorable performance, Ebba Busch has consistently been able to bring the same high quality performances to the general public over this four year period. She topped the number of performances by a single politician with no less than 5 nominations. A deserving winner.”*

The award was a Jack-in-the-box in Yellow and Blue, the Swedish national colours. The Christian Democrats were contacted thrice to hand over the award to Ms. Busch. None of the communications received an answer.

Done!



**7) Demokratihälsovarning:** online exhibition and IRL exhibition at micro-gallery Zorn, Stockholm. *Democracy Health warning* used social media, the platform *par excellence* for extremist voices to find following and voters, to voice warnings following well-established codes used in the regulation of tobacco.

A Democracy Health warning was spread once a week on both Instagram and

Facebook during the last nine weeks before election day.

Done!

8) **#Konstlarm** instruction pieces: following PETER's A General Assembly proposal (see before) I conceived and spread #Art Alarm instruction pieces for anyone to execute at will, e.g. *using election posters as the base for palimpsest art.* (One of the posters made it into the news.)

Done!

9) **The art of political discourse and the political discourse of art** (talk and recording): In a talk based on discourse analysis I highlighted some of the rhetorical tricks used to shape general perception by politicians and media. The talk was given in front of a live audience at Färgfabriken and the recording was made available on the KVADRENNALEN YouTube channel.

Done!

10) **Maximer** (short videos): a series of short videos reversing the rhetoric on current events into commonsensical approaches. Instagram and Facebook.

Done!

11) **Street talkers / Gatupratrare:** brought art historical truisms, historical political catch-phrases (Left and Right) and non-sensical slogans in the previous electoral graphic identity layout (2018) of SD to the streets - using the well known 'Gatupratrare' street displays commonly used by small shops and real estate agents in Sweden.

Done!

---  
More works by TM in the KVADRENNALEN Calendar:

**Those that are here are from here - after Walter Swennen, Doormat**

**The Flag/Flaggan 2022-26** interactive work that asked the public to vote on a new flag befitting Sweden after the 2022 election. Top votes were for a *Brown-coloured* flag only.  
@ Retorikkabinett, Färgfabriken  
03.03-27.03.2022

**180 seconds to remember**, every 24th of the month. 24.04-24.08.2022 (continued after KVADRENNALEN ended)

**Untitled** (2020), video. Available online on the commemoration of George Floyd. 25-26.05.2022



# PRAKTISK POLITIK

# ÄR KONSTEN

# ATT IGNORERA

**Thierry Mortier**

Street talkers on the loose /  
Gatupratere på fri fot

- Färgfabriken surroundings, 17.02-27.03.2022
- Culture night Stockholm, 23.04.2022
- Härnösand, 19.05.2022

After Henry Adams, US, 1838-1918

#DES2022

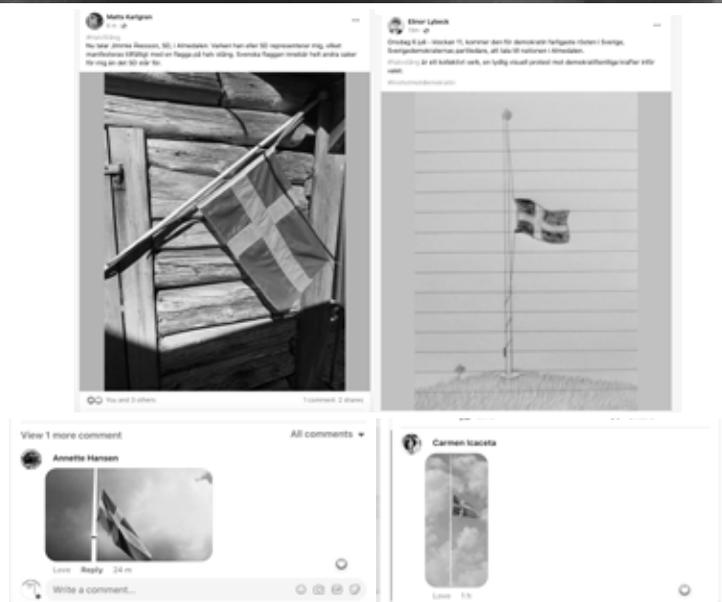
# FAKTA



TM  
Half Mast / Halv-Stång,  
collective art piece

online and @ Galleri Zorn  
Stockholm

06.07.2022





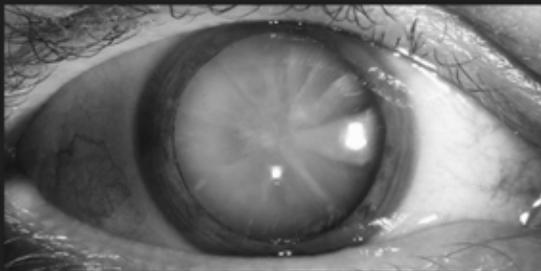
er på vaccinerin  
ag kan många bar  
giftspruta mot covid  
lag har gjort min de

# Populism ökar risken för polarisering

Sluta-Dålig-Politik-Linjen:

011-09 20 22

[www.slutadåligpolitik.se](http://www.slutadåligpolitik.se)



# Populism ökar risken för blindhet

Sluta-Dålig-Politik-Linjen:

011-09 20 22

[www.slutadåligpolitik.se](http://www.slutadåligpolitik.se)



# Populism orsaker yttrandefrihetcancer

Sluta-Dålig-Politik-Linjen:

POPULISM DÖDAR DEMOKRATIN

Populism ökar risken för blindhet

POPULISM SKADAR JÄMSTÄLLDHETEN

Populism ger förträngningar i allemansrätten

Populism skadar dina barn, din familj och dina vänner

Populism orsaker yttrandefrihetcancer

Populism minskar den allmänna toleransen

Populism orsaker ekonomisk kollaps

Demokratihälsövern  
Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet  
Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet  
Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet

Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet  
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Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet  
Demokrati- och yttrandefrihet



TM  
Democracy Health Warnings /  
Demokratihälsövern

online  
14.07-01.09.2022

@ Galleri Zorn, Stockholm  
08-31.07.2022



**Title:**  
"Shoot to kill", Edda Rusch

**Synopsis:**  
Edda Rusch stated the question whether the police should have shot to kill in connection with the riots in several cities during the Easter weekend. "We have at least 1000 injured police officers and the big question that should be asked is 'Why don't we have at least 1000 injured liberals, 1000 injured criminals, 1000 injured immigrants?'"

**Party:**  
KD  
**Date:**  
APR 23 2022



**Title:**  
"Sweden is full", Jennie Åkesson

**Synopsis:**  
When non-essential travel had already been discouraged due to the raging Corona crisis, Jennie Åkesson decided to skip his meeting in Parliament about migration policy to travel to the Greek-Turkish border and distribute flyers to refugees gathered at the border. The flyer stated, among other things, that "Sweden is full" and was signed "The Swedish people and the Swedish Democrats". Åkesson was arrested by Turkish police and deported back to Sweden.

**Party:**  
SD  
**Date:**  
MAR 6 2020



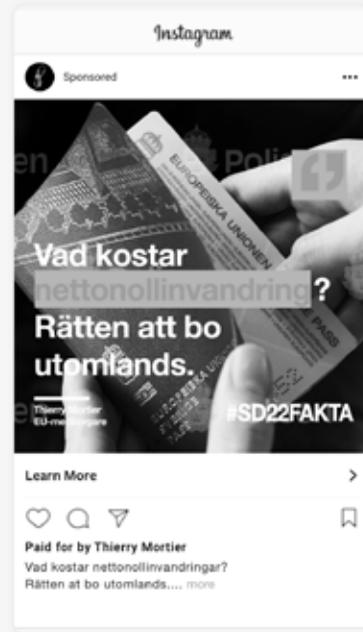
**Title:**  
"Promises, promises", Ulf Kristersson

**Synopsis:**  
"He stated that he will never, ever agree to any collaboration with SIP" said the 91-year-old Holocaust survivor Håkan Fried in an interview with SVD after meeting with M party leader Ulf Kristersson in June 2021. In 2019 Kristersson already started backing off from that promise until he broke it, very publicly in August 2020 when he told SVT that he was willing to work with the Sweden Democrats to bring about a conservative "loggerly" government.

**Party:**  
M  
**Date:**  
JUNE 2021 - DEC 2021 - SEPT 2022

TM  
THE MOST PROVOCATIVE POLITICAL  
PERFORMANCE AWARD 2022

online voting from  
17.08-04.09.2022



TM  
Net zero immigration /  
Nettonollinvandring  
Mini Facebook ART ADS exhibition

Top left ENG:  
What is the cost of net zero immigration?  
Four children per Swedish-born woman.

Top right ENG:  
What is the cost of net zero immigration?  
The right to live abroad.

Bottom right ENG:  
What is the cost of net zero immigration?  
The right to a pension.

30.08-11.09.2022



Ads Thierry Mortier (27147612) Updated just now

Search and filter This month

**Campaigns** 1 selected **Ad sets for 1 Campaign** **Ads**

**+ Create** **View Setup** **Columns: Performance** **Breakdown**

Off/On	Ad	Results	Reach	Impressions	Cost per result
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pension	9,719	9,719	12,713	kr23.22
		Per 1,000 people reached			
<input type="checkbox"/>	Utomland	2,067	2,067	2,366	kr18.86
		Per 1,000 people reached			
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barn	17,809	17,809	28,686	kr26.90
		Per 1,000 people reached			
<b>Results from 3 ads</b>		<b>24,817</b>	<b>24,817</b>	<b>43,765</b>	<b>kr29.97</b>
		Per 1,000 people reached			



Terror is a white man's game,



These violators of domestication have made you believe that rising up is the real crime.

TM  
Untitlement (video)  
G. Floyd commemoration (25.5.2020)  
Online

25-26.05.2022

TM  
Maximer (online videos)

Maxim #1 Sweden does not need a new cultural policy. Sweden needs a new political culture. 17.04.2022

Maxim #2 When Freedom of Expression puts on a helmet, it becomes Freedom of Oppression. 23.04.2022

Maxim #3 When you repeat history, history repeats itself. 22.07.2022



SVERIGE  
BEHÖVER  
INGEN NY  
KULTUR-  
POLITIK.  
  
SWEDEN DOES NOT NEED  
A NEW CULTURAL POLICY

SVERIGE  
BEHÖVER  
EN NY  
POLITISK  
KULTUR.  
  
SWEDEN NEEDS A NEW  
POLITICAL CULTURE

UTMANANDE  
CHALLENGING



Carolina Falkholt

PROVOKATIV  
PROVOCATIVE



From EHA MEDIA ©

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

Art action:

Put up the volume of your phone. Set an alarm at a certain time. When the alarm starts, ignore it. Go about your business as if you cannot hear it. Ignore it while having conversations, while attending speeches, in meetings, while talking a walk with friends,...

Where: wherever

When: whenever

Who/How many: one to many

Risk: n/a

Cost: n/a

Impact: Give an audible and visible form to threats the free arts are facing in Sweden today AND to the fact that it is blatantly being ignored.

- courtesy of the #KONSTLARM ART ACTION GROUP that came up with the action on 23.6.2022 and executed it immediately at Riksdagen, Drottninggatan and Sergels Torg, 18:00-19:00. The #KONSTLARM ART ACTION GROUP that day consisted of Johan Blomberg, Peter Mills, Lies Lecompte and Thierry Mortier

—#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN—

is a leaderless art resistance movement, where

**EVERY WEEK ARTISTS GET TOGETHER IN PUBLIC TO EXECUTE ART ACTIONS.**

Actions can be decided on the spot

and/or can be proposed, decided on beforehand.

Anyone can propose #KONSTLARM art actions:

copy the template (including this information text)

fill in your art action details and

post it on your instagram account

with the hashtags #KONSTLARM, #KVADRENNALEN and tag @KVADRENNALEN.

Anyone can execute #KONSTLARM art actions

on their own account and responsibility.

The proposed and executed art actions are the responsibility

of resp. the creators and executors.

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

Art action:

When the campaign booths (Valstugor) appear on the public squares, set up a table next to the booths and play chess, dice, risk...  
Wear a clown's nose while playing.

Where: any public square where campaign booths are set up

When: whenever the campaign booths are there

Who/How many: min. 2

Risk: ??

Cost: clowns noses, chess board

Impact: create a real life visual metaphor

- courtesy of Anna Koch/Lies Lecompte/Thierry Mortier

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

Art action:

Create demonstration banners. Find the busiest pedestrian crossings in the area. Wait at the crossing with a group of people armed with banners. When the light hits green, walk in front and on the side of the crowd, creating the illusion that a massive demonstration is going on.

Where: at busy pedestrian crossings, area's

When: whenever

Who/How many: a small group of people that frames the crowd with signs

Risk: n/a

Cost: n/a

Impact: Appropriate the crowd.

- courtesy of Conny Elon, who recalled a similar action in Russia somewhere in the 90's

TM

#Art Alarm /  
#Konstlarm actions,  
instruction pieces

18.06-11.09.2022

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

## Art action:

Go to a publicly held political speech. Go early.  
Occupy all the front row. When the speaker starts the speech:  
stand up and turn your back to the stage for the entire duration of  
the speech.

**Where:** at public rallies e.g. Almedalen**When:** during public rallies e.g. Almedalen**Who/How many:** many! Minimum 2 front row, as many as possible!**Risk:** participants can get fined for disturbance of the peace.**Cost:** n/a**Impact:** give a physical form to 'free expression that is being blocked, censored, limited, ...'

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

## Art action:

Go to a publicly held political speech. Go with many. Bring hand bells,  
whistles, smartphones, ... anything that can dominate the sound.  
Scatter in the crowd. Whenever the speaker speaks, sound your hand bell,  
whistle, phone alarm. Take turns.

**Where:** at public rallies e.g. Almedalen**When:** during public rallies e.g. Almedalen**Who/How many:** one to many! (preferably many!)**Risk:** participants can get fined for disturbance of the peace.**Cost:** n/a**Impact:** give a physical form to 'free expression that is being blocked, censored, limited, ...'

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

## Art action:

Photobomb messages. Have your picture taken standing next to a  
political representative. Pull up a sign stating "Beware of/!ay contain  
!Fill in yourself" e.g. "Beware of dangerous ideology",  
"!May contain lies for personal gain", ...

**Where:** wherever political representatives are found, post online**When:** whenever the opportunity presents itself**Who/How many:** anyone**Risk:** n/a**Cost:** n/a**Impact:** bring social media comments, tags into real life and empower your  
voice for all to see

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

## Art action:

Approach election posters as the first layer for a palimpsest work,  
- a layered work where every layer is superimposed on the previous.  
Replace the enforced monologue.  
Install an open-to-all participatory dialogue.

**Where:** anywhere election posters are found**When:** whenever election posters are up**Who/How many:** 1 to very many**Risk:** Vandalism chargesThe Swedish Vandalism Support Fund : <https://klotterfondense/>**Cost:** ?**Impact:** transform one-directional messages from politicians to the public  
into two-directional messages allowing the public to respond to campaign  
messages

#KONSTLARM @KVADRENNALEN

## Art action:

Re-enact Koki Tanaka's painting to the public (open-air), 2012,  
by organising **A PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION WHERE ARTISTS  
BRING THEIR ART AS DEMONSTRATION SIGNS.**

Open it up to all art forms including dance, theatre, word, film, visual,...

If the art work itself cannot be carried, reproduce it on a sign.

**Where:** anywhere in Sweden**When:** before the election on Sept. 11th, 2022**Who/How many:** as many as possible!**Risk:** Everyone is free to mount a demonstration in Sweden.**Cost:** n/a**Impact:** bring a visual of art and artists' work to the general public out-  
side of the art gallery. Show the general public how many and diverse the  
Swedish art scene is.



Kris, Kraft och Kultur,  
Conference + art & music evening  
North Cultitude 6263 and KKV Härnösand  
Härnösand

19.05.2022

**Kris Kraft och Kultur "Närvarohälsa"**  
 19 Maj 18:00 - 18:30 Samtalsdebatt: Närvarohälsa för äldre  
 Annelie Lind | NORDTING | Armand Sveen  
 Julia Nilsson | NACK | Gröndal  
 Konstnärens Riksgesp. | Jan Brunberg  
 Clara Boden | Regissör | Ida Böden | Konstnär  
 Kvadrenalen | Thierry Mortier  
 Therese Bengard | Hela Sverige ska leva  
 Mats Jonsson | Särskilt barn

- 18:00 - 18:30 Presentation and introduction  
 Andreas @BrundNord North Cultitude IQG3  
 Soffian Westlund Härnösands Kollektiva konstnärsvardnad
- 18:30 - 19:00 Jan Brunberg Konstnärens Riksgespensalen  
 19:00 - 19:15 Paus  
 19:15 - 19:30 Therese Bengard Hela Sverige ska leva  
 19:30 - 19:45 Ida Böden "Den oförgörbara samspelet"  
 19:45 - 20:00 Lunch  
 20:00 - 20:30 "Tung Årtider" Konstnär: Mats Jonsson "År 10 Årtider"  
 20:30 - 20:45 Armand Sveen "Trän upp till världskultursfestivalen"  
 20:45 - 21:00 Paus  
 21:00 - 21:45 Annelie Lind "En annan perspektiv" ledare för Nordtiding Kulturhögskola i Husk, Grönönd  
 21:45 - 22:00 Clara Boden "Stämning"  
 22:00 - 22:30 Armand Sveen "NORDTING"  
 22:30 - 23:00 PANELDEBATT
- Moderator Linda Nordlander Friis



**Anna Koch**

@ "I Rörelse", Nääs konsthantverk,  
Nääs

21.05–26.06.2022

Photo: Anna Koch



## LEVANDE MUSIK

ENSEMBLE, one-day festival  
@ Röda Sten, Göteborg

Ida Lundén and Johanna Mårtensson  
with Anna Koch, "VEV".

Nina de Heney, living sound sculpture with  
10 Double Bassists, "2".

Double Bassists: Eva Kruse, Elinore Morris,  
Boel Mogensen, Yashuhito Mori, Donovan van  
Martens, Jonas Nilsson, Alfred Lorinius,  
Olli Rantala, Kjell Jansson and Nina de  
Heney

John Chantler, sound installation, "No Such  
Array".

28.05.2022





## **Agnes Kofoed Christianson**

Agnes Kofoed Christianson (SE) + Jesper Nordberg (SE) + Matthías Ingiberg Sigurðsson (IS) & Zouhair Shlaiba (IQ/DK)  
@ Byens Hus/Den Gamle Byrådssal, Roskilde, DK  
29.05.2022

Agnes Kofoed Christianson + Jesper Nordberg + Matthías Ingiberg Sigurðsson  
@ Galleri Rostrum, Malmö SE  
30.05.2022

Agnes Kofoed Christianson + Jesper Nordberg + Matthías Ingiberg Sigurðsson  
@ Koncertkirken, Copenhagen, DK  
01.06.2022

Photo: Christer Männikus



## Tiny Festival #5

Performance festival  
Tiny Festival Producers  
@ Atalante, Göteborg

### Artists:

Bronja Novak  
Katarina Eriksson  
Carolina Falkholt  
Josefine Cederwall  
Stollar som bollar  
David Sabel  
Virgil Dejarv  
Irina Novikova  
Denis Romanovski  
Joakim Stampe  
Chuyia Chia  
Ido Grinberg  
Annikki Wahlöö  
Benedikte Esperri  
Cia Runesson

04.06.2022

Photos: Benedikte Esperri



Bronja Novak



Carolina Falkholt



Chuyia Chia



## Slipvillan

De Aningslösa, exhibition

Artists:

Mia Andréé, Jannike Brantås, Galina Davydtchenko, Laetitia Deschamps, Rikard Fåhraeus, Vanja Gyllensköld, Emma Göransson, Sanna Sevika Hansson, Mats Landström, Helena Norell, Hans Overvliet, Malin Peter, Ljubomir Popovic, Masoud Shahsavari, Jesper Thour, Tuva Widen  
@ Slipvillan, Stockholm

04-19.06.2022

Artist talks:

05.06.2022

Emma Göransson

Hans Overvliet & Willy Van Houtum

Vanja Gyllensköld

11.06.2022

Sanna Sevika Hansson

Ljubomir Popovic

18.06.2022

Galina Davydtchenko

Rikard Fåhraeus & Laetitia Deschamps



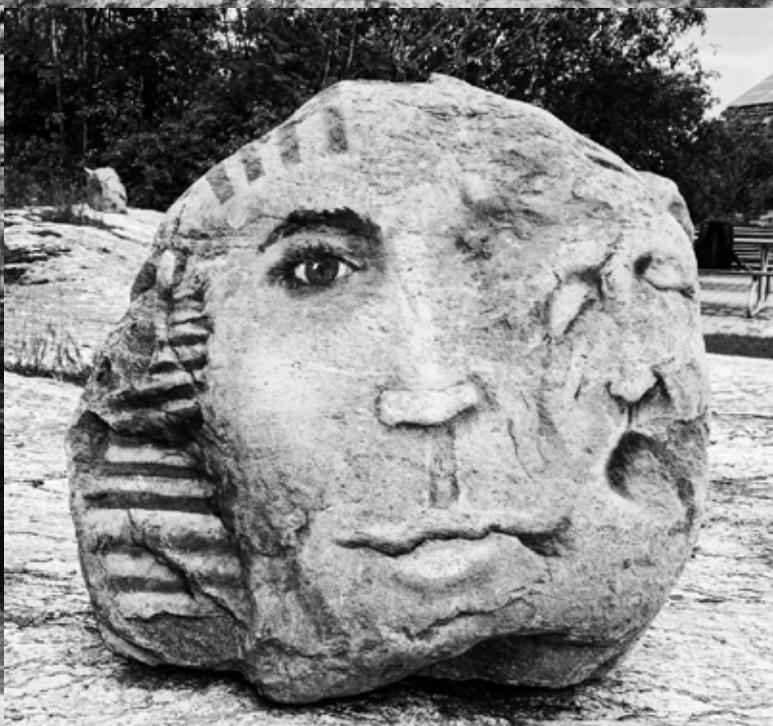
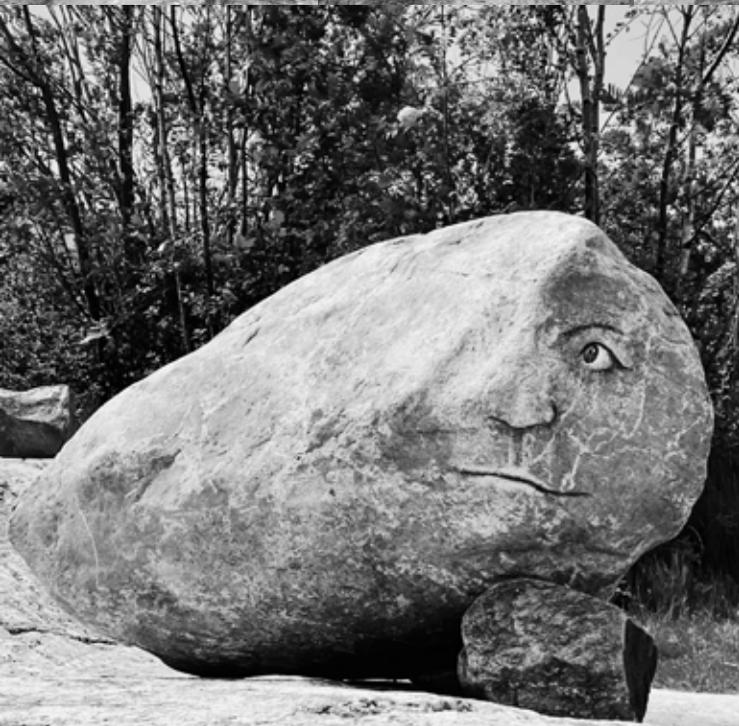


M.O. 260/356

**Joakim Stampe**  
@ Rävstenvägen, Donsö

16.06.2022

Photos: Joakim Stampe



M.O. 261/356

**Chihiro Nodera and  
Lisa Holmgren,**  
Filtrering,  
Drottningtorget,  
Göteborg

18.06.2022

Photos: Chihiro Nodera  
and Lisa Holmgren

7: SUCCESS



**#KONSTLARM (ART ALARM),**  
Open instruction/invitation to all artists across Sweden.

On Saturday 18th of June, Peter Mills organised A General Assembly at Weld, Sthlm. #KONSTLARM was the first proposal to come out of that meeting: Proposal 1 – meet in public once a week until the election and perform an (art) action together.

The first ACTION happened on the 23rd of June at 1800 in front of the Swedish Parliament. The action was decided on collectively on the spot and repeated on a weekly basis.

23.06–11.09.2022



DATE  
Jun 23 2022 - Sep 11 2022  
Ongoing



HELENA LAUKKANEN OCH GERD AURELL,  
Vi ses 9.30  
@ **NOT QUITE**, Fengersfors

02.07–11.09.2022

Photos: Helena Laukkanen and Gerd Aurell



**LEVANDE MUSIK**

CONCERT FOR UKRAINA, Håverud 13.07.2022

Photo exhibition: Alexander Chekmenev.

Music program artists:

Khrystyna Pukhalska, Goran Kajfes, Ivo Nilsson, Sören Hermansson, Anders Nyqvist, Ganna Nuhza, Mette Rasmussen, Mats Gustafsson, Jonny Axelsson, Anna Korsun, Anna Lindal, Claire Nyqvist, Torbjörn Näsborn, Elsbeth Bergh, Kristina Lindgård, Jonas Nilsson, Ganna Nuzha and Sara Sjö Dahl.

**LEVANDE MUSIK**

Kontinent Dalsland, Festival för Aktuell Musik, Håverud 14–17.07.2022

Artists: Torgeir Vassvik, Mats Gustafsson, Mona Monasar, Avin Omar, Torbjörn Näsborn, Anders Nyqvist, Sören Hermansson, John Chantler, Mette Rasmussen, Goran Kajfeš, Khrystyna Pukhalska, Polina Pohozha, Anna Korsun, Anna Lindal, Eva Lindal, Elsbeth Bergh, My Hellgren, Jonas Nilsson, Erwan Keravec, Christer Bothén, Mats Gustafsson, Johan Berthling, Andreas Werlin Feat. Mariam Wallentin, Rosali Grankull, Helena Persson, Alessandro Perini, Yaron Deutsch, Jonny Axelsson, Ivo Nilsson, Maryam Javidmehr, Lena Nowak, Hedvig Mollestad, Ebo Krđum trio.





Photo's by Mikael Keysendal

## MANNAMINNE 6263 ART & Music Festival

### Artists:

Kristian Blak (Yggdrasil Färöarna), HOVEN DROVEN, Ulrika Bodén, Frode Thorjussen, NYLANDS JÄRN, Charlotta Kerbs, Anna Kråik, Jens Comén, Amrat Hussain Brothers, HÄRNÖSANDS SLAGVERKSENSEMBLE med Johan Eriksson, AIRBORN Nordic Folktronica, Martin Palmer, Michele Uccheddu, Göran Månsson, Opera med Härnösands Fhsk, ARKADIA, Jan Stenmark, Erik "Dirty Elmo" Lindström, Eva Skåreus, Leif Wikberg/Elin Holmberg, Staffan Westerlund, Emil Österholm, Jonna Grimstoft, Björn Eriksson m.fl, Björn Gimstedt, Sandra Mozard, Andreas Brännlund.

Nordingrå 21-22.07.2022

Photos: Andreas Brännlund



Björn Gimstedt

# FESTIVAL

## ART & MUSIC 6263

### MANNAMINNE 21 - 22 Juli



Musik • Konst • Magi • Opera • Folk • Slagverk  
Jazz • Indiskt • Keramik- • Big Skirt performance



Jan Stenmark



Staffan Westerlund



Earliest day to set up  
Election Campaign Booths  
and hang up Election  
Campaign Posters

07.08.2022



Election poster graffiti can  
lead to harsh penalties - you  
could go to prison





Photos: Juanma González

**Maria Nordsø Lundberg, Roman Gens and Juanma González,**  
The voice of a tree,  
@ ANTENN ljudkonstfestival, Gnesta

27.08.2022

### **KVADRENNALEN VISITS: Art tours in the Parliament.**

There are around 4,000 works of art in the Parliament building. For an hour and a half, one can take a tour of the paintings, sculptures, drawings and textiles. "From mid-September to June, when Parliament is in session, art is on display in the Parliament Building on Mondays at 18.00. The art exhibitions do not need to be booked in advance and are free of charge. There are 28 places available for each exhibition tour." – from the Riksdagen website

Photos: TM



Öppna Dörrar,  
**Konstfrämjandet Uppland,**  
Uppsala.

Artists:

Åsa Cederqvist,  
Eva Högberg,  
Sara Kallioinen Lundgren,  
Jonas Kjellgren,  
Éva Mag,  
Anders Rönnlund,  
Tobias Sjöberg,  
Elin Sundström,  
Nina Svensson,  
Johan Thurfjell

Curator: Johanna Uddén  
co-curator: Eva Björkman

27.08–11.09.2022



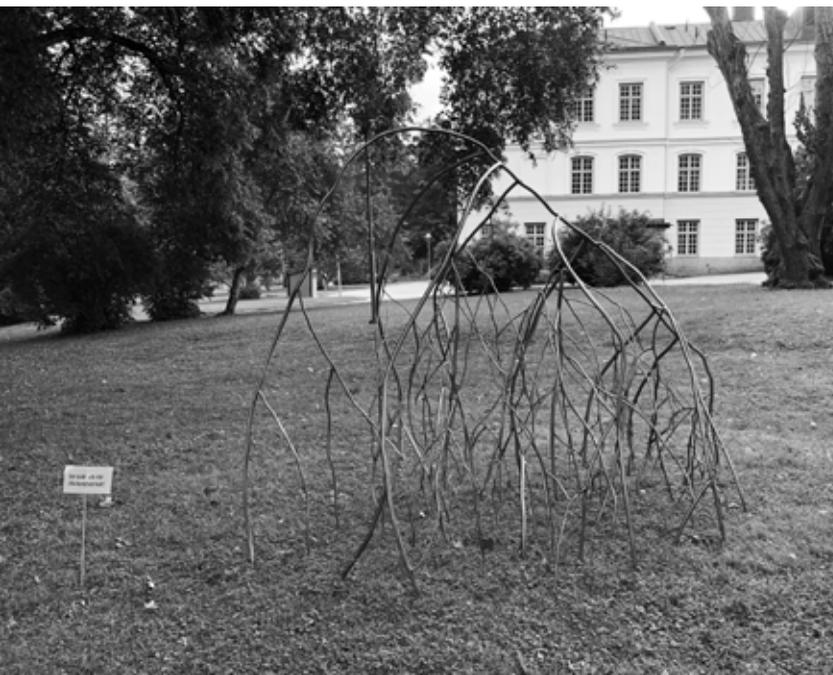


Jonas Kjellgren

Éva Mag



Eva Högberg





Sara Kallioinen Lundgren



Nina Svensson

Elin Sundström



Öppna Dörrar,  
Konstfrämjandet Uppland,  
Uppsala.

27.08–11.09.2022



What is this place?

Roula Samiotaki

Roula Samiotaki  
What Is This Place?

Online video.



## 7: SUCCESS



In an act of weaving festival,  
Coordinator, initiator, choreographer:

**Nefeli Oikonomou**

Participating artists:

Marcus Baldemar

Paloma Madrid (in collaboration with  
Hara Alonso and Sarasvati Shrestha)

Sandy Ceesay

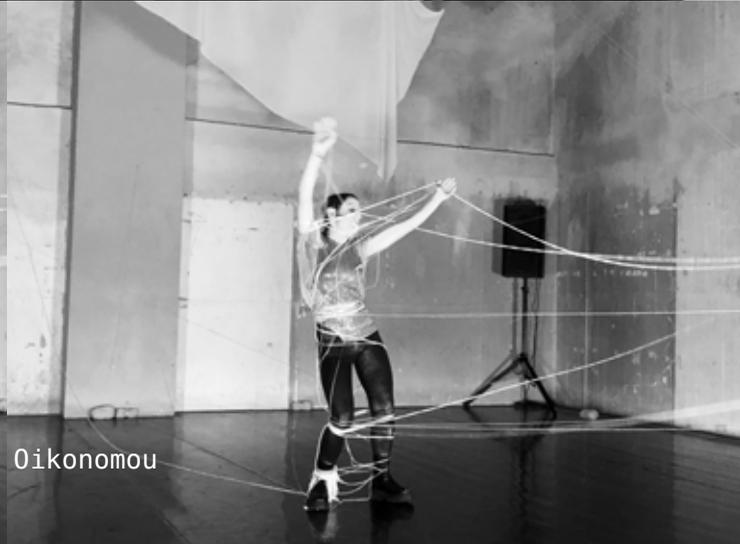
Sebastian Lingserius

Nefeli Oikonomou

Workshop: Ludmila Christeseva,

Weld, Stockholm

02.09–11.09.2022



Nefeli Oikonomou



Photos: Sverigeakrobaterna



Sverigeakrobaterna,  
Valstuga,  
KonstrumNU!,  
Göteborg  
03-04.09.2022



## SVERIGEAKROBATERNAS VALGUIDE FÖR FÖRSTAGÅNGSVÄLJARE

Stort grattis till dig som får vara med och bestämma för första gången. I år kan du välja mellan olika nyanser av

**Weld**

Finissage of the manifesto art project with an 'election day' walk from Weld's premises to The Branting Monument in the centre of Stockholm – carrying all 12 artistic manifestos through town. In the evening there was an election vigil at Weld.

11.09.2022









ELECTION DAY  
11.09.2022



Election vigil  
@ Weld  
11.09.2022

Parti	Procent
S	29.3%
M	20.5%
V	16.8%
C	7.0%
D	7.7%
K	5.6%
O	5.2%
F	4.7%

Örhört jämnt mellan blocken

## Artists:

Adriana Jardim Mayr (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Afrang Nordlöf Malekian (Weld)  
 Agnes Kofoed Christianson  
 AIRBORN Nordic Folktronica (MANNAMINNE)  
 Alessandro Perini (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Alevtina Kakhidze (UA)(BKN)  
 Alexander Chekmenev (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Alexandra Kostrubala  
 Alfred Lorinius (Nina De Heney)  
 Alice Creischer (signal)  
 Amrat Hussain Brothers (MANNAMINNE)  
 Ana Maria Almada De Alvarez (SE/AR)  
 Anders Nyqvist (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Anders Rönnlund (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)  
 Andrea Diaz Ghiretti (SE/PE)  
 Andreas Brännlund (MANNAMINNE)  
 Andreas Werlin Feat. Mariam Wal-lentin (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Anna Koch  
 Anna Korsun (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Anna Kråik (MANNAMINNE)  
 Anna Lindal (KHIMAIRA, LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Anna Pehrsson (Weld)  
 Anna Wallander (BKN)  
 Anna Öberg  
 Anna-Lena Moberg (BKN)  
 Anna-Viola Hallberg  
 Annika Schuh (BKN)  
 Annikki Wahlöö (Tiny Festival)  
 ARKADIA (MANNAMINNE)  
 Avin Omar (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Aäron Willem (BE)  
 Balovin&Beccato (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Balsam Karam (Weld)  
 Barbara Crescimanno (Weld)  
 Beatrice Alvestad Lopez (BKN)  
 Belinda Morén (Candyland)  
 Ben Benaouisse (BE)  
 Benedikte Esperri  
 Beth Laurin (Weld)  
 Björn Eriksson m.fl (MANNAMINNE)  
 Björn Gimstedt (MANNAMINNE)  
 Boel Mogensen (Nina De Heney)  
 Brandon Lopez (Agnes Kofoed Christianson)  
 Bronja Novak (Tiny Festival)  
 Caio Marques (Weld)  
 Carolina Falkholt (Tiny Festival)  
 Charlotta Kerbs (MANNAMINNE)  
 Charlotte Riessen  
 Chihiro Nodera  
 Christer Bothén (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Christina Isinger (Candyland)  
 Chun Lee Wang Gurt  
 Chuyia Chia (Tiny Festival)  
 Cia Runesson (Tiny Festival)  
 Claire Nyqvist (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Colby Smith (BKN)  
 Conny Blom  
 Daisuke Takeya (Candyland)  
 Daniel Hadziegric  
 Daniela Hedman  
 Danny Reveco (Candyland)  
 David Sabel (Tiny Festival)  
 Denis Romanovski (Tiny Festival)  
 DJ Fiedel (Weld)  
 Donovan van Martens (Nina De Heney)  
 Edka Jarzab (PL)(BKN)  
 Efva Lilja  
 Egill Sæbjörnsson (KUMMELHOLMEN)  
 Elin Sundström (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)  
 Elinore Morris (Nina De Heney)  
 Ella Tillema  
 Ellen Arkbro (KHIMAIRA)  
 Elsbeth Bergh (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Emil Österholm (MANNAMINNE)  
 Emma Göransson (Slipvillan)  
 Erik "Dirty Elmo" Lindström (MANNAMINNE)  
 Ernest Bloch (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Erwan Keravec (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Eva Högberg (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)

Eva Ingemarsson (Atalante)  
 Eva Kitok  
 Eva Kruse (Nina De Heney)  
 Eva Lindal (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Éva Mag (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)  
 Eva Skåreus (MANNAMINNE)  
 Felicia Gränd  
 Freddy Soto (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Frédéric Gies (Weld)  
 Frida Orupabo (Weld)  
 Fritz Østeb (Detroit Stockholm)  
 Frode Thorjussen (MANNAMINNE)  
 Galina Davydtchenko (Slipvillan)  
 Ganna Nuhza (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Gerd Aurell (NOT QUITE)  
 Goran Kajfeš (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Grebnellaw (Candyland)  
 Gry Tingskog (Weld)  
 Gunilla Wiel-Svensson  
 Göran Månsson (MANNAMINNE)  
 Hanna Rajs Lara (Weld)  
 Hans Overvliet (Slipvillan)  
 Hara Alonso (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Hedvig Mollestad (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Helena Laukkanen (NOT QUITE)  
 Helena Norell (Slipvillan)  
 Helena Persson (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Helene Berg (KHIMAIRA)  
 Henrik Denerin (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Hinni Huttunen (Detroit Stockholm)  
 HOVEN DROVEN (MANNAMINNE)  
 Håkan Berthas (BKN)  
 HÄRNÖSANDS SLAGVERKSENSEMBLE med  
 Johan Eriksson (MANNAMINNE)  
 Ida Lundén (KHIMAIRA, LEVANDE  
 MUSIK)  
 Ido Grinberg (Tiny Festival)  
 Igor Grubić (Weld)  
 Ingo Reulecke (Räserbyrån)  
 Irina Novikova (Tiny Festival)  
 Isteván Molnár (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Ivo Nilsson (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Iza Tarasewicz (signal)  
 Jan Stenmark (MANNAMINNE)  
 Jannike Brantås (Slipvillan)  
 Jari Enqvist (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Jens Comén (MANNAMINNE)  
 Jesper Nordberg (Agnes Kofoed  
 Christianson)  
 Jesper Thour (Slipvillan)  
 Joakim Stampe  
 Joana Maria Pereira (PT)(BKN)  
 Jody Wood (US)  
 Johan Arrias (KHIMAIRA)  
 Johan Berthling (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Johan Blomberg (#Konstlarm)  
 Johan Jönsson (KHIMAIRA)  
 Johan Lundin  
 Johan Thurffjell (Weld, Konstfräm-  
 jandet Uppland)  
 Johanna Mårtensson (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 John Chantler (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Jonas Johansson  
 Jonas Kjellgren (Konstfrämjandet  
 Uppland)  
 Jonas Nilsson (LEVANDE MUSIK, Nina  
 De Heney)  
 Jonas Vansteenkiste (BE)  
 Jonna Grimstoft (MANNAMINNE)  
 Jonny Axelsson (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 José Figueroa (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Josefine Cederwall (Tiny Festival)  
 Juanma González (SE/ES)  
 Juliette Veckens (BKN),  
 Karin Hellqvist (KHIMAIRA)  
 Karin Häll  
 Katarina Eriksson (Räserbyrån)  
 Katarina Eriksson (Tiny Festival)  
 Katarzyna Pagowska (PL)  
 Katt Hernandez (KHIMAIRA)  
 Khrystyna Pukhalska (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Kjell Jansson (Nina De Heney)  
 Kristian Blak (Yggdrasil Färöarna)  
 (MANNAMINNE)  
 Kristina Lindgård (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Laetitia Deschamps (Slipvillan)  
 Lavinia Chianello  
 Leif Wikberg/Elin Holmberg (MAN-  
 NAMINNE)  
 Leira Lauberg (DUO CONTRADICTION)  
 Lena Nowak (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Lies Lecompte (SE/BE)(#Konstlarm)

Lina Hagelbäck (Candyland)  
 Lisa Grip (Weld)  
 Lisa Holmgren  
 Ljubomir Popovic (Slipvillan)  
 Lola Muñoz (BKN)  
 Lucas Brouwer (BKN)  
 Ludmila Christeseva (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Lukas Götham  
 Majulah Drammeh (Weld)  
 Malin Arnell (Weld)  
 Malin Neuman (Detroit Stockholm)  
 Malin Peter (Slipvillan)  
 Mani Dadgaranfar  
 Manuel Pelmuş (Weld)  
 Marcus Baldemar (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Mareike Lee (KHIMAIRA)  
 Maria Nordsø Lundberg (SE/DK)  
 Maria Safronova Wahlström (Candyland)  
 Marie Fahlin (Weld)  
 Mark Rautenbach (ZA) (BKN)  
 Martin Palmer (MANNAMINNE)  
 Maryam Javidmehr (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Masoud Shahsavari (Slipvillan)  
 Mats Gustafsson (KHIMAIRA, LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Mats Landström (Slipvillan)  
 Matthías Ingiberg Sigurðsson (Agnes Kofoed Christianson)  
 Mattias Bäcklin (Kulturskyddsföreningen, Candyland)  
 Mette Rasmussen (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Mia Andrée (Slipvillan)  
 Michele Uccheddu (MANNAMINNE)  
 Mindaugas Gapševičius (Candyland)  
 Mona Monasar (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 My Hellgren (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Natalia Drozd (SE/PL)  
 Nefeli Oikonomou (SE/GR)  
 Nikolina Mimi Ställborn  
 Nina Bondeson  
 Nina De Heney (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Nina Slejko Blom (SE/SI)  
 Nina Svensson (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)

Nino Mick (Weld)  
 Noemi Sjöberg  
 NYLANDS JÄRN (MANNAMINNE)  
 Ola Nilsson  
 Olli Rantala (Nina De Heney)  
 Oona Hyland (BKN)  
 Opera med Härnösands Fhsk (MANNAMINNE)  
 Paloma Madrid (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Patrik Qvist  
 Per Hüttner  
 Per Sacklén (Räserbyrån)  
 PETER Mills (SE/UK)  
 Polina Pohoza (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Raša Todosijević (Weld)  
 Rikard Fåhraeus (Slipvillan)  
 Roberto N Peyre (Weld)  
 Roman Gens (Maria Nordsø Lundberg)  
 Rosali Grankull (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Roula Samiotaki (SE/GR) (BKN)  
 Räserbyrån  
 Sam Eggermont (BE)  
 Sandra Lazzarini (Candyland)  
 Sandra Mozard (MANNAMINNE)  
 Sandy Ceesay (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Sanna Sevika Hansson (Slipvillan)  
 Sara Kallioinen Lundgren (Konstfrämjandet Uppland)  
 Sara Lundberg (Candyland)  
 Sarasvati Shrestha (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Sebastian Lingserius (Nefeli Oikonomou)  
 Shaya Khalil (Weld)  
 Simon Sjöström  
 Sofia Jernberg (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Sofia Stenström (KHIMAIRA)  
 Staffan Westerlund (MANNAMINNE)  
 Stella Kruusamägi (SE/EE)  
 Stollar som bollar (Tiny Festival)  
 Sverigeakrobaterna  
 Sören Hermansson (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Thierry Mortier (SE/BE)  
 Timo Menke (SE/DE)  
 Tina Willgren  
 Tobias Sjöberg (Konstfrämjandet)

Uppland)  
 Tomas Creus (BKN)  
 Torbjörn Johansson  
 Torbjörn Näsboom (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Tore Reisch (MANNAMINNE)  
 Torgeir Vassvik (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Tove Kjellmark  
 Tuva Widen (Slipvillan)  
 ulla-stina Landberg  
 Ulrika Bodén (MANNAMINNE)  
 Ulrika Sparre (Kulturskydds-  
 föreningen)  
 Vanja Gyllensköld (Slipvillan)  
 Virgil Dejarv (Tiny Festival)  
 Vlady (SE/IT)  
 Yaron Deutsch (LEVANDE MUSIK)  
 Yashuhito Mori (Nina De Heney)  
 Yi Wen Chen (BKN)  
 Ying Yan Lau (BKN)  
 Youlian Tabakov (DUO CONTRADIC-  
 TION)  
 Zoey Hart (US)(BKN)  
 Zouhair Shlaiba (Agnes Kofoed  
 Christianson)  
 Åsa Cederqvist (Konstfrämjandet  
 Uppland)  
 Åsa Öhrn  
 Øistein Sæthren Dahle (Candyland)  
 Örjan Wallert (Candyland)

KONSTEPIDEMIN  
 Konstfrämjandet Jämtland  
 Konstfrämjandet Uppland  
 Konsthall C  
 Kulturskyddsföreningen  
 KUMMELHOLMEN  
 LEVANDE MUSIK  
 NOT QUITE  
 Signal  
 SITE  
 Slipvillan  
 The Tiny Festival Producers  
 VISION FORUM  
 Weld

#### Art organisations:

Atalante  
 BKN / Björkökonstnod HYBRID  
 CAC Bukovje/Landskrona  
 CANDYLAND  
 Closet Gallery  
 Detroit Stockholm  
 DUO CONTRADICTION  
 FÄRGFABRIKEN  
 Flat Octopus  
 FYLKINGEN  
 GALLERI ZORN  
 GRAFIKENS HUS  
 IntraGalactic arts collective  
 KHIMAIRA

While KVADRENNALEN grew in events and artists/art organisations joined steadily, electoral campaigning took off and grew quickly in terms of intensity in 2022:

February 9th, all corona-regulations stopped applying in Sweden and two months later, in April 2022, the corona virus would no longer be classified as a public health emergency in Sweden. Without any more restrictions the political campaigning could take off.

Mid-February, the SD-lead city Sölvesborg hit the national news again, this time for throwing away both donated artworks and around 17,000 books from the municipal library without prior notice or the commonplace period where anyone could pick up the discarded books. The news first broke after art works were discovered in a dumpster by a local resident. And again, a week later, when the dumpster was found filled with books. The response from the municipal council and library first downplayed it to a commonplace refreshing of the book collection with only a thousand books until local journalists started digging and discovered it was a bigger cleansing.

17.000  
library books  
discarded in  
Sölvesborg



On February 24th, Russia invaded Ukraine, with global ramifications that would last for years. The inflation rate in Sweden rose from 5 to over 11% in 2022 as a direct result of the ongoing war, deepening the economic distress even more. And, after years of maintaining a neutral position, Sweden applied for NATO membership in May 2022, together with Finland - a membership application that would not be without its controversies.

On April 1st, Ebba Busch (KD) proposed to lower the price of diesel by 10kr and gasoline by 5kr and go against EU laws. SD would follow suit very quickly and promised even bigger cuts on fossil fuels. The winning election promises started appearing. The fact that the promises would go against EU laws was seen as a bonus by nationalist voters.

A week later, Nyamko Sabuni would step down as party leader of the Liberal party (L) after a misplaced statement on national TV implying that she would flee the country in the hypothetical situation that the war would hit Sweden. Her successor Johan Pehrson and the Liberal party would become instrumental in the government formation later on.



The political game changer, on many levels, came on the weekend of April 15-17th, when Rasmus Paludan, leader of the *Danish* far-right party Stram Kurs, started his Swedish tour of Koran burnings.

Already convicted twice (2019/2020) in Denmark for "incitement to racial hatred", having dual Danish/Swedish nationality, Paludan decided to enter the Swedish election with his extreme-right anti-Islamic party and campaign with his signature Koran burnings invoking the Swedish sacrosanct right to freedom of expression.

Following the burnings, riots broke out in Linköping, Norrköping, Örebro, Stockholm and Malmö. Police cars and other vehicles were set on fire, stones were thrown and over 300 police officers were injured in what became known as the Easter-riots.

Svenska Dagbladet Nyheter Näringsliv Kultur Ledare Debatt eSvD

Påskkravallerna

## Polisbilar sattes i brand – minst tio poliser skadade



En polisbuss som sattes i brand och vandaliseras av motdemonstranter vid Svosparken i Örebro. Foto: Pavel Koubek/TT

En polisbil har kapats av motdemonstranter under våldsamheterna i Örebro, enligt [NA](#). Minst tio poliser har skadats i upploppen mot högerextrema Stram kurs. "Jag uppmanar alla till lugn", säger inrikesminister Morgan Johansson (S).

Tomas Augustsson, Erik Nilsson  
Uppdaterad 2022-04-15  
Publicerad 2022-04-15

Remarkably, Paludan only burned books in places with predominantly muslim residents, never in predominantly wealthy, christian areas. Not all communities responded violently to Paludan's provocations: in one of the communities a christian priest decided to sound the church bell during Paludan's speech, making him completely inaudible to the public and ridiculing the political spectacle that was supposed to unfold.

Police cars set on fire – at least ten police officers injured  
A police car has been hijacked by counter-demonstrators during the violence in Örebro, according to NA. At least ten police officers have been injured in the riots against the far-right Stram kurs. "I urge everyone to remain calm," says Interior Minister Morgan Johansson (S).



On July 6th, the national psychiatry coordinator at the Swedish Municipalities and Regions organisation, Ing-Marie Wieselgren, was stabbed to death during the Almedalen week on Gotland by Theodor Engström, who turned out to have links to the neo-Nazi organisation NMR. Engström was charged and convicted of both murder and the crime of preparing a terrorist offence, as he planned to murder the leader of the Centre Party, Annie Lööf, also present at Almedalen. He was sentenced to forensic psychiatric care because he was mentally ill at the time of the murder.

Throughout the year SD hit the general public with increasingly more controversial parliamentary motions and campaign tactics. A selection of their most inspired actions: SD motioned to deport entire families if a family member commits a crime, as well as deport people for an "anti-social lifestyle". They proposed to close down the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg and the UngaKlara theatre in Stockholm, but make major investments in Skansen, the Swedish history, culture and nature museum. Unsurprisingly, SD stated it wanted a Swedish culture canon created. They were reported to have paid a troll army to spread hatred against Annie Lööf, who was one of Engström's targets at Almedalen. SD's attempt to exonerate itself from its Nazi history backfired when Martin Kinnunen (SD) appointed a former SD member as an impartial, non-political author of their white book but was found out. In another motion, the Sweden Democrats wanted to introduce a new form of community service that could also be given to children, from nine years old onwards, a "shameful" community service, e.g. cleaning residential areas. More culture-oriented motions were formulated to remove all state subsidies for culture:

*"When it comes to adult citizens, you simply have to produce art that can live on without tax funding, you simply have to produce things that people are willing to pay to see or buy."* as well as for public service: *"The state should not force its population to pay for things unnecessarily. Already today, a wide variety of news, entertainment and educational programmes are available to the public through internet-based services. By all accounts, public service broadcasting does not play a significant role in this respect."*

- Ta bort statliga subventioner på vuxenkultur. Kulturen mår bättre av att vara självfinansierad och så fri som möjligt från politisk styrning menar motionären, "när det gäller vuxna medborgare så får man helt enkelt finna sig i att producera konst som går att leva på utan skattefinansiering, man får helt enkelt producera sånt som folk är beredda att betala för att se eller köpa".

- Statliga finansieringen av public service bör upphöra "Staten inte ska tvinga sin befolkning att betala för saker i onödan. Redan i dag finns det en stor mångfald av nyheter, underhållning och utbildande program tillgängliga för allmänheten genom internetbaserade tjänster. Av allt att döma fyller public service inte någon väsentlig roll i det här avseendet."

## Theodor Engström döms för mord – och terrorbrott mot Annie Lööf

Annie Lööf: "En lättnad när domen kom"



Adam Westin

Publicerad 2022-12-06

+ Följ Meja

Delas Spara

Theodor Engström, 33, döms till rättspsykiatrisk vård. Tingsrätten anser inte är att mordet på Ing-Marie Wieselgren var ett terrorbrott.

Det bedöms däremot mordförberedelserna mot Annie Lööf vara.

"Ett attentat mot Annie Lööf hade fått stora konsekvenser för samhället", skriver rätten.



Theodor Engström i samband med huvudförhandlingen.

1 / 2

Foto: Tim Aro/TT

Engström convicted for murder – and terror offences against Annie Lööf

But, the most successful in terms of electoral campaign impact was the Victory train, called the Repatriation train by the SD-top. SD bought the entire outside and inside surface of a subway train in Stockholm and turned it into an SD Victory train. When the train started running on August 16th, top SD Tobias Andersson tweeted "Welcome to the Repatriation train. You get a one-way ticket. Next stop, Kabul!". The news cycle that ensued lasted the remaining weeks to election day.

Drivers have felt threatened on the victory train – SD responds to criticism: we want to take up as much space as we can.

## Resumé

Nyheter Marknadsföring **Kommunikation** Affärer Insikt Månadens Kampanj Opinion Event Utbildning

# Förare har känt sig hotade på "Segertåget" – SD svarar på kritiken: "Vi vill ta plats så mycket vi kan"

Publicerad: 17 augusti 2022, 15:00



Sverigedemokraternas senaste kampanj i Stockholms tunnelbana. Foto: Sverigedemokraterna

SD advert on subway train arouses anger

AFTONBLADET

TISDAG 7 MAJ 2024  
Dagens namn: Carina, Carla

## SD-reklam på tunnelbanetåg väcker ilska

TT

Publicerad 2022-08-17

Del Spara

Hem

Utforska

Notiser

Meddelanden

Bokmärken

Listor

Profil

Mer

Twitter



Tobias Andersson  
@SDTobbe

"Välkommen till återvandringståget. Du innehar en enkelbiljett.

Nästa stopp, Kabul!"



Tobias Andersson, SD:s rättspolitiska talesperson, har twittrat en bild på tåget med en text som väcker kommentarer.  
Foto: Skärmdump Twitter

Tobias Andersson (SD) tweets: "Welcome to the Repatriation train. You get a one-way ticket. Next stop, Kabul!"

In September the European Parliament ruled, by a large majority, that Hungary was no longer a democracy due to a deterioration in the rule of law and restrictions on several rights and freedoms. All Swedish parties supported the statement except the Sweden Democrats (SD).

**“Un coup de dés  
jamais  
n’abolira  
le hasard”**

- A throw of the dice will never abolish chance -

- Stéphane Mallarmé (1897)  
- Marcel Broodthaers (1969)



Hi Jack!, TM  
(Jack Kerouac Naval Reserve Enlistment picture 1943)

**“art either  
serves or  
criticises the  
current culture/  
politics and  
always instigates  
changes [the  
critical branch  
of art that is]”**

**- Stephen Willats**

When the task at hand is impossible, *failure* is the only thing that awaits.

In the nine months between January 11th and September 11th 2022, the KVADRENNALEN calendar listed 154 events, in 70 different locations, by 51 organisers.

Out of all the concerts, theatre performances, dance performances, exhibitions mounted by state museums, by private museums, by art spaces, by all the municipal art centres, by all the independent organisations and solitary artists, all the poetry readings, all the artist graduation shows by schools, all the amateur art clubs, all the online exhibitions... out of thousands of events across Sweden in 2022, 154 events populated the KVADRENNALEN calendar.

The umbrella was up, but the rain makers of Sweden stood idly by. Next to some of the conceived projects that did not materialise (in time), some notes of interest on the events that happened but were not part of KVADRENNALEN (officially).

### **NOT MATERIALISED, BUT CONCEIVED AND PLANNED**

Anna Koch imagined mounting a backward demonstration, moving forward backwards. A beautifully fitting metaphor that was bound to leave an impression in the streets. My *9 works to piss off Jimmie* saw more of the impactful works unrealised than brought to fruition in the predetermined time frame, i.e. at least one of the missing ones did materialise but not in time (see Chapter 10: Appendix). Together, Anna and I conceived of more works and performances to set up, even going out to buy the minimum props to execute, e.g. clown noses to go out and play chess in front of the campaign booths of the political parties.

Proposals that came in through the open call of KVADRENNALEN that needed funding or other resources, that were not found in time, never made it into the calendar. The artists deserve mentioning for efforts made: Anna Öberg (SE) "SAMVARON", Natalia Drozd (PL/SE), Alexandra Grisanti, Jonas Johansson (SE), Sahar Al-Khateeb (PS/SE), Katarzyna Pagowska (PL) "Kulturarvet", Aäron Willem (BE) "Extended Family", Andrea Diaz Ghiretti (PE/SE) and Stella Kruusamägi (EE/SE), Eva Kitok (SE) "Grindslanten 2022", Anna Källblad (SE) "Plattformen", Mani Dadgaranfar/Samklang (SE) "Live-Graffiti", Sam Eggermont (BE) "Kubb", Ben Benaouisse (BE) "The Last Dance", Lies Lecompte (BE/SE) "Group warrior pose". Several artists managed to be part of and work on other events that did make the calendar.

**NOT PLANNED, BUT APPROPRIATED ANYWAY**

2022 saw quite inspired exhibitions being set up by institutions during election year. KVADRENNALEN's #Hi Jack! Program listed shows that were not added to the calendar by their organisers, but showed artists and art works that needed to be seen by the largest possible audience because they spoke for art, with art. Appropriation or generous, collegial promotion, different takes with the same result.

When an institution like Magasin III shows Mona Hatoum – an artist known for her exploration of the relationship between politics and the individual (*according to Tate Modern*) – but chooses not to add their show on the PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT something quite peculiar happens, namely the institution chooses its own position before the artist's. The house of display is prioritised over what is being displayed and the art is left to die an archival death in full public view.

Mona Hatoum's performances of rebellion were displayed, within the safety and exclusivity of the museum's walls, as objects and videos to ponder and admire: look how activist the artists were *before*. Unfortunately, Mona's performances remain just as relevant today as when they were documented and they could easily have gotten the courtesy of being *activated* in the larger Swedish context with an accompanying news cycle to boot\*.

\* When the core of an artist's work is to oppose power abuse, and the institution showing the work doesn't allow it the opportunity to do just that in a new context, then the institution is guilty of documentation. And the opportunity to re-contextualise and re-activate in a situation where it can regain the same urgency as it had when it was made is missed out on.

A press release that Magasin III adds Mona Hatoum to a small, Swedish art quadrennial that aims to bring artistic responses to political threat in front of the general public, would undoubtedly have seen the head curator's mailbox burst with interview requests from both TV and printed newspapers. [Generating much more visitors for Magasin III than notoriety for KVADRENNALEN. Although this last would also have exploded with both institutions and artists wanting to follow in Magasin III's footsteps.]



#Hi Jack! Program: Mona Hatoum – “Revisit”, Magasin III Museum for Contemporary Art and “So Much I Want To Say”, Accelerator, 19.02–11.09.2022  
Image © Mona Hatoum. Photo: Jean-Baptiste Béranger.



#Hi Jack! Program: Fina Miralles,  
I AM ALL THE SELVES THAT I HAVE BEEN,  
Index foundation and Marabouparken Konsthall.  
19.02-01.05.2022  
Image © Fina Miralles Photo: TM.

Next up in the #Hi Jack! Program was the Fina Miralles show at Index, the Swedish Contemporary Art Foundation and Marabouparken Konsthall. Where Mona Hatoum was shown in two art institutions connected with the Robert Weil family foundation, Magasin III and Accelerator, The Fina Miralles show was a collaboration between two KLISTER institutions and MACBA Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, with the support of Institut Ramon Llull and the collaboration of Museu d'Art de Sabadell, Ajuntament de Sabadell, Acció Cultural Española (AC/E) and the Spanish Embassy in Stockholm. It's not hard to understand that one show necessitating the collaboration of 8 partners, all with their own agendas, didn't need any more complexity by asking the partners whether it could be added to the KVADRENNALEN calendar.

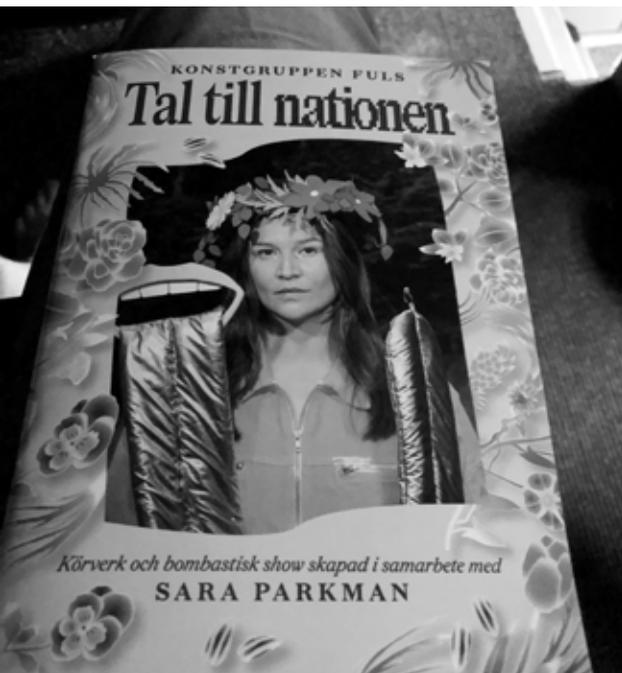
Still, Fina Miralles' work was too important not to list.

Lastly, Konstgruppen Ful – a queer feminist art collective that produces performances, exhibitions, publications, podcasts, and curates talks and meetings through an intersectional understanding of the art event and/or situation – set up an anti-nationalist podcast with artists testifying on breaches of their artistic freedom, political threats and ensuing self-censorship, as a warm-up for their large scale theatre production *Speech to the Nation* (Tal till Nationen), which ran in theatres and cinema's across the country.

When an artist-run organisation's work was appropriated into the calendar it was very much collegial promotion to salute work too important to miss.



Anti-Nationalist Podcast recording,  
Konstgruppen Ful,



#Hi Jack! Program: Konstgruppen Ful,  
Tal till nationen  
25.08-03.09.2022  
Image © Konstgruppen Ful.



### **POLITICALLY MOTIVATED CANCELLED SHOW**

Konsthall C was the first KLISTER institution that joined KVADRENNALEN even before KVADRENNALEN heard about the KLISTER group. Unlike, e.g. Candyland, who added all their shows to the calendar, Konsthall C had a specific exhibition/program in mind for its contribution to the calendar – they featured as a KVADRENNALEN organisation on the website regardless of adding programming.

When the news broke that an exhibition had been unilaterally cancelled, a week before opening on a public square in the centre of Stockholm, it quickly became clear that it was the show Konsthall C had intended to add to the KVADRENNALEN program.

The exhibition was a collaboration between Konsthall C, platform Settings and the city of Stockholm, which connected politics with humanity. After months of preparation, a solitary civil servant cancelled it on his personal judgement that it could be seen as “too party political”. Konsthall C had been quite right in their prudence not to promote the show on the PLATFORM FOR CONTEMPORARY ART TO RESPOND TO POLITICAL THREAT before it was a done deal. The truly missed opportunity was the organisers’ response to the censorship. After a short news cycle on the fact that an art show was unilaterally censored and cancelled\*, the exhibition organisers got stuck in the system’s procedures during the summer holidays, when Sweden notoriously shuts down for 6 weeks.

KVADRENNALEN suggested mounting a demonstration immediately, using the produced works as protest signs and rallying all the directors of art institutions in Stockholm to carry them to the public square. The demonstration would gather more attention and renown than the exhibition ever could – had it run as intended. Instead, the politeness in the Swedish art scene saw the organisers wait for a hearing, suggesting that the cancellation would be overturned and the show would still open. It never did.

\*Even before the more threatening and looming political shift had happened, i.e. art was already getting cancelled under a relatively endorsing government; that constituted a genuine *attack*, i.e. no longer a *threat*.

## OWNERSHIP

Ownership was missed from different perspectives, often contradictory ones. The then director of the Gothenburg Konsthall asked in 2021 who was behind KVADRENNALEN and in one and the same breath thought it the *best and worst thing* that an artist had initiated it. *“What if this is just a social art experiment by an artist?”*

When one is *really* concerned with the survival of the art scene, the question is moot as to who came up with an elaborate scheme to work selflessly together to strengthen each other and safeguard the art scene by having the most important conversation with the general public. Where people place their questions, that's where their concern lies – *alternatively: in a world of backstabbers distrust is a security mechanism.*

Several voices inside the core KVADRENNALEN team formulated a critique of *weak ownership* by me (TM) as initiator. An opposite perspective from the one stated above. Whereas I put the *weak ownership* on the side of those that needed to stand up for themselves and not expect others to do it for them.

Whatever perspective you take, in a time where the anonymity of groups like *Anonymous* or artist(s) like Banksy have become an integral part of the renown, owner- and authorship remain undeniably sensitive in the arts.

**ORGANISATIONS AND ARTISTS MISSING FROM THE LIST**

Too many to list here.

Är kulturen fri?

## Konstutställning på Sergels torg stoppas

30/06/2022, 22:04

Kulturborgarrådet beklagar stoppad utställning: "Armlängds avstånd" - DN.SE

### DAGENS NYHETER.

KONST

## Kulturborgarrådet beklagar stoppad utställning

PUBLICERAD 14:04



Korstrånen Sepidar Hosseini. Till höger Jonas Naddébo (C), kulturborgarråd i

28/06/2022, 11:56

Utställning på Sergels torg stoppas: "Partipolitisk" - DN.SE

### DAGENS NYHETER.

KONST

## Utställning på Sergels torg stoppas: "Partipolitisk"

UPPDATERAD 10:41 PUBLICERAD 10:26



Korstrånen Sepidar Hosseini tillsammans med Rebecca Vinthagen, arrangör vid plattformen Settings. Foto: Hanna Andersson

På måndagen skulle utställningen "All set for solidarity" ha öppnat på Sergels torg i Stockholm. Men sex dagar innan öppning fick arrangörerna besked om att utställningen ställs in, för att stadsdelsförvaltningen anser att verken uppfattas som partipolitiska.

– Konsten måste vara fri från politisk styrning. Det är en grundläggande demokratisk fråga, säger arrangören Rebecca Vinthagen.

Ätta k  
HannaEn h  
tyck  
kult

Elisa

ART

# Exhibition on Sergels torg stopped: "Party politics"

UPDATED 10:41 PUBLISHED 10:26



The artist Sepidar Hosseini together with Rebecca Vinthagen, organizer at the platform Settings. Photo: Hanna Andersson

**On Monday, the exhibition "All set for solidarity" would have opened on Sergels torg in Stockholm. But six days before the opening, the organizers were informed that the exhibition was canceled, because the district administration believes that the works are perceived as party political.**

**- Art must be free from political control. It is a fundamental democratic issue, says the organizer Rebecca Vinthagen.**

"All set for solidarity" was planned since March, in collaboration between the platform Settings, Konsthall C and the City of Stockholm's art collaboration on Sergels torg. The exhibition

"All Set for Solidarity" invited eight artists to create alternative election posters based on the idea of "humanity at the centre".

The poster's slogan above reads: "a country to share, not a divided country."

**I consider KVADRENNALEN  
my biggest failure  
and my biggest success,  
to date.**

– TM

Note on the success/failure:

One's failure is another's success. In Peircean semiotics a proposition sees two signs share one and the same object. Although abstract, it explains perfectly what we see happening in the world around us. Everyone brings their personal interpretations to the table. It doesn't change whatever is on the table, it only changes how it is perceived. Something as simple as a colour can reveal huge cultural differences, e.g. red is the colour of luck and positivity in China, something to consider when checking out the Beijing stock exchange.

Did KVADRENNALEN fail or succeed?

It depends on your interpretation, on the position you take, on your bucket.

The facts remain the same:

- it happened
- plenty of people got involved, inspired even
- it reached a public (however small)
- the idea was (and is) sound:
  - if you want to tap into real power then you need to tap into the power of the people, it's the only power that is real
  - if you want to generate change in the system then you need to work in its cracks, and stop conforming to the old system's terms and conditions
  - everything you need is in place, in the people around you, in the (art) history books. You just need to find how to tap it.



**One's  
Utopia is  
another's  
Dystopia.**

– TM

# STATEMENT OF INTENT

Lawrence Weiner

1. THE ARTIST MAY CONSTRUCT THE WORK
2. THE WORK MAY BE FABRICATED
3. THE WORK NEED NOT BE BUILT

**EACH BEING EQUAL AND CONSISTENT  
WITH THE INTENT OF THE ARTIST  
THE DECISION AS TO CONDITION RESTS WITH  
THE RECEIVER UPON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVERSHIP**

© Lawrence Weiner, Statement of intent, 1968  
Image trace: TM

In 1968, Weiner wrote the above declaration of intent, which would become a foundational document of conceptual art. The declaration has been dissected, analysed, debated and quoted over and over again. Weiner stated that he realised he could determine sculpture by the use of language, i.e. that a work could exist without being physically constructed, reminiscent of John Poinot: "It suffices to be a sign virtually in order to signify in act" from Chapter 2: Idea. The third point tends to be the most thought-provoking "The work need not be built" and inevitably touches on what is *believed and perceived* to exist (physically).

~~“Why can't we~~

How can we  
valorize  
our art  
labour?”

- Peter Mills

**Hand-off**

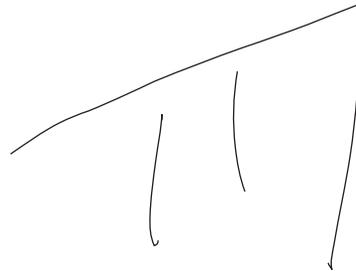
KVADRENNALEN is an idea meant to generate tangible action. As an idea, Lawrence Weiner's 1968 Statement of intent works perfectly as inspiration for its hand-off.

# Statement of *continuity*

The art world may organise  
the quadrennial.

The quadrennial may run.

The quadrennial need not  
be arranged.



## Anna Koch

One of the biggest problems is the inevitable hierarchy. Who dares to step *down* from their position and join the grassroots, collaborate outside of the institution or stand with a single artist, especially when they're from an unpopular demographic, e.g. a middle-class white male right now? Reputation-wise it's much safer (PC) to associate with *multicoloured collectives* today. But, that's a hard and uneasy topic; a problem that almost feels unsolvable and is causing lots of damage: the polarisation, the categorisation, the guarding of territories. How can we ever unite for a cause if we don't start close by?

What barriers had to be broken down first to get the message of KVADRENNALEN across? While trying to engage people I was even told that *"The Swedish art scene is supposed to be diverse and fragmented. It will only look bad if we unite for the same cause. That would do the field a disavour."* Was that so? Is that so?

"To unite before it is too late" is strong in any (election) year.

## Efva Lilja

Our reality must be scrutinized with a critical eye. We all live and work in a context, in a reality we can influence through what we do and say, how we think, how we live and act, how we deal with practice, how we communicate. Given the current situation for culture and art in Europe, performing arts are experiencing rapid change towards an increased commercialization and populism on the one hand, and marginalization on the other. The entertainment business is alive and kicking, but art has another function. Art mustn't rub the right way. It must provoke, activate, engage, and introduce new fields of desire. To me KVADRENNALEN was a source, a concept that gave energy and hope and a strong sense of belonging. The latter is even more important in a time of political turbulence.

*Change a habit and avoid convention. Stop indifference from catching a hold. Push away slowing resistance and open up for enjoyment free from perversion. Stir up and mess up. Create new rites around that which must be protected so that goodness and love are again recognizable. View art as immaterial pleasure or materialized madness, the alphabet of outrage paired with lust and profound intimacy. A dissection of reality down to its smallest particles, reunited in entirely new entities dipped in love. The encounter with art should be like coming home or finding an exciting, challenging place where anything can happen. A place where we want to remain, amidst all the incomprehensible, to be present, listening, narrating...*

**Joana Maria Pereira**

Heart is the place where his fight begins.  
 With a red coloured pencil,  
 I wrote these words on my bedroom wall right in front of the desk where I now sit:  
 'This fight begins, however, in the heart'.  
 I want to memorise this,  
 to think about what it means to start the fighting (the writing, drawing, dancing...)  
 from that place that James Baldwin calls the heart.

I must confess that too often I find myself alone (and very far away from the heart).  
 Yet as I repeat this man's words I am transported to that place 'where' he was.  
 I realise that - although we are miles and years apart - it is from that very place that I  
 start  
 (the fight):  
 the commonplace of the heart.  
 I then wonder how many others are starting the same fight from exactly the same  
 place.

Let's fight injustice with all our strength,  
 but keeping our hearts free from hatred and despair, he adds.

Baldwin wrote these words on the final page of his essay *Notes of a Native Son*.  
 It is an extraordinary text,  
 that proceeds from an urgent call for change (in the heart).

When an opportunity to write comes, I feel I must write,  
 as if, for me, writing were not a choice,  
 but a must (fight).

Is this sense of duty partially linked to women's desire to take part in the process of  
 healing, thereby reinforcing the conversation with our female ancestors?

Truth is, I always write as the granddaughter of an illiterate peasant woman.  
 To be Portuguese and to be a woman, two aspects that I do not wish to ignore here.  
 However, I must also acknowledge my privilege as a white European living in a  
 democratic society.

The fight against injustice is one that women (black women in particular) have been  
 fighting for many decades.

*'I am not free while any woman is unfree,  
even when her shackles are very different from my own',*  
states Audre Lorde.

Sometimes writing seems to have its own will,  
leading us to places where we had not initially planned to go,  
different historical grounds.  
Hence, Baldwin's words in red pencil, written in front of my eyes, guided me away from  
Björkö,  
and from who I was.  
He calls me, my body; reducing our distances,  
Invoking the humans that we are.

As a Portuguese woman, I can tell that much has changed in my country since *April 25, 1974*

Democracy has replaced fascism.

*April* means that not only can I read and write, but I can read and write in a language other than my mother tongue.

It means that both I and my mother (she who was not allowed to study beyond primary education) can choose to vote.

It means the democratisation of education.

*April* means the establishment of a national health service.

It means freedom of expression, of the press,  
the right of assembly.

It means the end of the colonial war.

Fifty years have passed:

not surprisingly, the fascist legacy (and its colonial roots) remains alive 'where' it was active for forty-eight years.

Fact is, there is a 'where' and there is a 'when':

not anywhere and any time.

Body is always located somewhere (in time).

It is today that I write this: Sunday, July 7, 2024

The 'when' of this text is quite particular:

I write in the year in which the Portuguese far right are elected to fifty seats in the Portuguese parliament:

Fifty, which is also the number of democracy;

I am writing three days after the United Kingdom's general election and on election day in France.

In *Notes of a Native Son*, James Baldwin never mentions the word 'democracy',  
neither does he use 'colonialism' nor 'fascism'.  
Instead, he talks about his father  
(representing the first generation of free black men);  
of race riots in Detroit, in the weeks before his father's funeral:  
and this happens to be on Baldwin's nineteenth birthday.

He writes of his father's blackness and crushing charm,  
which, according to Baldwin, gave him tremendous power,  
while also being the cause of much suffering and humiliation.

He speaks of an 'intolerable bitterness of spirit' haunting his father's heart,  
as something from which he desperately wanted to escape.

*'And when had it all begun to change?'*, he asks.  
When (and why) does bitterness replace love?

We must learn to distinguish between two cries in order to attend to the second,  
says Simone Weil.

The first cry, she says, refers to 'rights': 'why has somebody else got more than I have?'  
The second is whenever a man cries inwardly: 'why am I being hurt?'  
Justice, she says, 'consists in seeing that no harm is done to men'.

It is certainly not the responsibility of the arts to ensure that no harm is done to men  
(and to nature, I must add).  
But can art be indifferent to this cry for justice?  
Can it fail to respond to this fight (that begins in the heart)?

I feel that change is not something that can be stopped,  
whether I write or I do not write,  
whether in bitterness or love:  
but it can, I believe, play an absolutely crucial role in keeping our hearts free from ha-  
tred and despair, helping to create a path to a more just world.

## Peter Mills

In retrospect, my question is: how can one become a full citizen, able to participate in and contribute to all aspects of the society one lives in?

I have always been radical in both my art and my activism, but the two have always remained separate. Perhaps this was to retain their radicality, or perhaps because they each have completely different agendas. In activism, it is too risky to have ulterior motives at play when the stakes are so high. I wish for the knowledge and value I produce through my art to benefit my activism. However, as long as art must be validated by art institutions to be considered art, it can be political, but it must escape the context of art to truly become activism.

KVADRENNALEN felt different. The agenda was to stand for and show the validity of art, making art itself the best form of activism for art. If this was to be activism, then it stands to reason that we should organize ourselves as such, to collectivize and organize through direct democracy. Thus, I proposed a general assembly.

One of the hardest parts of activism is getting people to participate. First, to attend, and then to contribute ideas, join a working group, or take on responsibilities. Ultimately, urgency and motivation are needed.

The general assembly stood as a symbol that we can organize, impact the society we live in, and invent means to support the value of our art.

The general assembly evolved into a weekly protest outside the parliament, desired and agreed upon by those who attended. It turned the struggle with the conditions of being an artist into a community effort. We became greater than the sum of our parts.



## Conny Blom

Här är en idé: Eftersom de fattiga jävlarna i förorterna redan har det eländigt är det ju lättare för dem att hantera motgångar, så låt oss ta de pengar som kunde användas till att upprusta kollektivtrafiken och göra den gratis åt alla, och i stället använda den till skattesubventioner på bolån och andra lån som kommer oss bättre bemedlade till godo. Vi kan ju ta lån och köpa nya stadsjeepar så att vi slipper använda kollektivtrafiken överhuvudtaget - på så vis kan vi flytta över ännu mer pengar till oss som vet hur att använda dem bäst - arbetarklassen har inget annat val än att betala för sig i kollektivtrafiken och skjuter därigenom till pengar till våra hus och bilköp. Och samma sak med de skattepengar som skulle kunna användas till att rusta upp nergångna hyreslägenheter i förorterna - låt oss istället kunna dra av dem när vi tröttnat på färgen på marmorplattorna i våra kök och vill renovera. Och när vi ändå håller på kan vi ju introducera marknadshyror och tvinga ut de sista fattigjonen ur stadskärnorna så att vi slipper se deras deprimerande uppsyner helt och hållet. Och sedan kan vi ju skära ner ytterligare på vårdtillgängligheten i förorterna så kanske de har anständigheten att självsanera. 10 gånger fler fattiga än rika dör i Covid-19, och i nuläget dör fattiga med cancer 40% oftare än rika med samma sjukdom, men vi kan bättre än så. Och visst borde vi kunna göra skattavdrag på våra privata sjukförsäkringar, ett annat smart sätt att omfördela resurser dit de gör mest nytta. Arbetarlosers betalar skatt för att kunna gå till sina skabbiga vårdcentraler och vi lyfter pengarna från våra deklarationer och glider förbi vårdköerna. De av oss som är riktigt smarta flyttar förstås sina pengar till Caymanöarna så att de inte behöver betala skatt överhuvudtaget. I nuläget flyttas mer än 80 miljarder från Sverige varje år, och dylika strategier är något alla vi med ett överskott också kan använda oss av. Med lite skatteplanering kan vi få upp de siffrorna. Så länge vi kan hålla diskussionen om problemen med invandringen aktiv kommer arbetarklassen inte märka att vi rånar skiten ur dem. Alla nedskärningar är förstås nödvändiga och handlar inte alls om lyfta pengar ur statskassan. Och omvandlingen av grundläggande infrastruktur från service till handel kan vi motivera på samma vis. Om vi bara målar ut varje flykting som en potentiell terrorist kan vi gå ännu längre. Lyckligtvis finns det ett parti som påhejade av svenskt näringsliv har detta som central politik, så vi kan låta dem trissa upp stämningen samtidigt som vi tar symboliskt avstånd, för vi är ju inte rasister. Tack vare dem slipper vi tramsiga diskussioner om solidaritet och humanism i politiken. Så länge vi markerar mot dem behöver vi inte göra något mer på det området, och kan fokusera energin på att flytta resurser från de läskiga, invandrartäta förorterna till trevliga medelklassområden. Snart behöver vi inte beblanda oss med arbetarklassen överhuvudtaget. Med behovsanställningar, social osäkerhet och ordentligt segregerade skolor kan vi tvinga kvar dem på sin plats. Ju fler okvalificerade arbeten vi kan omvandla till allmän visstid eller låt oss kalla dem gigs, ju bättre kontroll kan vi ha över arbetarklassen. Om man inte är garanterad jobb nästa vecka om man exempelvis sjukskriver sig eller klagar på arbetsförhållandena, kommer man inte hålla på med sådant tjafs. Än så länge finns det fortfarande vissa möjligheter för fattiga att studera på universitet och högskolor, men med ökade bostadskostnader kan vi styra upp också det problemet.



Dear Swedish middle class, here's an idea: since the pathetic losers in the suburbs are already accustomed to living in squalor, it's easier for them to deal with all sorts of problems. Therefore we should use the government funds that could be spent on improving public transportation, making it free for all, to instead benefit those of us who enjoy a higher standard of living by providing tax deductions for residential and other loans. After all, we can always take out loans and buy ourselves city jeeps, avoiding public transportation altogether. This would allow even more money to fall into our hands; only we know how best to use it, anyway. The working class doesn't have a choice but to use public transportation, financing our homes and cars along the way. It is much the same when it comes to the tax money that could be spent revamping dilapidated rental housing; let's just cash in our tax deduction whenever we get bored with the colour of our marble counters and feel like remodelling our kitchens. Why don't we institute a market rent rate, while we're at it? This will force the remainder of the pathetic paupers out of the city centre, so we are no longer forced to look at their depressing faces. We can take it a step further and make even more cuts in the healthcare in the suburbs. Maybe that will endow citizens with the self-respect needed to just obliterate themselves. Cancer already kills over 40% more poor people than rich people, but we can do better than that. And of course we should be able to make tax deductions on our private health insurance plans. After all, it's just another way of making sure resources are put to the best possible use. Those working-class losers are stuck paying taxes so they can seek treatment in their pathetic medical centres; we, on the other hand, receive our tax return and jump the queues at the hospital. Of course, the more astute ones among us send our money to the Cayman Islands and don't pay any taxes at all. Currently, over 80 billion euros of Swedish money are transferred into off-shore accounts every year. Anyone with a little extra money can do it. Well thought-out tax planning could help us improve those numbers even more. As long as we can keep the debates about the problems with immigration alive, the working class will not notice that we're robbing them blind. All cutbacks are, of course, necessary and are not at all an excuse to empty out the public treasury. The same arguments come in handy when justifying changes to basic infrastructures, making commerce of service. If we just manage to portray every single migrant as a potential terrorist, we can take things even further. Luckily, there is already a Swedish political party dedicated to doing just that; and to top it off, they enjoy the support of the Swedish business sector. Symbolically distancing ourselves from them—we aren't racists, after all—allows us to still reap the benefits of the political climate we allow them to instigate. With them on the scene, we can also avoid the pointless discussions around solidarity and humanism in politics. As long as we symbolically oppose them, we're set in that area and can focus the remainder of our energy into diverting funds from the scary, migrant-filled suburbs to happy, middle-class areas. Soon we won't have to mix with the working class at all. They will be kept in their rightful place by on-call work and other precarious forms of employment, social uncertainty and complete educational segregation. The more temporary jobs we can create from unskilled labour—let's go ahead and call it a gig economy—the more control we can exert over the working class. If they don't know whether or not they will still be employed by next week, they won't be so quick to go on sick leave when they get sick, and they definitely won't complain about their working conditions. They'll think twice about pestering us. For now, poor people still have some possibilities to attend colleges and universities, but with rising housing costs we will be able to take care of that problem also.

Conny Blom/Nina Slejko Blom



Nina Slejko Blom

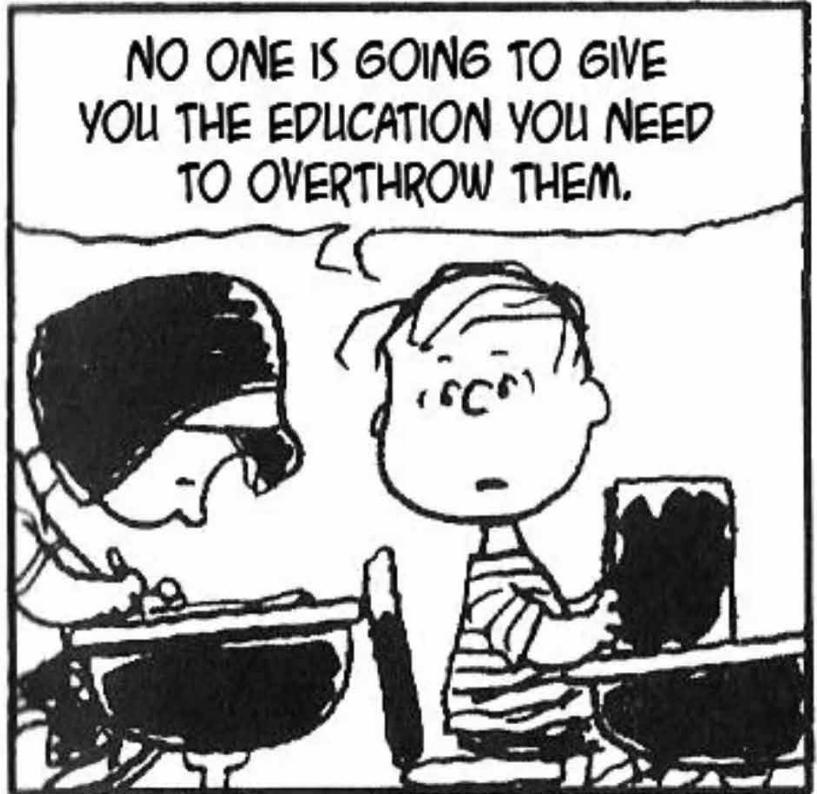
**IF WE FIND  
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**WHAT KIND  
OF STATE  
RULES OVER US  
MUST DEPEND  
PARTLY ON THE  
PREVAILING  
INTELLECTUAL  
ATMOSPHERE**



Thierry Mortier



— Assata Shakur, from *Assata: An Autobiography*

Full(er) context: "The schools we go to are reflections of the society that created them. Nobody is going to give you the education you need to overthrow them. Nobody is going to teach you your true history, teach you your true heroes, if they know that that knowledge will help set you free."





**“If voting changed anything,  
they’d make it illegal”**

- Emma Goldman.



© Santiago Sierra, NO, global tour, 2009  
Image trace: TM

The NO, Global Tour of Santiago Sierra  
is a trip that began in July 2009  
and took a large sculpture of the word "NO"  
around the world on the bed of a truck.



*Burnt sunflowers pictured in a field near the village of Puy Saint Martin, in southeastern France, on August 22, 2023. © Jeff Pachoud, AFP*

**“The society whose modernisation has reached the stage of the integrated spectacle is characterised by the combined effect of five principal features:**

**incessant technological renewal;**

**integration of state and economy;**

**generalised secrecy;**

**unanswerable lies;**

**an eternal present.”**

– Guy Debord,  
Comments on the Society of the Spectacle,  
1988 (Translation 1990)

**Sammanfattning av valresultatet för riksdagen**  
Valdag: 11 september 2022

Parti	Andel röster	Antal mandat
Arbetarepartiet Socialdemokraterna S	30,33 %	107
Sverigedemokraterna SD	20,54 %	73
Moderaterna M	19,10 %	68
Vänsterpartiet V	6,75 %	24
Centerpartiet C	6,71 %	24
Kristdemokraterna KD	5,34 %	19
Miljöpartiet MP	5,08 %	18
Liberalerna L	4,61 %	16
Övriga anmälda partier	1,54 %	-

On Sunday, September 11th, 2022, SD got 20.54% of the Swedish votes. It amounted to 1,330,325 votes or some 13% of the Swedish population. SD became the second biggest party in Sweden, trailing almost 10% behind the Socialist party. The only thing that was immediately clear when the election results came out was that the country was split in half between the left and right coalition blocks SD, M, KD, L (right) and S, V, MP, C (left to centre).

What happened next was a genuine *tour de force* from SD and a clear Machiavellian (*the end justifies the means*) approach by M, KD and L\*. Teaming up with the far-right SD would secure a surplus of 1 seat above the minimal parliamentary majority needed\*\*. The right wing parties disappeared from the spotlight as soon as the results came out and went into negotiations behind closed doors at Tidö castle until they came out with an agreement on October 14th. The Tidö-government was a minority government with M, KD and L taking charge as the sitting government and SD supporting the minority government from the sidelines.

\* The political shift became a fact not because SD became the second largest party in Sweden, but primarily because, next to SD's rise, the small Liberal Party switched camps and decided to rule with support of a party that was its exact ideological opposite.

\*\* M, KD, L and SD had 176 seats vs. the 173 for the remaining parties.

175 seats in Parliament is the minimal majority needed to form a government in Sweden.

The support was not a docile one, but a strictly regulated, pre-agreed set-up where anything mentioned in the 4 party agreement would require approval from SD before the minority government could proceed. It meant that a party representing only 20% of the democratic vote was handed the reigns over 100% of policy making.

Unfortunately the Liberal Party (L) put the word *culture* in the agreement, making it a point of governing concern for SD.

A selection of events between Sept. 12th 2022 and Dec. 31st 2023, both political and cultural:

## 2022

On September 27th, several leaks from the Nord Stream 1 and 2 natural gas pipelines are discovered off Bornholm in the Baltic Sea. As several underwater explosions were recorded in the area at the same time the leaks are investigated as sabotage. It would take until 2024 before Sweden concludes its investigation, stating that it does not have jurisdiction to pursue it any further.



The Nord Stream pipelines, blown up in September 2022, carried gas from the Russian coast to north-eastern Germany

**Sweden's public prosecutor has closed an inquiry into underwater blasts that tore apart two pipelines carrying Russian gas to Germany after a 16-month investigation.**

It is still unknown who blew up Nord Stream 1 and 2 in September 2022.

Prosecutor Mats Ljungqvist said the "primary purpose" had been to find out if Swedes were involved or if Swedish territory had been used.

He concluded that Swedish jurisdiction did not apply.

Swedish intelligence service Sapo said it had shared information it had gathered with other countries.

German and Danish authorities are still investigating the series of explosions that sabotaged three of the four gas lines east of the island of Bornholm in the Baltic Sea on 26 September 2022.

Commentators said the German inquiry could benefit from Stockholm's decision if Sapo had come up with additional information.

Sapo said the decision to shut down the inquiry was taken because it was considered "not possible for the Swedish authorities to pursue the matter further".

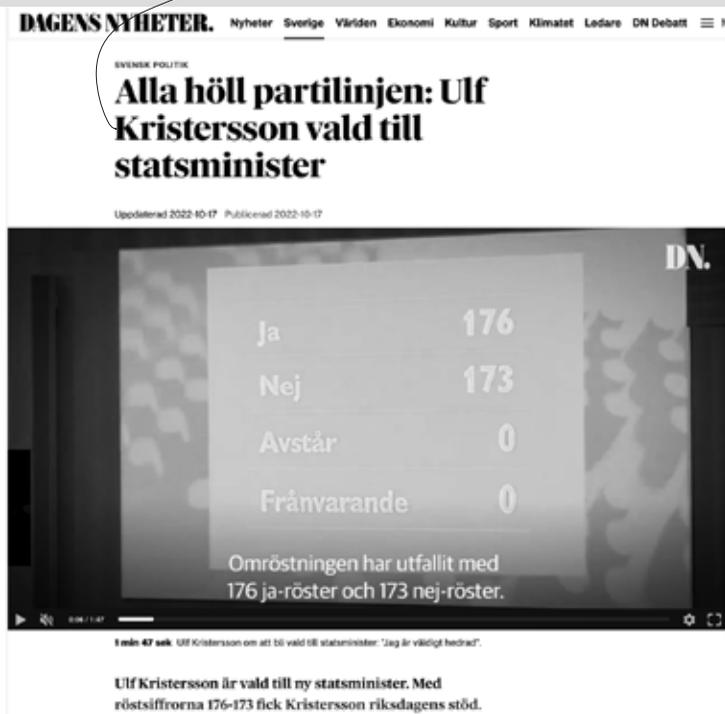
The pipelines had been built by Russia's gas giant Gazprom, although Nord Stream 2 was never used because Germany halted the project days after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

Russian ships were found to have been involved in suspicious movements in the area in the days and months leading up to the blasts. Moscow condemned the sabotage as a case of international terrorism, choosing instead to blame the US and UK.

There have also been suggestions that a pro-Ukrainian group might have plotted the attack, although Ukraine has denied any involvement.

Everyone held the party line: Ulf Kristersson elected Prime Minister.

On October 17th, the Swedish Parliament approves Ulf Kristersson (M) as the new Prime Minister with the support of 176 out of 349 members.



**DAGENS NYHETER.** Nyheter Sverige Världen Ekonomi Kultur Sport Klimatet Ledare DN Debatt

SVENSK POLITIK

## Alla höll partilinjen: Ulf Kristersson vald till statsminister

Uppdaterad 2022-10-17 Publicerad 2022-10-17

Ja	176
Nej	173
Avstår	0
Frånvarande	0

Om röstningen har utfallit med 176 ja-röster och 173 nej-röster.

1 min 47 sek Ulf Kristersson om att bli vald till statsminister: "Jag är väldigt bedrad"

Ulf Kristersson är vald till ny statsminister. Med röstsiffrorna 176-173 fick Kristersson riksdagens stöd.

With too little time to prepare a fully ideological budget between taking up office on October 18th and the annual November budget (stipulating the broad direction for the next year), art and culture gets *kind of* spared financially. Only *kind of* because the new government decided to keep the previous year's budget, with only minor changes, but take away the Covid-19 relaunch budget (Återstart för kulturen) for art and culture for 2023.

The relaunch budget had put aside 3.9 billion SEK in 2021 to help the art and culture sector get back on their feet after they were amongst the hardest impacted industries in Sweden that had pretty much kept everything running except art and culture and sports. The budget was to be spent over three years from 2021 to 2023. The culture sector would face the new year with one billion SEK less (Dagens Nyheter).

Together with the fact that the rest remained unchanged while energy costs, inflation and rents went through the roof, this first budget translated to significantly palpable cuts without being labelled as such.

That last did not apply to the outright ideological attacks on culture by SD in the following months. The most noteworthy ones that would continue to reverberate in the next year were the *cancelled story time sessions* in a number of libraries and the *cancelled Lucia procession*.

In October the successful *Drag story hour*, where Drag Queens read stories to children at local libraries, was changed to a digital event instead of a live reading in Olofström, in the South of Sweden. The change was effected after the library received threats via email which the police considered serious enough. Within the same week, Jonathan Sager, a local SD politician from Kalmar, moves to forbid the planned *Drag story hour* at the municipal library there. He loses the vote 6 to 1 and the head of the library proceeds with the story hour as planned. SD in Kalmar decides to start an investigation into the pre-school and library's expenses in response.

The threats to the Drag artists and the political attempts to directly intervene in the content of culture, against the arm's length principle, will continue far into 2023, with even SD leader Jimmie Åkesson taking it up in the national party leaders' debate. Worth noting is that the threats to libraries scheduling the *Drag story hour* are anything but new and started years earlier by the hard-core neo-Nazi party NMR (now listed on the US terror organisations list). The same rhetoric is now taken up by the far-right SD that's in a power position to push policy for the first time.

Early December, a Lucia\* procession was stopped by Mattias Eriksson Falk (SD), member of Parliament and chairman of the Regional Council in Gävleborg, when he realised that this year's Lucia was not female. The Lucia celebration was cancelled with immediate effect.

After two months in office it's clear how SD intends to proceed with the next steps in the autocracy handbook, and all the usual (minority) suspects are front and centre on the list.

\* The Lucia processions are big cultural events in Sweden where the Christian Saint Lucy is celebrated on 13 December. The annual candle-lit processions see girls and boys clad in white full-length gowns singing songs together. Lucia, the bearer of light symbolised by wearing a crown of candles, used to get chosen through a competition, both nationally and locally. Today schools often just use a draw to decide on who gets the Lucia crown.

**AFTONBLADET**

START SPORT PLUS UPPTÄCK NÖJE TIPSÅ KULTUR LEDARE TV

Nyheter / Region Gävleborg

## SD-topp stoppade luciatåg – ingen kvinnlig lucia

SD-top stops Lucia procession – not a female Lucia.

Amanda Hällsten

Publicerad 2022-12-13

+ Följ Mejla Dela Spara

Luciatåget som Bollnäs folkhögskola skulle ha hållit på regionfullmäktige i Gävleborg stoppades av Mattias Eriksson Falk (SD). Anledningen uppges vara att det saknades en kvinnlig lucia. – Som ordförande för länets folkhögskolor gör det mig riktigt förbannad, säger Magnus Svensson (C).

Let children be children and stop exposing them to this! Absolutely the right reaction from SD!

Björn Söder (SD) @bjornsoder

Låt barn vara barn och sluta utsätta dem för sådant här!  
Helt rätt agerat från SD!

svt.se  
SD-politiker i Kalmar vill stoppa sagostunden för småbarn me...  
I slutet av november väntas sagostunden "Drag story hour"  
hållas på Kalmar stadsbiblioteket. Nu vill ...

12:11 em · 3 nov. 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

125 Retweets 53 citat-tweets 1 698 gilla-markeringar

Skärmdump från Björn Söders Twitter.

The Sweden Democrats in Kalmar are now threatening a vote of no confidence against the chair of the children and leisure committee if she allows the fully booked event to take place there.

Nu hotar Sverigedemokraterna i Kalmar med att rikta misstroendeförklaring mot ordföranden i barn och fritidsnämnden om hon låter det, fullbokade, evenemanget genomföras där.

# Så blev en sagostund en politisk stridsfråga

How a story time became a political issue

Uppdaterad 2022-11-27 Publicerad 2022-11-27



Lady Busty och Miss Sh Shameless på sagostunder på bibliotek i Kalmar – ett evenemang. Foto: Adrian Edress/Dia

En sagostund p läser för barn: flera håll i land hot, väktare ha ställts in. I Kaln strid.

**BIBLIOTEKSBLADET**

NYHETER IDEER ENGLISH LEDIGA JOBB ANNONSERA OMGÖR SÖK

Den politiska SD-ledamot: "Förbjud sagostund med dragartister"

SD member: "Ban story time with drag queens."

En politik debatt har blossat upp i Kalmar inför en planerad sagostund med dragartisterna Lady Busty och Miss Shameless. "Man ska inte ha skräck och terrornada material för två- till sjuåringar."

Sagostunder med Lady Busty och Miss Shameless på bibliotek har led till SD politik debatt i Kalmar. Foto: Adrian Edress

En fullmäktigeledamot från Sverigedemokraterna i Kalmar vill förbjuda en sagostund som ska hållas på biblioteket i slutet av november. Det är samma föreläsning som skulle ha hållits på Olofströms bibliotek i helgen, men som efter hot fick hållas digitalt.

# Efter "drag story hour" – nu kartlägger SD bibliotekens utgifter

After drag story hour – now SD is mapping library spending.

Publicerad: 2 december 2022, 11:38



Jonathan Sager (SD) är kommunfullmäktigeledamot i Kalmar och ersättare i kommunstyrelsen. Foto: Presbild SD, Christine Olsson/TT



"Drag queen story hour" i Kalmar väckte lokal sverigedemokratisk vrede och en debatt om politikens och kulturens roller. Nu ska SD i Kalmar kartlägga vad förskolor och bibliotek lägger pengar på – för att kontrollera att böcker och annat inte är vad partiets Jonathan Sager beskriver som "opassande".

/ BLEKINGE



En sagostund med drag queens ställdes in på Olofströms bibliotek efter mejlhot. Initialt inleddes en polisanmälan, men den är nedlagd. Foto: Christine Olsson/TT

# Sagostund med drag queens inställd efter hot: "Må ni brinna i helvetet era pedofiler"

UPPDATERAD 1 FEBRUARI 2023 PUBLICERAD 23 OKTOBER 2022

Story hour with drag queens cancelled after threats: "May you burn in hell, you paedophiles"

# ARBETET

SD threatens story hours with drag queens to curtail LGBTQ+ rights

# SD hotar sagostunder med drag queens för att inskränka hbtq-rättigheter

Johannes Klenell om den senaste debatten där SD rasar över att drag queens läser sagor för barn på bibliotek.

Arkiverad 11 Nov 2022 Data utvidad



Dragshowartisterna Lady Busty och Miss Shameless i ett inlägg i SVT. Bild: Skärmdump SVT

KOMMENTAR. Projektet Drag queen story hour från Malmö har röret mycket uppmärksamhet, inte minst i Södra Sverige, senaste månaden. Konceptet är både kul och enkelt. Dragartister läser sagor för barn. Drag, en utsläppt men samtidigt supermodern scenkonstform, kombineras med en sagostund.

Sverigedemokraterna

# Ny uppgörelse avslöjar SD:s makt över kulturpolitiken

Publicerad 29 dec 2022 kl 07.01  
Uppdaterad kl 19.15

Tvärtemot bilden som gavs när regeringen tillträdde har SD fått stort inflytande över regeringens kulturpolitik.

En överenskommelse har nu slutits mellan Tidöpartierna som påverkar ett dussintal kulturinstitutioner. Det kan Expressen avslöja.



UR ARKIVET. Kulturminister Parisa Liljestrand besökte TV4 och "Idol"-studion på fredagskvällen. Då passade hon på att skämta om regissören Ruben Östlund, ett par dagar efter att hon misstagit honom för en författare.

 **Tomas Nordenskiöld** >



SD vill se över finansieringen av kulturen. I dagsläget gynnas kultur som bär en normkritisk och identitetspolitisk prägel, menar partiet.  
Foto: ALEX LJUNGDAHL

SD wants to review the funding of culture. According to the party, culture that is norm critical and directed by identity politics is currently being favoured.

Automatic Chrome translation

# New settlement reveals SD's power over cultural policy

Published 29 Dec 2022 at 07.01  
Updated at 19:15

Contrary to the image that was given when the government took office, SD has gained great influence over the government's cultural policy.

An agreement has now been concluded between the Tidö parties, which affects a dozen or so cultural institutions. Expressen can reveal that.



FROM THE ARCHIVES. Culture Minister Parisa Liljestrand visited TV4 and the "Idol" studio on Friday evening. Then she took the opportunity to joke about the director Ruben Östlund, a couple of days after she mistook him for a writer.

 **Tomas Nordenskiöld** >

Ahead of the autumn's government formation, cultural policy was singled out by many bourgeois representatives as one of the areas where the influence of the Sweden Democrats was considered the most problematic. Some also highlighted the cultural policy as a decisive reason why SD could not sit in the government.

The fact that the Tidö agreement then contained a clause about "the independence of cultural life" and that "the principle of arm's length distance must be maintained" was therefore considered important. And by the Liberals it was highlighted as an important political victory.

## "Arm's length distance" a key wording

But just over two months later, it is clear that significant parts of cultural policy have been brought in as part of the collaboration between SD and the government. And it is precisely the writing about arm's length distance that gave SD its great cultural political breakthrough.

Because the Tidö Agreement has come to be applied in such a way - that everything written there becomes part of the cooperation. And now the cooperation also includes the independence of culture and the principle that politics should be kept at arm's length.

- We had no problems whatsoever with that point, but on the contrary were happy when it was brought into the negotiations. After all, it means that we get a collaboration on key parts of cultural policy, and the most central thing for us now is to monitor that politics stays at an adequate distance, says a central source in SD with transparency.

## Critical of identity politics

The collaboration has also already had consequences. Because SD has been able to point to what they believe is an extensive political control of the culture today and that the principle of arm's length distance is not maintained.

- It is obvious when you often have themes that are rooted in norm criticism, intersectionality and identity politics. There is a clear political bias

to the left in the broad governance of cultural policy, and we are turning against that. It is not an area that should be governed that way, says SD's party secretary Mattias Bäckström Johansson.



SD's party secretary Mattias Bäckström Johansson.  
Photo: Anders Wiklund/TT

During the last few weeks, SD's officials in the government office have also participated in the preparation of the new regulation letters that have been drawn up for a dozen or so cultural institutions. They deal, among other things, with the state museums, such as the Modern Museum and the National Museum, as well as the State Council for Culture and the National Antiquities Authority.

According to Expressen's sources, the SD has had objections to some of the tasks that have been assigned to the cultural institutions, precisely on the basis that it was a matter of politically colored governance.

And the Tidö parties have now, according to information to Expressen, concluded an agreement to begin a review of these assignments, as part of a larger review of the governance of the authorities that SD has been involved in and pushed for.

It is about the requirements for the promotion of gender equality, through so-called gender mainstreaming, which are inscribed in the regulatory letters and also the goals for sustainable development, Agenda 2030.

### Missions for new arrivals are removed

SD and the government have also agreed to remove the mandate that cultural institutions and other authorities must employ newly arrived interns. Changes to be implemented at the turn of the next year, 2023–2024.

The agreement between SD and the government has not yet been communicated. But SD sees it as the beginning of a major restructuring of cultural policy, where a review will also be made of the "target structures" that govern other cultural activities, including Swedish film, which according to SD is surrounded by clear political governance.

However, how big the changes will be in practice remains to be seen, and SD emphasizes that it wants to show that the party's cultural policy is not at all as subversive as it is often portrayed. So far, the talks have also taken place without any friction to speak of.



According to SD, Swedish film is surrounded by clear political governance.  
Photo: Jeppe Gustafsson/TT

Whether left or right, the political arguments to go after culture always amount to the pot calling the kettle black in terms of trying to steer it in *their* particular identity politics direction.

For the people it amounts to whether or not they have freedom of expression.

### "Lucia was a woman"

But the debate in recent times about Lucia and fairytale moments with drag queens, where local SD politicians with national support have intervened to put an end to these elements, has once again put the finger on the conflict with SD that some warned about in the formation of the government.

According to Mattias Bäckström Johansson, the local SD politicians, who have been heavily criticized by the Liberals, among others, have ended up right in their considerations both in the case of the fairy tale moments and the Lucia that was stopped.

- There was a clear expectation of a traditional Lucia train, but they took the opportunity to provoke. It is not open to interpretation whether Lucia was a man or woman, but Lucia was a woman. Here you have to see who is doing politics, he says.

### Want to review the financing

Mattias Bäckström Johansson sees, despite the differences of opinion in these cases, good opportunities to unite forward on cultural policy. From the party, culture is now also highlighted as a priority issue that you "must drill into".

As part of that, SD also wants to review the funding of culture - because it is also clearly characterized by left-wing governance, they say. In the current situation, culture that bears a norm-critical and identity-political stamp is favoured, says SD.

- The governance that survives from the previous red-green government creates greater conditions for certain cultural workers or a certain orientation of culture to be able to get it tax-financed. That kind of political control of culture is inappropriate.

- Art must be free. We should not be a country that bans different things. But there is no human right in taking part of taxpayers' money, says Mattias Bäckström Johansson.

### "SD has been allowed to make comments"

In a written comment on Thursday morning, Minister of Culture Parisa Liljestrand (M) writes that "the principle of arm's length distance" follows from the Tidö Agreement.

\* This means that SD has been given the opportunity to comment on a small number of regulatory letters, where completely new assignments are given to cultural institutions. This is so that all the cooperating parties can see that the agreement on arm's length distance is maintained, \* she writes, but also adds that there was "a consensus" and that SD has not made any comments.

She further writes that SD and the government agree "to review the assignments to see how we can work in a more efficient way with the governance of authorities in, for example, gender equality and the climate issue", but emphasizes that it is an issue that even the Moderates driven.

"They were right to ban"

vs.

"we shouldn't ban different things"

On a local level, SD loses its control over the city of Sölvesborg after a 4 year reign in Jimmie Åkesson's home town. A genuine political coup saw the local Social Democrats (S) and the Moderates (M) join forces to push SD back into opposition even though they had received the most votes (38.87%). Louise Erixon (SD), former wife of Åkesson and now *former* mayor of Sölvesborg, calls it a "huge betrayal of the voters". Even if the irony is lost on Erixon, she goes on record to state that she's fine with being in opposition, "it's where SD does their best work". By the summer of 2023 it will become clear what she truly meant.

**Louise Erixon (SD): "A huge betrayal of the voters"**

**The Sweden Democrats in Sölvesborg made a record election - but still lost power after the Moderates switched sides. For the party's group leader Louise Erixon (SD), the news came as a shock.**

- It was unreal, she says to SVT Nyheter Blekinge.

The Moderates are changing sides in Sölvesborg and forming a political government together with S, C and the SoL party. The announcement came on Friday morning, and was received with shock by Louise Erixon (SD).

- "I was a bit taken by surprise. It is a huge betrayal of the voters. It is unprecedented, she says to SVT Nyheter Blekinge.

### Strongly critical of the Conservatives

According to Louise Erixon, this is a result of the Conservatives making themselves impossible to negotiate with.

- "They have only cared about well-paid posts and personal income, and have refused to talk about politics or negotiate about the posts with us, but have only issued ultimatums. So you never get to a negotiating position.

You reached almost 40 per cent of the electoral support in Sölvesborg, but still lost power. Are you self-critical?

- What I'm trying to convey is that we never got to negotiations. We never got any feedback from the Moderates.

### Will lead in opposition

She goes on to say that she plans to continue to lead the Sweden Democrats in opposition during the coming parliamentary term.

- "That's my approach, absolutely. Of course it would be fun to continue to change Sölvesborg in the right direction, and we'll see now what happens with all the ongoing projects. But it's fun to be in opposition too, there's nothing the Sweden Democrats are better at," says Louise Erixon (SD).

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

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/ BLEKINGE



Louise Erixon (SD) tänker fortsätta leda Sverigedemokraterna i Sölvesborg i opposition. Foto: SVT

## Louise Erixon (SD): "Ett oerhört svek mot väljarna"

UPPDATERAD 24 OKTOBER 2022 PUBLICERAD 21 OKTOBER 2022

Sverigedemokraterna i Sölvesborg gjorde ett rekordval - men tappar ändå makten efter att Moderaterna bytt sida. För partiets gruppleddare Louise Erixon (SD) kom beskedet som en chock.

- Det var överkligt, säger hon till SVT Nyheter Blekinge.

Moderaterna byter sida i Sölvesborg och formar politiskt styre tillsammans med S, C och SoL-partiet. Beskedet kom under fredagsmorgonen, och mottogs med chock av Louise Erixon (SD).

- Jag blev lite tagen på sängen. Det är ett oerhört svek mot väljarna. Det saknar motsätycke, säger hon till SVT Nyheter Blekinge.

Valet 2022 Blekinge

Moderat försökte stoppa val av S-ordförande: "Politiskt... Nya styret klubbat efter turbulent höst: "Klarna..."

### Starkt kritiska mot Moderaterna

Enligt Louise Erixon är det här ett resultat av att Moderaterna gjort sig omöjliga att förhandla med.

- De har bara bytt sig om välavlönade poster och personlig inkomst, och har vägrat att prata om politik eller förhandla om posterna med oss utan bara ställt ultimatum. Då kommer man aldrig fram till ett förhandlingsläge.

Nå nudda nästan 40 procent av väljarstämde i Sölvesborg, men tappar ändå makten. Är ni självkritiska?

- Det jag försöker förmedla är att vi aldrig kom till förhandlingar. Vi fick aldrig någon återkoppling från Moderaterna.

### Kommer leda i opposition

Hon säger vidare att hon planerar att fortsätta leda Sverigedemokraterna i opposition under den kommande mandatperioden.

- Det är min ingång, absolut. Det är klart att det hade varit roligt att fortsätta förändra Sölvesborg i rätt riktning, och vi får se nu vad som händer med alla pågående projekt. Men det är roligt att sitta i opposition också, det finns inget Sverigedemokraterna är bättre på, säger Louise Erixon (SD).



In concrete terms the Tidö-government wants librarians, school teachers, nurses and doctors, and anyone working as a civil servant to start working as border police and denounce anyone who does not have the proper documentation. The Swedish Library Law states that libraries need to provide access to all and would put librarians in breach of a law either way if the Denunciation Law is voted in: either in breach of the Library Law or of the Denunciation Law as they are in direct contradiction. The work on the Denunciation Law was paused after protests, at least in its media coverage, but is planned to be taken up again in 2024. A tactic reminiscent of what Israel or Georgia have done: when new legislation proposals receive widespread protest they get postponed until a later date, but never seem to get rejected.



1) "The Library does not denounce"-logo for the protest movement 2) From information specialists to denouncers 3) Over a thousand protested against mandatory reporting: "tearing apart the Sweden we know" 4) Decision: Gothenburg employees do not have to report undocumented migrants.

[The City of Gothenburg sent a message to national governance that it would not comply if the Denunciation Law came into force]

In other news, the art world sees the creation of a new professional organisation under the name Visual Arts Sweden (Bildkonst Sverige) to represent *organisers* in the visual arts sector. Similar to KRO, but this time not for the artists but for those *that show art*.

The SD rhetorical tricks to drive public perception remain smart and focused: in 2019 Jimmie Åkesson purposefully, without exception, added the explanation "provocative" when discussing the cultural policy term "challenging art". In the first party leaders' debate of 2023 he consistently substituted the adult stage name for the child-friendly one on national TV. The Drag story hour-performer uses "Miss Shameless" in all communication for children and "Shameless wine-whore" for adult performances. A minor slip of the tongue, but one where the effect is immediate.

AFTONBLADET

START SPORT PLUS UPPTÄCK NÖJE TIPSÅ KULTUR LEDARE TV

Nyheter / Jimmie Åkesson

## Storbråk i TV-debatten om "Skamlös vinhora"



Olof Svensson



Publicerad 2023-05-07

+ Följ



Mejla

Dela
 Spara

Dragshowartisten "Skamlös vinhora" fick partiledarna att skrika i munnen på varandra.

Jimmie Åkesson vill stoppa – men får mothugg från höger och vänster.  
– Du kan väl inte bli upprörd? Hur osäker kan du vara? Vad tror du kan hända? Bli inte så himla nervös av det här, vi kan gå dit ihop, säger Johan Pehrson (L).

Jimmie Åkesson var den enda av debattörerna som vill att politikerna ska kunna stoppa olämplig kultur.

– Det är helt vansinnigt att en "Skamlös vinhora" får läsa sagor för barn. Hade en nazist kunnat läsa sagor från barn? säger han.

Han anklagade vidare MP-språkröret Märta Stenevi för att ha politiserat kulturen när hon hade makten.

– Ni har styrt kulturen mot feminism och mångfald.

Stenevi svarade att det är "homofobisk dravel" och anklagar Åkesson för att vilja styra kulturen.



Jimmie Åkesson (SD).

1 / 2

Foto: SVT

– Vill du ha nazister istället för dragshowartister i kulturen. Det var spännande att höra, säger hon.

Åkesson fick kritik även från samarbetspartierna.

– Jag tycker att lokala politiker ska anamma armångerds avstånd till kulturen. Man ska vara varsam med det, säger Ulf Kristersson.

Johan Pehrson anklagade Jimmie Åkesson för att vara nervös och frågar sig vad som är så provocerande med dragshowartisten.

– Hur osäker kan du vara? Vad tror du kan hända? sa han.

### Big fight in TV debate on "Shameless Wine Whore"

The drag show artist "Shameless Wine Whore" had the party leaders screaming at each other.

Jimmie Åkesson wants to stop it – but he's getting backlash from the right and the left.

– You can't be upset, can you? How insecure can you be?

What do you think might happen? Don't get so nervous about this, we can go there together, says Johan Pehrson (L).

Jimmie Åkesson was the only one of the debaters who wants politicians to be able to stop inappropriate culture.

– "It's completely insane that a 'shameless wine whore' can read fairy tales to children. Would a Nazi be able to read fairy tales from children? he said.

He also accused MP Märta Stenevi of politicising culture when she was in power.

– "You have steered culture towards feminism and diversity.

Stenevi replied that this is "homophobic rubbish" and accused Åkesson of wanting to control culture.

– "Do you want Nazis instead of drag show artists in the culture? That was exciting to hear," she says.

Åkesson also received criticism from the co-operation parties.

– "I think local politicians should adopt an arm's length approach to culture. You have to be careful with that," says Ulf Kristersson.

Johan Pehrson accused Jimmie Åkesson of being nervous and wondered what was so provocative about the drag show artist.

– How insecure can you be? What do you think might happen? he said.

In March, the Sweden Democrats in Stockholm propose to have referendums on public art. Instead of trained cultural workers, the general public should get to vote for which art they want to see in the public domain. It is but the umpteenth proposal that is impossible to execute, but which is targeting the SD voters' base and driving the new art-related buzz word SD wants to focus on for 2023: Culture Elites (kultureliten).

After the first rent shock became public in 2022, namely that the largest artist-studio organisation (Konstepidemin) in Gothenburg would see their rent raised from 400,000 to 4 million, the impossible rent increases around the country and the accompanied withdrawal of municipal support for the arts is going to dominate the news on art and culture at regular intervals. The list is too long and case specific to pinpoint the political and societal ill-will for each.

**Göteborgs-Posten**

Nyheter Göteborg Sport Ekonomi Kultur Ledare Debatt ☰ Q

## Nya hyrorna kan tvinga bort Konstepidemin och KKV

Konstepidemin kan gå från att betala 400 000 till fyra miljoner och Konstnärernas kollektivverkstad riskerar fördubblad hyra. Nu larmar båda verksamheter om att de kan tvingas lämna.

Some of the most noteworthy cases: the museum for contemporary graphic arts (*Grafikens hus*) loses its municipal support from the city of Södertälje with which it had been working for 8 years to build a new house after a fire destroyed the old museum in 2014. The New Music and Intermedia Art centre, *Fylkingen*, an artist-run venue and member based organization for contemporary experimental music and performance art celebrates its 90th birthday (making it the oldest forum of its kind in the world. Founded in 1933) by having to move out of its rented premises in the centre of Stockholm. An impossible rent increase and an added condition not to make noise after certain hours makes it impossible for the organisation to continue as before. *Musikaliska*, Sweden's oldest concert hall and music academy, is also faced with an impossible rent increase. In many of the cases the property owner is actually the Swedish state that decides to ask for *market conform rents* from its *own* institutions and sabotage their own imposed assignments to keep art and culture accessible.

## MUSIKALISKA KVARTERET ÄR HOTAT AV BYRÅKRATER

Musikaliska Kvarteret i Stockholm är under akut hot. Efter att det varit en bred samsyn om vägen framåt rycker Statens Fastighetsverk undan mattan genom att höja hyran från 4,1 till 6,5 miljoner kronor. Detta utan att lokalerna, som planen låg, har anpassats, skriver Kerstin Brunnberg, Erik Lundin, Lisa Nilsson, Ann Sofie von Otter med flera.

### THE MUSICAL QUARTER IS UNDER THREAT FROM BUREAUCRATS

After a broad consensus on the way forward, the National Property Board is pulling the rug out from under it by raising the rent from SEK 4.1 to 6.5 million. This without the premises, as planned, having been adapted.

### Rent shock increase for Sweden's oldest concert hall

Musikaliska in Stockholm is Sweden's oldest concert hall. Now the Swedish Wind Symphony Orchestra may have to move out after rent negotiations with the National Property Board, which owns the building, have stalled. – "If we move, the building will be empty and we won't make any money at all," says Ingela Lindh, chair of the board of the Swedish Wind Symphony Orchestra and Musikaliska.

All translated with DeepL.com (free version)

svt NYHETER

Nyheter

Lokalt

Sport

SVT Play

Barn

/ KULTUR

## Hyran chockhöjs för Sveriges äldsta konserthus

UPPDATERAD 22 DECEMBER 2022 PUBLICERAD 22 DECEMBER 2022

Musikaliska i Stockholm är Sveriges äldsta konserthus. Nu kan Blåsarsymfonikerna behöva flytta ut efter att hyresförhandlingarna med Statens fastighetsverk, som äger huset, har kört fast. – Om vi flyttar står huset tomt, då tjänar man inga pengar alls, säger Ingela Lindh, styrelseordförande för Blåsarsymfonikerna och Musikaliska.

Musikaliska byggdes 1877 som en musikhögskola för Musikaliska akademien och huset har huserat storheter som Birgit Nilsson och Hugo Alfvén. Det är också här de första Nobelprisen delades ut.

2011 flyttade Blåsarsymfonikerna in och de har haft den anrikaulturminnesbyggnaden som sin hemmascen. Men det är ett hus med inbyggda egränsningar. Det finns varken tillräckligt med publikutrymmen eller toaletter, essutom saknas det ett bra kök för att kunna bedriva servering så att man kan äna pengar på annat än bara biljetter.

The turnaround: the Graphic Arts Centre will not be allowed to move into the foundry

Grafikens hus has now announced that its future in Södertälje is uncertain. In a press release, the association states that the Culture and Leisure Board plans to withdraw its support from 2024 and that Grafikens hus will not be allowed to move into the intended premises.

– After almost eight years of waiting for its own building, the municipality's promise is now withdrawn. "Being loyal and following through on a joint plan has been a matter of course for us," says Nina Beckmann, director of Grafikens Hus in the press release.

svt NYHETER

Nyheter

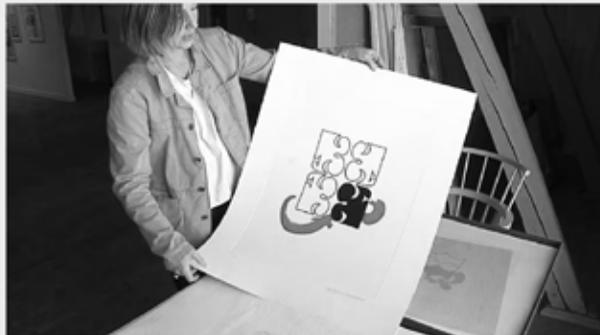
Lokalt

Sport

SVT Play

Barn

/ SÖDERTÄLJE



Grafikens hus hade tidigare sin verksamhet i Mariefred men har i flera års tid planerat att flytta in i lokalerna i gjuteriet i Södertälje. Foto: SVT

## Vändningen: Grafikens hus får inte flytta in i gjuteriet

UPPDATERAD 31 AUGUSTI 2025 PUBLICERAD 23 AUGUSTI 2025

Nu meddelar Grafikens hus att deras framtid i Södertälje är osäker. I ett pressmeddelande uppger föreningen att kultur- och fritidsnämnden planerar att dra tillbaka sitt stöd från 2024 och att Grafikens hus inte får flytta in i de tilltänkta lokalerna.

– Efter snart åtta års väntan på ett eget hus dras nu kommunens löfte tillbaka. Att vara lojala och fullfölja en gemensam plan har för oss varit en självklarhet, säger Nina Beckmann, museichef på Grafikens Hus i pressmeddelandet.

The case that shocked the art scene the most remains the municipality and city Norrköping's decision to simply get rid of the department of culture altogether - very much like we saw Bolsonaro do in Chapter 1: Context. The rhetoric from Moderate Sophia Jarl follows the 2023 buzz-word memo and labels those supporting the arts as Culture Elites. Culture is to conform to demand and supply thinking and get with the program.

### The cultural elite are part of the spoilt Sweden

Moving from a Social Democratic government to a bourgeois municipal management attracts various special interests that feel disadvantaged.

My priority is school, health care and growth to secure the future of Norrköping, writes Norrköping's municipal councillor Sophia Jarl (M).

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

### Stefan Jonsson: Norrköping shows what neoliberalism paired with neofascism looks like in practice

At the turn of the year, municipal politicians in Norrköping will no longer have to worry about keeping an arm's length from institutions and artists. Because then there will no longer be anything to keep an arm's length from, since the municipality has abolished culture. It resembles a bad satire, writes Stefan Jonsson.

Another step was taken the other week when Jarl's hand-picked municipal director presented the municipality's new organisation. The new model abolishes the culture and leisure administration and dismisses the city's head of culture. Cultural activities are incorporated into a new Growth Office. The Art Museum and the City Museum are placed in the Attraction sub-office together with business development, tourism and sport. Libraries, education and youth culture will be placed in the Quality of Life sub-office. Other activities are placed under the event company Experience Norrköping.

The consequences? Norrköping City Museum won the Swedish Museum of the Year 2021 for its examination of the history of Nazism in the city and its steadfast handling of the wave of hatred and harassment from Sweden Democrat politicians and anti-Semites. The city's head of culture, Maria Modig, was crystal clear in her defence of the museum's autonomy. Now they are getting their comeuppance.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

**EXPRESSEN**

Norrköping

## Kultureliten är en del av det bortskämda Sverige

Publicerad 23 aug 2023 kl 16.38

Att gå från ett socialdemokratiskt styre till en borgerlig kommunledning lockar fram olika särintressen som upplever sig som fördelade.

Min prioritering är skola, vård och omsorg och tillväxt för att säkra framtiden i Norrköping, skriver Norrköpings kommunalråd Sophia Jarl (M).

**DAGENS NYHETER.**

STEFAN JONSSON

## Stefan Jonsson: Norrköping visar hur nyliberalism parad med nyfascism ser ut i praktiken

Publicerad 27 sep 2023

Sophia Jarl (M), kommunstyrelsens ordförande i Norrköping. Foto: Magnus Karlsson

Vid årsskiftet kommer kommunpolitikerna i Norrköping inte längre att behöva oroa sig för att hålla armlängs avstånd till institutioner och konstutövare. För då finns inte längre något att hålla avstånd till, eftersom kommunen avskaffat kulturen. Det liknar en dålig satir, skriver Stefan Jonsson.

Stefan Jonsson  
Text

**Majoritetens diktatur, kallas det av statsvetarna**

Häromveckan togs ytterligare ett steg när Jarls handplockade kommundirektör presenterade kommunens nya organisation. Den nya modellen avskaffar kultur- och fritidsförvaltningen rakt av och säger upp stadens kulturchef. Kulturverksamheterna inordnas i ett nytt Tillväxtkontor. Konstmuseet och Stadsmuseet hamnar på underkontoret Attraktionskraft tillsammans med näringsutveckling, turism och idrott. Bibliotek, bildning och ungdomskultur på underkontoret Livskvalitet. Annat hamnar hos eventbolaget Upplev Norrköping.

**Följderna?** Norrköpings stadsmuseum blev 2021 årets svenska museum för sin granskning av nazismens historia i staden och sin ständaktiga hantering av den våg av hat och trakasserier som kom från SD-politiker och antisemiter. Stadens kulturchef Maria Modig var glasklar i sitt försvar av museets autonomi. Nu får de sina straff.

Läs fler [texter av Stefan Jonsson](#) och även:

[Kristina Lindqvist: En litteraturkanon är nationalistisk disciplinering - till en billig peng](#)

Text

Stefan Jonsson

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In May, SD representative Alexander Christiansson states for the first time on public record that SD wants the Cultural policy goal gone. It is not picked up by the media, as it was stated in a debate by the Parliamentary culture committee in one of their sessions. It had never been a secret that SD disapproves of the Cultural policy goal and the connected arm's length principle but an outright admission that they want to get rid of it altogether had never been formulated before.

The culture policy goals state: "Culture is to be a dynamic, challenging and independent force based on the freedom of expression. Everyone is to have the opportunity to participate in cultural life. Creativity, diversity and artistic quality are to be integral parts of society's development." On May 11th, 2023 Alexander Christiansson SD, stated in a debate at Riksdagens kulturutskottet that "SD wants the cultural policy goal removed"

(video between 1:03:33-1:03:53 "SD vill att Kulturpolitisk mål tas bort")

SVERIGES RIKSDAG

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Start > Webb-tv > Kultur för alla (Debat om förslag 11 maj 2023)

Debat om förslag 11 maj 2023 1 timme 40 minuter 52 sekunder

Kultur för alla

Anförandelista

01:03:15	Alexander Christiansson (SD)
01:05:03	Lars Mejeri Larsson (S)
01:05:34	Alexander Christiansson (SD)
01:07:32	Lars Mejeri Larsson (S)
01:09:18	Alexander Christiansson (SD)
01:11:09	Yasirki Tsourelaki (O)
01:26:51	Catarina Deremar (C)
01:33:07	Ewa Pihl Skrabbe (S)

Delat/Bidåda in Ladda ner Eget fönster Byt kvalitet

svt NYHETER

Lokalt

/ KULTUR



Nya kulturtalespersonen Alexander Christiansson (SD) vill omdefiniera begreppet armlängds avstånd. Foto: TT/SVT

## SD vill omdefiniera armlängds avstånd: Politiker ska kunna stoppa kultur

UPPDATERAD 17 FEBRUARI 2023 PUBLICERAD 17 FEBRUARI 2023

SD:s nya kulturtalesperson Alexander Christiansson vill omdefiniera begreppet armlängds avstånd, och menar att politiker ska ha rätt att stoppa kultur. – Jag får ha en åsikt och stoppa om jag är politiker, säger han till Kulturnyheterna.

Begreppet "armlängds avstånd" måste omdefinieras enligt Sverigedemokraternas nya kulturtalesperson Alexander Christiansson – som menar att dagens formulering är "ett stort problem":

– Det är viktigt att vi definierar vad det betyder och hur det ska se ut, så att det inte finns ett narrativ som är satt av en ideologi, säger Christiansson, som menar att begreppet hittills präglats "kraftigt av en vänsterideologi".

SD wants to redefine arm's length:  
Politicians should be able to stop culture

SD's new culture spokesperson Alexander Christiansson wants to redefine the concept of arm's length, and believes that politicians should have the right to stop culture.

– I'm allowed to have an opinion and to stop if I'm a politician, he told the Culture News.

The concept of "arm's length" must be redefined according to the Sweden Democrats' new culture spokesperson Alexander Christiansson – who believes that the current formulation is "a big problem" – It is important that we define what it means and what it should look like, so that there is not a narrative that is set by an ideology, says Christiansson, who believes that the concept has so far been "strongly characterised by a left-wing ideology".

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

In the summer, Louise Erixon from Sölvesborg hits the news again to show how SD approaches democracy. After the political coup that saw her pushed into opposition she managed to gather the "necessary" signatures on a petition to ask for a local referendum on the double remuneration for the municipal leaders (S and M). In other words, she lost in the political game and turned to a *people's initiative* - meant to give the general public a democratic tool to influence policy - to go after her political opponents financially. The follow-up story one month later sheds even more light on the SD-mindset and their respect for the democratic process: one in five signatures of the petition turned out to be wrong. The name Louise Erixon appeared three times on the signatories list, each time with slightly different spellings.



**Message: Ready for referendum on fees in Sölvesborg**

Enough signatures have now been collected in Sölvesborg, according to the SD-led opposition parties. This means that a referendum on the moderate municipal councillor Kith Mårtensson's fee is to be expected in the municipality.

The issue of politicians' expenses in Sölvesborg has been a hotly contested one since the Moderates left the Samstyret government after the election and took power together with the Social Democrats.

The new government decided to pay the M-leader Kith Mårtensson a full-time salary, which meant two full-time municipal councillors.

At the end of January, the Sweden Democrats, the Christian Democrats and the Civic Federation initiated a referendum on whether the fee for the second municipal councillor position should be reduced back to 20 per cent.

**Submitted on Tuesday**

For a referendum to be held, around 1,400 signatures were needed.

During a press conference on Tuesday, SD, KD and MED announced that they had received 1,830 votes. However, it is unclear exactly how many of these are valid, as some people signed several times.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)



**Referendum in Sölvesborg: One in five names incorrect**

Every fifth signature on the petition for a referendum on the fee issue in Sölvesborg is incorrect. This is the result of an investigation by BLT.

Among other things, around 300 people have signed two or more times. Among them is Erixon herself, who signed three times.



The 2023 summer *art* scandal came from Gothenburg where the Moderates, Christian Democrats and the Liberals objected to the Dreamers' Monument (Drömmarnas monument) in front of the Gothenburg Art hall (Konsthall) and demanded that it be taken down. This time the bourgeois government parties, as they call themselves, didn't even need SD to lead the attacks on *art not of their liking*. A dangerous precedent.



Petra Johansson, konstnärlig ledare på Göteborgs konsthall menar att politiker inte ska lägga sig i konstnärliga beslut. Hampus Magnusson (M) vill ha bort konstverket Drömmarnas monument på Götaplatsen. Foto: SVT / Magnus Dennert

## Politiskt utspel om "Drömmarnas monument" på Götaplatsen i Göteborg

UPPDATERAD 22 JUNI 2023 PUBLICERAD 22 JUNI 2023

**Bort med "Drömmarnas monument" på Götaplatsen – det säger Moderaterna i Göteborg, som dessutom menar att verket är skyldigt att söka bygglov.**

– Det är viktigt att markera att politiker ska inte fatta konstnärliga beslut, svarar Petra Johansson, konstnärlig ledare Göteborgs konsthall.

Konstverket "Drömmarnas monument" är en del i utställningen "Jag föreställer mig ett hem", som ingår i Göteborgs konsthalls 100-årsfestival. Längst upp på Götaplatsen står det väl synligt för alla göteborgare som går Avenyn upp. Två husvagnar utgör konst-atejer inne på området, gunga och rutschkana, en mängd ihopsnickrade skyltar och så kanske Göteborgs mest uppseendeväckande utredas med utsikt över Avenyn.

**"Ser ut som en soptipp"**

Men det faller inte alla i smaken.

– Att bygga upp något som ser ut som en soptipp, mitt i göteborgarnas vardagsrum, det är inte okej, säger Hampus Magnusson (M) vice ordf i Stadsbyggnadsnämnden.

Moderaterna vill, tillsammans med Kristdemokraterna och Liberalerna ha bort konstverket, och menar att det trotsingen hade krävts bygglov.

– Hade det kommit upp till byggnadsnämnden så hade vi sagt nej till det, säger Hampus Magnusson (M), vice ordf i Stadsbyggnadsnämnden.

Socialdemokraterna ser inget problem utan menar att verket är en del av en levande konststad.

**Ska inte lägga sig i konsten**

Göteborgs konsthalls konstnärliga ledare, Petra Johansson, säger att om politikerna bedömer att det krävs bygglov så får den frågan undersökas. Men hon understryker att det inte är politikens sak att lägga sig i vilken konst som ställs ut.

– Det är viktigt att markera att politiker inte ska fatta konstnärliga beslut, säger hon.

**Utredar bygglovet**

Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen har gjort bedömningen att verket inte utgör någon risk för hälsa och säkerhet. Men de ska nu utreda om det är ett svartbygge som egentligen kräver ett bygglov. Handläggningstiden för ärendet tros dock bli så lång att utställningen, som avslutas den 27 augusti, då väntas vara över och Drömmarnas monument redan nedmonterat.

✉ Magnus Dennert

Uppdaterad: 22 juni 2023 kl 13:45

Publicerad: 22 juni 2023 kl 13:39

🔍 Hittat språk- eller faktafel i texten? Skriv och berätta.

### Political statement on the "Monument of Dreams" at Götaplatsen in Gothenburg

**Remove the "Monument to Dreams" at Götaplatsen – that's what the Moderates in Gothenburg say, who also believe that the work is obliged to apply for a building permit.**

– "It's important to emphasise that politicians should not make artistic decisions," says Petra Johansson, artistic director of the Gothenburg Art Gallery.

The artwork "Monument to Dreams" is part of the exhibition "I imagine a home", which is part of the Gothenburg Art Centre's 100-year festival. At the top of Götaplatsen, it is clearly visible to all Gothenburgers walking up avenue. Two caravans form art studios inside the area, a swing and a slide, a multitude of signs cobbled together and perhaps Gothenburg's most striking outhouse overlooking the Avenue.

### "Looks like a rubbish dump"

But not everyone likes it.

– "Building something that looks like a rubbish dump in the middle of Gothenburgers' living rooms is not okay," says Hampus Magnusson (M), deputy chairman of the City Planning Committee.

The Moderates, together with the Christian Democrats and the Liberals, want the artwork removed, and believe that it would probably have required a building permit.

– "If it had come up to the building committee, we would have said no to

it," says Hampus Magnusson (M), deputy chairman of the Urban Planning Committee.

The Social Democrats don't see a problem, saying that the work is part of a living art city.

**Should not interfere with art**  
Gothenburg Art Centre's artistic director, Petra Johansson, says that if politicians decide that a building permit is required, the issue will be examined. But she emphasises that it is not for politicians to interfere in what art is exhibited.

– "It's important to emphasise that politicians should not make artistic decisions," she says.

### Investigating the building permit

The city planning department has concluded that the work does not pose any risk to health and safety. But they will now investigate whether it is an illegal construction that actually requires a building permit. However, the processing time for the case is expected to be so long that the exhibition, which ends on 27 August, is expected to be over and the Monument of Dreams already dismantled.

September 2023, Jimmie Åkesson is reported to be invited to the Nobel Prize ceremony and dinner. An honour that the Nobel organisation had not wanted to bestow on him and his party SD since 2010. When the Nobel organisation announced their new position Jimmie responded on his social media that "he'll be busy that day". Not only was this one more step in regulating the extreme, i.e. making the extreme common and acceptable, once this general acceptance was formulated, SD dismissed it.

sverigeradio Start Nyheter Poddar & program Kanaler Min sida Mer



Jimmie Åkesson (SD), Nobelbanketten. Foto: Jonas Ekström/TT

**NOBELSTIFTELSEN**

**Jimmie Åkesson (SD) välkomnas till Nobelfesten – praxis ändras**

2:22 min Min sida Dela

Publicerat torsdag 11 augusti 2023 kl 16:00

- Sverigedemokraternas partiledare Jimmie Åkesson kommer att få en inbjudan till årets Nobelfest i Stockholm.
- Nobelstiftelsens vd Vidar Helgesen säger i en interjuu med Ekot att den praxis som gällt sen 2010 nu ändrats genom ett beslut.
- Även alla ambassadörer i Sverige blir nu bjudna till prisceremonin. Förra året var inte Rysslands, Irans och Belaruss ambassadörer inbjudna till prisceremonin i Stockholm. Det var ett undantag då på grund av politiska utvecklingen, men i fortsättningen ska alla ambassadörer få komma.
- Nobelfesten har beslutat att etablera en ny praxis för inbjudningar till Nobelfesten och kommer i år att bjuda in samtliga partiledare för riksdagens partier, säger Vidar Helgesen.

### Jimmie Åkesson (SD) is welcomed to the Nobel party – practice changes

The leader of the Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Åkesson, will receive an invitation to this year's Nobel Festival in Stockholm.

The Nobel Foundation's CEO Vidar Helgesen says in an interview with Ekot that the practice that has applied since 2010 has now been changed by a decision: All ambassadors in Sweden will now also be invited to the award ceremony. Last year, the ambassadors of Russia, Iran and Belarus were not invited to the award ceremony in Stockholm. This was an exception due to political developments, but in future all ambassadors will be allowed to attend.

– The Nobel Foundation has decided to establish a new practice for invitations to the Nobel ceremony and will this year invite all the leaders of the parliamentary parties, says Vidar Helgesen.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

### Åkesson (SD) blows off the Nobel party: I'm busy then

Jimmie Åkesson (SD) declines the Nobel invitation. He has not yet decided what he will do instead.

"I'm very busy", he says to P4 Östergötland.

sverigeradio Start Nyheter Poddar & program Kanaler Min sida Mer



Foto: Pontus Landahl/TT

**NOBEL**

**Åkesson (SD) nobbar Nobelfesten: Jag är upptagen då**

0:32 min Min sida Dela

Publicerat torsdag 11 augusti 2023 kl 16:55

- Jimmie Åkesson (SD) nobbar nobelfesten. Vad han ska göra istället har han inte bestämt än.
- "Jag är väldigt upptagen", säger han till P4 Östergötland.

Throughout the year small protest initiatives pop up in the arts, most call out for broad support but no efforts are made to actually work trans-disciplinary, e.g. Three Minutes of Silence (Tre Tysta Minuter) tries to re-enact a protest from 1988 and calls out to have three silent minutes from 20:15 until 20:18, whether it's in the middle of a performance or broadcast or... The initiative gets a little press attention but the event does not transcend the own discipline of the performing arts.

svt NYHETER Nyheter Lokalt Sport SVT Play Bar



I klippet hör du initiativtagarna Isabel Cruz Liljegren och Simon Norrthon, ordförande för Fackförbundet scen och film, berätta varför de äterskapar manifestationen Tre tysta minuter. Foto: SVT

## Tre tysta minuter för kulturen: "Vi lämnas att äta smulor"

UPPDATERAD 17 AUGUSTI 2023 PUBLICERAD 17 AUGUSTI 2023

Den 1 september 2023 ska scenkonstssverige tystna under tre minuter i en nationell manifestation för att visa hur tom och tyst Sverige blir utan kultur. Syftet är att påverka politiker att verka för bättre ekonomiska och strukturella villkor för kulturen.

Manifestationen föregås av ett upprop som undertecknats av bland andra konstnärliga ledare och teaterchefer för Dramaten, Riksteatern, Läns teatrarna och Stockholm, Malmö och Uppsala stadsteater.

Ett hundratal teatrar och fria grupper över hela Sverige kommer att delta i manifestationen på något sätt.

– Somliga kommer att hålla tre tysta minuter i mitten av en föreställning. Andra kommer att delta i någon av de stora demonstrationer som kommer att hållas både i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö, säger Isabel Cruz Liljegren som är dramatiker och en av initiativtagarna bakom uppropet.

### Three silent minutes for culture: "We are left to eat crumbs"

On 1 September 2023, Sweden's performing arts sector will fall silent for three minutes in a national demonstration to show how empty and silent Sweden will be without culture. The aim is to influence politicians to work for better financial and structural conditions for culture.

– Some will hold three minutes of silence in the middle of a performance. Others will participate in one of the large demonstrations that will be held in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö," says Isabel Cruz Liljegren, a playwright and one of the initiators of the petition.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

All year long Sweden's NATO-membership spectacle was present in the national and international press. The political games around the membership merit a book of their own. End of November, Åkesson unveils his next target and announces during the annual party conference that SD wants to demolish Mosques in Sweden. When he is asked about the impact such a political direction might have on the ongoing NATO process he answers that he's "tired of these references to the NATO process".

DAGENS NYHETER. News Sweden The world Economy Culture Sports The climate Leader ON Debate

EUROPEAN POLITICS

## Åkesson wants to change the constitution and demolish mosques

Updated 19/05/2023 Published 02/05/2023



Jimmie Åkesson was re-elected as Sweden's party leader at SD's country days in Västerås. Photo: Jessica Gust TT

VÄSTERÅS. Let the police intercept religious congregations and demolish mosques where anti-democratic propaganda is spread. This is how Jimmie Åkesson wants to fight Islamism.

When the government releases their second November budget the start of the financial cuts to the arts start becoming clearer. The rhetoric from Minister of Culture Parisa Liljestrand (M) is well planned and rehearsed. During a tough period of major inflation everyone needs to pitch in (except defence of course which needs to get more subsidies to manage the NATO membership condition of 2% of the country's BNP). Whenever protest is uttered the political reply is to balance it against an area that is regarded as more essential and it's formulated as a choice: art or healthcare, art or education, art or defence. There's only one choice possible.



**One billion less for culture in the government budget**

In the government's budget proposal for 2023, the cultural sector will receive SEK 9 billion – just over a billion less than this year. Free admission to state museums will disappear, but there will be a special investment in compensation for cultural creators.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)



/ KULTUR



"Vi vill bidra till att upprätthålla den kulturella infrastrukturen i regionerna", säger Kulturrådets generaldirektör Kajsa Ravin om varför Kulturrådet nu dirar ner på andra bidrag och ger dem till regionerna. Foto: Susanne Kronholm/Kulturrådet/Unsplash

**Kulturlivet bad regeringen om 90 miljoner i ökade bidrag – får 2 miljoner**

UPPDATERAD 26 JANUARI 2024 PUBLICERAD 23 JANUARI 2024

I kulturbudgeten utlovade regeringen 20 miljoner mer till det regionala kulturlivet för att kompensera för inflationens kostnadsökningar. När pengarna nu fördelas återstår 2,3 miljoner kronor – besparingar åter upp stora delar av anslaget. Regionerna bad sammantaget om 90 miljoner i förstärkning för 2024.

2,3 miljoner kronor är den lägsta nettoökningen av de statliga kulturbidragen sedan införandet av kultursamverkansmodellen 2011.

**The cultural sector asked the government for 90 million in increased subsidies – received 2 million**

In the culture budget, the government promised 20 million more to regional cultural organisations to compensate for inflation cost increases.

Now that the money is being distributed, SEK 2.3 million remains – savings are eating up large parts of the allocation. The regions asked for a total of SEK 90 million in reinforcement for 2024.

SEK 2.3 million is the lowest net increase in government cultural grants since the introduction of the cultural co-operation model in 2011.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

Aktuellt

# Regeringens kulturbudget rekordlåg

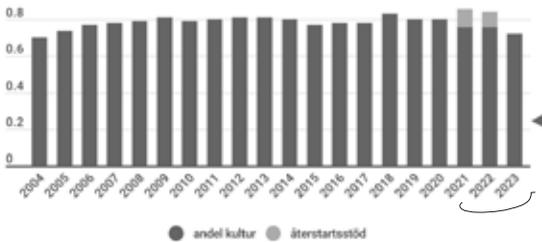
Kulturbudgetens andel av regeringens totala budget för 2023 är den lägsta på tjugo år, visar Magasin K:s genomgång.

Rebecka Gordan

1 december 2022



Kulturens budgetandel under två decennier



Kulturbudgetens andel i procent av den totala budgeten i det aktuella årets budgetproposition från regeringen. Källor: Kulturdepartementet för kulturbudgetens storlek, regeringen.se för summan av samliga utgiftsområden.

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## Government culture budget at record low

The culture budget's share of the government's total budget for 2023 is the lowest in twenty years, according to Magasin K's review.

Aktuellt

# Rekordlåg kulturbudget – igen

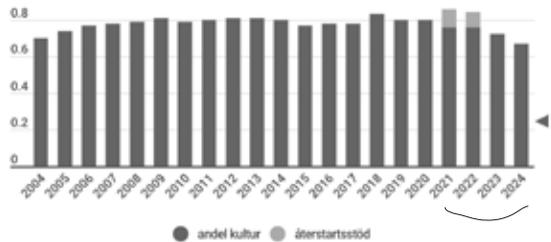
Kulturbudgetens andel av regeringens totala budget för 2024 är lägre än förra året, då den var lägst på tjugo år. Det visar Magasin K:s genomgång.

Rebecka Gordan

20 september 2023



Kulturens budgetandel under två decennier



Kulturbudgetens andel i procent av den totala budgeten i det aktuella årets budgetproposition från regeringen.

15 Shares

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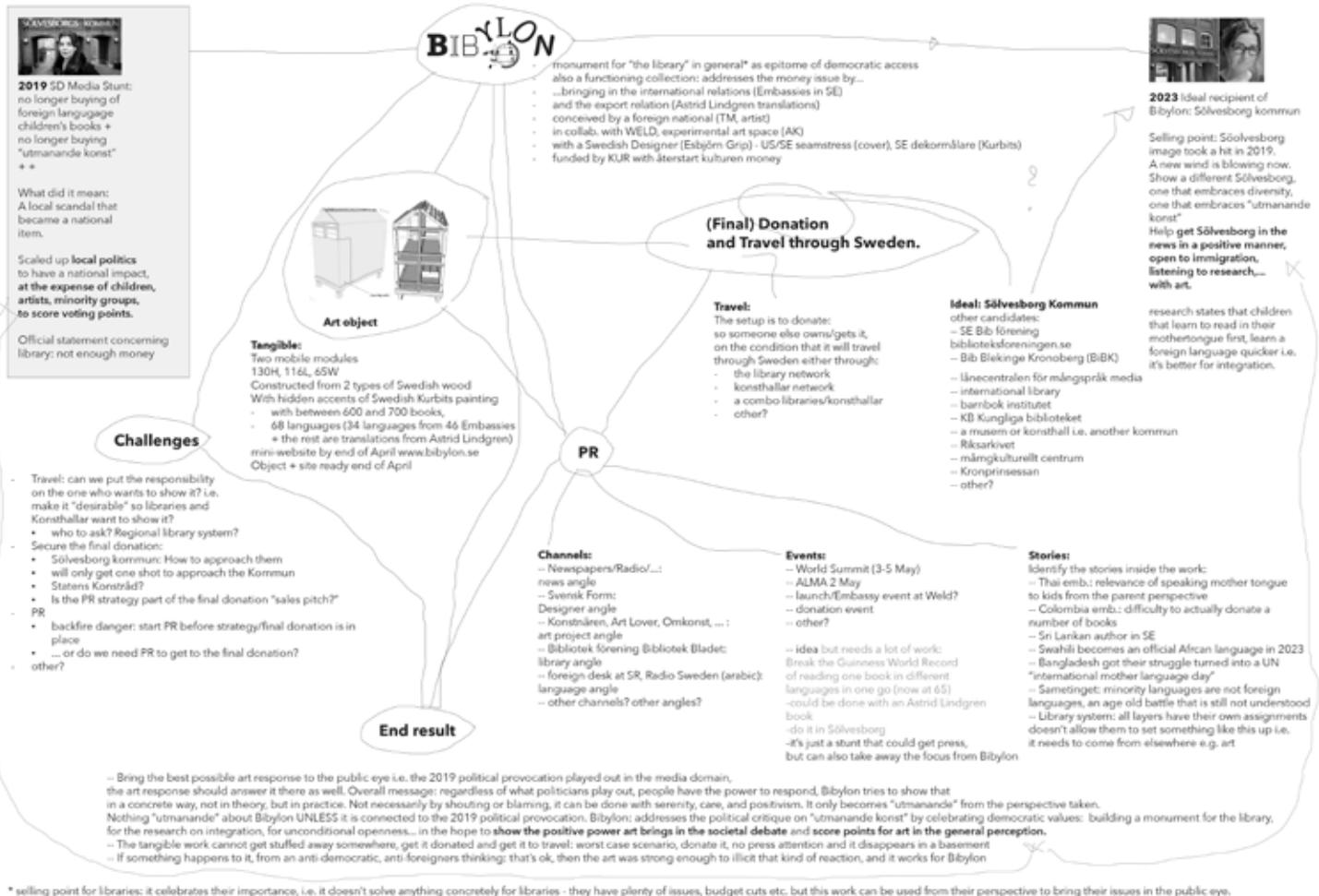
## Record low culture budget – again

The culture budget's share of the government's total budget for 2024 is lower than last year, when it was the lowest in twenty years. This is shown in Magasin K's review.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

2023 saw a mix of events push the art and culture sector a little bit closer to its breaking point: strategic cuts, disproportionate rent raises, withdrawal of municipal support, and the incessant creativity of SD's spin doctors to come up with new ways to tarnish the reputations of those working in art and culture. The plan to consolidate an autocratic Sweden is working like a charm.

KVADRENNALEN ended on Sept.11th 2022 but work already started needed completion and the threats and attacks on art and democracy did not let up, necessitating more artistic responses. Two works dated 2023, post-KVADRENNALEN: Bibylon and #Sunflower, signed TM.



The production of Bibylon started already in January 2022 but took until end of April 2023 to be completed. In reaction to the political provocations in Sölvesborg 2019, I analysed the local provocation that had national impact, i.e. the breach of the Library Law by the municipal council resulting in the resignation of the then head of library and culture, Sofia Lenninger. The artwork needed to address all the arguments used to discredit art in society by far-right SD. A positive response to a negative political situation, where all the money received from the taxpayers would also return to the taxpayers, as well as provide paid assignments to several people involved, other than the artist.

The idea was to bring together *the largest possible collection of non-Swedish children's books and give that to the Swedish people, through a public art work and a functioning library collection.*



Thierry Mortier  
2023

**Bibylon** (2023) is a celebration of democracy, collaboration, education, culture and everyone's future, namely the children of the world. A library collection that demonstrates our international differences - different nations and cultures - and our shared and universal sameness - the care for our children's education.

Promoting discovery at face value the art installation *Bibylon* inevitably instigates debate on demography, democracy, integration, the nation, and the people that physically populate these emotionally loaded concepts.

In "The Nation in Children's Literature (Kit Kelen, Björn Sundmark, 2012)", the researchers posit that "The emergence of modern nation-states can be seen as coinciding with the historical emergence of children's literature, while stateless or diasporic nations have frequently formulated their national consciousness and experience through children's literature, both instructing children as future citizens and highlighting how ideas of childhood inform the discourses of nation and citizenship."

*Bibylon* is a positive art response to political disobedience; a testimony of art's essential place in society as an instigator of change and critical action for the benefit of the people. As the artist stated "Contemporary art isn't something anyone in particular desires, it's what everyone in general requires - at which point art becomes societal."

In 2021 Sweden celebrated 100 years of democracy at a time when democracy was no longer considered self-evident: only two years earlier, in 2019, the municipal council of Solvesborg, a small city in the Southern part of Sweden, decided to stop buying books in foreign languages for its school libraries, an indisputable violation of the national library law. It renewed the debate on integration politics, where the scientific point of view remained firm, namely that it's easier for immigrant children to learn a local language when they get the opportunity to start reading in their ("foreign") mother tongue.

All the hundreds of books that constitute *Bibylon* came from generous donations; from the foreign embassies in Sweden, representing Sweden's international relations, and from the Astrid Lindgren Company, representing Sweden's export of culture abroad. Two sides of the same coin, separated by the conventional borders of nationhood. The act of voluntary donations circumvented financial motives in the project, but inevitably hit the deep-rooted fragility at the core of democracy and its representation par excellence: *the library*.

Bibylon was produced in collaboration with Weld, independent platform for experimental processes and knowledge production, with funding from the Swedish Arts Council.

#### Donating Partners

All the books in the *Bibylon* collection came from generous donations by:

The Astrid Lindgren Company,  
The Embassy of Armenia,  
The Embassy of Australia,  
The Embassy of Bangladesh,  
The Embassy of Belgium,  
The Embassy of Brazil,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria,  
The Embassy of Canada,  
The Embassy of the People's Republic of China,  
The Embassy of Colombia,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Croatia,  
The Embassy of the Czech Republic,  
Czech Centre in Stockholm,  
The Embassy of the Dominican Republic,  
The Embassy of Egypt,  
The Embassy of Estonia,  
The Embassy of Georgia,  
The Embassy of Germany, Goethe Institute,  
The Embassy of the Hellenic Republic Greece,  
The Embassy of Iceland,  
The Embassy of India,  
The Embassy of Israel,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Korea,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo,  
The Embassy of the State of Kuwait,  
The Embassy of Latvia,  
The Embassy of Mongolia,

The Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco,  
The Embassy of the Republic of North Macedonia,  
The Royal Norwegian Embassy,  
The Embassy of the State of Palestine,  
The Polish Institute in Stockholm,  
The Embassy of Portugal,  
The Embassy of Romania,  
The Embassy of Saudi Arabia,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Serbia,  
The Embassy of the Slovak Republic,  
The Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia,  
The Embassy of Sri Lanka,  
The Embassy of Switzerland,  
The Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic,  
The Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania,  
The Royal Thai Embassy,  
The Embassy of the United States of America,  
The Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela,  
De Nederlandse school, Stockholm,  
Pol Hoste/Childfocus (BE),  
Books without borders\*

\*Ukrainian organization set up when the war started to get Ukrainian books to children everywhere they have had to flee to in the world  
[www.bookswithoutborders.com](http://www.bookswithoutborders.com)

#### Sametinget and Minority Languages

Sweden has five official minority languages: Finnish, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Yiddish, Romani and Sami. Next to the embassies and the Astrid Lindgren Company, the Sametinget, the Sami parliament in Sweden which shares the follow-up responsibility for minority policy, was also invited as a donating partner. *Bibylon* was presented as an attempt to create the largest foreign language children's books collection, which in its formulation hit upon something instrumental to understanding one of the core issues of minority languages: *How can a language, spoken in the territory of a nation-state, be considered as foreign when that language existed in the territory long before the nation-state was set up?*

A statement from the Sametinget can be found on the *Bibylon* website.



### Connecting relations to take shape

Inspired by the events in Solvesborg's municipality in 2019\*, *Bibylon* invites us to reflect on connected issues that still spur ongoing debates in Sweden and the rest of the world, such as the connections between *immigration and economy*, in particular in countries with declining populations due to drops in birth rates and spikes in aging workforces. It highlights the *difference between language and culture* with recurring examples in the collection where language, as a technology of communication, is shared by different nation-states without it resulting in a shared culture. It puts *long-term societal perspectives in opposition to short-term election rhetorics*, for example the *research on integration and mother tongue education*. And, it also asks us to consider if neutral objectivity, understood as unbiased, is at all possible. *Bibylon* is a continuous balance between positive and negative perspectives that are unapologetically ignored by the children enjoying its beautiful stories, in their mother tongue.

\* After a political shift in the 2018 elections, Solvesborg was one of the first municipalities to come under the direction of the Swedish Democrats party, which drafted a 220 point program for the municipality opposing national recommendations and good practices such as stop buying public art in line with the recommendations of the national cultural policy goals, changing the rules around official flagpoasts' use, resulting in no longer allowing rainbow flags on official flagpoasts, as well as requesting edits, in violation of the national library law, to the local library plan, resulting in no longer buying foreign language children's books for the school libraries.

### A Monument for A Library

Although set up as a traveling artwork that functions as a library collection wherever it lands, *Bibylon* does not try to address a concrete or acute issue of libraries. It is a *public monument for what libraries represent in society*: open access to all. Access to resources, education, entertainment, and more. The Swedish library system, even when facing its own issues today, does not need art to help in its concrete working, but it can use *art's ability to manifest the invisible, to manifest what is generally assumed*.

After a sneak-preview at the 9th World Summit on Art and Culture (IFFACA and KUR) in Stockholm 3-5 May 2023, *Bibylon* was unveiled publicly at Weld end of May. It travelled to the Gothenburg Book fair in October - not just a book fair but one of the biggest cultural events in Sweden - and ended the year with 6 weeks at the Malmö Art hall. In 2024 it continues to travel through Sweden.

### Contemporary art and the library

Working with *the library* is not a novel art idea; throughout art history, numerous artists have tackled the concept of the library from all different perspectives, with very different set-ups and executions. A selection of international and Swedish artists' work with "the library" at its core below:

- Martha Rosler Library, 2005-2008, Martha Rosler US,
- The British Library, 2014, Yinka Shonibare, UK
- The American Library, 2018, Yinka Shonibare, UK
- The African Library, 2018, Yinka Shonibare, UK
- The Empty Library, 1995, Micha Ullman IL
- Biblioteca Del Sol, 2010, Louis De Cordier BE
- Nameless Library, 1996-2000, Rachel Whiteread UK
- untitled (Book Corridors), 1997, Rachel Whiteread UK
- Architectural Fragment, 1992, Petrus Spronk AU
- Library From Museum of Contemporary African Art, 1997-2002, Meschac Gaba BJ
- The Pre-Presidential Library of The United States, 2019, Aleksandra Mir PL/SE/US
- The Quiet Volume, 2010, Ant Hampton and Tim Etchells UK
- Black Art Library, 2020-..., Asmaa Walton US
- Rubbish Library/Library Rubbish, 2008, Joshua Sofaer UK
- Antoteket, 2014-2016, Hans Carlsson SE
- Borrow Me, 2006, French & Mottershead UK
- Episode in a Small Town Library, 1970, Ian Breakwell UK
- AN INVOCATION - Five Hundred and Thirty Books from Southend Central Library, 2013, Mike Nelson UK

### Team

#### *Bibylon* Project Team

Thierry Mortier (BE/SE)  
 Lies Lecompte, *artist assistant* (BE/SE)  
 Anna Koch, *project supervisor*, Weld (SE)  
 Nina Överli (NO/SE), Weld  
 Esbjörn Grip, *designer mobile bookcase* (SE)  
 Emelie Appelholm-Bergbohm, *communication strategist* (SE)

#### *Bibylon* Mobile Bookcase Team

Esbjörn Grip, *design and manufacture* (SE)  
 Sten Olof Nilsson, *kurbits painting* (SE)  
 Betty Wallingford, *textile cover* (US/SE)  
 Laurens Rohlfis, *screenprints* (SE)



***Bibylon*** (2023) was conceived by Thierry Mortier and produced in collaboration with Weld, independent platform for experimental processes and knowledge production, with funding from the Swedish Arts Council.

Weld

SWEDISH  
ARTS COUNCIL



Emelie Appelholm-Bergbohm

Thierry Mortier



Esbjörn Grip



Photos: Katya L  
inauguration of Bibylon,  
Weld, Stockholm  
30.5.2023



**BIBYLON**



#Solros / Sunflower was a last attempt to act *before* the cuts started for good. The political shift was a done deal but every November budget is negotiated and has to pass the Parliamentary vote. The people have more than one tool to assert their power, with outright rebellion as a final option. #Sunflower offered a low effort, maximum impact option to artists, art organisations and the general public, voters and non-voters alike. A wake-up call that democracy is a daily battle - for everyone involved.

The #Sunflower work revealed a number of elements of the democratic system in Sweden and connected it with civil rights movement thinking in order to hand a work of mutual empowerment to the majority of people, i.e. SD only represents 13% of the population or some 20% of the votes, which can be re-formulated as SD only represents a small minority in Sweden. The vast majority of people did not give SD their mandate to represent them – one of the facts that consistently gets overlooked in the media and almost never stated clearly by journalists.

The set-up was simple: get more signatories on a petition about art and culture than the number of actual voters for SD (1,330,325) and hand it over to the speaker of Parliament on the same day the November budget is presented.

FÖR VARJE SD-RÖST 2022 FANNNS DET 5 ICKE-SD-RÖSTER.\*  
**VEM REPRESENTERAR DIG NU?**

SD samlade 1.330.325 kring en enda lögn: "Det här är inte Sverige".  
 De förenade 1.330.325 missnöjda kring ett importerat symboliskt kulturkrig som har splittrat och nu förstör Sverige.

**DU kan samla 5 gånger fler kring en enda sanning: "Detta är Sverige".**  
 Du kan förena 6.445.065 missnöjda och stoppa det symboliska kulturkriget som har kapat den nuvarande regeringen.

**Skriv under** namnsamlingen som stoppar kulturkriget.  
**Visa ditt stöd** för något som ingen verkar bry sig om - kultur.  
**Försvara** det enda du bryr dig om: att leva och arbeta i en demokrati, att vara stolt över att du betalar skatt i Sverige.

**Hitte 5 till som gör detsamma.**  
 VISA ATT DU ÄR MAJORITETEN, ATT DU ÄR MER!

**HITTA 5 FÖR KULTUR,  
 HITTA 5 FÖR DEMOKRATIN!  
 #SOLROS**

\*1.330.325 röster för SD i 2022.  
 6.445.065 röster INTE för SD i 2022.

**SKRIV UNDER HÄR**  
[www.skrivunder.com/solros\\_sunflower](http://www.skrivunder.com/solros_sunflower)

For every SD vote in 2022 there were 5 non-SD votes.  
**WHO REPRESENTS YOU NOW?**

AD explaining the #Sunflower work

Your POWER exercise:



- 1) Sign the petition [[https://www.skrivunder.com/solros\\_sunflower](https://www.skrivunder.com/solros_sunflower)]
- 2) Find 5 more signatories
- 3) Follow up on your 5 signatories

To reach the goal in time, you have ± one week.

Send a signal to the government that cannot be ignored.

#### Eligibility:

- 18+ (old enough to vote in Sweden)
- Taxpayer in Sweden \*

\* The SD tax argument against arm's length principle: when taxpayer's money is used to fund art then the politicians should have a say in the artistic content.

There are however a lot of taxpayers in Sweden that cannot vote in the national election. Therefore the petition is not limited to voters, but to taxpayers - giving all taxpayers, including foreign nationals that live and work in Sweden, a say in whether or not they believe their money should go to art and culture.

12

The petition demands did not mention anything of interest from an art perspective, but only addressed those issues of interest to policy: laws, ideology and numbers.

SD claims that since taxpayers money is used to fund art and culture the politicians do not have to respect the arm's length principle. In other words the art can become propaganda for the state and critical art can be silenced.

A lot of concern is shown about immigrants receiving benefits, paid for with tax money, the opposite does not feature in the political narrative, i.e. there are more immigrants in Sweden paying taxes that do not have a vote in the national election and can therefore not state how they want their money to be spent.

#### \* The demands are:

##### [Copy of the online petition text]

To Andreas Norlén, Speaker of the Riksdag,

We, Swedish taxpayers, are concerned about the dismantling of democratic structures in Sweden. We call on you to hand over our signatures to the sitting government and opposition parties and accept our demands in the November budget negotiations.

We demand a true representative democracy instead of the hidden repressive autocracy where only 20% of the votes are steering 100% of the policy.

We know and have seen the strategy that seeks to silence the critical voices in society; generating fake myths of Swedish identity, establishing a culture canon and exercising cultural conservatism, gagging contemporary art and culture, repressing minorities and libraries, curbing the media and putting the universities under the thumb. This dismantling is always executed through budget cuts.

As the sitting government cares about LAW & Order, CONSERVATISM and TAXES we formulate our demands accordingly.

We demand that:

- the principle of arm's length distance is turned into LAW within the current government term.
- the culture policy goals (voted-in 2009) are CONSERVED as they are formulated right now. \*\*
- the culture BUDGET gets RAISED from ±0,6% to 1% of the BNP \*\*

\* the culture policy goals state: "Culture is to be a dynamic, challenging and independent force based on the freedom of expression. Everyone is to have the opportunity to participate in cultural life. Creativity, diversity and artistic quality are to be integral parts of society's development." On May 11th, 2023 Alexander Christiansson SD, stated in a debate at Riksdagens kulturutskottet that "SD wants the cultural policy goal removed" (Check the video link between 1:03:33-1:03:53 "SD vill att Kulturpolitisk mål tas bort")

\*\* NATO demands 2% of the BNP to go to defence, it seems only fair to ask for 1% for art and culture to justify that kind of protection expense in Sweden. If not to protect the art and culture, then what are we protecting?



Not only would it show that more people than the entire SD voters' base wanted art and culture to be supported with their taxpayers' money, it would also send a message that the people in Sweden understand where the real democratic power lies. This last would send chills up the spines of all the political parties in Parliament. Only 2 individual members of the minority government needed to vote against an SD-sanctioned budget for it to fail the vote. With every party in the minority government being smaller than SD, it would not be hard for them to understand that people who voted for them actually signed the petition.

The challenge was of course impossible, i.e. it took SD decades of campaigning and false rhetoric to achieve their numbers. But there are legitimate hacks possible, in contrast to the petition initiated by Louise Erixon where one in five names were incorrect. The hack in #Sunflower was a traditional pyramid-scheme, not for fraudulent purposes, but for mutual empowerment purposes. People would hand over the torch, become empowered and empower the next person. When people signed the petition they would do it under the condition that they themselves would find 5 more people to sign and continue the chain. With an exponent of 5 it would take only 9 revolutions to surpass even the biggest party in the country (the Social Democrats).

There was only one caveat: petitions have no legal binding on a national level in Sweden. Only regional, municipal petitions have a binding status for the local governments. It meant that even if the SD 1,330,325 was surpassed Parliament would not have to look at the petition's demands. But the impossible, astronomical number of signatories would ensure that Parliament would look anyway, for the simple fact that every party in the opposition would jump at it - it being a massive, popular vote against SD.

#Sunflower failed miserably, and only saw some 270 people sign the petition - but the thinking was and remains sound. Find a shared position against a shared enemy that allows the transcendence of all the inter-positional disagreements and one can achieve a majority vote to obliterate and stop a minority power usurper from doing harm. It is the exact same thinking SD used to grow to the size it is today.

#SUNFLOWER

**Art action:**

Hand over a petition to the Speaker of the Riksdag, Andreas Norlén, when the government's November budget 2023 is presented to the public.

The petition needs to have **more signatures than** SD voters in 2022 i.e.  $> 1.330.325 + 1$ .

The petition **symbolically demands** legal, civil and financial protection for the arts in Sweden. \*

**Title:** Sunflower  
**Where:** one-on-one conversations + online signatures  
**When:** August 15 - November 1, 2023  
**Who:** You (see [Your POWER exercise](#))  
**How:** Everyone that signs commits to finding 5 more signatories  
**Risk:** --  
**Cost:** no financial cost, effort/time cost: 5 conversations with people you know + follow-up

**Impact:**

- 1) **exercise your constitutional power \*\***, become an agent of change, no more standing-by, act instead of "like"
- 2) keep the Swedish democracy representative, NOT repressive \*\*\*
- 3) **stop** the next step in the SD-handbook \*\*\*\*
- 4) stop the symbolic culture war with one symbolic battle \*\*\*\*\*
- 5) keep the critical voice of art alive in Sweden \*\*\*\*\*

4

The caveat of not being legally binding would easily translate in pressure through media attention. The media would eat the story up.

**SUNFLOWER Strategy, Logic and reasons to believe****Logic**

Shared responsibility.

A relay race, where you take and pass-on the baton.

Each pass relays the follow-up responsibility.

Everyone gets the same exercise and time:

find 5 people to take the baton.

With 5 people as the exponent **the finish line is achieved at the 9th pass.**

timeline	pass x 5	signatures collected
	1	1
pass1	5	6
pass2	25	31
pass3	125	156
pass4	625	781
pass5	3.125	3.906
pass6	15.625	19.531
pass7	78.125	97.656
pass8	390.625	488.281
<b>pass9</b>	<b>1.953.125</b>	<b>2.441.406</b>



SD did not *unite* 1,330,325 people with their program, it collected all the different malcontentment of the people under one single umbrella: “the loss of Swedish identity”. Whatever people were dissatisfied with, SD told them it was the progressive forces in society and the immigrants that took the *Swedishness* out of their society and that last had created all problems.

**A petition that makes a difference.**

For anyone who...

...likes public libraries, culture school, public art, independent media, functioning universities, freedom of expression,...

...believes that the current SD-hijacking of the Swedish representative democracy needs your urgent attention.



Umbrella thinking can also be used to promote inclusion, positivity and solidarity. As Dr. King stated, “Those who love peace must learn to organize as effectively as those that love war”, the thinking is only a method and methods are not ideological, they are tools and nothing more.

A hammer can be used to build or destroy. The choice is yours.

**“During the  
exhibition  
the gallery  
will be  
closed.”**

– Robert Barry, 1969

## Postface

The proposal and open call of KVADRENNALEN struck me immediately. It was not Swedish in the way it came across. It had a boldness and honesty, with a twist of humour. The formulation was direct and without excuses. It had an edge to it, almost punkish. The cause stood out with its immediate action relating to the urgent situation in Sweden.

I sensed an urge and it convinced me to engage. It pulled me and many others along, but was this proposal only to be embraced by certain groups who could relate through a certain recognition? Was I drawn to it because of its specific vocabulary, vision or aesthetic approach? Then what about those who would not be drawn to it naturally?

The initiative needed many people to act.

It also needed those people to own it; 'own' being the operative word.

And the kind of punkish freedom it advocated was not easily imagined nor embraced. Especially not by institutions and organisations with long roads to decision-making and where many political agendas are owned by grand egos, concerned with what kind of projects fit their image. Do we, from within the art scene, need to consider the angle from which we *defend art*?

*Was it wrong to use art at arm's length with a firearm as an illustration?*

*Did it become a sign of violence too harsh to want to be associated with?*

*Was the packaging of KVADRENNALEN too indiscreet in Ikea-land?*

Perhaps.

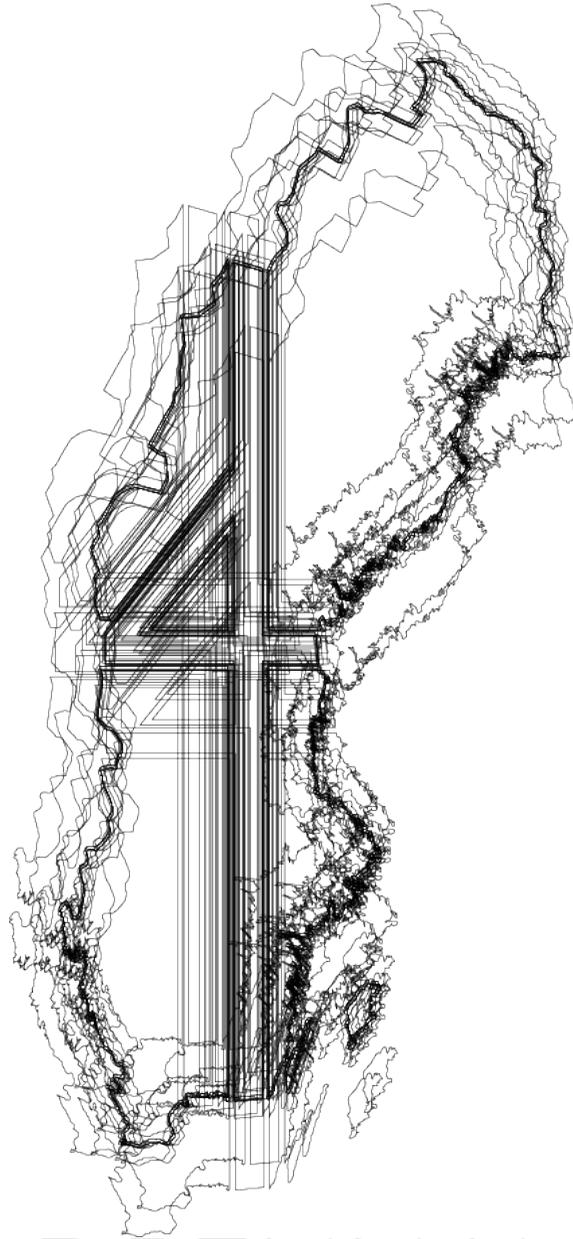
Anna Koch (Weld), 2024, Stockholm

In name of KVADRENNALEN and following the teachings of *Organizing for Power* there is no Thank You, but a Well done:

Well done!

To everyone that made KVADRENNALEN a reality:  
You know who you are.  
You know what you did.  
You are the best.

In my personal name I would like to thank everyone without whose support I would not have managed to initiate nor follow through on the idea of KVADRENNALEN, in no particular order: Lies Lecompte, Anna Koch, Conny Blom, Nina Slejko Blom, Anna-Viola Hallberg, Torbjörn Johansson, Peter Mills, Ella Tillema, Patrik Qvist, Anna Edsjö, Andreas Ribbung, Felicia Gränd, Tilda Dalunde, Laura Tynan and Karin Sandelin.



KVADRENNALEN



PETER (Mills), Drottninggatan Stockholm, Sept. 11th 2022.  
Finissage walk, Weld (Stockholm)



Anna Koch and Thierry Mortier, 2021, Stockholm



Vänligen rör inte konsten (Please don't touch the art), gatupratare/street sign, Härmösand, May 2022



Nasim Aghili and Malin Holgersson, Fulkonst, showing off their KVADRENNALEN buttons.

20  
22

# KVADRENNALEN

## ART

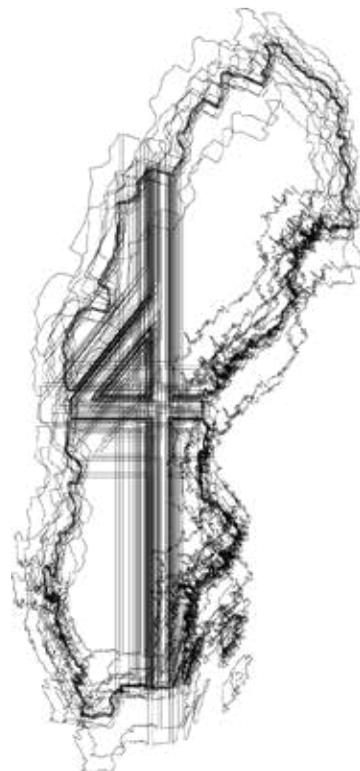
“KVADRENNALEN was never an experiment. It was never a research project. At least not for the people setting it up.

It only became an experiment and research project, because those that needed to step up stood idly by and observed.

As a result it became research material on actual *art activism*, i.e. *activism for art*, uncovering all the different positions taken up by individuals that make their living from (other's) art. People that push systemic power instead of true power, power of the people.

When you choose system over people you lose touch with your humanity and you reduce yourself to a mere cog in the machine... unfortunately machines tend to break down.”

- Thierry Mortier, Sept 12, 2022



**THE ART SHOW NOBODY WANTED TO SET UP.**

[but someone had to]