

2012. LE JOURNAL
DE LA TRIENNALE

#4

YOU DO NOT
STAND IN ONE
PLACE TO
WATCH A
MASQUERADE



PALAIS
DE TOKYO

To die topless



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To die topless

“YOU DO NOT STAND IN ONE PLACE TO WATCH A MASQUERADE.” IGBO PROVERB

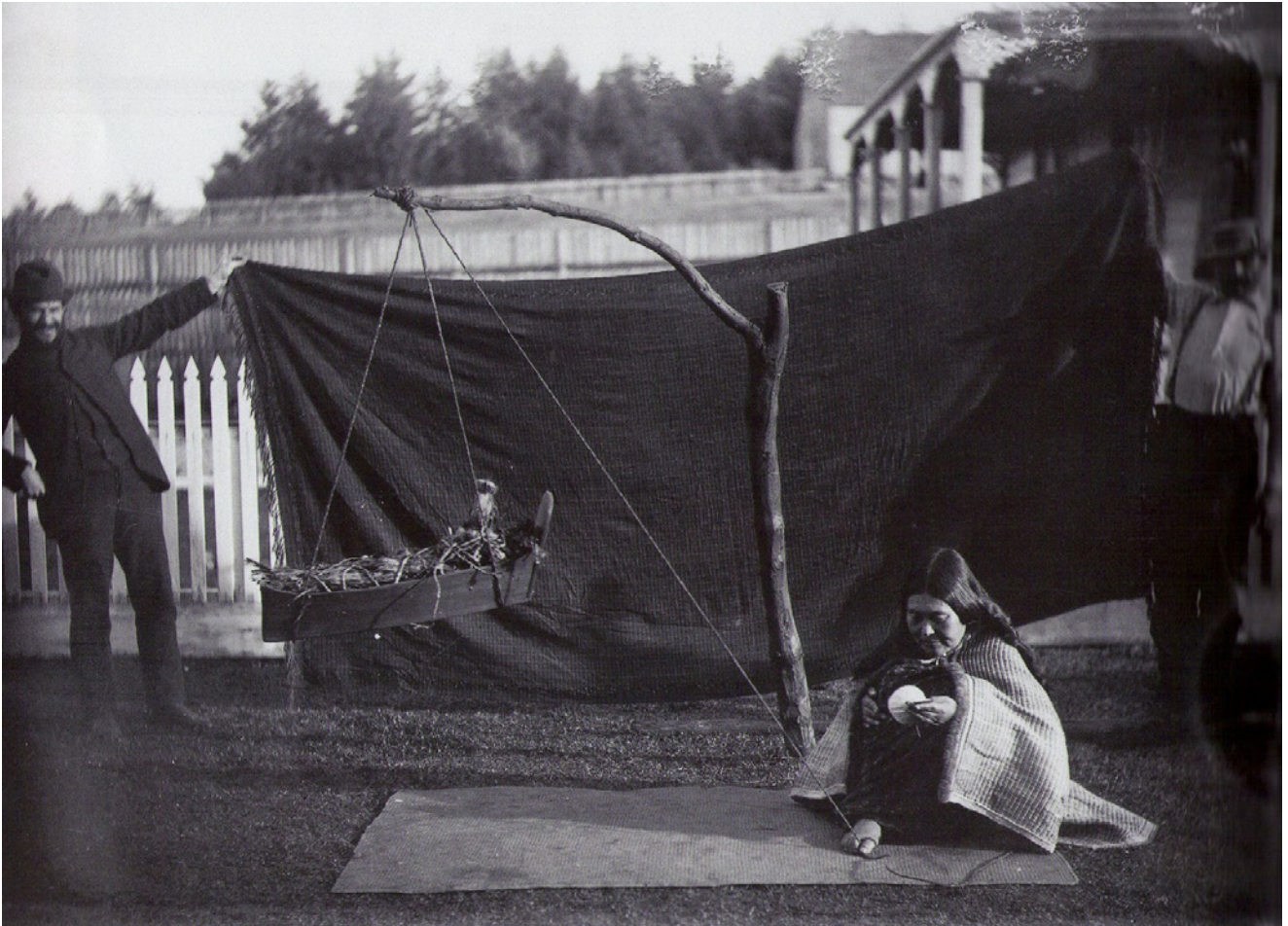


Image 11604. American Museum of Natural History Library

My interpretation of this proverb from Niger: for a full understanding of any performance, you must be able to change your point of view – shifting from observer to participant, from frame to out of frame, from the stage to the wings – or to reverse your standpoint.

In the photograph above this edito, the sheet being held up by **Franz Boas** and **George Hunt** serves both to shut the individual into a stereotype and conceal modern, Western-style buildings.¹ This image is paradigmatic of what could be called the ordering, staging and shaping of the Other as effected by

¹ Even Claude Lévi-Strauss did his best to exclude power poles from his photographs.

the ethnography of the early twentieth century. The subjects are placed in what anthropologist Johannes Fabian terms an “ethnographic present” or a “denial of coevalness” symptomatic of an allochronic Eurocentrism.² With modernity pushed out of the picture, the representation of the Other offers only a partial, decontextualised, distorted vision of things, positing an authenticity that must be captured before its supposedly ineluctable dying-out.

In this issue, I try repeatedly to sidestep and to step back – in brief, to broaden the field of vision; but above all I want

² Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

to change just a fraction the imaginaries inherited from the old anthropological dichotomy of “us-here-and-now” and “them-there-long-ago”.

Even in the early twentieth century the poet **Victor Segalen** was warning that “Exoticism does not only exist in space, but is equally dependent on time.”³ Just a few years later, in 1930, artists and ethnographers got together in an attempt to understand other cultures without denying their coevalness. **Georges Limbour** published “Aeschylus, Carnival and the Civilised”, a text denouncing the “civilising mission” and the coloniser’s sense of superiority.

The following postcard from the Museum of Nogent-sur-Marne is a **the Museum of Nogent-sur-Marne**, is a photograph taken at the Colonial Exhibition in the Garden of Tropical Agronomy in Paris in 1907, in which we see the Sudanese woman subject pointing out the camera to her child. On the one hand the image shows her as observed, while on the other she seems to be directing her child’s attention towards a curiosity: the French photographer, the observer who in turn becomes the observed.

Michael Taussig and **Julien Bondaz** have opted for a look at the “ethnologised” ethnologist, depicting himself in the field like Malinowski or, like Boas, trying to imitate a Kwakiutl Indian.

For its exhibition *Le Musée Cannibale* (2002), **the Neuchâtel Ethnology Museum** invented recipes to sum up the ways Western museum practice “feeds off” the Other’s artefacts. In 1965 the filmmaker **Sembène Ousmane** accused anthropologist **Jean Rouch** of looking at Africans as if they were insects.

We now know that the objective eye is an impossibility, and artist **Trinh T. Minh-ha** has made the film *Reassemblage* as a challenge to anthropological authority; as Morad Montazami reminds us, her intention is not “to speak about, just speak nearby”: to counterpoint the images rather than impose a meaning on them.

Julien Bondaz, in his text on Marcel Griaule, points out that the ethnographer does not have a thousand eyes and has no access to what goes on in private.

Instead of cultivating myth, artist **Köken Ergun** sabotages our fascination with the exotic by looking beyond the *mise en scène*: his *Binibining Pilipinas* lays bare the tensions between the beauty contests organised by Tel Aviv’s Filipino community and what is happening behind the scenes.

³ Victor Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism. An Aesthetics of Diversity*, trans. Yael Rachel Schlick (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 18.



Colonial Exhibition of 1907. Postcard from the Museum of Nogent-sur-Marne

Raquel Schefer examines the work of Ruy Guerra, whose film *Mueda – Memory and Massacre* (1979) skilfully sets up interaction between history, the present and remembrance in its account of a play created by the residents of Mueda, in Mozambique, in memory of a massacre there in 1960.

In Thomas Harlan’s documentary *Torre Bela*, **José Filipe Costa** sees the camera’s potential as a force for emancipation, giving peasants the power to act on the real world, transforming land-squatters into actors in their own history and giving them scope for subverting the established order. *Mise en scène* or reality?

The same question is raised by artist **Clemens von Wedemeyer**’s *The Fourth Wall*: was the Tasaday tribe simply fantasised by journalists greedy for authenticity? The fourth wall separating spectator from event introduces elements of fiction, illusion and doubt.

Designed as a parallel to my essay in the Triennial anthology, this issue of *le journal de la Triennale* aims to expose the misconceptions, assumptions, prejudices and clichés inherent in the representations surrounding us, while at the same time maintaining the tensions they generate: examples are

Claude Closky's *Town and Country*, commented by **Marie Muracciole**, and the photograph by **Ines Doujak**, created in collaboration with Marth, commented by theoretician **Antje Enkel**, and described by reflecting a society in which each of us can so easily be trapped in stereotyped stances. A combination of perceptions, then, that drops the curtain on the *mise en scène*. It seemed important to me that this journal de la Triennale should appear with the images of the exhibition *Intense Proximity*. If we have opted for exhibiting these ethnographic samples, it is in order to use their construction/assemblage to “reassemble” them: to challenge the dichotomies – fiction/documentary, chronological/political, close/distant, familiar/foreign – they point to and the very real fascination and nostalgia they can trigger. These are not “beautiful images”, but true pointers to the sense of otherness. What interests us is the questions they raise, rather than any supposed resemblances in ways of working. To be able to decipher these images is to be able to deconstruct stereotypes and alter imaginaries.

Last but not least, the timeline drawn up by **Sarah Frioux-Salgas** takes a fresh look at the political, literary and editorial context governing the shaping of our way of seeing the Other, by varying points of views. 1925: In France, Marcel Mauss publishes his essay *The Gift*, but in the United States Alain Locke releases the first anthology of black writers.



To die at a masked ball



ESSAY ON EXOTICISM. AN AESTHETICS OF DIVERSITY.

Paris, 11 December 1908

Of Exoticism as an Aesthetics of Diversity.

Introduction: The Idea of exoticism. Diversity.

Clear the field first of all. Throw overboard everything misused or rancid contained in the word exoticism. Strip it of all its cheap finery: palm tree and camel; tropical helmet; black skins and yellow sun; and, at the same time, get rid of all those who used it with an inane loquaciousness. My study will not be about the Bonnetains or Ajalberts of this world, nor about programs offered by travel agents like Cook, nor about hurried and verbose travelers....¹ What an Herculean task this nauseating sweeping out will be!

Then, strip the word exoticism of its exclusively tropical, exclusively geographic meaning. Exoticism does not only exist in space, but is equally dependent on time.

From there, move rapidly to the task of defining and laying out the sensation of Exoticism, which is nothing other than the notion of difference, the perception of Diversity, the knowledge that something is other than one's self; and Exoticism's power is nothing other than the ability to conceive otherwise.

Having arrived at this progressive contraction of a notion which was so vast in appearance that it seemed initially to include the World and All Worlds; having stripped it of its innumerable scoriae, flaws, stains, fermenting organisms, and molds that such continued use by so many mouths, so many prostituting tourist hands have left it with; having at last taken hold of this notion with a state of mind that is both clear and alive, let us give it the opportunity to restore its solidity, and to develop freely and joyously without hindrance and yet without excessive encouragement, like a purified seed; it will seize all the sensory and intelligible riches that it

meets in its process of growth, and, being filled with all these riches, it will revitalize and beautify everything.

This play of thought is no other than the kind of thinking freely to infinity of Hindu thought. The Hindus think, and immediately a particular principle tends to become a universal (see Oldenberg. *Le Bouddha*).²

(For fear of betraying myself, this essay must leave no gaps and must forget nothing. I should not be content with "provoking thought", as Montesquieu puts it in reverse.³ I must exhaust my subject so that nothing else can be said about the sensation of Diversity which does not already exist in potential form here.

Right away, metaphysical analogies present themselves and must be classified, incorporated, or discarded: Schopenhauer's law of Representation that every object presupposes a subject. Jules de Gaultier's law of Bovaryism, that every being which conceives of itself necessarily conceives itself to be other than it actually is.⁴ Can it be a question of law here? Here is a fact: I conceive otherwise, and, immediately, the vision is enticing. All of exoticism lies herein.)

Quinton told me that all truth can be found in nature, that in nature we will find that truth which we possess in ourselves.⁵ Darwin, an Englishman, discovered a truth of Struggle and Strain. Quinton, a Frenchman, is now moving despite himself toward the idea of a moral instinct.

¹ Paul Bonnetain (1858-99) was a travel writer and novelist who published various works based on his travels to the Far East. These include *Au Tonkin* (1885), *L'Extrême Orient* (1887), and *Amours nomades* (1888). Jean Ajalbert (1863-1947) wrote a similar travel sketches, among them *Sous le sabre* (1898), *Paysages de femmes* (1887), *Sur le vif* (1886), and *L'Auvergne* (1897). Their writings are likely the kind of impressionistic works Segalen is frequently critical of in *Essay on Exoticism*.

² H. Oldenberg was a professor at the University of Kiel, Germany. The second edition of his work, *Le Bouddha*, was translated from the German and published in France in 1894. It is a general overview of the Buddha's life, doctrine, and disciples. Segalen was probably also familiar with Oldenberg's *La Religion du Véda*, which was published in a French translation in 1903.

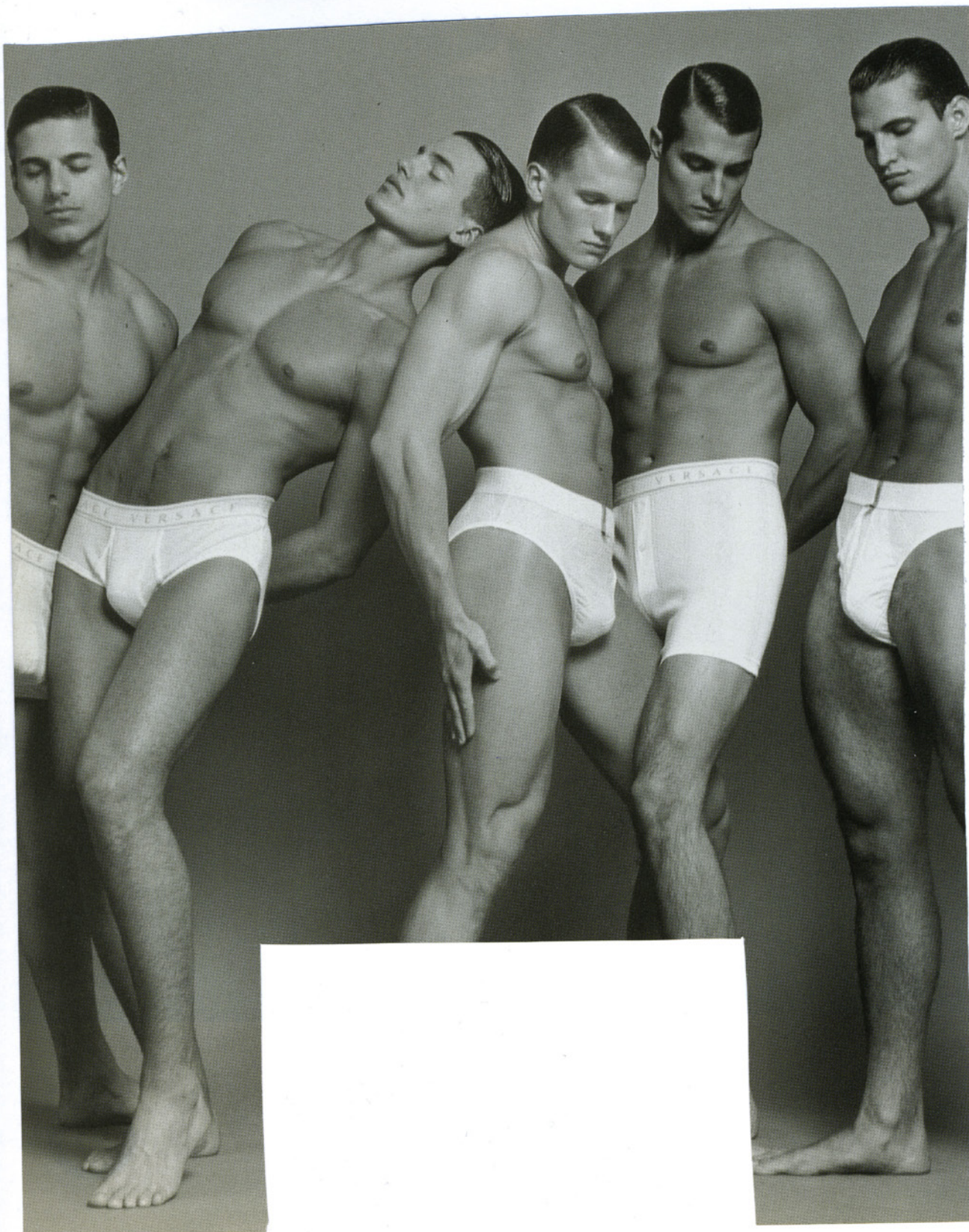
³ Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a political philosopher and novelist best known for his epistolary novel *Les Lettres Persanes* (1721) and for *L'Esprit des lois* (1748), a lengthy treatise on the general principles and historical origins of laws.

⁴ Jules de Gaultier (1858-1942) is the author of *Le Bovarysme*. He was an important popularizer of German thought (especially of Nietzsche's) in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

⁵ René Quinton (1867-1925) was a French physiologist. He is best known for his work *L'Eau de mer, milieu organique*, where he reveals a similarity between plasma and sea water, and draws some therapeutic applications from this discovery. Quinton plasma – sea water that is sterilized and diluted with distilled water in such a way as to approximate human plasma – bears his name. Segalen, who was trained as a doctor, was interested in both the medical and philosophical aspects of Quinton's work.

Now, there are born travelers or *exots* in the world. They are the ones who will recognize, beneath the cold and dry veneer of words and phrases, those unforgettable transports which arise from the kind of moments I have been speaking of: the moment of Exoticism. Without contravening the two aforementioned and formidable laws, which constrain the universal being, exots will attest to the fact that this notion which we have put forth puts the very flavor of the interplay of these laws into relief: the rapture of the subject conceiving its object, recognizing its own difference from itself, sensing Diversity. And, surely, nothing more will be created. But I hope that for them the flavor will be greater and more deeply rooted than before, and that the freedom of this interplay will be beyond measure. It is for them that I write.

Then will follow a series of Essays, which, in accordance with this spontaneous “development” of ideas, will proceed from the idea of Diversity.



To die in under wear



ZOMBIES

Town and Country is a collage series. Each of the photographs that have been cut out of magazines comprise at least one human figure and are accompanied by the artist's hand-written commentary in the style of a title. This added commentary halts our gaze on those glossy images that we have become so used to seeing pass before our eyes at such speed. He makes them talk outside their commercial and reassuring discourse. The written text brilliantly ignores the "message" instilled in the easily decodable "visuals" and introduces an element of uncertainty into their reading.

All the texts in *Town and Country* speak about death as if it were a series "about" death. However, it is not that simple. Claude Closky never presents his audience with a "picture" of reality; instead he is more interested in what his cultural background and his imagination urge him to impose on this reality. In other words: Closky focuses his work on those modalities of representation, which give reality its form. The verb "to die" introduces a framework for each collage in the *Town and Country* series: to die in the street, on the beach, at a masked ball... Closky writes "To die barefoot", or "To die in the kitchen" as if wearing shoes or cooking could kill. Nothing can prevent us from losing our lives on the road, or lying on the grass, or barefoot, or on horseback. But these circumstances are not enough to die from. They are indifferent to the event, unique and unrepresentable, of dying.

The characters in the photos promote the image of eternal youth, a form of immortality. Closky does not denounce the repressed in fashion and advertising. This is an old story that would put him on the side of the message. It's not the position he stands for in his work. If we look back to the subject of the series, we'd better focus on the deficiencies and incongruities they produce.

Each element of *Town and Country* rests on the superposition of the frozen replica of the living -- the magazine photo -- and the seemingly improvised hand-written annotation; the authority of printed matter on one side and the fragility of the hand movement on the other. This gap between the industrial reproduction and the marked sentence, between different media, different gestures, different messages, brings

us back to the idea of death in the most scary way. Besides, as it isn't explained, the passing away in different situations and contexts of the characters is simultaneously removed. To die in the bath, at the gym, whichever way. But to die of what? The connection is missing, the image of death is broken up into pieces. The most striking distortion comes from the fact that these figures, which are supposed to embody eternity and a better future, have suddenly come to embody final disappearance, an experience that is both anti-commercial and impossible "to be lived". The deficiencies and incongruities that manifest themselves in *Town and Country* create an allegory of death. Claude Closky sheds light on the impossibility to describe death and nothing else.

Closky's work is about representation, it isn't about making figurative images. In this work, using completely banal contemporary images, and by relating these to the unrepresentable subject of death, he dismembers the operation of giving appearance to things and the fabrication of resemblance. The meaning of the collages drifts away. Their absurdity stems not from the vanity of images and words, but from the imminent unease of representing the subject of death with these texts and images. The indecent regurgitation of this anti-documentary formula paints a grim picture of a future without precedent and without horizon: a world of the living-dead.

Here the only repetition is death; an experience that cannot be reproduced.



AESCHYLUS, CARNIVAL AND THE CIVILISED

I went into the local shop to buy the paper. The lady in charge was vainly rummaging through a jumble of boxes in search of buttons for a little girl clutching a jug of milk. In the window heaped-up faces like bloody meat defied the foul and florid metamorphoses of death – although there seemed to have been no massacre – while flies wandered about liberally depositing their eggs on them.

The child put down her jug, leaving the famished flies to feast on the milk while she tried on the pulp-paper portraits: faces so banally human as to petrify a new-born baby, officially commissioned likenesses, no less than the death masks of the local patriarchs.

The cardboard faces differed no more from their models – presidents of commissions, butchers, satyrs – than a paper flower does from the garden variety; except antithetically, that is to say only in their odour and a certain tactile quality, so that now, deboned, disinfected, and as if mummified and unscrewed from their fossilised life support systems, they could at last be examined without surgical gloves.

One of them, heavily bearded, had found its way into a half-empty jar of sweets and come to rest on a cushion of red sugar; and from its transparent container it fixed the street's little Salomes with an immutable smile. Its companions must have developed a certain charm, for the milk-jug child was delightedly trying on the likeness of the old guy she fled from in horror every day after school, and rather vulgarly sticking her little pink tongue out through its parted lips.

I took one too, a judge's head or a police commissioner's that I was sure had spent hours and hours in a steamer, then been pulped and repulped in some infernal cauldron; and as I thrust my nose into its cardboard receptacle the distinctive intensity it exuded – more disturbing than that of any flower, for I had not experienced it since childhood – filled my head with countless memories, as if I were entering a room I had once lived in, but which had been shut up ever since, and where I was now rediscovering the perfume of wallpaper flowers I had inhaled each morning. I bent my face to these luxuriant bouquets whose aroma had now, alas, become exotic, and when I turned them round to see their ridiculous obverse, I said to myself, "Might not the gardener be a debauched old drunk? Does not the eunuch's virtue lie in being a monster?"

And later it seemed to me that the obesity cases I met in the street and the moonfaced ones (instead of containing fire, stones and mines, the moon is inhabited by a huge, sick liver) and those with acne-ravaged noses, unknowingly had their insides papered with flowers that had birds and butterflies fluttering among them.

Aeschylus, you came up with a great invention there. Wasn't the human face, so expressive and so varied – bearded or buddingly naked, white with despair, congested with coarseness or green with terror, split open with laughter, swollen with sentencing and wine – enough for you? The professional mourners of your time, supremely skilled in aping the tragic grimace, must nonetheless have plumbed the secrets of suffering and known how dust scooped up from the roadside can be pestled so well with tears in the mortar of cheeks hollowed by despair. But apart from the false pretext of the mask as megaphone, you must have hated the human face's fantastic mobility, more flickering and disturbing than the swiftly shifting sea. Perhaps you thought that the image of the most intense torment, the supreme tension of the passions, does not last for the duration of a staged tragedy; how much more terrifying must have seemed a face plunged into the hell of its own expressiveness and incapable of ever finding repose, frozen in its grimace like a ship trapped in the polar ice and maintaining even in sleep the frightful contortion of that torment. The mouth moves no more as it utters the most terrible words, and the cheeks take on the eternal immobility of drama; how many hidden men are speaking in chorus behind this superhuman cardboard, this face as eternally maimed as a gymnast whose excess of dazzling physical feats has left him deformed for life?

I shall not go on at length about the contemporary mask. Anyone wishing to draw some aesthetic or philosophical conclusion from these cardboard objects has only to refer to the accompanying illustrations. We shall see further on what is for me the only modern mask worthy of Aeschylus worn in our century; it cannot be photographed because its emanations are fatal to film.

I shall first relate how some of these grotesque figures passed for conquering heroes, kinds of sea-chest Tamerlanes who made it to the islands of Oceania.

How many times in Arab and Sudanese villages have I seen masks atop voluminous white robes dancing in the glow of paraffin lamps, as cylinder phonographs with horns blared on the terraces of tiny bars and gusts of laughter blew out the narghiles. Carapaces that blunted the snouts of mosquitoes, these masks triggered in their wearers the frenzy of the ancient spirits and set them whirling like uproarious dervishes. The deserts and whitewashed towns had withdrawn into silence, fasted for an entire moon so that one night obscenities as ritualised as prayers might spill splendidly from these toothless, tongueless mouths. Then at the doors of the houses of love women with tattooed foreheads and rings in their noses welcomed them with laughs that sent a thrill through the darkness; and soon, hanging from a nail on the wall, these handsome gifts from the West contemplated with their eyeless sockets the couplings of the devils of the desert.

On the beaches of Southern isles stand long, sculpted palisades, sorts of fantastic masts made of demons scrambling one on top of the other, of faces stuck on enormous tree trunks and staring back at the sun. These long altars – fortresses of heads, ramparts of gods – defend the homeland. The ocean itself no longer dares press forward, the sharks draw back into the open sea, and the birds dread these perches surrounded by a deserted sky.

Then the white man, devoid of all respect, takes advantage of this universal awe to come calmly ashore, followed by his grim missionaries, his papier mâché Jesuits. He dumps his chests on the sand, takes out his 45-proof holy water and then, to appear devout, he too unpacks his apostles, his masks, the vomit-bowls of the Faubourg Saint-Denis, proclaiming them his ancestors, his tutelary deities. Like the judge with the dirigible-dilated nose, his merry henchmen take possession of the island: the prisons open, the whips crack, the coins chink and the national flag flies half-heartedly over the land. In its protective shadow the civiliser sets about sawing so he can dispatch this beauteous hell, grown and perhaps already mouldering in the sun, to his market and its Trocadero Palaces. The graveyards are dug up and the dead robbed of their masks and jewellery. If the White Pirate learns that a Black Cleopatra has just swallowed a pearl, he has her brought to him and, despite his interdiction of ritual blood sacrifices, rips open her belly to recoup the precious item from her smoking entrails. The blacks adopt new gods and *voilà!*, they make their own little Carnival Trocadero and native collectors acquire a few rare artefacts.

Thus did the people encountered at the store, next to the jug of milk, set off on their colonising mission. They no longer felt at home in our cities. And rightly so, for they no

longer accorded with reality: their outmoded idiocy had been replaced with another, enigmatic kind of mask which several generations wore all the way to the shores of death and which today's young wear in symbolic parades, along with the helmet and the rifle.

I imagine a meeting in Hell between Aeschylus's troupe, a dozen shades with different, terrifying wooden faces, and a handful of ghosts of my own time, their faces hidden behind absolutely identical, utterly dehumanised masks. "What are these porcine faces, every one of them the same?" Aeschylus asks. These are not snouts, dear father of Tragedy, these are gas masks that sting their eyes terribly, tear at their throats, make them weep and cough, for inside they give off hideous vapours compared to which the sulphurous effluxions of some parts of hell are no more distressing than the lighting of a match. No question, this is the authentic modern mask. Among the peoples of ancient times religion and worship of the dead and the feasts of Dionysus made the mask a sacred ritual adornment; and we too have our religion, our games, and as a result our masks. Except that our age's standardisation forces us to all wear the same one. One meant to drive away certain invisible enemies. Don't give up hope of one day seeing half the human race running around wearing this mask; just as every visitor to the coast of Africa should be ready for the sight of a top-hatted demigod or old lady innocently wagging the very same muzzle amid the shifting shade of the palms.

A HISTORIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN JEAN ROUCH AND OUSMANE SEMBÈNE IN 1965: “YOU LOOK AT US AS IF WE WERE INSECTS”

From CinémAction 81 (1996).

Translated from the French by Muna El Fituri.

During the course of a confrontation considered today as “historic” between Jean Rouch and Ousmane Sembène, taken down by Albert Cervoni, some formulations were pronounced that since then have become classics with regard to direct cinema, ethnology, and African cinema. We’ve reproduced large excerpts of this original interview. This has allowed us to reestablish some of the formulations in their original precision. Since then, Sembène has refused to make any commentary on Rouch’s cinema.

Ousmane Sembène: Will European cinematographers, you for example, continue to make films about Africa once there are a lot of African cinematographers?

Jean Rouch: This will depend on a lot of things but my point of view, for the moment, is that I have an advantage and disadvantage at the same time. I bring the eye of the stranger. The very notion of ethnology is based on the following idea: someone confronted with a culture that is foreign to him sees certain things that the people on the inside of this same culture do not see.

OS: You say seeing. But in the domain of cinema, it is not enough to see, one must analyze. I am interested in what is before and after that which we see. What I do not like about ethnography, I’m sorry to say, is that it is not enough to say that a man we see is walking, we must know where he comes from, where he is going.

JR: You are right on this point because we have not arrived at the goal of our knowledge. I believe as well that in order to study French culture, ethnology having to do with France must be practiced by people on the outside. If one wants to study Auvergne or Lozere, one must be a Briton. My dream is that Africans will be producing films on French culture. As a matter of fact, you have already started. When Paulin Vieyra did *Afrique-sur-Seine* (Africa on the Seine) his purpose

was indeed to show African students, but he was showing them in Paris and he was showing Paris. There could be a dialogue, and you could show us what we ourselves are incapable of seeing. I am certain that the Paris or Marseille of Ousmane Sembène is not my Paris, my Marseille, that they have nothing in common.

OS: There’s a film of yours that I love, that I’ve defended and will continue to defend. It’s *Moi, un Noir*. In principle, an African could have done it, but none of us at the time had the necessary conditions to realize it. I believe that there needs to be a sequel to *Moi, un Noir*, to continue—I think about it all the time—the story of this young man who, after Indochina, does not have a job and ends up in jail. After Independence, what becomes of him? Has something changed for him? I don’t believe so. A detail: this Young man had his diploma, now it so happens that most delinquent youth have their school diplomas. Their education doesn’t help them, doesn’t allow them to manage normally. And, finally, I feel that up to now two films of value have been made on Africa: your *Moi, un Noir* and *Come Back Africa*, which you do not like. And then there’s a third one, of a particular order, I’m talking about *Les Statues Meurent Aussi* (Statues Die Too).

JR: I would like you to tell me why you don’t like my purely ethnographic films, those in which we show, for instance, traditional life?

OS: Because you show, you fix a reality without seeing the evolution. What I hold against you and the Africanists is that you look at us as if we were insects.

JR: As Fabre would have done. I will defend the Africanists. They are men that can certainly be accused of looking at black men as if they were insects. But there might be Fabres out there who, when examining ants, discover a similar culture, one that is as meaningful as their own.

OS: Ethnographic films have often done us a disservice.

JR: That is true, but it's the fault of the authors, because we often work poorly. It doesn't change the fact that in today's situation we can provide testimonies. You know that there's a ritual culture in Africa that is disappearing: griots die. One must gather the last living traces of this culture. I don't want to compare Africanists with saints, but they are the unfortunate monks undertaking the task of gathering fragments of a culture based on an oral tradition that is in the process of disappearing, a culture that strikes me as having a fundamental importance.

OS: But ethnographers don't collect fables and legends only of the griots. It is not solely about explaining African masks. Let's take, for example, the case of another one of your films, *Les Fils de l'Eau*. I believe that a lot of European viewers didn't understand it because, for them, these rites of initiation didn't have any meaning. They found the film beautiful, but didn't learn anything.

JR: While filming *Les Fils de l'Eau*, I thought that by seeing the film European viewers could do just that, go beyond the old stereotype of blacks being "savages." I simply showed that just because someone doesn't participate in a written culture doesn't mean they do not think. There's also the case of *Maitres Fous*, one of my films that provoked heated debates among African colleagues. For me, it testifies to the spontaneous manner in which the Africans shown in the film, once out of their milieu, get rid of this industrial and metropolitan European ambiance by playing it, giving it as spectacle. I believe, however, that problems of reception do come up. One day, I showed the film in Philadelphia at an anthropological congress. A lady came to see me and asked: "can I have a copy?" I asked her why. She told me she was from the South and . . . she wanted to show . . . this film to prove that blacks were indeed savages! I refused. You see, I gave you an argument.

In agreement with the producers, the showing of *Maîtres Fous* has been reserved for art houses and cinema clubs. I believe that one should not bring such films to an audience that is too large, ill-informed, and without proper presentation and explanation. I also believe that the unique ceremonies of the people in *Maîtres Fous* make a primordial contribution to world culture.

RECIPIES FROM THE EXHIBITION LE MUSÉE CANNIBALE, MUSÉE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE DE NEUFCHÂTEL, 2002

To exhibit is to disrupt harmony.

To exhibit is to disturb the visitor's intellectual comfort.

To exhibit is to stir up emotions, anger, the desire to know more.

To exhibit is to develop discourse specific to the museum, made up of objects, texts and iconography.

To exhibit is to put objects at the service of a theoretical position, of a kind of discourse or of a history, and not the opposite.

To exhibit is to make a suggestion about what is essential from a critical distance, characterised by humour, irony and mockery.

To exhibit is to fight against ideas that are handed over, against stereotypes and stupidity.

To exhibit is to live intensely a collective experience.

Exhibition principles of the Musée d'ethnographie of Neuchâtel (<http://www.men.ch/expo-principes>)

In 2002, the Musée d'ethnographie of Neuchâtel organises the exhibition The Cannibal Museum, inspired by the ways in which ethnographic museums “feed themselves” with Others' objects. The exhibition is accompanied by a series of museographic recipes deconstructing different practices of “consumption” of foreign cultures by western museography.

Following illustrations: *Le Musée Cannibale*, 2002. © Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Juxtaposition à la Jean Clair

Ingredients:

A lot of artefacts of the same type

The same number of labels

Preparation:

- 1 Dress the objects so as to find their common denominator
- 2 Truss them meticulously
- 3 Stew them in their own juice
- 4 Strain through cheesecloth
- 5 Decorate each label with the same superfluous information

Serve:

Great for kebabs: carefully alternate the artefacts and the labels

Goes well with:

No accompanying discourse



To die with a Tan

Functional association, Basel style

Ingredients:

A group of complementary items used in the same context

A bouquet garni of ethnographic information

Preparation:

- 1 Rustle up the items from the storeroom
- 2 Husk to get rid of all outside influences
- 3 Soak in a spicy marinade
- 4 Put aside
- 5 Steam with the bouquet garni

Serve:

Put the objects side by side in a well-buttered vitrine so as to give an all-round idea of a social activity. Some astute chefs add a Western object, usually a Coke can, to show that their recipes evolve

Goes well with:

Dioramas, nostalgia, the image of the noble savage



To die in peace

Mimicry Dutch-style

Ingredients:

Ethnographic bits and pieces from the same context,
including baskets, fabrics, utensils

Palm and/or banana leaves

Tropical wood and vegetable fibre

A good quantity of jelly

Preparation:

- 1 Assemble the bits and pieces
- 2 Shred the palm and banana leaves and make a chiffonnade
- 3 Bard the bits and pieces and the chiffonnade
- 4 Coat with jelly
- 5 Leave to ferment

Serve:

Set in aspic in a tropical wood and vegetable fibre mould
in the shape of a hut, a pagoda, a junk or a house of ancestors

Goes well with:

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, paternalism, a pipe stuffed
with rum-flavoured Amsterdamer tobacco

Change of scale à la dauphinoise

Ingredients:

A good ethnographic leg of lamb

A few artefacts from the same category

Preparation:

- 1 Caramelize the leg of lamb
- 2 Collect the juice
- 3 Sauté the other artefacts in the juice and reduce to the desired size
- 4 Set aside

Serve:

Place the scale models around the leg of lamb

Decorate

Goes well with:

The law of series, instructional models, the illusion of reality



Glamorising à la Barbier-Mueller

Ingredients:

A rare, ancient ethnographic item reindexable as a work of art

A discreet mount

A stylishly sober base

A state-of-the-art halogen spotlight

1 square metre of satin-finish fabric

Preparation:

- 1 Scald the item to remove the ethnographic surplus
- 2 Cover the base with the fabric
- 3 Brown the item to bring out its patina
- 4 Fix the item on its mount
- 5 Place the whole at the centre of the base

Serve:

Leave plenty of room for contemplative consumption

Darken the space, halo the item with light

Start a rumour about the artefact's insurance value

Optional: sprinkle lightly with information

Goes well with:

The art market, vintage champagne, Iranian beluga caviar



To die in a sect

Series Town & Country (To die...)

Claude Closky

Sacralisation à la Jacques Kerchache

Ingredients:

An artefact with a stunning pedigree

Five litres of culture medium

A dose of low-fat history

A little spice

Preparation:

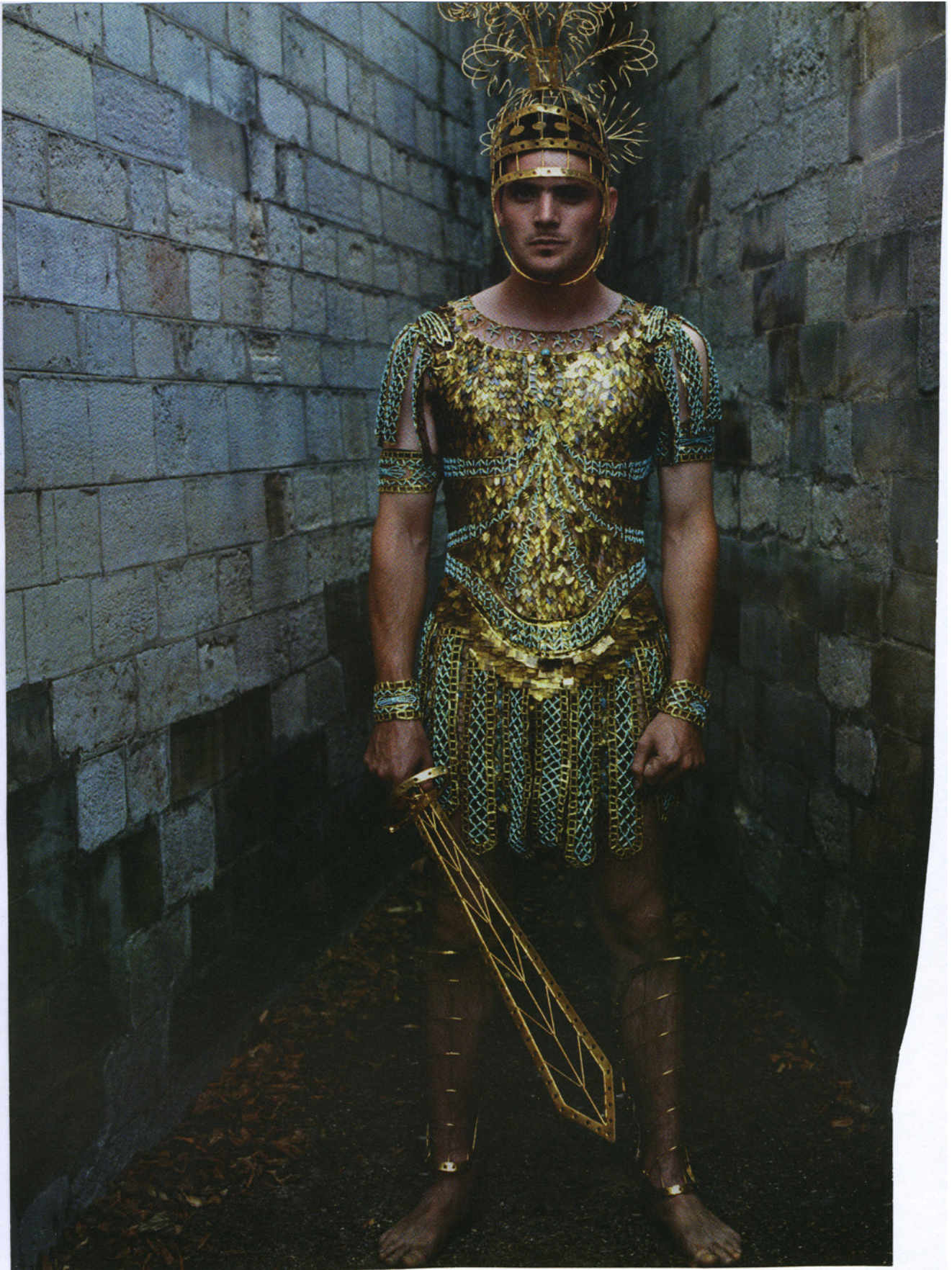
- 1 Blanch the item in the culture medium
- 2 Macerate it in the low-fat history
- 3 Clarify to get the juice of the collectors of the piece
- 4 Throw out the ethnographic whey
- 5 Sweat on a low flame
- 6 Shape in the mould of the prevalent ideology
- 7 Add a few spicy anecdotes

Serve:

With slightly self-contemplative Paris Museum sauce

Goes well with:

Commemorations, political ambitions, petits fours



To die in Rome

Aesthetic association à la Jean-Hubert Martin

Ingredients:

Ethnographic items such as masks, statuettes or ornaments from different periods and contexts

A similar number of Western art objects

Preparation:

- 1 Slice each piece finely
- 2 Let the context drain off
- 3 Cook in a court-bouillon to blend the tastes
- 4 Drain

Serve:

On a canapé

Arrange according to vague formal or conceptual resemblances

Goes well with:

All-embracing art celebrations, all kinds of rash comparisons



To die in a chicken coop

Poetic association à la Harald Szeemann

Ingredients:

A brain

A dose of irreverence

At least two artefacts abstrusely connected in the mind
of the exhibition originator

Preparation:

- 1 Sweat the brain or cook it in a bain-marie until an idea emerges
- 2 Infuse the irreverence in the idea juice
- 3 Allow to settle
- 4 Use this preparation to create an unexpected link between the two artefacts
- 5 Roll and fold the layers of meaning
- 6 Thicken the sauce

Serve:

Relevantly, otherwise the dish is frightfully indigestible

Goes well with:

Quotations from Marcel Duchamp, black turtleneck pullovers, arty ties



Michael Taussig

THE INSTRUMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION

Extract from *What Color Is the Sacred?*,
University of Chicago Press, 2009



Fig. 5 Malinowski with Trobriand friends

Malinowski with friends, Trobriand Islands, circa 1918

Who, then, was this dazzling figure of fiction—this ever so nick-nameable Malinowski as photographed in the field performing fieldwork—whom Michael Young tells us placed most of the photographs of himself in the category “Intro. the Ethnographer,” by which he meant “not simply to introduce himself as the ethnographer, but to situate himself in the introduction as the instrument of ethnographic observation.”¹ But to turn the instrument of ethnographic observation onto itself turns out not to be so easy. Who am I to myself? What story do I want to tell the camera, this same camera I have been using with great assiduity, taking picture after picture of the natives over two years? Here is Billy the pearl trader who likes taking pictures too. Give him the blessed camera. Let him gather pearls. Let him be the ethnographer of the ethnographer. Let him picture me as the ethnographic sub-

ject, but unlike the natives, I will be both the object and the subject. It is I who shall dictate the shot. Let us advance a little on that other game, the one called “participant observation.” After all, like participant observation, parody mimics so as to gain distance as well as insight.

The closest thing to this that I know of in the anthropological canon are the migrants to Ghana from Niger in Jean Rouch’s 1955 film of spirit possession, *Les maîtres fous*. Members of the Hauka cult, they become possessed by the spirits of white colonial officials and their wives. The colonial figures are thus mimicked—and parodied—with frothing mouths and frighteningly staccato movements and a staggering gait. Fritz Kramer has shown how this kind of enactment of Otherness, precolonial as well as colonial, was widespread in Africa.² But for the anthropologist to become possessed by the colonial officials is truly unique, a fine tribute

¹ Young, *Malinowski’s Kiriwina*, 47; Young, *Malinowski: Odyssey*, p. 496.

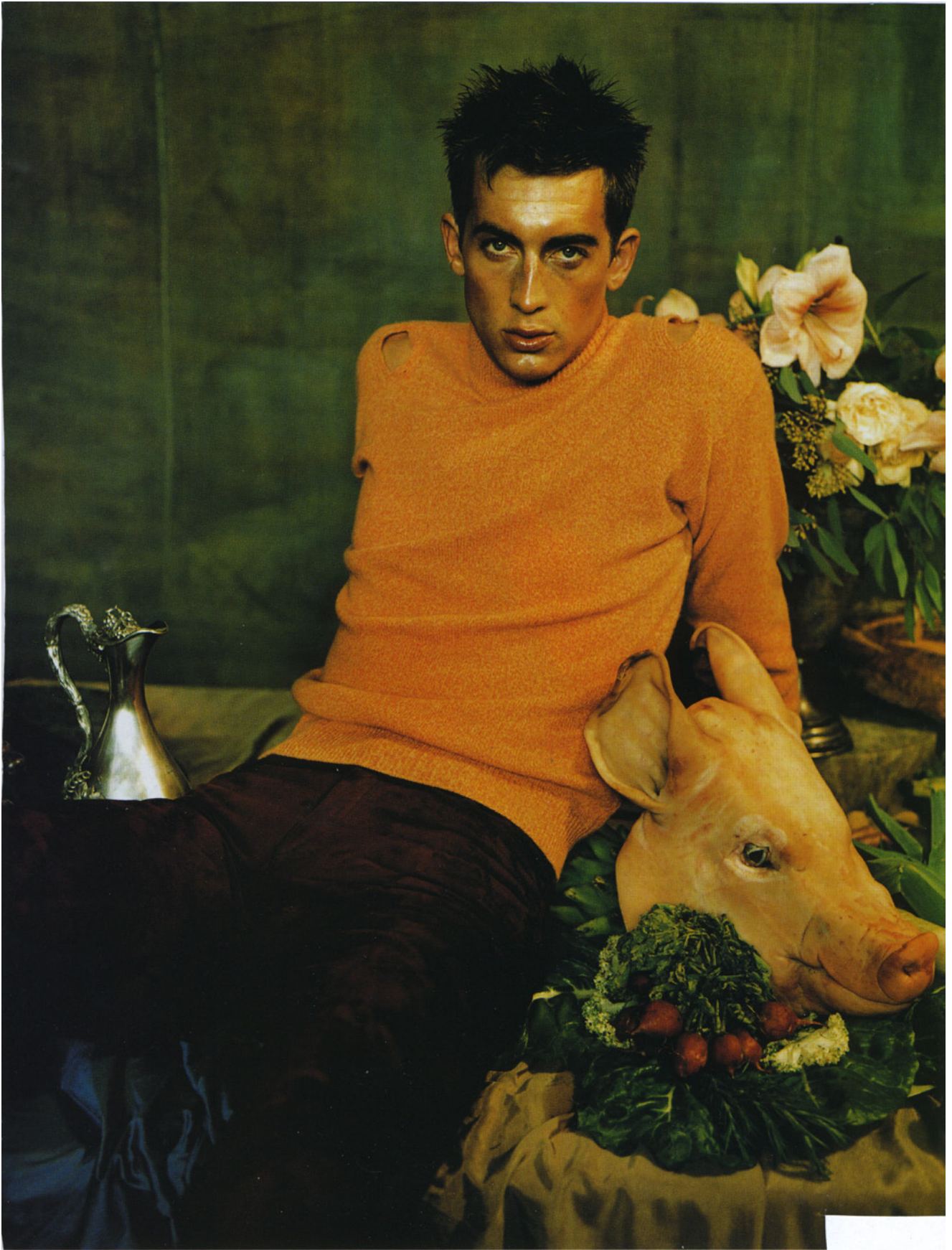
² Fritz Kramer, *The Red Fez*, translated by Malcolm R. Green (London and New York: Verso, 1993 [1987]), pp. 135–36.

to the spirit-possession magic of the camera, and a neat twist to the work of fieldwork.

The island was a stage, a time out of time, in which the participant observer, thanks to the camera, became the observed and, by the same token, the gaze was reversed so as to unveil the exotica and indeed the magic latent in colonial officials and missionaries as long-overdue objects of ethnographic curiosity.

And God only knows what Sir Hubert Murray would have thought of his anthropologist performing whiteness out of sight in the boondocks, alone except for the natives, the sorcerer Togugu'a and, of course, Billy the pearl trader, who left us these immaculate photographs. If it was Sir Hubert who minted that pointed principle of governance, "administration by bluff," it was Malinowski who took this bluff to heart. Not for him in these photographs the loin cloth or the soiled pajamas. No sir!

So this is my conclusion: they all seem to be enjoying this make-believe—the pearl trader and the sorcerer and especially Malinowski, whose love of irony, sarcasm, and wordplay was striking throughout his life. He switched from recording the customs of the natives to being recorded as one of those lords of whiteness who could form a magical axis with the sorcerer of some repute—as we see in the image I presented in chapter 13, *Ethnographer with a Man in a Wig*. Dark and languid, his skin shading off imperceptibly into the surround, stands the graceful sorcerer. Hands on hips, challenging him in the stance of sexual arousal, stands the anthropologist in the guise of a colonial official. Who is the more magical, the observer or the observed?



To die at lunch

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH CHARLENE JAMES DANDAN



Binibining Promised Land, 2009-2010. Still of the film with the interview of Charlene James Dandan

1. CHARLENE JAMES DANDAN
Organizer of Binibining Pilipinas Israel
TALKS ABOUT BEAUTY PAGEANTS
TACHANA MERKAZIT
(Central Bus Station)
Tel Aviv
March 2010

Charlene James Dandan: I am Charlene James Dandan, I come from the Philippines. I came in Israel the year 2000. My parents...I was born in one of the cities...a very interesting city in the Philippines. It's a city composed of Muslims and Christians, but the Muslims are more dominant, but I am a Christian. My father is a politician, he is a former Mayor in Cotabato City in the place of the Muslims. I graduated in the year 1990 with a degree of Bachelor of Science and Biology, a preparatory for Medicine, in one of the

prestigious schools in Davao City; The Davao Doctors School of Medicine. Before I made the Binibining Pilipinas Israel, way back in the Philippines I did a lot of beauty contests.... in Cotabato City, where I live. I made the Binibining Catabato and it's like similar to the Binibining Pilipinas. Then when I was in Israel, at first, I am just an ordinary like the other foreign workers. But in the year 2006 I started with a muse only in one of the basketball tournaments here in Israel, competing with girls and I won the contest. Since then the magazine Manila Tel Aviv Magazine, a Filipino magazine here in Israel, interviewed me and asked to be the choreographer, a judge and at the same time made the Manila Tel Aviv Top Model that is a fashion show, a modeling contest. I organized that one and then, later on I was exposed by the Filipino community, they recognized me wherever I go.

Then I decided...but prior to the Binibining Pilipinas I am also a beauty queen in Israel. I joined a contest for the.... it's for the gay! And then, that is in the year 2007, when I won the Queen of Asia Israel and competing, representing Philippines. Then I decided to continue to share my talents to the Filipino community, and not only to the Filipino community, as well to the Israeli.

Köken Ergun: What is Binibining Pilipinas?

CJD: Binibining Pilipinas is a competition of young Pilipinas here in Israel. This is an Israel chapter since there is really a real Binibining Pilipinas in my country, that is the most prestigious beauty contest in the Philippines. We have a lot of different beauty contests in the Philippines but Binibining Pilipinas....this is the contest like The Miss Philippines where we have to choose Miss Philippines Universe, Miss Philippines World and Miss Philippines International.

KE: What are the qualities of a Binibining Pilipina?

CJD: In the Binibining Pilipinas the girls must project really the definition of a woman. A woman with substance. A woman that looks like a Pilipina, talk like a Pilipina, walk like a Pilipina with the gestures of a Pilipina.

KE: How do you select the candidates for the pageant?

CJD: Those girls really undergo a series of interviews, some... yes, yes, with me...to qualify, to be one of the finalists of the Binibining Pilipinas.

KE: What do you ask them in the interviews?

CJD: No, I ask about the country and then about themselves but mostly to select the finalists for the Binibining Pilipinas Israel, the first one you have to know first the physical beauty, the outside beauty. But not only the outside beauty but also the character of the candidates. And then there is an age limit, of course....and then personality...and most they can represent the city or, let's say, the city where she came from in the Philippines. And she knows....and the most important she really knows about Philippines' culture. Because this is a beauty contest with a purpose, we have to make charities, we have to help. We have to go in the hospital, we have to help the foreign workers also who are in needs. And then we have to...how you call it? To gain, to sell the tickets that we can gain money and that money will be sent in my country.

KE: The money will be sent back to the Philippines?

CJD: Yes, who needs help, yes. And also not only in the Philippines but also here in Israel foreign workers who are in needs, like for example who are in the hospitals.

KE: What is your favorite part of the beauty pageants?

CJD: The most important for me, which I like it and it's so happen that I like also because I joined the contest also. Like The Queen of Asia is a beauty contest from different nationalities...Nepal, India and I represent Philippines...is the national costume because it shows...For me it's the national costume because it's showing the different costumes of different countries in Asia and I love it. I know how to carry our national costumes. Because like, for example, when I join the costume I won the dress in national costume because I carry it compared to other candidates.

KE: What is Ethno-Modern?

CJD: The Ethno-Modern that is the costume and also the production number because the Ethno-Modern it has something with...why it is Ethno-Modern? It is showing the different Ethnic parts of the Philippines, the different tribes and then wearing...The real Binibining Pilipinas, they must wear their original costume from different tribes, yeah. But what I did in the Binibining Pilipinas is that it's like a little bit modern yeah,

yes. Because it is the latest now, not really the old one but if you will see the old one is more unique because you will see the costume in the Philippines, the original.

KE: What kind of awards are given to the pageant?

CJD: The Binibining Pilipinas receive, of course, a cash prize that comes from the solicitation aside from the crown, sash, plaques, bouquet and a lot of items, gift items also...

KE: Like what?

CJD: Those are coming from the sponsors...yes, yes, jewelry, diamonds... That the winner get a diamond...and then aside from the cash and also I remember, a crown, plaques, sash and then gift items like beauty products of one of the biggest company in Israel, I cannot remember already what company is, yes.

KE: Why are beauty pageants so important for the Filipinos?

CJD: Philippines love beauties, yeah. So we have a lot of beauty contests and there are different titles of beauty....We have a lot of contests in the Philippines, different titles. But what I said, the Binibining Pilipinas that's the most prestigious one. But actually I don't know how many, it's hundreds titles of beauty contests what we are doing in the Philippines.

KE: What about the Tachana Merkazit? And tell us about this place where we are now, the Tachana Merkazit?

CJD: Tachana Merkazit? No, it so happens this place is common for, not only for the foreign workers from the Philippines or from Asia but this is the common one. Because this is where the center, where the autobus...you know the Filipino foreign workers come from different cities in Israel. So this is the bus station...So every Saturday this is the place...like, like, yes, if you need to go for a taxi or for the *sharut*, so this is the common one. And this is also the place, this is the reason also a lot of Pilipinas or married an Israeli who have business here in Tachana Merkazit for the purpose of...No, what I said: this is really the center.

KE: So this is also why you made the beauty contest here?

CJD: No, it so happens we did it in the discotheque...the Binibining Pilipinas Israel because the sponsor is in...yes and the discotheque.

KE: And how did you choose the jury members? Who are the jury members?

CJD: Some they are really, how do you call it? Trusted to be the judges and then some comes from the sponsors because there is sponsors but they know how, of course they know how to judge because they are managers. One, I remember, in the pre-pageant she is a top model also, she is a model. And also in the final she is an Israel model here in Israel. And then, the manager of the beauty products in Israel, so she knows really, what's really a beauty of a Filipina.

KE: I remember the Question & Answer was also a very important part.

CJD: Yes, of course. That's the most important because to be a beauty queen is not only to be a beauty from the outside but also you must have brain to represent Philippines. Yeah, that you know how to talk if you are already, how you call? Talking with, how you call it? With confidence...

KE: So this is one of the very important points that the jury will make, right? It's the decisive moment. And some contestants couldn't even talk because they were very nervous I guess.

CJD: Yes, that's really a part of a contest. In my contest before also, there are some candidates who doesn't answer and... No, because...it's, it's...maybe you feel tired and if you are nervous already and then...No, but for me it's really that the... the crowd, because how many crowd? Thousands watching you and then you are in front wearing.... sexy like in the swimsuit and then...no, only that one. The crowd who are shouting, yes, because they like you or maybe they don't like you it's like that. So, that's why prior to the contest proper the candidates were trained to be, to face in front of the public, yeah.

KE: Do you remember in your competition where you were a contestant what was the Question & Answer? What was the question they asked you?

CJD: No, I remember the question they asked me: what is the one thing that the Israelis must learn from the Filipinos? And what is the one thing that the Filipinos must learn from the Israelis?

So I answered with confidence that comes from my heart. Because in the Question & Answer is not really you will memorize or you will think or you have to research but it really comes from the heart. Because if it comes from the heart you can answer nicely. I answered: the one thing that the Israeli must learn from the Filipinos is our culture and particularly the characteristics. Because it is only one thing, so the one, so what I answered is about the character of a Filipino...a character of a Filipino, which is common. We are

hospitable, our hospitality. Hospitality in the sense, I make it a little bit shorter that... Because I will site an example. Like if we have a visitor comes from our country we really give importance, yeah. The hospitality of Filipinos... we show it.... But what I answered that: the one thing that the Israelis must learn from the Filipinos is that we Filipinos give respect to the Israeli, we give to high regards to our visitors, we show our hospitality to all. Not only for Filipinos but also to our visitors coming from different nations, because that is the most important.

And then, the other one that what is the one thing that you learn from the Israelis, I said that...because I... it really comes from my heart, that I came from a very conservative...like this is the reason Binibining Pilipinas you are really a little... not so conservative but really defines the gesture of a Pilipina that you walk with boys, with elegance, like conservative... not like the other one that...like you know... Now it is really different, showing a lot of nations, like a little bit modern. But the real Pilipina is like our grandparents, our grandma. Yes it's like that. Or, in short, really behaves. So, I said that at least in my life, that I am here in Israel already my.... being a conservative is not so...is a little...I am not so conservative already, at least a little bit...Not modern, or a little bit liberated. Not liberated, I cannot explain it, but not really the real one, that in the Philippines...Like really, like, I cannot explain how I will say it but: school, then finish school, go house... like that. Sheltered, like you are sheltered.

Yes, and here there is a little bit freedom and maybe because my family is not here. But even my family is not here...maybe I am like this already because I am really conservative. Yes. That's the reason I really like in the house. You see, now... oh look...I...

KE: And tell me, you were the choreographer of all the production. You did everything basically....it's a lot of work.

CJD: No, because if it really comes from your heart, it is really your talent, you really want to share your talent you can do it.

KE: No, ok, you can answer...

CJD: Hello, Maryln.... *(She talks on the phone in Tagalog)*
My friend they are calling me already, that we have to start our meeting. We can do it? You see it is 8.05 and our meeting is eight. Yes, because you know that they will really take me in their apartment only outside, that they really...I make an alibi...

KE: Choreography

CJD: No, the production number...When I made the beauty contest, the Binibining Pilipinas I had already an

idea how I will do it, yeah. What I really want to show, in our words the *sariling atin* (showing our very own), like showing the Philippines itself. Yeah, showing our culture in the Philippines, showing the different tribes in the Philippines and then showing how the Pilipina acts, how they will act and how they will carry their costumes. How they will dance and then how...just like that, yeah.

KE: And how did you decide the set? There was some set, there were the visuals....

CJD: Actually if you will really meet the...it is really more, how you call it, a bigger space...you will show the stage, like... The setting is more on the Philippines, the decorations, but it so happens, you know, the place is a little bit....

KE: In this one there was just a TV screen showing Fashion TV...

CJD: No, it's there already, it's there already! I am not the one who made the decoration in the final, only the pre-pageant. But it's not really my idea because if I will make a beauty contest in a bigger space...Look like now, the Binibining Pilipinas now is really planned, we have our meeting...Because we will do it in the auditorium and it's a big...thousands of Filipinos will come because it's an organization already, it's not...That one is only *Bahay Kubu*¹ with me. This one is an organization put by one of the organization of the Filipino community in Israel. My friend, my friend, they will get angry with me already. I am so sorry my friend...it's ok?

¹ Bahay Kubu: A night club for foreinger workers, situated in the basement of Tel Aviv's Central Bus Station. Along with many other social events of the Filipino Community, Binibining Pilipinas Israel 2009 took place there.

RE-CONSTITUTIONS. ON “MUEDA, MEMÓRIA E MASSACRE” (“MUEDA, MEMORY AND MASSACRE”), BY RUY GUERRA

Reenactment, historical documentary, political fiction, ethnographic film, all those genres are evoked, at first glance, by *Mueda, Memória e Massacre*, a 1979 Mozambican feature film directed by Ruy Guerra (born in Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, in 1931), one of Brazilian Cinema Novo's most important film directors. *Mueda...* is considered to be the first fiction feature film of independent Mozambique. Nevertheless, the film creates a profound synthesis between cinematographic genres, overriding all efforts of generic classification, and thus opening the category of cinematographic *œuvre*, as a cultural form, up to new dimensions that include cinema, theatre, and collective memory's forms of expression as well as Mozambique's political project, in which cinema played a fundamental role.



Ruy Guerra, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (*Mueda, Mémoire et Massacre*)

On 16 June 1960 – just four years before the official beginning of the Mozambican War of Independence – the Mueda Massacre, one of the most significant episodes of resistance against Portuguese colonialism, took place in the Makonde Plateau, in Northern Mozambique. The Portuguese colonial administration repressed a peaceful manifestation, murdering, according to Mozambican official history, more than 600 persons. The circumstances surrounding the massacre are still ambiguous today, particularly in what concerns the

number of victims. The Mueda Massacre considerably contributed to the Makonde people's politicisation¹, influencing, therefore, the development of FRELIMO² and of its military campaign. In fact, the first “liberated areas”³ were established precisely in the Makonde Plateau.

From this point of view, Guerra's film would not only commemorate one of the main symbolic antecedents of Mozambican Independence War, but it would also - and above all - found and historically inscribe (given the absence of archive images) the cinematographic memory of the historical event. To paraphrase Jean-Luc Godard⁴, evoking his travels to Mozambique in the late 1970s, the political birth of the country would coincide with the birth of its cinematographic image.

Yet, *Mueda...* goes even further since the massacre's representation is based on the shooting of a popular, spontaneous and collective dramatisation of the event that, from June 1976 until about two decades later, took place every year at Mueda's public square, in front and inside of the colonial administration's ancient building; that is to say, in the same place where the massacre happened in 1960. This theatrical and carnivalesque performance of the massacre was based on the homonymous theatre play by Calisto dos Lagos, who is also quoted as the film's screenplayer and dramatic director. In this oral and improvised play, which was never set down in writing, Mueda's people incarnated simultaneously the colonial administration's characters and the demonstrators. The film intercuts images from this *mise en scène* with documentary interviews with survivors and witnesses of the

1 In 1917, the Makondes were already the protagonists of the last insurrection against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique.

2 The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, founded in Tanzania in 1962.

3 The guerrilla called “liberated areas” to the territorial surfaces where the administration was already made under its control. (...) The concept... was, for the FRELIMO's committee, even deeper since it integrated the idea that the fight for the socioeconomic transformation of people's life was also taking place in those areas. (Cabaço, José Luís, *Moçambique, Identidades, Colonialismo e Libertação*, Maputo, Marimbique, 2010, my translation)

4 Godard, Jean-Luc, “Nord contre Sud ou Naissance (de l'Image) d'une Nation 5 films émissions de TV”, in *Cahiers du Cinéma*, n° 300, 1979.

massacre.

This *fiction de mémoire*⁵, to quote a concept by Jacques Rancière, not only visually articulates the relation between affective memory and history, but it also draws near to the notions and practices of reenactment and re-effectuation, a term with a deeper pragmatic dimension, since it re-constitutes the massacre and takes a process of memory's fictionalisation as its point of departure. The film is characterised by a complex articulation between history, enunciative present, memory and their *mise en rapport*, which destabilises the operative categories of documentary and fiction, pointing to a politic of representation that would be inseparable from the emergence of new sensible models as well as an affirmation of cinema as a form of historical thought. The filmic organisation of the temporalities and narratives in conflict inscribes this aesthetic and political manifesto – or, better, this statement on the inseparability between aesthetics and politics – in the programme of the new country under construction. At the same time, since the massacre's representation is based on its collective, direct and popular memory, the film – and its polyphonic enunciative system – indicates a reinvention of the expressive possibilities, which would be entwined in the creation of a new dimension of Mozambican identity, founded on a creative confrontation between modernity and traditional society.

In this way, *Mueda...* tackles the massacre's affective collective memory rather than the historical event in itself. According to Guerra, it is a movie about the massacre's *mythical significance*, the transformation of such a cruel act into an act of joy⁶, and about the self-representation forms of the people engaged in the revolutionary process. It is a reconstitution of the massacre's reenacted reconstitution that creates its definitive forms of visibility, laying, in the same movement, the foundation of Mozambican cinema. Yet, this re-constitution also contains a gesture of spatial and temporal transference, that is, a transference from the mythic nature of the past into the present of the country under construction, a living time that is already a past tense, a gesture of investment of the past's symbolic weight into the new images. The possibility of the past's refiguration comes out precisely through the intensity of the present. The film comes from a history already in progression; consequently, the present – the cathartic and carnivalesque celebration of the massacre – is treated as the inaugural force of the history to come. All the work developed by Guerra in Mozambique may be inscribed in this line, particularly the monumental fresco *Os Comprometidos. Actas de um Processo de Descolonização (1984)*⁷ that assembles the declarations of ex-collaborators of

the colonial regime in a popular court, and which constitutes, according to the director, *the catharsis of colonialism*⁸.

In *Mueda...*, the borderline between the interior and the exterior scenes signals the genre's conflict and determines the relation between a collective body and the camera's position. The film's structure is determined by the contrast between the sequence-shots of the self-determined theatrical play, shot at Mueda's public square, and the sequences shot inside the colonial administration's ancient building, which were re-staged for the film. During the shooting of these interior scenes, Mueda's inhabitants, who stayed outside the building, spontaneously performed the theatrical play again, becoming spectators of the political action which was being staged inside the building, and active participants at once. Guerra's camera shows us incessantly their double condition, which also signals the contiguity and friction between documentary and fiction.



Ruy Guerra, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre (Mueda, Mémoire et Massacre)*

Nevertheless, *Mueda...* is a film without direct *mise en scène*, since the filmed events are independent from the shooting. The work of fiction is built upon the organisation of the different narrative levels in the edition's process. Even if the film follows the theatre play's original structure, the editing articulates images from different popular reenactments of the massacre and several interviews. The narrative structure that is formed by the montage, the deferred temporalities and the articulation of heterogeneous expressive systems, create, in this way, a new memory of the massacre.

*Genre's frustration*⁹ is the expression that Guerra uses to describe *Mueda...* as it is a film that refuses politically both the epic reenactment and the documentary's reality effect. It is entirely a Mozambican production, which determined the usage of black and white negative film; a film that, in spite of its generic classification as a fiction, paradoxically shows itself as a representation of reality, from which comes unquestionably its political strength.

5 Fiction of memory. Rancière, Jacques, *La fable cinématographique*, Paris, Seuil, 2001.

6 Guerra, Ruy, Interview with Catarina Simão and Raquel Schefer, Maputo, 16 September 2011.

7 *The Collaborators. Minute of a decolonization process.*

8 *Id., ibid.*

9 *Id., ibid.*

Political frustration as well, since the movie would be re-edited without Guerra's participation, suffering at least two important cuts, apparently due to divergences related with the adoption of a historical point of view that was not officially recognised at the moment of production, and which would be opposed to the governmental conception of a multiethnic nation, whose geographical borders would coincide with those of the colonial state. And, political frustration because the film's performative time seemed to not be adjusted to the Mozambican political project's didactic time.



Ruy Guerra, *Mueda, Memória e Massacre* (*Mueda, Mémoire et Massacre*)

The excavation of the material time and space of *Mueda...*'s images brings out their discontinuities, fundamental contradictions and incompatible postulates. Fracture lines. From the mythical cinematographic foundation of Mozambique and the country's first fiction feature film, to the institutional archives, and rarely seen, rarely showed, film out-of-circulation, discarded, like FRELIMO's political project. The film's images are deferred archives because they do not claim to be (nor are they) the images from the past, as they constitute, on the contrary, a disruptive force that connects transversally 1960's past and 1979's enunciative present to today and to the failure of Mozambican revolutionary process. These three moments of the image punctuate the passage of time over history's discourse, utopia, and the work of memory.

CINEMA AS A DRIVING FORCE FOR REVOLUTION TRANSVESTIMS IN THOMAS HARLAN'S "TORRE BELA"



Thomas Harlan, *Torre Bela*, 1975. Still

Torre Bela (1975), by Thomas Harlan, is one of those films that powerfully mark the memory of a certain period of a country's history. Today, in the case of Portugal, it represents a kind of open window, giving access to the tension experienced at a moment of abrupt and intense change. For a period of some months in 1975, a foreign film crew, led by Thomas Harlan, accompanied the process of occupation of a big farm belonging to the Dukes of Lafões.¹ During that period, nationalisations, occupations of land and factories, and the appearance of new organisations based on popular power proliferated in the country. In *Torre Bela*, one can see how rural workers, who had fought in the Overseas war and among whom many were illiterate and alcoholics, took power in their hands and discussed the ways in which they could organise themselves collectively.

Today, one of the sequences is still a stumbling block, giving rise to perplexity and mythologies resonating in various forum and blog commentaries on the internet. In this sequence, the protagonists discover the ducal palace's contents, opening cupboard and closet drawers, trying on the clothes and "dressing" like the characters that they have evicted from the property. Nowadays, these images are a cause of appropriation for the most diverse of narratives: this shouldn't have happened because the revolution was

not supposed to enter into houses, but only to take possession of means of production, land and tools to work on it with. This was the position held by the producer of *Torre Bela*, José Pedro dos Santos, who was an active member of the Portuguese Communist Party at the time and the only Portuguese in Harlan's team. In the film *Linha Vermelha*,² that I directed in 2011 as a new reading of Harlan's work, Santos claims that the occupation was provoked because Harlan wanted to "have some scenes of conflict, with a certain dramatic dimension that he was missing".

Seeing that the population hesitated to enter the palace, the director prompted the organisation of a meeting between the occupiers and men of the military in Lisbon. It is during this encounter that Captain Banazol pronounced the statement that the film made famous: "You must not wait for a decree to be legally issued, saying that you can occupy. You occupy and then the law will come". The soldiers were available to travel to Torre Bela in order to participate in the elaboration of an inventory of the palace's contents. It was one more step thanks to the affirmative sign given to the continuation of the occupation.

Harlan's intervening attitude, as well as the boldness of Torre Bela's occupiers, mostly integrated in the nonaligned left defending the primacy of popular power, were in conflict with the idea of an "organised" and politically framed revolution, likely to eliminate its weaknesses.

Through his methods (very discrete or maybe decisive, we do not know), Harlan directed not only a film, but also events in progress. Even though his actions were limited to a short period of the cooperative's existence, they persisted, with all the force of Direct Cinema, due to the filmed documentary that he left behind. And if, on the one hand, they were concealed by *Torre Bela*'s transparent style, on the other, Harlan's narrative never ceased accentuating backstage manipulations:

But this is manipulation. And thus the real is born through manipulation. The film actually is a film that we didn't conceive of as a film, but as reality. And this film proves this. It is the total opposite of what a documentary should be.³

¹ Powerful family of the Portuguese aristocracy related to the House of Bragança, descending from D. Pedro II of Portugal. The title of Duke of Lafões dates from the 18th century. (translator's note)

² *Red line*. (translator's note)

³ Daney, Serge et al (1979) "Entretien avec Thomas Harlan", *Cahiers du Cinéma*, 301, June, pp. 42-48.

Still, in order to be able to comprehend what was at issue in the crew's interaction with the workers, it is important to not take the word manipulation in its strictly literal sense: the one that can be attributed to a *deus ex machina* with authoritative command over his marionettes. In *Torre Bela*, everything was more complex and subtle: the variety of wills present, the diversity of the rural workers' classes and origins (Harlan wasn't the only foreigner on the scene, since many revolutionaries came from Lisbon to directly observe the revolutionary process), in a general context of revolutionary euphoria setting the country on fire.

The film crew's presence constituted a stimulation following the occupation, by designating it as a legitimate action that had to be internationally recognised. The power exercised by the camera resembled the action of a magnetic needle, pointing to certain targets: it isolated certain protagonists because of their ability to emanate a presence and to make themselves heard, or it focused on situations with more conflictual and dramatic potential. On this point, one of the film's most fascinating moments is the one where we see an occupier in the palace who, trying on the duke's jacket, turns around himself and shouts "olé, I really look like a duke". In another sequence, a young man, after having thrown sacramental bread in the air, puts on the priest's chasuble that was in the palace's chapel and prays "Hail Mary" laughing to tears. It is tempting to see in this the enjoyment associated with oppressive symbols being taken over by the poor, who play down and thus desecrate their power of influence. But it is much more than that: it is the visible aspect of a metamorphosis. It seems as if the film crew facilitated the conditions for setting up a scene allowing transvestisms, subversions and reflecting on the changing of roles: "me, a poor worker, I can be a duke or a priest" and "these clothes are just signs through which power circulates and from which, by this act, I remove the ability to signify what they signified before".

The occupiers thus transformed themselves into actors not only of a film, but also of a revolution. Among the audio material given to the Portuguese *Cinémathèque* by Harlan, I discovered a recording that helps us understand this role game and that is included in my film *Linha Vermelha*. We hear sounds of an enthusiastic group preparing to break through the palace's doors, to where they had never been. Meanwhile, Wilson, the occupation's charismatic leader, exchanges some words with the crew's technicians, who tell the group to "wait, wait", trying to avoid the possibility of them entering the palace without it being recorded on film. And it is then that an impatient occupier asks the other members of the group: "are we actors or occupiers? If it is about opening, we open now. If we are actors, we are actors".

No image corresponding to this exchange exists today, but it is not difficult to visualise the choreography of movements of the expecting group, among which we have to count a film

crew supposed to manage technique as well as the collective's sensibilities. In this dance, the camera was the stimulus but also the final tool for overmasgtering (in the end, the camera also kept an eye on very deviant behaviours), it generated tensions and inhibitions, by nurturing forces and defining directions.

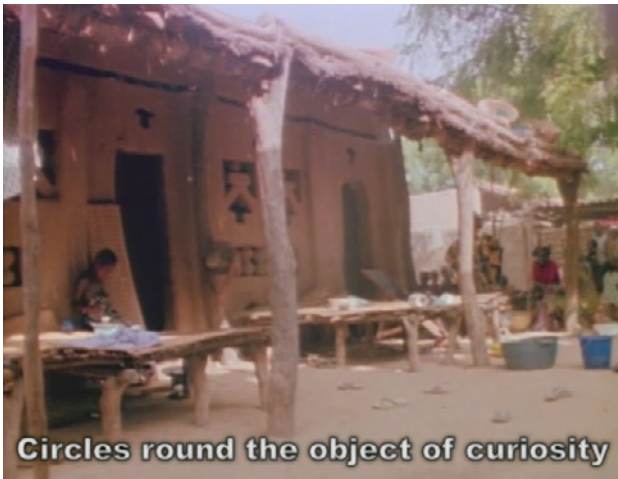
In such a way, the camera helped to substantiate a new political subject, by participating in a movement disrupting categories and shifting the tectonic plaques of a society organised in rigid and communicative strata. In this sense, it is possible to establish common points between making a film and revolting, between producing a film and producing history. Besides, for Harlan, this is what really mattered:

*What we did was not cinema (...) To make things, by making history. That is, you don't plan out a film. You plan to be there and to intervene in pivotal situations, so that your intervention produces history.*⁴

An ambitious and maybe exaggerated reading, an analysis that can only be done retrospectively, but which has the merit of drawing our attention to the possibility that a film is never just a film, but a comprehensive experience, reconfiguring the experience of those being filmed and of those looking.

4 Interview with José Manuel Costa, Shonau, 2006, ANIM-Cinemateca Portuguesa.

TRINH T. MINH-HA: "REASSEMBLAGE" ON THE RUINS OF ETHNOGRAPHY



Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Reassemblage*, 1983. Still.

Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Reassemblage*, subtitled *From the Firelight to the Screen*, was made in Senegal in 1981 and has since become a classic of experimental ethnography.¹ What this latter term refers to here is a deterritorialisation of experimental cinema, a move into ethnography leading to a poetic and political addressing of ethnographic "science".

In 1986 anthropologist James Clifford came to grips as follows with the foundations of in-the-field observation: "who speaks? who writes? when and where? with or to whom? under what institutional and historical constraints?"² This kind of reflexivity regarding the ethnographic situation – beginning with the problematics of statements, the temporalities and the stances involved – is now being taken steadily further by artists. But if Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Reassemblage* can be considered a watershed film, it is because her epistemocritical perspective is underpinned by an aesthetic that makes no secret of its Surrealist ancestry: of the blend of collage and juxtaposition, aesthetics of the fragment, and fascination with strangeness, magic and impurity which Georges Bataille shared with Luis Buñuel and Lévi-Strauss with Max Ernst.

The film opens with a voice-over that simultaneously clears the way and confuses the issue: "I do not intend to speak about, just speak nearby." Put this way the presumed failure of all objectifying scrutiny of peoples – notably by modern ethnography – is subsumed under the failure to see oneself as a perceiving *subject* when engaging with the *object* of one's investigations; and, ultimately, the failure of all scientific study of man *by* man and thus of anthropological utopianism. The implications of such a decision – speaking or observing *from the margin* – may seem overly drastic, but nonetheless they leave room for various persuasive cinema techniques. Combining radical sound/image disjunction, abrupt cuts and jerkily elliptical editing, Trinh T. Minh-ha's experimental ethnography seems almost intent on stasis for the Other, since all representation will necessarily be deconstructed and denatured.

¹ The term was coined by Catherine Russell for her book *Experimental Ethnography: the Work of Film in the Age of Video* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

² J. Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1986), p.13.

While the film is sometimes closer to visual stammering than to actual discourse, it is to be taken as both an expression of scientific failure and a source of performative reiterations: a number of phrases spoken as voice-over are repeated throughout the film, as if to prevent connection with any one image in particular.³ For example, when the voice-over speaks to us of the women who possess the secret of making and keeping fire, we see men – not women – going about their tasks. There are mentions, too, of the Serer, Bassari and Wolof peoples, without our knowing who exactly is being shown and because of what cultural difference. Ongoing friction between seen and not-seen, between sound and silence, means that narrative consistency is smothered amid a tangle of fragments: women's braids are overlaid on the thatch of a roof, earth patterns frame other patterns on fabrics and jewellery, bodies hard at work intersect with others apparently idle, eyes looking into the camera alternate with faces lost in thought. Extremity is all, everything in ruins amid non-matching, non-systematised signs; no relation seems possible between the whole and its parts or between the parts and the whole – and this despite the film's title. Fragments of reality colliding endlessly like a percussive hymn to discontinuity whose words sometimes clash like false notes; fragments sometimes drawing totally unpredictable perspective lines, slotting together micro-stories and quotes from "fictive" informants in the broader, ultimately unfinishable narrative of the culture of fire.

The words, though, endlessly re-trigger the roving of the ethnographic "I" – like a throw of a dice – in a circle of looks. In the "field" everyone I think I have surprised with my gaze surprises me in return; whence the importance of the eyes looking into the camera and shattering the transparency of ethnographic representation. Moreover, the look of the person who surprises me is caught up in a circle of other looks that perpetually postpone the possibility of a stable distinction between observer and observed. From the eye to the mind and from looks to words: what, ultimately, are these words concerned with? With avoiding the "salvaging, collecting, preserving" cycle so dear to the ethnologists in the voice-over's firing line, the ethnologists who "use the camera exactly the same way they use words." The goal, then, seems to be to let go rather than salvage, disperse rather than collect, transform rather than preserve; so it goes with the signs shared by text and image in the experimental ethnography of the *reassemblage*.

When for the nth time the sound cuts out and the image jumps, it is as if we hear the resonance of the opening pages of Roland Barthes' *Empire of Signs*, another anti- or fragmentary narrative, inspired by the discovery of a totally different culture – Japan – but in the self-negation of the

otherness-relationship it demolishes: "The text does not 'gloss' the images, which do not 'illustrate' the text. For me, each has been no more than the onset of a kind of visual uncertainty, analogous perhaps to that loss of meaning Zen calls a satori. Text and image, interlacing, seek to ensure the circulation and exchange of these signifiers: body, face, writing; and in them to read the retreat of signs."⁴ As if echoing Barthes, Trinh T. Minh-ha attacks "the habit of imposing a meaning [on] every single sign." Signs that retreat to avoid ending up pinned to the smug belly of scientific, orientalist or ethnocentric rationality; errant, unassignable, unreachable signs returning to the space where subjectivity takes shape as it smugly awaiting waters that are less transparent and more reflective; an incandescent space where the writer, the filmer, the "ethnographer" eventually lets himself be caught up in the concentric circles that come to life in the sphere of the *translatable*. Let us imagine that the other's language is translated into mine, and the result retranslated back into his language, and so on ad infinitum: no longer in search of meaning, but of the infinitesimal shifts, via language, in our mutual perception. Then we would have reached the "erotics of the signifier", the uncoupling of the signifier/signified structure, an uncoupling of the pleasure of forms from the reality of meaning, and of a "here" from a "there".

³ A strategy both the opposite of and concomitant with Chris Marker's in *Letter from Siberia* (1958), in which the same images are accompanied by several different commentaries.

⁴ Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

information on 'the fourth wall'

KOCH OBERHUBER WOLFF, Brunnenstraße 9, Berlin
Published by Spector Books Leipzig
and Archive Books, Berlin / Turin
— spector@spectormag.net
— info@archivebooks.org
www.kow-berlin.com, www.filmmaterial.net

January 2010

Edited by Paolo Caffoni & Clemens von Wedemeyer

Picture by Claude Levi Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, 1955

The Story of the Tasaday

THE Tasaday were a group of 26 people found living in the rain forest of Mindanao, a southern island in the Philippines. Before they were found in 1971, their lives had purportedly been untouched by contact with other civilisations, and unchanged since the Stone Age. Cave dwellers who wore only leaves and used stone tools, they immediately became a sensational subject for photographers, reporters and anthropologists. The eccentric and controversial millionaire Manuel Elizalde Junior, head of an agency for the protection of minorities in the Philippines called the PANAMIN Foundation, was instrumental in negotiating

the group's exposure to and protection from the outside world. He created a reserve to prevent exploitation of the tract of rainforest that was the Tasaday's natural habitat, and set controls on the media attention and scientific investigation of their lifestyle, language and diet. In 1972 the Marcos regime declared the preserve a restricted area. The declaration of martial law in the Philippines that same year made it difficult to access Mindanao for many years to come.

In 1986, 15 years after the Tasaday's discovery, a journalist searching for the group managed to reach their now abandoned dwelling caves. He found the Tasaday nearby, now inhabiting houses, smoking cigarettes and wearing blue jeans. The Tasaday made the headlines again, but now their history was unclear. Had the isolated group in the forest changed so radically in 15 years, or had skilled actors deceived the world earlier?

International conferences of anthropolo-

▲ BY wearing masks, painting the skin or tattooing it, people indicate that human beings distinguish themselves from nature. The mask, like art in general, separates us from nature. It creates a tangible identity, a culture. The limits of one's own culture are often transcended in order to investigate other lives and other cultural settings. Excerpt from 'Found Footage', see p. 2.

gists were anxious to learn the truth. The prevailing opinion of those conducting follow-up investigations held that contact with the Tasaday were at least in part a directed event, but controversy and inconsistency accompany most arguments.

Even after the Philippine parliament issued a statement declaring the authenticity of the Tasaday, many people today remain unconvinced that they were any more than one of the biggest hoaxes in the history of anthropology. C.W.

Decentering Anthropological Authority

by Anne M. Lovell

THE Tasaday controversy reflects both the post-independence crisis of anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s and the subsequent shift in its paradigms and methods. In a reversal of the earlier colonial anthropologist's importance, a 'native' Filipino from the politically and economically powerful elite controls access to the people he will bill as untouched by civilization, at least before their encounter with him, in 1971. Films and photographs projecting a gentle, unrepressed, loving people find receptive Western audiences during an era of sexual liberation, the hippie revival of the noble savage myth, emerging ecological consciousness and pacifist desires in the wake of the brutal Vietnam War. Simultaneously, anthropologists are embracing new interpretations of the culture of hunters and gatherers, the category of societies to which the Tasaday belong. Hunters and gatherers are now seen as cooperative and inter-dependent, rather than caught up in a Hobbesian state of perpetual competition. And by 1972, Marshall Sahlins will have published his famous study, *Stone-Age Economics*, which posits 'primitive' societies as affluent, rather than struggling for survival.

Elements of truth claims under colonialism never lay solely in the hands of anthropologists; colonial administrators, explorers and missionaries were often anthropologists themselves, or at least produced literature about the people they studied. But the Tasaday controversy emerges at a time when these figures multiply. The Journalist, the Filmmaker (documentary and docu-drama), the Human Rights Activist, the Adventurer and the Writer contribute their efforts to the construction of facts. The revival of the Tasaday controversy in the mid 1980s re-assembles these figures in academic attempts to establish, once and for all, whether the Tasaday story is a hoax. In the end, such long-accepted anthropological methods like ethno-botany, archeology and linguistics meet with a skeptical audience among anthropologists, by then wary of how styles of cultural description contribute to truth claims and attuned to invisible mediations – the Fourth Wall – that obfuscate ethnographic authority.

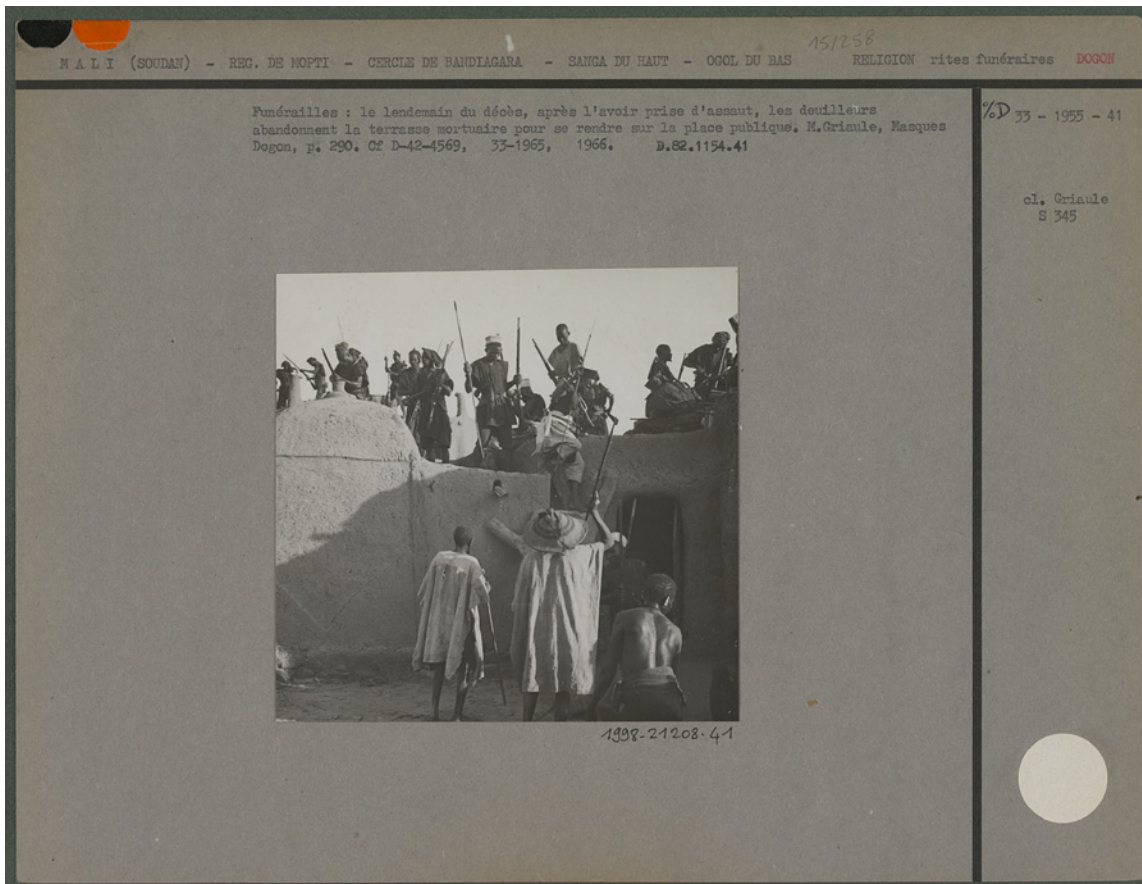
Anne M. Lovell is an anthropologist at CESAMES, Université Paris Descartes.

THE PAPER YOU ARE LOOKING AT ...

► ... combines research material and commentaries as a guide for the exhibition THE FOURTH WALL. It was edited in such a way to help you understand what links disparate events since 1971, when the Tasaday were discovered, until now. These facts and their echoes were the starting points for an inquiry on that imaginary boundary between reality and representation, which created the 'fourth wall'.

YOU CAN READ MORE about found footage (p.2), brutalist architecture (p.3), explorers, cannibalism (p.4) and well-known actors (p.6).

THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHIC EYES



Marcel Griaule, photograph of Mission Dakar-Djibouti, 1931-1933

Savinio – brother of De Chirico the painter [...] – accused photography of working with a single eye. That was because he preferred the heads with several pairs of eyes that he painted.

Charles Grivel¹

On his return from the famous Dakar-Djibouti expedition in 1933, the ethnologist Marcel Griaule published an article in a special number of the magazine *Minotaure* on the burial of the Dogon hunter Monsé in October 1931.² A series of twenty-eight photographs accompanied the text. The burial ceremony represented a major ethnographic breakthrough, providing as it did the first-ever point of access to Dogon rites: “The news was received with satisfaction,” Griaule wrote. “It meant for us that the long history of the burial ritual

was now open to us.”³ The burial also played a part in the discovery of Dogon masks: fifteen of the photographs appeared in Griaule’s *Dogon Masks* (first French edition 1938),⁴ which became an authoritative text for all collectors of African Art. The book’s description of the ceremony was complemented by details provided by various Dogon informants and the words of the songs were printed in a bilingual version. There were also maps showing the dead man’s house, the village square and the paths followed by the mourners, together with sketches of the target and arrows used during the ceremony. Thus two versions of the same event were offered: one in a Surrealism-inspired art and literature magazine, the other in a crucial work of reference on Dogon mythology, rites and masks. In one case it was the instructive and illustrative nature of the photographs that counted: as the foreword to the issue of *Minotaure* put it, the images enabled the reader

¹ “Coup double. Alberto Savinio: une écriture de la peinture”, in Leo H. Hoek and Kees Meerhoff (eds.), *Rhétorique et image* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 151-160, quotation 150.

² Marcel Griaule, “Le chasseur du 20 octobre”, *Minotaure*, no. 2, 1933, 31-44.

³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴ Marcel Griaule, *Dogon Masks* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1986).

to “situate the published material in its correct atmosphere.” In the other, they testified to in-the-field experience as visual evidence accompanied by maps and sketches.⁵

This burial ceremony for Monsé, “the October 20th hunter”, had a broader significance for ethnology, with Griaule’s treatment of the event revealing the double-barrelled nature of the issue: the resort to multiple methods of observation as a means of providing a total account, and the role of images in the production and dissemination of ethnographic knowledge; or, to put it another way, the methodological construction of a discipline and a profession (ethnology) and the forging of a link between ethnography and iconography (visual anthropology). This dual dimension was present from the moment the issue of *Minotaure* appeared and was consciously shaped by Griaule. The burial ceremony was not only the core of his article; it was also to be found in the “Methodological Introduction” he wrote for the magazine, in which he made a case against the “all-round ethnographer” and in favour of working as a team.⁶ He argued that the latter approach enabled better documenting of group phenomena, and in particular of celebrations and ceremonies. For him, then, Monsé’s burial served as a textbook example: the aim was to capture the overall scene – in this case the village square – with the help of several observers, each ideally equipped with a camera and a chronometer, so they could subsequently match their observations. Griaule even made a sketch indicating the observers’ vantage points. The approach, however, remained notional, as he noted: “This rule expresses an ideal rather than an actual possibility; the sketch provided is only a suggestion, and even so I was unable to implement it for lack of personnel.”⁷ Nonetheless, when his daughter Geneviève Calame-Griaule published her father’s manual of ethnography twenty-five years later, the same example was presented.⁸ A part of the original 1931 text was reprinted, slightly modified and with no mention of the ideal nature of the proposed method, the latter thus being transmuted into an experiment that had actually been carried out.

This outline of Griaule’s method provides a clearer understanding of the *Minotaure* photographs, which show not so much a synthesis of multiple observation or multidisciplinary investigation as the different sequences of a ceremony spread over three days: “A slice of an enormous rite,” as Griaule put it.⁹ True, the expedition’s three cam-

eras – a stereoscopic using 6x13 cm plates, a view camera using 9x12 cm plates, and a 35 mm Leica – were used “as an assemblage”.¹⁰ But while several members of the expedition took part in the observation and the photography, this was firstly because the opportunity presented itself and secondly according to the personal interests of each. For example, the ethnomusicologist André Schaeffner, who had just joined the group, was interested in burial music and the drums used in it, but the drums were not photographed. The photographs show mainly overall views and scenes such as “simulated” fights, the arrival of the masks and the movements of the mourners; thus the ceremony was portrayed and described as a spectacle. It should be emphasised, however, that no recreation took place, contrary to certain instances where masks were “called out”, as Michel Leiris puts it, specifically to be photographed. It should also be noted that where relevant, Griaule was careful to use the word “recreation”, and that it was during the processing of the expedition’s material at the Musée de l’Homme in Paris that the term was removed.¹¹ At the same time the treatment of the rite as spectacle and the shaping of an observed scene speaks eloquently of the attitude of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition members. The funeral ceremony for the Dogon hunter was an unhoped-for raising of the curtain, while the intimate, behind-the-scenes process of grieving remained closed to the observers.¹² Griaule himself made a distinction between the role of observation and photography in the documenting of public events and that of conversations with special informants in the documentation of the private aspects of the funeral ceremony. Photography provided a spectator’s gaze which it would be pointless to multiply: the ideal of a number of observers equal to that of the participants remained as unattainable as that of an ethnologist with a hundred pairs of eyes, like the giant Argos Panoptes (no connection here with the Argonauts of the Western Pacific).¹³ Most importantly, the spectacularisation of the ceremony prevented the ethnologist from being affected by the grieving process. A part of the rite is missing, and becomes something else. In the diary he published as *L’Afrique fantôme* (“Phantom Africa”) in 1934, Michel Leiris closes his account of the three days spent observing the ceremony with the words, “A fairground sadness, the rite ultimately lapsing into carnival.”

5 Regarding the evidential status of the photographs taken during the Dakar-Djibouti expedition, see notably Anne-Laure Pierre, “Ethnographie et photographie. La mission Dakar-Djibouti”, *Gradhiva*, no. 30-31, 2001-2002, 104-13, and Michel Poivert, “Style et objectivité: la mission Dakar-Djibouti (1931-1933)”, in Valérie Picaudé and Philippe Arbaizar (eds.), *La confusion des genres en photographie*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2001, 171-77.

6 Marcel Griaule, “Introduction méthodologique”, *Minotaure*, no. 2, 1933, 7-12.

7 *Ibid.*, 10.

8 Marcel Griaule, *Méthode de l’ethnographie* (Paris: PUF, 1957), 48-49.

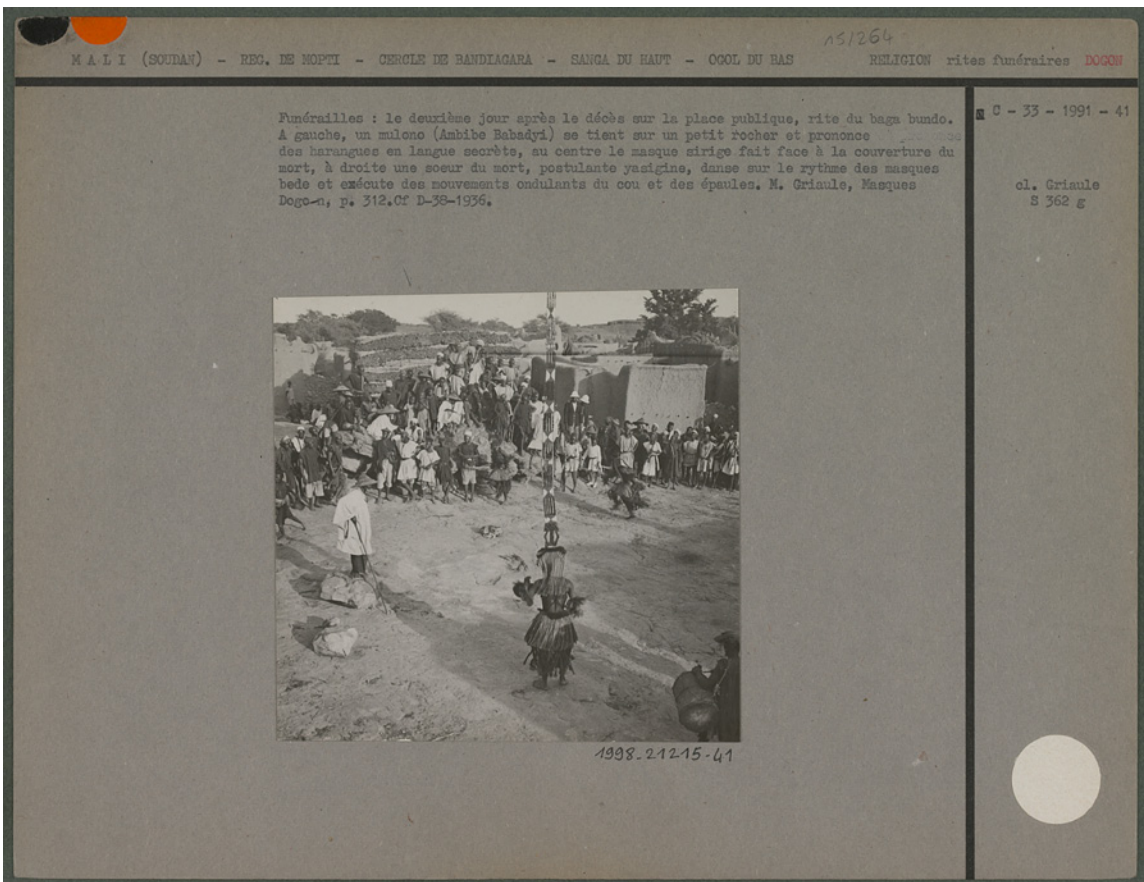
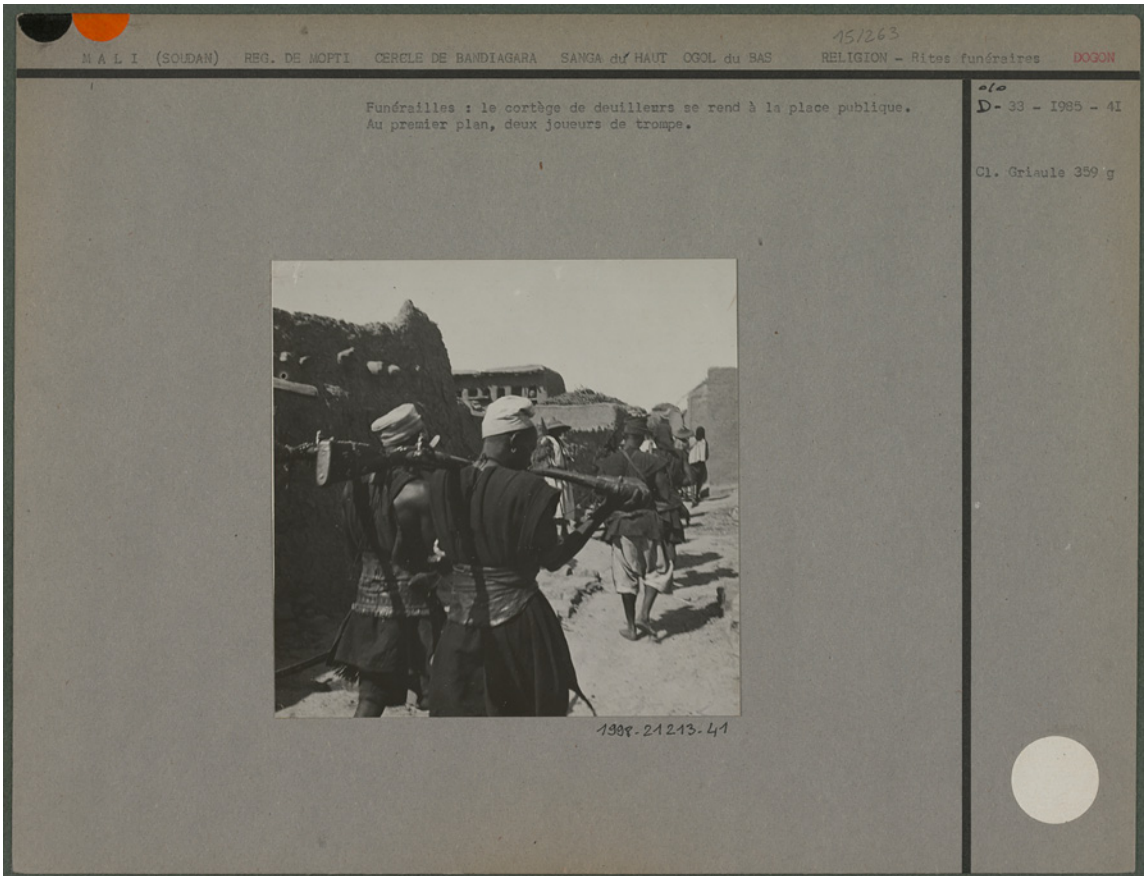
9 Thus the photographs reproduced Griaule’s written account. On this point see Éric Jolly, “Écriture imagée et dessins parlants. Les pratiques graphiques de Marcel Griaule”, *L’Homme*, no. 200, 2011, 43-82, quotation 63.

10 Jean Jamin, “Présentation de *L’Afrique fantôme*”, in Michel Leiris, *Miroir de l’Afrique* (Paris: Gallimard, 199, 65-85 (quotation note 51, 82-83).

11 See Christine Barthe, “De l’échantillon au corpus, du type à la personne”, *Journal des anthropologues*, no. 80-81, 2000, 71-90.

12 Griaule wrote, “The curtain that rose so unexpectedly revealed only a wall, behind which there took place the unknown acts of a funerary opera.” “Le chasseur du 20 octobre”, art. cit., 31.

13 The reference is to Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), first edition 1922.



Marcel Griaule, photographs of Mission Dakar-Djibouti, 1931-1933

STIRRING UP A POST-COLONIAL FANTASY SCENARIO



A scenario consisting of seven people. Staged under palm trees. Black nonchalance. Delicate white skin. Voluptuous breasts. Care work and caressing. Suspicion. Delight. Rapture. The figures are distributed on stage evenly, though varying constellations may be distinguished: Two groups of three, each forming a sexualized cohabitation, and a single person, centre stage yet in the background. Or a group of two, a group of three, the centre stage person, and another one singled out behind the group of two, swooning over the smell of a pair of trousers. Or two couples in the foreground yet at the sides of the stage, white-on-white care relations, and three persons in the background, separate, although the one on the right throws an undecipherable look (impertinent, indignant, curious) at the one on the left – while simultaneously holding one hand around the waist of the person sitting in the front. Interracial assemblages and sexualized bodies, desiring assemblages and racialized bodies – all this kept ambiguous, cryptic, polysemic. Power relations, if we find

Ines Doujak in cooperation with Marth
From the series *Lick before You Look*, 2000

them, do not appear as simple antagonisms or top-down hierarchies, but as complex, changing constellations that are dependent on the perspective.

So what kind of power relations can one detect? Are they connected with pleasure and/or desire, with submission, dependency and/or violence? On the content level it is, maybe, most striking that care work is handed over to the whites; no black person is engaged in providing for the well-being of whites. A white colonizer of undefined gender yet in the suit of a male colonial administrator soaps the back of another white genderqueer person, presumably male, no indicators of femininity except varnished fingernails. Male-to-male care relation? A white person, long hair, visible bra strap, presumably female, sprays perfume on the naked white bosom of an ecstatic looking person, head thrown back,

white tulle skirt. Female-on-female intimacy? With these two couples as well as with the central figure skin colour seems to follow the clear distinction of white and black, whereas doubt is sometimes cast concerning gender, class, and desire sometimes. In the back row one finds a greater variety and indeterminacy of racializations. In the background's left you see a racially and sexually hybrid figure, who could be read as being responsible for the washing and clothing of the white person soaped in the bathtub. Yet, she* obviously takes quite another interest in the trousers she* holds under her* nose.¹ She*, wearing a white dress highlighted by a pattern of red roses, displays sexual rapture – not passive devotion but active fetishism – thus claiming a sexual subject position. Even though narcissistically bound up with her* own pleasure she obviously wins the attention of the presumably female person in the background's right. Two women – black? Of colour? mestiza? – who are not handed over to the exoticizing, voyeuristic gaze, but connected to each other along ambiguous lines of suspicion and attraction. The one on the right is furthermore caught up in another axis: She* exhibits the same manicured fingers with dark nail polish as the white guy* being soaped in the bathtub. Who is mimicking whom? If he* is mimicking the mestiza* woman* it means that there is a white masculinity that does not objectify but identify with black femininity. If she* is mimicking him* she claims sexual agency and dares competition by holding the woman* who could be the white guy's spouse.

It is again the female figures who are presented as subjects of desire without being hypersexualized into heteronormative complementarity. The black guy* inhabiting central stage seems indifferent to all possible sexual axes of the scene, though sexualized in his pose and self-representation. He is sitting on a brown leather club chair, contrasted by the raw wooden floor on which a zinc tub, a footstool, and a stool are placed, used by the white people in the foreground. Yet even here it is not a simple reversal: We do not see the stereotypical position of the white master occupied by a black person, but a black person inhabiting the black stereotype of an easy-going leisurely life. While the bodies' expressions and constellations of the scene shift like a picture puzzle what is definite is that the centre stage person is the only one looking out of the picture and, in fact, directly into the viewer's eyes. Thus, even though the central figure is not in control of the scene but incorporated in it, from the viewer's angle it is exactly this figure, which hooks the viewer into the scenario and turns her_him into a participant. Nonetheless the axes of gaze and looking do not allow for a clearly defined power relation: Who is watching, who is being watched? Who is blessed with what kind of resources that condition one's visual and social power?¹ The * (asterisk) as well as the _ (underscore) is used in the context of transgender activism

and queer linguistics as a sign that inserts a hesitation or an ambivalence into a disambiguated gender designation that relies on the binary sex/gender norm.

Does my viewing position influence me to see the centre stage figure as a black person and, taking into account body language and clothing, as a black guy, or, maybe, an ftm-trans-person? Or the other way round: Does it have effects on my white lesbian self positioning that I perceive him* as an easygoing, casual, nonchalant person, sitting relaxed in a chair, holding a drink, indifferent towards his* immediate surroundings, not bothering to display anything, neither achievement, desire, wealth, nor agency, intellect, or moral values? Neither voyeurism nor the exhibition of authority defines the relationship. Rather I, the viewer, find myself caught in an alliance that is a mutual power play of shifting roles.

The power relations of the scenario do not unfold exclusively within the formal set-up of the photography but also in relation to the viewer. So returning to my questions regarding possibilities of "ChewiNations" I ask myself: Am I bringing maritime fantasies of globalized merchandise and presumed cosmopolitanism from Hamburg to Venice? Who am I, trying on a Swiss speaking position while reading a photograph by two Austrian artists, Ines Doujak in cooperation with Marth, that is published under the title of a poster series called "Lick before you Look" (2000)? What do I contribute – willingly or unwillingly – of my positions and possessions to the functioning of the scenario? How do skin colour or gender, bodily abilities, origin or class ... or sexual desires ... intervene into my interaction with the image or the figures? A preliminary response to these questions, which are perhaps better answered by you, the reader_viewer, would be: The poster hinders my ability to comfortably inhabit stabilized subject positions. I can situate myself, but I don't encounter clearly defined or well-known partners who affirm or renounce my positioning. This also brackets the possibility of foreseeing what my heritage will effect. I have to bracket my power of definition and hand over the production of meaning to a shared fantasy scenario that I might or might not set up with you. Ambiguity and multiplicity characterize the mode of how power relations are displayed on a content level as well concerning the implication of the viewers and readers.

Finally, the concept of "chewing the scenery" also gives hints about the aesthetic strategies and rhetoric that have to be taken into account in order to understand the colonial heritage and postcolonial potential of the photograph. I would argue that the art work that Doujak did in cooperation with Marth successfully transforms the cultural archive of gendered and racialized relations of postcolonial heritage because it makes use of camp-aesthetics and Burlesque in

order to display racialized, gendered, and classed hierarchies through hyperbolic performance. Symbolic reversals, permutations, or miscasts as well as various forms of drag or excess, voluptuousness, or exaltation intervene in established power constellations. Queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2003) suggests that camp holds a reparative potential since it does not simply expose or illuminate underlying power relations but produces a surplus, is “additive and accretive” (149): “the startling, juicy displays of excess erudition, for example; the passionate, often hilarious antiquarianism, the prodigal production of alternative historiographies; the ‘over’-attachment to fragmentary, marginal, waste or leftover products; the rich, highly interruptive affective variety; the irrepressible fascination with ventriloquistic experimentation; the disorienting juxtapositions of present with past, and popular with high culture.” (ibid.: 150)

I find it promising to try combining reparative and destructive, excessive and revealing moments of camp in order to approach queer decolonizing practices. My assumption is that the double temporality of “chewing the scenery” will provide juicy and stringy ingredients for this project. Interestingly, Gabilondo as well as quite a few other queer of colour or migrant queer thinkers introduce metaphors/methods of vampiristic consumption, cannibalism, or anthropophagia into the debate, thus underlining the violent moment of chewing. I will take this up in more detail later. Yet before doing this I would like to add the long promised thoughts about the fantasy scenario, which allows us to take the viewer’s role seriously in processes of desire and violence (and their interplay), while simultaneously de-centering the subject position.

¹ The * (asterisk) as well as the _ (underscore) is used in the context of transgender activism and queer linguistics as a sign that inserts a hesitation or an ambivalence into a disambiguated gender designation that relies on the binary sex/gender norm.



To die in a night club

FRANZ BOAS AND THE ETHNOLOGIST'S TECHNIQUES OF THE BODY

In 1893, on the occasion of the Columbian Exposition, which celebrated the four-hundred-year anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, fourteen Kwakiutl Indians from the West coast of Canada, re-enacted in Chicago one of the most important ceremonies of the hamatsa secret society, the “cannibal dance”. Anthropologist Franz Boas then ordered photographs of these actors and their performance, which were reproduced some years later in his monograph on the Kwakiutl, only with slight alterations (all signs of the Columbian Exposition scenery were removed)¹. After the

exhibition, Boas also observed the hamatsa ceremony in the field, in Fort Rupert, along with his assistant, George Hunt, who was Kwakiutl himself. In 1895, based on these observations, the anthropologist recreated one of the ceremony's high points, for the production of a diorama (or *life group*) for the United States National Museum. On this occasion, he posed many times for a photographer, in order to serve as a model for the sculptor of the diorama's various mannequins. Crouching in front of a metallic circle, his arms spread and his mouth open, he mimes the hamatsa initiates bursting out of the *awil* (a painted wall with a circular hole). On his knees, in a more hieratic position, with a stick in his hand or placed by his side, he imitates the singers and the drummer. Standing up, his right hand almost outstretched, he reproduces the position of the two assistants holding the initiate. Wearing a costume or naked from the waist up, the ethnologist wraps himself at times in a blanket in order to show even better how the ceremony participants' costume was worn. In contrast to older photographs where Boas poses in Eskimo attire, taken after his return from his expedition at Baffin Island, (1883-1884), here it is less a matter of disguise than



Franz Boas posing for figure in USNM exhibit entitled “Hamats'a coming out of secret room” 1895 or before



¹ Franz Boas, *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, based upon Personal Observations and on Notes Made by George Hunt*, United States National Museum Report for 1895, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897 (on this point see Ira Jacknis “Northwest Coast Indian Culture and the World's Columbian Exposition”, in D. H. Thomas (dir.), *Columbian Consequences. volume 3. The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*. Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991 : 91-118, here p. 107).

of the work of the photographic model, the reproduction of gestures, the care for details of anatomy or of the drape: the ethnologist's body is generic instead of made up; material for multiple representations.



This famous series of twelve photographs, published for the first time in 1976², shows the importance attributed by Boas to the trials of fieldwork and to the interweaving histories of ethnography and museography.³ Its publication is one of the high points of the reflexive turn in anthropology, insofar as it accentuates the role of the ethnologist's body in the production of museological and ethnographic knowledge. The idea that this knowledge is not just textual (the notebook or field index cards constituting a scientific basis) or material (objects in museums functioning as visual witnesses) gained importance in the 1970s. The gradually increasing interest of historians of anthropology and ethnographical museography for the role of affects and techniques of the body in field or collection practices led to fundamental experiences of the discipline being revisited. From the observation to the incarnation of the hamatsa ceremony by Boas and then to the modelling of the ethnologist's gestures and expressions in the fabrication of the diorama's mannequins' plaster faces,



the issues that arise are those of the reproducibility of the techniques of the body and of the transfer of ritual forms. Still, the theory of style developed by Boas later, which was part of the foundations of the anthropology of art, gives rise to exactly these problems, especially in relation to the concept

2 Curtis M. Hinsley and Bill Holm, "A Cannibal in the National Museum: The Early Career of Franz Boas in America", *American Anthropologist*, 78, 1976 : 306-316. We can refer to this article for a more detailed history of these photographs. On Boas' use of photography, see Ira Jacknis, "Franz Boas and photography", *Studies in Visual Communication*, n° 10, 1984 : 2-60.

3 On Boas and museography, see in particular Ira Jacknis, "Franz Boas and Exhibits. On the Limitation of the Museum Method of Anthropology", in George Stocking (ed.), *Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985 : 75-111.

of motor habits⁴. Beyond these theoretical and epistemological issues, the fabrication of the mannequins indicates one more thing: it shows the hybrid nature of museums' *mise en scène*, merging in the same figures the photographic images of Boas and of the Kwakiutl, of the observer and those observed⁵. This presence of the ethnologist in the exhibition is certainly not frequent. It does however materialise a fundamental experience of all ethnographic work, the corporeal ordeal of field practice, translating the impossibility of a *detached* ethnography.

Finally, a less well-known and more anecdotal fact might resonate with this strange series of portraits of the ethnologist being "ethnologised". We know the importance of Boas' role in the thought of Claude Lévi-Strauss (who had besides met him shortly after his arrival in New York and was present at this death). It is much less known, however, that before becoming an ethnologist, Lévi-Strauss also served as a model for an exhibition: indeed his father, a painter, depicted him in the large fresco of the pavilion of Madagascar, in the Colonial Exhibition of 1931⁶. From one exhibition to the next, from the Kwakiutl mannequins to the Malagasy fresco, a visual history of the ethnologist's body could thus be sketched out.



4 Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1955 (chapter 5).

5 On this point, see in particular Andrea Zittlau, "Dreamlands of Culture. Ethnographic Dioramas and their Prospects", in Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun (eds), *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters*, Munster, Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 2011 : 161-180.

6 Claude Lévi-Strauss and Didier Eribon, *De près et de loin*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 1998, p. 50.



Franz Boas posing for figure in USNM exhibit entitled "Hamats'a coming out of secret room" 1895 or before



CHRONOLOGY 1900- 2001

«Je serai un écrivain régional,
je me limiterai à notre globe.»

Stanislaw Jerzy Lec (1909-1966)
Pensées échevelées (1957)

This chronology, obviously not exhaustive, is an effort to recount a historical, editorial (fiction and essays) and cultural history of non-Western countries and authors-writers in their country of origin or in Europe in the 20th century.

This chronology of “non-Western” reference points is, in a way, a “tool box” in which everyone can dig and which can also be useful in replying to questions arising from La Triennale of “Intense proximity”.

Books’ dates are those of the first edition. If a book by a non-francophone author is quoted in French it means that a French version exists but I have still chosen to use the title of the first version in French.

Pink: Africa, Near East and Middle East
Red: Asia and Australia
Green: Latin America
Purple: North America and the Caribbean (Black America)
Blue: Europe
Black: general

[1900](#), [1901](#), [1902](#), [1903](#), [1904](#), [1905](#), [1906](#), [1907](#), [1908](#), [1909](#), [1910](#), [1911](#), [1912](#), [1913](#), [1914](#), [1915](#), [1916](#),
[1917](#), [1918](#), [1919](#), [1920](#), [1921](#), [1922](#), [1923](#), [1924](#), [1925](#), [1926](#), [1927](#), [1928](#), [1929](#), [1930](#), [1931](#), [1932](#), [1933](#),
[1934](#), [1935](#), [1936](#), [1937](#), [1938](#), [1939](#), [1940](#), [1941](#), [1942](#), [1943](#), [1944](#), [1945](#), [1946](#), [1947](#), [1948](#), [1949](#), [1950](#),
[1951](#), [1952](#), [1953](#), [1954](#), [1955](#), [1956](#), [1957](#), [1958](#), [1959](#), [1960](#), [1961](#), [1962](#), [1963](#), [1964](#), [1965](#), [1966](#), [1967](#),
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Dates	Political events	Publications and cultural events
1900	London: The word Pan-Africanism is born at the first Pan-African Conference	José Enrique Rodo (Equador) - <i>Ariel</i> Paris: Universal Exhibition Hanoi: Foundation of the École Française d'Extrême Orient, [French School of the Far East] the first of its 18 multidisciplinary research centres on Asian civilisations, from India to Japan, in Asia Sigmund Freud (Austria) - <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i>
1901		Rudyard Kipling (United Kingdom) - <i>Kim</i>
1902	South Africa: Foundation of the African Political Party by the Coloured	J.A. Hobson (United Kingdom) - <i>Imperialism</i>
1903		W.E.B. Dubois (United States) - <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i>
1904		Joseph Conrad (United Kingdom) – <i>Nostromo</i>
1905	First Russian Revolution	Edmund Dene Morel (United Kingdom) - <i>Red Rubber: the story of the African slave trade in the year of grace 1905</i>
1906	The USA occupy Cuba until 1909	France: Creation of <i>La revue indigène</i> (journal on topics of interest of indigenous peoples in the colonies)
1907	Tanganyika: Maji-Maji rebellion	<i>Les demoiselles d'Avignon</i> by Pablo Picasso
1908		Rabindranath Tagore (India) - <i>Hind Swaraj</i>
1909	United States: Creation of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and Theodore Roosevelt president of the United States	
1910	Japan annexes Korea until 1945	United States: The NAACP creates the journal <i>The Crisis</i>
1911		
1912	Cuba: Uprising led by the Independent Movement of People of Color suppressed by force with the help of the USA Union of South Africa: Foundation of the South African Native National Congress (future ANC)	Amadou Duguay-Clédon N'Diaye (Senegal) - <i>La guerre entre le Cayor et le Djoloff: bataille de M'benlaké ou de Guilé</i> Australia: Ethnologist Baldwin Spencer asks Aboriginals of the area of Arnhem to copy on tree barks figures discovered in rock shelters, that he then took with him and added to the collections of the National Museum of Victoria
1913		Rabindranath Tagore (India) receives the Nobel prize for literature (translated by André Gide, first Asian author to receive a literary prize, known for his work <i>l'Offrande Lyrique</i>) Senegal: Creation of the <i>Bulletin de l'enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française</i> [French West Africa report on teaching] by Georges Hardy in which numerous African authors published texts: fairy tales with animals, proverbs and historical narratives <i>Le Nu descendant l'escalier</i> by Marcel Duchamp at the major American exhibition of the Armory Show
1914	French West Africa: Blaise Diagne is elected deputy of Senegal United States: Foundation of the UNIA by Marcus Garvey (Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League) Beginning of the first world war	Gabriela Mistral (Chile) - <i>Los Sonetos de la muerte</i>
1915	Haiti: American invasion in order to block Rosalvo Bobo's rise to power (until 1934) Armenian genocide	Maurice Delafosse creates the Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF [Historical and scientific studies of French West Africa committee] and publication of a journal

1916		
1917	Russian revolution	Rabindranath Tagore (India) - <i>Nationalism</i> Yi Kwang-su (Corea) - <i>Heartlessness</i>
1918	End of the first world war and dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire	United States: Creation of the journal <i>The Negro World</i> by Marcus Garvey
1919	Creation of the League of Nations United States: racial revolts in many cities New York: Opening by Marcus Garvey of the <i>Liberty Hall</i> in Harlem Paris: First Pan-African Congress organised by W.E.B. Du Bois Germany's African colonies are taken over by English, French and Belgian rule	Claude McKay (United States) - "If We Must Die" in <i>The Liberator Journal</i> . Li Ta Chao (China) - <i>A New Era</i> André Breton and Philippe Soupault - <i>Les champs magnétiques</i>
1920	Paris: Creation of La Ligue pour l'accession aux droits de citoyens des indigènes de Madagascar [League for indigenous citizens' of Madagascar access to rights] by Max Bloncourt and Samuel Stefany Europe: Second Pan-African Congress: 28-29 August London : 31 August-2 September Paris-Brussels France: Foundation of the Association Panafricaine [Pan-African association] by Gratien Candace (December) Creation of the French Communist Party United States: The UNIA organises the first International Convention of Negro People of the World at Madison Square Gardens, New York. Declaration of the rights of Negro People of the World by the UNIA (1 st August) Indonesia: Formation of the PKI communist party End of the Ottoman Empire	Ahmadou Mapaté Diagne (Senegal) - <i>Les Trois volontés de Malic</i> James Joyce (Ireland) - <i>Ulysses</i> Blaise Cendrars (France) - <i>Anthologie Nègre</i> United States: An exhibition of works by black-American artists such as Henry Tanner and Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, is presented in the 135th street branch of the New York Public Library
1921		René Maran (Martinique) - <i>Batouala</i> , Goncourt prize
1922	South Africa: Miners' strikes in Natal and in Rand about a white South Africa and the application of the <i>Color Bar Act</i> , suppression Madagascar: Foundation of the Ligue pour l'Accession aux Droits de Citoyens Français [League for Access to French Citizens' Rights] Italy: Benito Mussolini comes to power	Claude McKay (United States) - <i>Harlem Shadows</i> James Weldon Johnson (United States) - <i>The Book of American Negro Poetry</i> The Boston Public Library organises a special exhibition of Afro-American art and literature M.N Roy (India) - <i>India in Transition</i>
1923	Ethiopia: becomes a member of the League of Nations Europe: Third Pan-African congress in London and Lisbon	Jean Toomer (United States) - <i>Cane</i> United States: The National Urban League, founded in 1910, publishes the first issue of the magazine <i>Opportunity, A Journal of Negro Life</i> edited by Charles S. Johnson, a literary forum for artists and authors of the Harlem Renaissance
1924	Liberia: Failure to found a major black state by the followers of Marcus Garvey	Pablo Neruda (Chile) - <i>Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair</i> José Eustasio Rivera (Colombia) - <i>The Vortex</i> France: Creation of the Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire [Universal League for the Defence of the Black Race] and of the journal <i>Les Continents</i> by Kodjo Tovalou Houénou and René Maran United States: James Van Der Zee carries out a series of photographic missions on Marcus Garvey and the UNIA's activities. <i>Opportunity</i> magazine organises a dinner at the Civic Club in New York with Alain Locke as master of ceremonies. This event is often considered to be the founding moment of the New Negro movement

1925	<p>Kenya: Jomo Kenyatta founds the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA)</p> <p>London: Foundation of the West African Students Union by Nigerian Ladipo Solanke (WASU)</p>	<p>Paris: Foundation of the Ethnology Institute</p> <p>Alain Locke (United States) - <i>The New Negro</i>, develops <i>Survey Graphic's</i> special edition on Harlem, publication Albert and Charles Boni, illustrations by Winold Reiss, Aaron Douglas and Miguel Covarrubias. <i>Negro Orators and their Orations</i>. Washington</p> <p>Thomas Mofolo (South Africa) - <i>Chaka</i></p> <p>Sun Yat Sen (China) - <i>Three Principles of the People</i></p> <p>Kim So-Wol (Corea) - <i>Azetas</i></p>
1926	<p>Rome: Consecration of the 6 first Catholic bishops of colour (28 October)</p> <p>France: Laminé Senghor founds the Comité de défense de la Race Nègre [Committee for the defence of the Negro Race]</p> <p>Poland: Military <i>coup d'état</i> by marshal Jozef Pilsudski</p>	<p>Félix Couchouro (Togo) - <i>L'esclave</i></p> <p>Diallo Bakary (Senegal) - <i>Force Bonté</i></p> <p>Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam) - <i>Le procès de la colonisation française</i></p> <p>Ricardo Güiraldes (Argentina) - <i>Don Segundo Sombra</i></p> <p>Martin Luis Guizman (Mexico) - <i>El Aguila y la serpiente</i></p> <p>Langston Hughes (United States) - <i>The Weary Blues</i>, illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias</p> <p>United States: Langston Hughes, Wallace Thurman, Zora Neale Hurston, Aaron Douglas and Richard Bruce Nugent launch the art and literature magazine <i>Fire!!</i> which will have a short lifespan. It is illustrated by Aaron Douglas and Richard Bruce Nugent. The Carnegie Corporation buys Arthur Schomburg's Afro-American art collection; it becomes the basis of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture collections</p>
1927	<p>Paris: Tiemoko Garan Kouyaté founds the Ligue de défense de la Race Nègre. [League for the defence of the Negro Race]</p> <p>Belgium: International conference against imperialism and colonial oppression in Brussels</p> <p>United States: Fourth Pan-African Congress in New York (August)</p>	<p>Cho Myong-Hui (Corea) - <i>The Naktonggang River</i></p> <p>Taha Husain (Egypt) – <i>The Days</i> (book 2 in 1939)</p> <p>Haiti: Jean Price Mars and Jacques Roumain found the journals <i>La trouée</i> and <i>La Revue Indigène : les arts et la vie</i></p> <p>France: Creation of the journal <i>La Voix des Nègres</i> Creation of the journal <i>La Race Nègre</i> (Monthly Organ for the defence of the negro race)</p> <p>André Gide (France) - <i>Voyage au Congo</i></p>
1928		<p>First novel by Claude McKay (United States) - <i>Home to Harlem</i>, illustrated by Aaron Douglas</p> <p>Claude McKay (United States) – <i>Black Guetto</i></p> <p>United States: Wallace Thurman founds <i>Harlem</i>, a literary magazine that follows <i>Fire!!</i>. Illustrations by Aaron Douglas and Richard Bruce Nugent</p> <p>Jean Price-Mars (Haiti) - <i>Ainsi parla l'Oncle</i></p> <p>José Vasconcelos (Mexico) - <i>The Cosmic Race</i></p> <p>Mario De Andrade (Brazil) - <i>Macanaima</i></p> <p>Oswald de Andrade (Brazil) - <i>Manifesto Antropófago</i></p> <p>José Carlos Mariatégui (Peru) - <i>Seven Essays toward an interpretation of Peruvian reality</i></p> <p>Leo Frobénius (Germany) - <i>Kulturgeschichte Afrikas</i></p> <p>France: Maurice Satineau founds <i>La Dépêche Africaine</i></p> <p>Germany: Creation of the journal <i>L'Ouvrier Nègre</i> (International journal of Negro workers)</p>
1929	A global economic crisis begins	<p>Albert Londres (France) - <i>Terre d'Ebène</i></p> <p>France: Foundation of the journal <i>Documents</i></p> <p>Wallace Thurman (United States) - <i>The Blacker the Berry</i> - cover illustrated by Aaron Douglas.</p> <p>The Harmon Foundation participates in financing the exhibition <i>Paintings and Sculptures by American Negro Artists</i>, presented at the National Gallery in Washington D.C.</p> <p>Romulo Gallegos (Venezuela) - <i>Dona Barbara</i></p> <p>Wen I To (China) - <i>Dead water</i></p> <p>Australia: Exhibition of tree barks painted by Aboriginal artists at the National museum of Victoria, which then travelled to the United States and Canada</p>

1930	<p>Ethiopia: Haïlé Sélassié becomes emperor Gandhi initiates the civil disobedience movement Vietnam: Creation of the communist party and villagers' revolts Brazil: Military <i>coup d'état</i></p>	<p>Solomon T Plaatje (South Africa) - <i>Muhdi</i> James Weldon Johnson (United States) - <i>Black Manhattan</i> James V. Herring creates the Howard University Gallery of Art, the first gallery in the United States to be directed and controlled by Afro-Americans and one of the first to reveal the work of painter Jacob Lawrence and of his family in Harlem to the public Nicolas Guillen (Cuba) - <i>Motivos de son</i> Mao Zedong - <i>Une étincelle peut mettre le feu à toute la plaine</i> Paul and Eslanda Robeson play in the film <i>Borderline</i> by Kenneth Macpherson</p>
1931	<p>United States: Augusta Savage opens the Savage School of Arts and Crafts in Harlem, the first of many art schools that she would open in Harlem Paris: Colonial exhibition at Vincennes and counter-exhibition organised by the Surrealists and Communist Party</p>	<p>Claude McKay (United States) - <i>Banjo</i> Beginning of the Dakar-Djibouti mission led by Griaule Paris: Creation of the journal <i>Le Cri des Nègres</i> (Organ of Negro workers) and of the <i>Revue du monde Noir</i> by Paulette Nardal and Léo Sajous</p>
1932		<p>Evelyn Waugh - <i>Diablerie</i> Gregorio Lopez y Fuentes (Mexico) - <i>The Land</i> Ahmad Shauqi (Egypt) - <i>Diwan</i> France: Unique issue of the journal <i>Légitime Défense</i> France: Creation of <i>L'étudiant martiniquais</i></p>
1933	<p>Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany</p>	<p>Claude McKay (United States) - <i>Banana Bottom</i> Langston Hughes (United States) - <i>Histoires de blancs</i> Doris Ulmann, Julia Peterkin (United States) - <i>Roll, Jordan, Roll</i>, book about the popular life of blacks in the South of the United States Dudley Murphy presents the film <i>The Emperor Jones</i> with Paul Robeson Mulk Raj Anand (India) - <i>Untouchable</i> Tewfik Al Hakim (Egypt) - <i>The People of the Cave</i> Gilberto Freyre (Brazil) - <i>Casa Grande e Senzala</i> Germany: George Padmore (Trinidad) founds the journal <i>The Negro Worker</i></p>
1934		<p>Michel Leiris (France) - <i>L'Afrique Fantôme</i> Nancy Cunard (United Kingdom) - <i>Negro Anthology</i> Georges Orwell (United Kingdom) - <i>Une histoire birmane</i> Zora Neale Hurston (United States) - <i>Jonah's Gourd Vine</i> Alfred Mendes (Trinidad) - <i>Pitch Lake</i> Jorge Icaza (Equador) - <i>Huasipungo</i> Hsiao Hung (China) - <i>The Field of File and Death</i> Shen Ts'ung-wen (China) - <i>Border Town</i></p>
1935	<p>Invasion of Ethiopia by Italy London: Creation of the movement International African Friends of Abyssinnia (IAFA) whose leaders are Jomo Kenyatta, L.R James, Padmore, etc Geneva: Sanction vote of the SDN against Italy after the invasion of Ethiopia (18 November) United States: Harlem becomes the stage of a major revolt, triggered by protests against discriminatory employment policies in shops owned by whites in Harlem The Japanese army surrounds Beijing</p>	<p>Zora Neale Hurston (United States) - <i>Mules and Men</i>, illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias <i>Early Negro American Writers: Selections with Biographical and Critical Introduction</i> United States: The Museum of Modern Art organizes the exhibition <i>African Negro Art</i>. Carl Van Vechten presents his first photography exhibition at <i>The Leica Exhibition</i> at the Bergdorf Goodman in New York Ousmane Socé, (Senegal) - <i>Karim</i> Jorge Luis Borges (Argentina) - <i>Historia universal de la infamia</i> Tiemoko Garan Kouyaté (Sudan) founds the journal <i>Africa</i> The journal <i>l'Etudiant Noir</i> appears</p>

1936	<p>Union of South Africa: Segregationist laws, <i>Representation of Natives Act</i> and <i>Native Trust and Land Act</i></p> <p>Ethiopia: The king of Italy becomes king of the country following the proclamation of the Impero by Mussolini (9 May)</p> <p>S.M Hailie Selassie's speech at the SDN (June)</p> <p>France: Front Populaire [Popular Front]</p> <p>Beginning of the Spanish civil war</p>	<p>Mao Zedong (China) - <i>Problèmes stratégiques de la guerre en Chine</i></p> <p>Jayaprakash Narayan (India) - <i>Why Socialism?</i></p> <p>Jawaharlal Nehru (India) - <i>An Autobiography</i></p> <p>Manik Bandyopadhyay (India) - <i>The History of Puppets</i></p> <p>Lao She (China) - <i>Camel Hsieng-Tzy</i></p> <p>C.L.R. James (Trinidad) - <i>Minti Alley</i></p> <p>Senegal: Foundation of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN). [French Institute of Sub-Saharan Africa]</p>
1937	<p>France: The right to unionise is granted to CEP holders in Sub-Saharan Africa</p> <p>IAFA is transformed into the International African Service Bureau (IASB) whose conferences and debates defend the claims to democratic rights and auto-determination made in colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean</p> <p>Jamaica: revolts against English domination</p> <p>Trinidad: nationalist revolts</p>	<p>Léon Gontran Damas (Guyana) - <i>Pigments</i>, preface by Robert Desnos</p> <p>Witold Gombrowitz (Poland) - <i>Ferdydurke</i></p> <p>Premchand (India) - <i>The Gift of a Cow</i></p> <p>R.K. Narayan (India) - <i>The Bachelor of Arts</i></p> <p>Siburapha (Thailand) - <i>Behind the Painting</i></p> <p>Nigeria: The IASB creates its journal <i>International African Opinion</i></p> <p>Nigeria: Nnamdi Azikiwé founds the <i>West African Pilot</i></p> <p>Nnamdi Azikiwé (Nigeria) - <i>Renascent Africa</i></p> <p>Hafiz Ibrahim (Egypt) - <i>Diwan</i></p> <p>Iran: opening of the archeological museum Irân-e Bâstân</p>
1938	<p>Madagascar: Broadened conditions for access to French citizenship</p> <p>Senegal: The Senegalese socialist party becomes a branch of the SFIO</p>	<p>Léon Gontran Damas (Guyana) - <i>Retour de Guyane</i></p> <p>Paul Hazoumé (Dahomey) - <i>Doguiçimi</i></p> <p>D.O. Fagunwa (Nigeria) - <i>Forest of a thousand daemons: a hunter's saga</i></p> <p>Jomo Kenyatta (Nigeria) - <i>Facing Mount Kenya</i></p> <p>Zora Neale Hurston (United States) - <i>Tell My Horse</i>, anthropological study of Haitian and Jamaican culture</p> <p>C.L.R. James (Trinidad) - <i>The Black Jacobins</i></p> <p>Ciro Alegria (Peru) - <i>Los Perros hambrientos</i></p> <p>Maria Luisa Bombal (Chile) - <i>The House of Mist</i></p> <p>Graciliano Ramos (Brazil) - <i>Vidas Secas</i></p> <p>Raja Rao (India) - <i>Kanthapura</i></p>
1939	<p>Beginning of the second world war</p> <p>London: The IASB organises the Conference On the African Peoples, Democracy and World Peace (7-9 July)</p>	<p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Cahier d'un retour au pays natal</i> published in the journal <i>Volonté</i></p> <p>Joyce Cary (Ireland) - <i>Mister Johnson</i></p> <p>Juan Carlos Onetti (Uruguay) - <i>The Pit</i></p> <p>Tuan-Mu Hung Liang (China) - <i>The Steppe of the Khorchin Banner</i></p>
1940	<p>General de Gaulle's Appeal from London on 18 June</p> <p>Chad: Félix Eboué support to General de Gaulle (26 August) then support of the AEF</p> <p>Brazzaville: Creation by de Gaulle of the Conseil de Défense de l'Empire [Empire Defence Council] (October)</p>	<p>Jacques Rabemananjara (Madagascar) - <i>En los límites de la noche</i></p> <p>T'Sao Yu (China) - <i>Peking Man</i></p> <p>Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay (India) - <i>The Witch</i></p> <p>Cesar Vallejo (Peru) - <i>Spain, take, this Cup from Me</i></p> <p>Fernando Ortiz (Cuba) - <i>Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and sugar</i></p> <p>Langston Hughes (United States) - <i>The Big Sea</i></p> <p>Richard Wright (United States) - <i>Native Son</i></p>
1941	<p>Kenya: Banning of the Kikuyu Central Association</p> <p>Ethiopia: Siege of Addis-Abeba by the English, return of Haïlé Sélassié (5 May), siege of Gondar and end of the Ethiopian campaign</p> <p>Japanese troops invade Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand, pushing Ho Chi Minh to create the independence movement Viet Minh</p> <p>Invasion of the Soviet Union by the Germans</p>	<p>H.I.E Dhlomo (South Africa) - <i>Valley of a Thousand Hills</i></p> <p>Aimé Césaire founds the journal <i>Tropiques</i> (Martinique)</p> <p>Edgar Mittelholzer (Guyana) - <i>Corinthe Thunder</i></p> <p>Melville Herskovits (United States) - <i>L'héritage du Noir ; mythe et réalité</i></p> <p><i>The Negro Caravan</i>. New York</p> <p>Haiti: Jean Price Mars founds the Ethnology Institute at Port-au-Prince</p>

1942	<p>Germany: Wannsee Conference 20 January 1942, decision and organisation of the extermination of Jews</p> <p>Ethiopia: Recognition as an Independent sovereign State by England (31 January)</p> <p>The Guyanese governor of the AOF Félix Eboué and Djibouti support France libre [Free French Forces] (December)</p> <p>Ghandi initiates the Quit India movement</p>	<p>Albert Camus (France) - <i>L'étranger</i></p> <p>Ferhat Abbas (Algeria) - <i>Manifeste du Peuple algérien.</i></p> <p>Jorge Amado (Brazil) - <i>The Violent Land</i></p>
1943	<p>Algeria: Foundation of the Comité Français de Libération Nationale, CFLN [French Committee of National Liberation] (3 juin). Speech by Constantine (12 December).</p> <p>Memorandum <i>La charte de l'atlantique et de l'Afrique Occidentale Britannique</i> published by numerous journalists including Nnamdi Azikiwé. He calls for the application of peoples' right to choose their form of government in the African colonies</p> <p>Poland: insurrection of the Warsaw Ghetto (16 April)</p> <p>Bengal: starvation kills 4 millions people</p>	<p>Léon Gontran Damas (Guyana) - <i>Veillées noires, Contes nègres de Guyane</i></p> <p>Ishaq Musa Al Husaini (Palestine) - <i>A chicken's Memoir</i></p> <p>Appearance of the bulletin <i>L'Etudiant de la France d'Outre-Mer</i>, intended for colonial students blocked in France by the German occupation.</p>
1944	<p>Congo: Brazzaville Conference (30 January -8 February)</p> <p>French Sub-Saharan Africa: Syndical freedom (7 August)</p> <p>Nigeria: Foundation of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) by Nnamdi Azikiwé (August)</p> <p>Kenya: Nomination of an African for the Legislative Council, formation of the Kenya National Union (KAU) with Jomo Kenyata as president (October)</p> <p>United Kingdom: Creation of the Pan-African Federation</p> <p>Vietnam: Starvation kills 2 million people</p> <p>Foundation of the FMI and of the world bank</p>	<p>Jacques Roumain (Haiti) - <i>Gouverneurs de la rosée</i></p> <p>Eric Williams (Trinidad) – <i>Capitalism and Slavery</i></p> <p>José Maria Argueda (Peru) - <i>Everyone's Blood</i></p> <p>Ismat Chugthai (India) - <i>The Quilt & Other Stories</i></p>
1945	<p>End of the second world war</p> <p>United Kingdom: <i>Development and Welfare Act for the Colonies</i> (2 September)</p> <p>France 29 African deputies participate in elaboration of the IVth Republic's constitution</p> <p>113,000 African, Malagasy and Antillese men have served colonial regiments between 1942 and 1945</p> <p>United Kingdom : Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester (13-21 October)</p> <p>Senegal: Suppression of infantry riots in Thiaroye (November-December)</p> <p>Algeria: massacres of Sétif (8-13 May)</p> <p>Ghana: Foundation by N'Krumah of the West African National Secretariat (WANS)</p>	<p>Gabriela Mistralre (Chile) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal) - <i>Chants d'Ombre.</i></p> <p>Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir found <i>Les Temps Modernes.</i></p> <p>Placide Tempels (Belgium) - <i>La Philosophie Bantoue</i></p> <p>Gopinath Mohanty (India) - <i>Paraja</i></p>

1946	<p>Mali: Foundation of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) [African democratic rally] (30 August to 1 September) Etats généraux [Estates general] of French colonisation in Paris (30 July-24 August), Constitution of the Union Française [French Union] (27 October), abolition of the indigénat [Indigenes code] (20 February), citizenship broadened to cover all inhabitants of the French Union (law "Lamine Gueye") (7 May), creation of the Intergroup of overseas territories representatives uniting representatives of Africa, the Caribbean and Asia at the assembly motivated by Gaston Monnerville (26 July)</p> <p>France: Aimé Césaire deputy of Martinique, Leopold Sédar Senghor deputy of Senegal, Alioune Diop senator of Senegal</p> <p>Paris: Foundation of the Mouvement démocratique de la Rénovation malgache [Democratic movement for Malagasy Renewal] (February)</p> <p><i>Manifeste du rassemblement africain</i> signed by the deputies of the Intergroup of overseas representatives</p> <p>London: the WANS organises a Conference for West Africa, French representatives of the AOF are present</p> <p>The Philippines gain their Independence</p> <p>Indochina: fierce resistance against the French</p> <p>Juan Péron becomes president of Argentina</p>	<p>George Bataille founds the journal <i>Critique</i> (France)</p> <p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Les Armes miraculeuses</i></p> <p>Jean-Paul Sartre (France) - <i>La putain respectueuse : pièce en un acte et deux tableaux</i></p> <p><i>Les Cahiers du Sud</i>, special issue entitled "Le Sang Noir", presenting African and American texts presented by Pierre Guerre (France).</p> <p>Truong Ching (Vietnam) - <i>La révolution d'août</i></p> <p>Jawaharlal Nehru (India) - <i>La découverte de l'Inde</i></p> <p>Peter Abrahams (South Africa) - <i>Mine Boy</i></p> <p>Miguel Angel Asturias (Guatemala) - <i>El Señor Presidente</i></p>
1947	<p>Madagascar: Insurrection and suppression.</p> <p>Western Africa: Railway workers' strike</p> <p>Independence of India</p> <p>Birth of Pakistan</p> <p>Community clashes between Indians and Pakistanis. Hundreds of thousands dead and 8 million refugees cross the borders in both directions</p>	<p>Creation of the journal <i>Présence Africaine</i> by the Senegalese Alioune Diop</p> <p>Léon Gontran Damas (Guyana) - <i>Poètes d'Expression française</i></p> <p>Birago Diop (Senegal) - <i>Les contes d'Amadou Koumba</i></p> <p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Cahier d'un retour au pays natal</i></p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Zaire</i> in Brussels</p> <p>Badr Shakir al Sayyab (Iraq) - <i>Withered Fingers</i></p> <p>Speech "du rendez-vous avec le destin" by Jawaharlal Nehru</p> <p>Babani Bhattacharya (India) - <i>So Many Hungers!</i></p> <p>Ch'ien Chung-Shu (China) - <i>Fortress Besieged</i></p> <p>Suryakant Tripathi "Nirala" (India) - <i>The Earthly Knowledge</i></p> <p>Pa Chin (China) - <i>Cold Night</i></p>
1948	<p>UN: Universal declaration of human rights</p> <p>Madagascar: Trial of Malagasy members of Parliament Raseta and Ravoahangi (July-October)</p> <p>Cameroon: Foundation of the Union des populations du Cameroun [Union the peoples of Cameroon] by Um Nyobé (10 April)</p> <p>Union of South Africa: Election victory of the National Party (28 May), beginning of the Apartheid</p> <p>South Africa: the nationalist party Afrikaner is in power and applies its Apartheid policy</p> <p>Creation of the State of Israel</p> <p>Chinese Tchiang Kai-chek's nationalist troops (1887-1975) bring many hundreds of thousands of imperial collection pieces to Taiwan.</p> <p>Today, they constitute the greatest part of the collections of the National Palace museum of Taipei</p>	<p>Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal) - <i>Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française</i>, preceded by Jean-Paul Sartre (France) "Orphée Noir"</p> <p>Jacques Rabemanajara (Madagascar) - <i>Antsa</i></p> <p>Special issue of the journal <i>Chemins du monde</i> "La fin de l'ère coloniale", containing an article by Césaire "Impossible contact"</p> <p>Special issue of the journal <i>Le musée vivant</i> : "1848, abolition de l'esclavage - 1948, évidence de la culture nègre", under the direction of Cheik Anta Diop and presented by Richard Wright and Michel Leiris.</p> <p>Alan Paton (South Africa) - <i>Cry, the Beloved Country</i></p> <p>Peter Abrahams (South Africa) - <i>The Path of Thunder</i></p> <p>Nigeria: Foundation of the University college of Ibadan</p> <p>G.V. Desani (India) - <i>All about herr Hatterr</i></p> <p>Ernesto Sabato (Argentina) - <i>El Tunel</i></p>

1949	<p>The UNESCO undertakes a vast programme of fight against racism, with the collaboration of intellectuals like Claude Lévi-Strauss, Alva Myrdal, Alfred Métraux and Michel Leiris: “Déclaration sur la race”, aiming to repudiate the scientific validity of the concept of race ; many others will follow until 1978</p> <p>Ivory Coast : IInd International Congress of the RDA (1-5 January)</p> <p>Gold Coast: Foundation of the Convention Peoples's Party (CPP) by Kwamé Nkrumah (12 June)</p> <p>Indonesia: Independence under Sukarno</p> <p>China: Rise to power of the communists led by Mao Zedong</p>	<p>Miguel Angel Asturias (Guatemala) - <i>Men of Maize</i></p> <p>Alejo Carpentier (Cuba) - <i>El reino de este mundo</i></p> <p>V.S. Reid (Jamaica) - <i>New Day</i></p> <p>Khalil Mutran (Lebanon) - <i>The Diwân</i></p> <p>Ma'ruf al Rusafi (Iraq) - <i>Diwan</i></p> <p>Ting Ling (China) - <i>The Sangkan River</i></p>
1950	<p>Gold Coast: Condemnation of Nkrumah to a year in prison (21 January)</p> <p>Creation of the Fédération des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire Française [Black African Students Federation in France] in Bordeaux (December)</p> <p>Beginning of the war between the USA and Corea which will bring about more than a million deaths</p> <p>China invades and occuppies Thibet</p> <p>Jordan annexes the West Bank where 600,000 Palestinians live</p>	<p><i>Présence Africaine</i>, special issue “Le Monde Noir”, under the direction of Théodore Monod.</p> <p>Mayotte Capécia (Martinique) - <i>La négresse blanche</i></p> <p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Discours sur le colonialisme</i></p> <p>Joseph Zobel (Martinique) - <i>La rue Case-Nègres</i></p> <p>Keita Fodeba (Guinea) - <i>Poèmes africains</i></p> <p>Bernard Dadié (Ivory Coast) - <i>Afrique debout !</i></p> <p>Benjamin Matip (Cameroon) - <i>Afrique nous t'ignorons</i></p> <p>Dorris Lessing (Zimbabwe) – <i>The Grass is Singing</i></p> <p>Pablo Neruda (Chile) - <i>Canto General</i></p> <p>Octavio Paz (Mexico) - <i>El laberinto de la soledad</i></p>
1951	<p>Gold Coast: Election victory for the CPP (4 February), Nkrumah released from prison becomes Leader of Government Business (12 February)</p>	<p><i>Présence Africaine</i>, special issue “L'Art nègre”, under the direction of Charles Ratton.</p> <p>Michel Leiris (France) - <i>Race et civilisation</i>. - Unesco (“ La Question raciale devant la science moderne ”)</p>
1952	<p>Gold Coast: Nkrumah, Prime Ministre (12 March)</p> <p>Kenya: Mau-Mau uprising (August-September), State of emergency (20 October), 200 arrests including that of Jomo Kenyatta, banning of African parties.</p> <p>Union of South Africa: Bloody riots against the apartheid in Kimberley and East London (8 November), the African national congress launches the Defiance Campaign</p>	<p>Frantz Fanon (Martinique) - <i>Peau noire, masques blancs</i></p> <p>Camara Laye (Guinea) - <i>L'Enfant Noir</i></p> <p>Amos Tutuola (Nigeria) - <i>The Palm Wine Drinkard</i> translated into French in 1953 by Raymond Queneau</p> <p>Andrée Chedid (Egypt) – <i>From Sleep Unbound</i></p> <p>Ralf de Boissière (Trinidad) - <i>Crown Jewel</i></p> <p>Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia) - <i>A road with no end</i></p> <p>Tokyo: Tokyo Biennale, first art biennale in Asia</p>
1953	<p>Death of Stalin</p> <p>Guinea: Strikes for the application of the labour code (21 September-25 November)</p> <p>N'Krumah assembles a Pan-African Congress in Kumasi (4-6 December)</p>	<p><i>Présence africaine</i>, special issue “Le Travail en Afrique Noire”, under the direction of Pierre Naville</p> <p>Alain Resnais, Chris Marker (France) - film <i>Les statues meurent aussi</i> (produced by <i>Présence Africaine</i>)</p> <p>Alain Robbe-Grillet (France) - <i>Les gommages</i> (beginnings of the Nouveau Roman)</p> <p>Fidel Castro (Cuba) - <i>La Historia me absolverá</i></p> <p>Alejo Carpentier (Cuba) - <i>The Lost Steps</i></p> <p>Georges Lemming (Barbados) - <i>In the Castle of My Skin</i></p> <p>Roger Mais (Jamaica) - <i>The Hills Were all Joyful Together</i></p>

1954	<p>Kenya: Condemnation of Jomo Kenyatta to 7 years of imprisonment (July)</p> <p>Tanganyika: Foundation of the Tanganyika National Union (TANU) by Julius Nyerere (July)</p> <p>Egypt: Nasser rises to power</p> <p>Algeria: Beginning of the Independence war</p> <p>Ho Chi Minh's Vietnamese army defeats France in Dien Bien Phu</p> <p>Guatemala: The USA overthrow Jacobo Arbenz' nationalist government</p>	<p><i>Schwarzer Orpheus</i>, German anthology under the direction of Janheinz Jahn (Germany).</p> <p>Mongo Beti (France/Cameroon) - <i>Ville cruelle</i></p> <p>Cheikh Anta Diop (Senegal) - <i>Nations nègres et cultures: de l'antiquité nègre égyptienne aux problèmes actuels de l'Afrique Noire d'aujourd'hui</i></p> <p>Peter Abrahams (South Africa) - <i>Je ne suis pas un homme libre</i></p> <p>Samira Azzam (Palestine) - <i>Little Things</i></p> <p>Abd al rahman Sharqawi (Egypt) - <i>The Earth</i></p> <p>Driss Chraïbi (Morocco) - <i>Le passé simple</i></p> <p>Richard Wright (United States) - <i>Black Power</i></p> <p>Marter Carter (Guyana) - <i>Poems of resistance</i></p> <p>Kamala Markandaya (India) - <i>Nectar in a sieve</i></p> <p>Nicanor Parra (Chile) - <i>Poems and antipoems</i></p>
1955	<p>Bandung conference in Indonesia</p> <p>Cameroon: Riots (22-30 May), banning of the UPC</p>	<p>Jacques Stephen Alexis (Haiti) - <i>Compère Général Soleil</i></p> <p>Edward Franklin Frazier (United States) - <i>Black Bourgeoisie</i></p> <p>Saasi Youssef (Iraq) - <i>Songs Not for Other</i></p> <p>Fulbert Youlou (Congo-Brazzaville) - <i>Le Matsouanisme</i>, Imprimerie Centrale d'Afrique [Central African printers]</p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Odu</i> in Ibadan (Nigeria)</p> <p>Opening in Paris by François Maspéro of the bookshop <i>L'escalier</i></p> <p>U Nu (Burma) - <i>An Asian Speaks</i></p> <p>Amrita Pritam (India) - <i>Message</i></p> <p>Weng Men (China) - <i>The Young Newcomer</i></p> <p>Juan Rulfo (Mexico) - <i>Pedro Paramo</i></p>
1956	<p>URSS: Khrushchev denounces Stalin's crimes at the XXth congress of the Communist Party and suppresses the Hungarian revolution in Budapest</p> <p>France: The loi-cadre Defferre [Overseas reform act] is voted, internal autonomy of French Sub-Saharan Africa (23 June)</p> <p>Independence of Sudan</p> <p>Independence of Morocco</p> <p>Independence of Tunisia</p> <p>Angola: Foundation of the Mouvement Populaire de Libération d'Angola [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] (MPLA)</p> <p>Portugese Guinea: Foundation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde by Amilcar Cabral</p> <p>Creation by Ahmed Sékou Touré of the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique [General Confederation of African Workers] (CGTA)</p> <p>Egypt: Nasser nationalises the Suez canal, Egypt is invaded by Israel with the support of French and English troops, the troops' withdrawal is negotiated</p>	<p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Lettre à Maurice Thorez</i></p> <p>First Assembly of black artists and authors in Paris (19-22 September)</p> <p>Creation of the Société Africaine de Culture (SAC) [African Society of Culture]</p> <p>Léon Gontran Damas (Guyana) - <i>Black Label</i></p> <p>Castro Soromenho (Angola/Portugal) - <i>Camaxilo</i></p> <p>David Diop (Senegal) - <i>Coup de pilon</i></p> <p>Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal) - <i>Ethiopiennes</i></p> <p>Ferdinand Oyono (Cameroon) - <i>Une vie de boy - Le vieux nègre et la médaille</i></p> <p>Ousmane Sembene (Senegal) - <i>Docker Noir</i></p> <p>Mongo Beti (Cameroon) - <i>Le pauvre Christ de Bomba</i></p> <p>Naguib Mahfouz (Egypt) - <i>The Cairo Trilogy</i></p> <p>Kushwant Singh (India) - <i>Train to Pakistan</i></p> <p>Carls Bulosan (Philippines) - <i>America is in the Heart!</i></p> <p>Chang Ai-Ling (China) - <i>Naked earth</i></p> <p>Faiz Amhed Faiz (Pakistan) - <i>Prison Thoughts</i></p> <p>Joas Guimaraes Rosa (Brazil) - <i>The Devil to pay in the Backland</i></p> <p>Samuel Selvon (Trinidad) - <i>The Lonely Londoners</i></p>
1957	<p>Independence of the Gold Coast under the name of Ghana</p> <p>Dahomey: Formation at Cotonou of the Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire [General Union of Negro African Workers]</p> <p>Soviet Union: from 28 July to 11 August, "festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et de la Paix" [Global festival of Youth and Peace]</p> <p>Algeria: Battle of Algiers</p>	<p><i>Présence Africaine</i>, special issue "Freedom and justice : Hier Gold Coast , aujourd'hui Ghana"</p> <p>Albert Memmi (Algeria) - <i>Portrait du colonisé, précédé de Portrait de colonisateur</i></p> <p>George Balandier (France) - <i>L'Afrique Ambiguë</i></p> <p>Creation of the publishing house Maspéro (France)</p> <p>Hoggart Richard (United Kingdom) - <i>La culture du pauvre</i></p> <p>Ulli. Beier and Janheinz Jahn found <i>Black Orpheus</i> (Nigeria)</p> <p>Gérald Tchicaya U Tam'si (Congo) - <i>Feu de brousse</i></p> <p>Benjamin Matip (Cameroon) - <i>Afrique nous t'ignorons</i></p> <p>Kwamé Nkrumah (Ghana) - <i>Autobiographie</i></p> <p>Octavio Paz (Mexico) - <i>Piedra de sol</i></p>

1958	<p>Return of General de Gaulle and beginning of the 5th Republic</p> <p>Ghana: Conference of the Independent African States in Accra Dahomey : 500 deputies from the whole of French Africa unite in Cotonou in order to confront the Pan-African and federalist position of the Parti de regroupement Africain [African Regroupment Party], whose president is Senghor</p> <p>French Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar : General de Gaulle's tour of Brazanville</p> <p>Guinea: Ahmed Sékou Touré votes no at the Referendum for the French community, proclamation of Independence (2 October)</p> <p>Belgian Congo: creation by Patrice Lumumba of the Mouvement National Congolais [Congolese National Movement]</p> <p>Pan-African conference in Accra, so-called "of the African Peoples"</p> <p>China: Beginning of a devastating famine that killed at least 35 million people (end in 1962)</p>	<p>Fédération des étudiants d'Afrique Noire [Black African Students Federation] - <i>Le sang de Bandoëng</i> (France)</p> <p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Et les chiens se taisaient</i></p> <p>Jacques Rabemananjara (Madagascar) - <i>Nationalisme et problèmes malgaches</i></p> <p>Jean Genet (France) - <i>Les Nègres</i></p> <p>Edouard Glissant (Martinique) <i>La Lézarde</i> Renaudot prize</p> <p>Soviet Union: first Afro-Asian writers Conference in Tachkent</p> <p>Chinua Achebe (Nigeria) - <i>Things Fall Apart</i></p> <p>Nigeria: creation of Zaria Art by artist Uche Okeke (University of Ibadan)</p> <p>N.V.M. Gonsalez (Philippines) - <i>Bread of Salt</i></p> <p>Luda U. Hla (Burma) - <i>The Caged Ones</i></p>
1959	<p>Independence of Guinea</p> <p>Belgian Congo: Riots in Leopoldville, "day of independence martyrs" arrest of Lumumba</p> <p>United Kingdom: London Conference on British East Africa</p> <p>Cuba: Batista is chased away from power by Fidel Castro</p>	<p>Ahmed Sékou Touré (Guinea) - <i>L'action politique du parti démocratique de Guinée</i></p> <p>Es'kia Mphahlele (South Africa) – <i>Down the Second Avenue</i></p> <p>Qurratulain Hyder (India) - <i>River of Fire</i></p> <p>Frantz Fanon (Martinique) - <i>L'an V de la révolution algérienne</i></p> <p>Paris: Jean Genet's play <i>Les Nègres</i> is played by the Griots group, directed by Roger Blin at the théâtre de Lutèce</p> <p>Rome: Second Assembly of black artists and authors</p>
1960	<p>Independence of many African countries (former French and Belgian colonies)</p> <p>Union of South Africa: Sharpeville massacre (state of emergency; the ANC and the Pan-African Congress are banned.)</p> <p>Pan-African conference of Leopoldville (25 August)</p> <p>South Africa: Sharpeville massacre, the police kills 67 people by shooting the unarmed crowd, the ANC and the Pan-African Congress are banned.</p> <p>Publication of the manifest of the 121, "Déclaration sur le droit à l'insoumission dans la guerre d'Algérie" [Declaration of the right of insubordination in the Algerian war] in the magazine <i>Liberté-Vérité</i></p> <p>Australia: Creation of centres for the cultural assimilation of Aboriginals. The most well-known is that of Papunya</p>	<p>Ousmane Sembene (Senegal) - <i>Les bouts de bois de Dieu</i></p> <p>Jahn Janheinz (Germany) - <i>Schwarzer Orpheus</i>, Fisher Bücherei.</p> <p>George Lamming (Barbados) - <i>The Pleasures of Exile</i></p> <p>Wilson Harris (Guyana) - <i>Palace of the Peacock</i></p> <p>James Baldwin (United States) – <i>Nobody Knows My Name</i></p> <p>Hwang Sun-Won (South Korea) – <i>Trees on a Slope</i></p>

1961	<p>South Africa : Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC receives the Nobel prize for peace</p> <p>States continue becoming independent (English and Belgian colonies)</p> <p>Angola : Beginning of the uprising (February-March)</p> <p>Congo-Leopoldville: Assassination of Lumumba in prison (17 January)</p> <p>France: Executive committee of the AGEM <i>Les étudiants de la Martinique et la lutte de libération nationale aux Antilles</i></p> <p>Paris: 17 October 1961, massacre of Algerians in the heart of the capital by French police</p> <p>Cuba: The invasion of the bay of pigs orchestrated by the USA fails</p> <p>Southern Vietnam signs a treaty of financial and military aid with the United States, which leads to the arrival of American troops</p>	<p>Edouard Glissant (Martinique) - <i>Le Sang Rivé</i></p> <p>Frantz Fanon (Martinique) - <i>Les Damnés de la terre</i></p> <p>Creation by François Maspéro of the journal <i>Partisans</i> (France)</p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Jeune Afrique</i> (France)</p> <p>Cheik Hamidou Kane (Senegal) - <i>L'aventure ambiguë</i></p> <p>Seydou Badian (Mali) - <i>La Mort de Chaka</i></p> <p>Gabriel d'Arboussier (Benin) - <i>L'Afrique vers l'Unité</i></p> <p>Nmandi Azikiwe (Nigeria) - <i>Selected Speeches</i></p> <p>Cyprian Ekwensi (Nigeria) - <i>Jagua Nana</i></p> <p>Foundation of the Mbari Club by Ulli Beier and Wole Soyinka (Nigeria).</p> <p>Adonis (Syria) - <i>Le chant de Mijhar le Damascène</i></p> <p>V.S. Naipaul (Trinidad) - <i>Une maison pour M. Biswas</i></p> <p>Che Guevara - <i>La guerra de guerrillas</i></p> <p>Vo Nguyen Giap (Vietnam) - <i>Guerre du peuple, armée du peuple</i></p> <p>Attia Hosain (India) - <i>Sunlight on a broken Column</i></p>
1962	<p>States continue becoming independent in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the Caribbean (Belgian and English-speaking colonies)</p> <p>Portuguese Guinea: Beginning of the war of independence (July)</p> <p>Evian Accords and Independence of Algeria</p> <p>Opening of the bookshop <i>Présence Africaine</i></p> <p>Bomb attack of the bookshops of publishing houses <i>Présence Africaine</i> and Maspéro <i>La Joie de lire</i></p> <p>Cuban missile crisis: Kennedy authorises the Cuban embargo</p>	<p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Toussaint Louverture, la révolution et le problème colonial</i></p> <p><i>Présence Africaine</i>, special issue on the Antilles under the direction of Edouard Glissant and Paul Nizer (Albert Bléville)</p> <p><i>Présence Africaine</i>, special issue "Angola"</p> <p>Langston Hughes and Christine Reynault (United States / France) - <i>Anthologie africaine et malgache</i></p> <p>Salisbury festival (Rhodesia): first Pan-African cultural event at an international scale in the colonial context</p> <p>Ghana: Congress of Africanists in Accra (11-18 December)</p> <p>Patrice Lumumba (Congo) - <i>Congo mon pays</i></p> <p>Gérald Tchicaya U Tam'si (Congo) - <i>Epitome, P.J.</i></p> <p>Mario de Andrade (Angola) - <i>Liberté pour l'Angola</i></p> <p>Jean-Pierre Ndiaye (France / Senegal) - <i>Enquête sur les étudiants noirs en France</i></p> <p>Alex La Guma (South Africa) - <i>Nuit d'Errance</i></p> <p>Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) - <i>Zambia Shall Be Free</i></p> <p>Mehdi Ben Barka (Algeria) - "Résoudre les ambiguïtés de la souveraineté nationale"</p> <p>Albert Luthuli (South Africa) - <i>Liberté pour mon Peuple</i></p> <p>Carlos Fuentes (Mexico) - <i>La mort d'Artemio Cruz</i></p> <p>Carlos Martinez Moreno (Uruguay) - <i>The Wall</i></p> <p>Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru) - <i>La ville et les chiens</i></p> <p>F. Sionil José (Phillippines) - <i>Les Prétendants</i></p> <p>James Baldwin (United States) - <i>Un autre pays</i></p>
1963	<p>Addis Abeba: Conference of Heads of State and African governments, birth of the Organisation de l'unité africaine [Organisation of African Unity](OAU)</p> <p>Assassination of John F. Kennedy</p> <p>Australia: Yirrkala petition addressed by Yolngu aboriginals to the House of Representatives</p> <p>The text of the Yirrkala petition claimed rights to land; more important were its painted margins with animal patterns in relation to the site where a mine had been installed. The painting became as important as the text. It corresponded in part to the patterns of the Dua moiety, and in part to those of the Yirritja moiety. For the first time, an actual declaration of ownership of "cadastral" value was proffered. In this sense, this document became mythical, a symbol of the movement for aboriginal claims.</p>	<p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>La Tragédie du roi Christophe, Présence africaine</i></p> <p>Frantz Fanon (Martinique) - <i>The damned</i>, English translation, <i>Présence Africaine</i>.</p> <p>Léonard Sainville (Martinique) - <i>Anthologie de la littérature négro-africaine. romanciers et conteurs</i>, book 1, <i>Présence Africaine</i></p> <p>Lilyan Kesteloot (Belgium) <i>Les écrivains noirs de langue française : naissance d'une littérature</i>, Sociology Institute, University of Brussels</p> <p>Cameroon: Foundation of <i>Abbia, revue culturelle camerounaise</i></p> <p>Ghassan Kanafani (Palestine) - <i>Des hommes sous le soleil</i></p> <p>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) - <i>Le lion et la perle</i></p> <p>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) - <i>La danse de la forêt</i></p> <p>James Baldwin (United States) - <i>La prochaine fois le feu</i>,</p> <p>Julio Cortazar - <i>Marelle</i></p> <p>Severo Sarduy (Cuba) - <i>Gestes</i></p> <p>C.L.R James (Trinidad) - <i>Beyond a Boundary</i></p>

1964	<p>Martin Luther King receives the Nobel prize for Peace African states continue becoming independent (English colonies)</p> <p>South Africa: Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, and Walter Sisulu are sentenced for life for treason, they are imprisoned in Robben Island</p> <p>Brazil: the left-wing government is overthrown by a military <i>coup d'état</i> supported by the USA</p> <p>Paris: <i>Présence Africaine</i> and the Société africaine de culture [African Society of Culture] invite Malcom X to Mutualité</p>	<p>Edouard Glissant (Martinique) - <i>Le quatrième siècle</i></p> <p>Frantz Fanon (Martinique) - <i>Pour la révolution africaine : écrits politiques</i></p> <p>Basil Davidson (United Kingdom) - <i>Les voies africaines</i></p> <p>Birmingham : Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall Raymond Williams and Edward P. Thompson found the <i>Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies</i> and birth of the Cultural Studies discipline</p> <p>Seydou Badian (Mali) - <i>Les dirigeants africains face à leur peuple</i></p> <p>Guillaume Oyono-Mbia (Cameroon) - <i>Trois prétendants, un mari</i></p> <p>Govan Mbeki (South Africa) - <i>The Peasants' Revolts</i></p> <p>Forugh Farrokhzad (Iran) - <i>Another Birth</i></p>
1965	<p>Congo-Leopoldville: Rise to power of Mobutu (25 November)</p> <p>Sub-Saharan African states continue becoming independent</p> <p>Indonesia: <i>Coup d'état</i> by Suharto, he organises the extermination of left-wing opponents, 500,000 people are killed while hundreds of thousands are brutally imprisoned.</p> <p>London: First conference of the Conseil des Organisations Africaines [Council of African Organisations], speech by Malcom X (February)</p> <p>United States: Assassination of Malcom X (21 February)</p>	<p>James Baldwin (United States) - <i>Nous les nègres</i></p> <p>James Baldwin (United States) - <i>Face à l'homme blanc</i></p> <p>Malcolm X (United States) - <i>Le pouvoir noir : textes politiques</i></p> <p>Edouard Glissant (Martinique) - <i>Les Indes, Un champ d'îles, La terre inquiète</i></p> <p>Presentation at théâtre de l'Odéon of Aimé Césaire's play <i>La tragédie du roi Christophe</i>, directed by Michel Serreau</p> <p>Nelson Mandela (South Africa) - <i>Un long chemin vers la liberté</i></p> <p>Kwame Nkruma (Ghana) - <i>Le néocolonialisme: dernier stade de l'impérialisme</i></p> <p>Whole Soyinka (Nigeria) - <i>Les interprètes et La route</i></p> <p>Michael Anthony (Trinidad) - <i>The Year in San Fernando</i></p> <p>Guillermo Cabrera Infante (Cuba) - <i>Trois tristes tigres</i></p> <p>Kamalas Das (India) - <i>Summer in Calcutta</i></p> <p>Shahnon Ahmad (Malaysia) - <i>Rope of Ash</i></p>
1966	<p>Cuba: Third tricontinental conference held in Havana (3-15 January)</p> <p>Ghana: Nkrumah is overthrown from power while absent (24 February)</p> <p>China: The cultural revolution begins (until 1976)</p>	<p>Dakar: 1st World festival of black arts</p> <p>Creation in Zaire of the <i>Editions Belles Lettres</i></p> <p>Flora Nwapa (Nigeria) - <i>Efuru</i></p> <p><i>La noire de...</i> film by Senegalese director Sembene Ousmane</p> <p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Une Saison au Congo</i></p> <p>Paul Scott (United Kingdom) - <i>The Jewel in the Crown</i></p> <p>Langston Hughes (United States) - <i>La poésie négro-américaine</i></p> <p>U.R Ananthamurty (India) - <i>Funeral Rites</i></p> <p>Louise Bennett (Jamaica) - <i>Jamaïqua Labrish</i></p> <p>José Lezama Lima (Cuba) - <i>Paradiso</i></p> <p>Jean Rhys (Dominican Republic) - <i>La Prisonnière des Sargasses</i></p> <p>Marta Traba (Argentina/Colombia) - <i>Rites of Summer</i></p> <p>Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru) - <i>La maison verte</i></p>
1967	<p>United States: Racist violence in Florida</p> <p>Nigeria: Biafra secession (30 May), beginning of the civil war (6 July)</p> <p>Bolivia: The Bolivian Rangers in collaboration with the CIA captivate Che</p> <p>Israel-Egypt: Six-day war</p> <p>Australia: The Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islands people receive Australian nationality</p>	<p>Miguel Angel Asturias (Guatemala) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Creation in Mali of the <i>éditions populaire du Mali</i></p> <p>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) - <i>Idanre</i></p> <p>Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Kenya) - <i>Et le blé jaillira</i></p> <p>Oginga Odinga (Kenya) - <i>Not yet Uhuru</i></p> <p>Simone Schwartz-Bart (Guadeloupe) - <i>Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes</i></p> <p>José Maria Sison (Philippines) - <i>Struggle for National Democracy</i></p> <p>Gabriel Garcia Marquez - <i>Cent ans de solitude</i></p> <p>VS Naipaul (Trinidad) - <i>The mimic Men</i></p> <p>Wilson Harris (English Guyana) - <i>Tradition The Writer and society</i></p> <p>New York: creation of the Studio Museum in Harlem</p>

1968	<p>African states continue becoming independent United States: Assassination of Martin Luther King (4 April), Nixon president</p> <p>Student uprisings all over the world and in particular in France, in the USA and in Mexico</p> <p>Czechoslovakia: Prague spring is brutally suppressed by the USSR</p> <p>Poland: Anti-Semitic campaign</p>	<p>Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Cahier d'un retour au pays natal</i> (English translation) Creation by François Maspéro of the journal <i>Tricontinental</i> Michel Foucault (France) - <i>L'archéologie du savoir</i> Julius K. Nyerere (Tanzania) - <i>Ujamaa: essays and socialism</i> Ahmadou Kourouma (Ivory Coast) - <i>Le Soleil des Indépendances</i> Yambo Ouologuem (Mali) - <i>Le devoir de violence</i>, prix Renaudot Francis Bebey (Cameroon) - <i>Embarras et compagnie</i> Eugène Dervain (Ivory Coast) - <i>La reine scélérate</i> Jean-Baptiste Tati-Loutard (Congo) - <i>Poèmes de la mer</i> Ayi Kwei Armah (Ghana) - <i>The beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born</i> Dennis Brutus (South Africa) - <i>Letters to Martha</i> Nizar Qabbani (Iraq) - "Coments on the Notebook of decadence" James Forman (United States) - <i>La libération viendra d'une chose noire</i> Andrew Salkey (Jamaica) - <i>The late emancipation of Jerry Stoker</i> Wong Phui Nam (Malaysia) - <i>How the hills are distant</i></p>
1969	<p>Niger: First francophone conference (17-20 February) Kenya: Assassination of Tom Mboya (5 July) Nigeria: Famine of Biafra</p>	<p>Albert Memmi (Tunisia) - <i>Anthologie des écrivains français du Maghreb</i>, selection and presentation by Jacqueline Arnaud, Jean Defeux and Arlette Roth Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Une Tempête, d'après La Tempête de Shakespeare : adaptation pour un théâtre nègre</i> <i>Monagambée</i> film by Guadeloupian director Sarah Maldoror Mario de Andrade (Brazil) - <i>La poésie africaine d'expression portugaise</i> Paulo Freire (Brazil) - <i>Pédagogie des opprimés</i> Algeria: Pan-African festival Panafricain of Algiers (21 July- 1 August) organised by the OUA Burkina Faso: First edition of the Festival panafricain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou (FESPACO) [Pan-African festival of cinema and television of Ouagadougou] Edouardo Mondlane (Mozambique) - <i>The Struggle for Mozambique</i> Tayeb Salih (Sudan) - <i>La saison de migration vers le nord</i> Fadwa Tuqan (Palestine) - <i>Horsement in the Night</i> Elena Poniatowska (Mexico) - <i>Until We Meet Again</i> New York: Exhibition <i>Harlem on My Mind</i> at the Metropolitan Museum of Art</p>
1970	<p>Jordan: "Black September", massacre of Palestinians Nigeria: Surrender of Biafra, end of the war (13 January) South Africa: <i>Bantou Homeland Citizenship Act</i> on blacks' citizenship Cambodia: a right-wing <i>coup d'état</i> dethrones Sihanouk</p>	<p>Jean-Pierre Ndiaye (France) - <i>Négriers modernes : les travailleurs noirs en France</i> Ahmadou Kourouma (Ivory Coast) - <i>Le soleil des indépendances</i> Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (Palestine) - <i>Le navire</i> Earl Anthony (United States) - <i>Prenons les armes ! Les Black Panthers</i> Toni Morrison (United States) - <i>L'œil le plus bleu</i> Merle Hodge (Trinidad) - <i>Crik Crak Monkey</i> Hwang Soh-Yong (South Korea) - <i>Les terres étrangères</i> Aimé Césaire (Martinique) - <i>Les Armes Miraculeuses</i></p>

1971	<p>Uganda: Idi Amin Dada rises to power and establishes a dictatorship</p>	<p>Pablo Neruda (Chile) receives the Nobel prize for literature Angela Davis (United States) - <i>Angela Davis speaks</i> Yu Kwang-Chung (Taiwan) - <i>Arcs of Barbed Wire</i> Australia: A Papunya, a group of elders of the Aboriginal community led by Kaapa Mbitjana Tjampitjinpa, Long Jack Tjakamarra and Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri (they all became major figures of aboriginal painting), were encouraged by Geoffrey Barton to paint the external walls of the place's school. At the time, these people were employed as gardeners of the establishment. This project provoked great enthusiasm and shortly after the beginning of the mural, other members of the community joined the initial group. Together, they painted Honey Ant Dreaming. Almost everyone started painting. Initially, the paintings were made on small cardboards, quickly replaced by increasingly big canvases. Creation in Senegal of the publishing house <i>Les Nouvelles éditions Africaines</i> (NEA) Creation in Zaire of <i>éditions du mont noir</i> by Valentin Mudimbe Christopher Okigbo (Nigeria) - <i>Labyrinth</i> Mahmoud Darwish - <i>Un amoureux de la Palestine</i></p>
1972	<p>Burundi: Hutu movement against the Tutsi, massive suppression (April-June)</p>	<p>Sambizanga film by Guadeloupian director Sarah Maldoror Simone Schwartz-Bart (France) - <i>Mûlatresse Solitude</i>. Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari (France) - <i>L'anti-oedipe</i> Angela Davis and Aptheke Bettina (United States) - <i>S'ils frappent à la porte de l'aube</i> Walter Rodney (Jamaica) - <i>Et l'Europe sous-développa l'Afrique</i> Mongo Beti (France / Cameroon) - <i>Main basse sur le Cameroun</i> Steve Biko (South Africa) - <i>I Write what I Like</i> Athol Fugard (South Africa) - <i>Sizwe Bansi is dead</i> Nick Joaquin (Philippines) - <i>Tropical Gothic</i> Dhoomil (India) - <i>From the Parliament to the street</i> Manohar Malgonkar (India) - <i>The devi's Wind</i></p>
1973	<p>Guinea-Bissau: Amilcar Cabral is assassinated by Portuguese agents Chile: Salvador Allende is assassinated during Pinochet's military coup, beginning of a violent suppression campaign Oil crisis, the OPE increases prices and lowers production Dissolution of the political system of Bretton Wood</p>	<p>Ahmadou Hampâté Ba (Mali) - <i>L'étrange destin de Wangrin</i> Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) - <i>Le retour aux sources</i> Samir Amin (France-Egypt) - <i>Le développement Inégal</i> Le Duan (Vietnam) - <i>La révolution vietnamienne</i> Mahasweta Devi (India) - <i>The Open Veins of Latin America</i> New Guinea: Creation of an Asmat museum in Agats thanks to Alphonse Sowada's initiative</p>
1974	<p>Independence of Guinea-Bissau Independence of Grenada Angola: Cease-fire between the FLNA and the Portuguese army (22 October) Ethiopia: Haile Selassie is dethroned following a general strike Portugal: Carnation revolution on 24 April 1974</p>	<p>Agostinho Neto (Angola) - <i>Sacred Hope</i> Nadine Gordimer (South Africa) - <i>Le conservateur</i> José Luandino Vieira (Angola) - <i>The Real Life of Domingos Xavier</i> Emile Habiby (Palestine) - <i>Te Secret Life of Saeedn , The Ill Fated Pessoptimist</i> Bessie Head (South Africa /Botswana) - <i>Question de pouvoir</i> Adonis (Syria-Lebanon) - <i>La prière et l'épée, essai sur la culture arabe</i> Angela Davis (America) - <i>Autobiographie</i> Gopalakrishna Adiga (India) - <i>Song of the Earth and Mother Poems</i> Ruth Praver Jhabvala (India) - <i>Chaleur et poussière</i> Daniel Moyano (Argentina) - <i>The Devil's Trill</i> Augusto Roa Bastos (Paraguay) - <i>Moi, le suprême</i></p>

1975	<p>Independence of the Comoros, except Mayotte (6 July)</p> <p>Independence of Mozambique (25 June)</p> <p>Independence of Angola (11 November)</p> <p>End of the Vietnam war, defeat of the USA</p> <p>Cambodia: The Red Khmers rise to power and beginning of Cambodian genocide</p>	<p>Michel Foucault (France) - <i>Surveiller et punir</i></p> <p>Nawal El Saadawi (Egypt) - <i>Woman at point zero</i></p> <p>Indira Sant (India) - <i>The Snake-Skin and other Poems</i></p> <p>Bharati Mukkerjee (India/USA) - <i>Chaleur et poussière</i></p> <p>Antonio Skarmeta (Chile) - <i>I dreamt the Snow Was Burning</i></p>
1976	<p>South Africa: Bloody racial riots in Soweto (16 June), riots in big cities (August-September)</p> <p>Australia: Aboriginal Land Right Act.</p> <p>Establishment of a law on the right to aboriginal lands in the Northern Territory</p>	<p>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) - <i>Myth, literature and the African World</i></p> <p>Jayanta Mahapatra (India) - <i>A pain of rites</i></p> <p>India: First edition of the Calcutta book fair, the largest book fair in Asia</p> <p>Manuel Puig (Argentina) - <i>Le baiser de la femme araignée</i></p> <p>Antonio Torres (Brazil) - <i>Cette terre</i></p>
1977	<p>Independence of Djibouti</p> <p>South Africa: Assassination of Steve Biko (12 September)</p>	<p>Manuel Rui (Angola) - <i>Sim Camarada!</i></p> <p>Bessie Head (South Africa/Botswana) - <i>The collector of treasures</i></p> <p>Elias Khouri (Lebanon) - <i>La petite Montagne</i></p> <p>Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (Kenya) - <i>Pétales de sang</i></p> <p>Nigeria: Second World festival of black arts (Lagos)</p> <p>Iran: creation of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (known abroad by the acronym TMOCA)</p> <p>Clarice Lispector (Brazil) - <i>L'heure des étoiles</i></p> <p>Sergio Ramirez (Nicaragua) - <i>To Bury Our Father</i></p> <p>Toni Morrison (United States) - <i>La chanson de Salomon</i></p>
1978	<p>Angola: beginning of the civil war (April)</p> <p>Cambodia: End of the Red Khmers regime, the National Salvation Front enlisted by Heng Samrin is installed in Phnom Penh</p> <p>Afghanistan: military <i>coup d'état</i> orchestrated by the USSR</p>	<p>Edward W. Saïd (Palestine) - <i>Orientalism</i></p> <p>Steve Biko (South Africa) - <i>I Write what I Like</i></p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Peuples Noirs, peuples africains, revue des radicaux noirs de langue française</i>, by Mongo Beti and his wife</p> <p>Odile Idoner (France / Cameroon), appears until 1991</p>
1979	<p>Independence of Zimbabwe, election of Robert Mugabe</p> <p>Iran: The Shah is overthrown Ayatollah Khomeini rises to power</p> <p>Invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR</p> <p>Cambodia: End of the Red Khmer regime</p>	<p>Alejo Carpentier (Cuba) - <i>La harpe et l'ombre</i>, Médicis étranger prize</p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Zamân</i> by a group of Iranian intellectuals exiled in France</p>
1980	<p>Senegal: Resignation of president Senghor (31 December), Abdou Diouf president</p> <p>Death of Alioune Diop founder of the journal and the publishing house <i>Présence Africaine</i></p> <p>Beginning of the Iran-Iraq war</p> <p>Peru: End of the military regime, election of a right-wing civil government</p>	<p>Special issue of the journal <i>Europe</i> dedicated to Nigerian literature written in English</p> <p>J.M Coetzee (South Africa) - <i>En attendant les barbares</i></p> <p>Mongo Beti (France / Cameroon) - <i>Remember Ruben</i></p> <p>Ricardo Piglia (Argentina) - <i>A funny Dirty Little War</i></p> <p>Michael Thelwell (Jamaica) - <i>The Harder They Come</i></p> <p>Albert Wendt (Samoa) - <i>Leaves of the Banyan Tree</i></p> <p>Anita Desai (India) - <i>La Claire Lumière du Jour</i></p> <p>Yu Luojin (China) - <i>Le nouveau Conte d'Hiver</i></p>
1981	<p>Egypt: President Sadat is assassinated by soldiers</p> <p>France: The left rises to power</p>	<p>Ari Dorfman (Chile) - <i>Widows</i></p> <p>Mongane Wally Serot (South Africa) - <i>To Every Birth Its Blood</i></p> <p>Aminata Saw Fall (Senegal) - <i>La grève des Battu</i></p> <p>Malek Alloula (Algeria) - <i>Le Harem colonial</i></p> <p>Benedict Anderson (United Kingdom) - <i>L'imaginaire national</i></p> <p>Edouard Glissant (Martinique) - <i>Le discours antillais</i></p> <p>Creation of the journal <i>Politique africaine</i> inaugurated by an issue entitled <i>La politique en Afrique noire : le haut et le bas</i> (France)</p>

1982		<p>Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>First issue of <i>Subaltern Studies</i> under the direction of Ranajit Guha</p> <p>Lloyd Fernado (Malaysia) - <i>Scorpion Orchid</i></p> <p>Isabelle Allende (Chile) - <i>La maison aux esprits</i></p> <p>Reinaldo Arenas (Cuba) - <i>Encore une fois la mer</i></p> <p>Edward Kamau Bratwaite (Barbados) - <i>The arrivants</i></p>
1983	<p>France: "Marche l'égalité" [March for Equality] named "Marche des Beurs" (October-December)</p> <p>Léopold Sédar Senghor elected to the Académie Française (May)</p> <p>Grenada: following the murder of Prime minister Maurice Bishop, American troops arrive in order to overthrow the New Jewel Movement</p> <p>Argentina: Raul Alfonsin's election marks the end 8 years of military dictatorship during which at thirty thousand Argentineans were killed</p>	<p>Sony Labou Tansi (Zaire) - <i>L'anté-peuple</i>,</p> <p>Abdelkebir Khatibi (Maroc) - <i>Magreb pluriel</i></p> <p>Njabulo Ndebele (South Africa) - <i>Folls</i></p> <p>Jamaica Kincaid (Antigua) - <i>Annie John</i></p> <p>Grace Nichols (Guyana) - <i>I Is a long-remembered woman</i></p> <p>Luisa Valenzuela (Argentina) - <i>The Lizard's Tail</i></p> <p>Nirmal Verma (India) - <i>The Crows of Delivrance</i></p> <p>Johannes Fabian (The Netherlands) - <i>Le temps et les autres</i></p>
1984	<p>Guinea: Death of Sékou Touré (26 March)</p> <p>Ethiopia: starvation kills 500,000 people</p>	<p>Maryse Condé (Guadeloupe) - <i>Ségou</i></p> <p>Rigoberta Menchu (Guatemala) - <i>Moi, Rigoberta Menchu</i></p> <p>Miguel Bonasso (Argentina) - <i>Memory of Death</i></p> <p>Abdelrahman Munif (Uruguay) - <i>The Ship of Folls</i></p> <p>Bai Xian Yong (Taiwan) - <i>Vil Spawn</i></p> <p>Edward Kamau Bratwaite (Barbados) - <i>History of the Voice</i></p>
1985	<p>Brazil: after 20 years of dictatorship, a civil government is established</p>	<p>Ahmadou Kourouma (Ivory Coast) - <i>En attendant le vote des bêtes sauvages</i></p> <p>Tahar Ben Jelloun (Morocco) - <i>L'enfant de sable</i></p> <p>Assia Djebar (Algeria) - <i>L'amour, la Fantasia</i></p> <p>Nayantara Sahgal (India) - <i>Rich Like Us</i></p> <p>Pipit Rochijat Kartawidjaja (Indonesia) - <i>Am I PKI or not PKI ?</i></p> <p>Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia) - <i>L'amour au temps du Choléra</i></p>
1986	<p>Philippines: The "People Power Revolution" overthrows Marcos' dictatorship</p> <p>Haiti: End of Duvalier's dictatorship</p>	<p>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Nuruddin Farah (Somalia) - <i>Territoires</i></p> <p>Ken Saro-Wiwa (Nigeria) - <i>Sozaboy</i></p> <p>Nuruddin Farah (Somalia) - <i>Maps</i></p> <p>Sahar Khalifeh (Palestine) - <i>Memoirs of an Unrealistic Woman</i></p> <p>Waleed Khazindar (Palestine) - <i>Present Verbs</i></p> <p>Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (Kenya) - <i>Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Language</i></p> <p>Anton Shammas (Israel) - <i>Arabesque</i></p> <p>Alvaro Mutis (Colombia) - <i>La neige de l'Amiral</i></p> <p>Caryl Phillips (St Kitts) - <i>A State of Independance</i></p> <p>Derek Walcott (St Lucia) - <i>Collected Poems</i></p> <p>Linda Ty-Casper (Philippines) - <i>Wings of Stone</i></p> <p>Wang Anyi (China) - <i>Love in a small Town</i></p> <p>Partha Chatterjee (India) - <i>Nationalist Thought an the colonial World: A Derivative Discourse</i></p> <p>Peter Hulme (England) - <i>Colonial Encounters: Europe an the colonial World : A derivative Discourse</i></p> <p>Hanif Kureishi (England) - <i>My Beautiful Landrette</i></p>

1987	<p>Burkina Faso: President Thomas Sankara is assassinated during an anti-revolutionary military coup</p> <p>Israel: Beginning of the Palestinian Intifada</p>	<p>Tahar Ben Jelloun (Morocco) - <i>La nuit Sacrée</i>, prix Goncourt,</p> <p>Toni Morrison (United States) - <i>Beloved</i></p> <p>Jesus Diaz (Cuba) - <i>The Initial of the Land</i></p> <p>Daniel Maximin (Guadeloupe) - <i>Soufrières</i></p> <p>Horacio Vazquez Rial (Argentina) - <i>Triste's History</i></p> <p>Aghadi Shahid Ali (India) - <i>The Half-Inch Himalayas</i></p> <p>Shritan Verma (India) - <i>Magadh</i></p> <p>China: The Imperial palace of Beijing is added to U.N.E.S.C.O's list of world heritage</p>
1988	<p>Burundi: Inter-ethnic violence cause thousands of victims</p> <p>Pakistan: Return to civil government with the election of Benazir Butto, daughter of Zulficar Ali Bhutto</p> <p>Chile: Pinochet quits his place in power after a referendum</p>	<p>Naguib Mahfouz (Egypt), Nobel prize for literature.</p> <p>René Depestre (Haiti) - <i>Hadriana dans tous mes rêves</i>, Renaudot prize</p> <p>James Clifford (United States), <i>Malaise dans la culture. L'ethnographie, la littérature et l'art au XXème siècle</i></p> <p>Michelle Cliff (Jamaica/United States) - <i>No telephone to Heaven</i></p> <p>Exhibition " Dreamings: the art of Aboriginal Australia" at the Asia Society Gallery of New York</p> <p>Chenjerai Hove (Zimbabwe) - <i>Ossuaire</i></p> <p>Tsitsi Dangarembga (Zimbabwe) - <i>A fleur de peau</i></p> <p>J.M Coetzee (South Africa) - <i>Foe</i></p> <p>V.Y Mudimbe (Cameroon) - <i>The invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and Order of Knowledge</i></p> <p>Upamanyu Chatterjee (India) - <i>English August</i></p> <p>Amit Chaudhuri (India) - <i>Râga d'après-midi</i></p> <p>Amitav Gosh (India) - <i>The Shadow Lines</i></p> <p>Duong Thu Huong (Vietnam) - <i>Le paradis des aveugles</i></p> <p>Ninotchka Rosca (Philippines) - <i>State of War</i></p> <p>Salman Rushdie (India) - <i>les Versets Sataniques</i></p> <p>Bapsi Sidhwa (Pakistan) - <i>Craking India</i></p> <p>Chandra Talpade Mohanty (India) - <i>Under Wester Eyes: feminist Scholarship and colonial Dicourse</i></p> <p>Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (India) - <i>Les subalternes peuvent-elles parler?</i></p> <p>Hector Tizon (Argentina) - <i>L'Etranger au village</i></p> <p>Tomas Eloy Martinez (Argentina) - <i>Le roman de Peron</i></p>
1989	<p>Burkina Faso: President Thomas Sankara is assassinated South Africa: De Klerk president (15 August), First public rally of the ANC (29 October)</p> <p>Fall of the Berlin Wall: The Soviet Union, as well as the other communist states of the East dissolve</p> <p>China: military suppression Tian'an Men square, arrests of hunderds of activists and politically engaged intellectuals</p> <p>Ayatollah Khomeini launches a fatwa against Salman Rusdhi over the blasphemous nature of the Satanic Verses</p>	<p>Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (Australie) - <i>The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in Post-Colonial Littératures</i>, Routledge.</p> <p>China: Exhibition "China Avant-garde" at the National art museum of Beijing</p> <p>Nizzim Ezekiel (India) - <i>Collected Poems</i></p> <p>Yun Heung-Gil (South Korea) - <i>The house of Twilight</i></p> <p>Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (Kenya) - <i>Matigari</i></p> <p>MK Vassanji (Kenya/Canada) - <i>The Gunny Sack</i></p> <p>Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant (Martinique) - <i>Eloge de la créolité</i></p> <p>Exhibition <i>Les magiciens de la terre</i> organised by Jean Hubert Martin at the Centre Georges Pompidou</p> <p>Kazuo Ishiguro (England) - <i>Les vestiges du jour</i></p> <p>United States: Creation of the <i>National Museum of the American Indian</i></p>
1990	<p>South Africa: Nelson Mandela is released after 28 years in custody.</p> <p>Haiti: A coup d'état overthrows Aristide</p> <p>Beginning of the Gulf war</p>	<p>Octavio Paz (Mexico) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Bei dao (China) - <i>The August Sleepwalker</i></p> <p>Jessica Hagedorn (Philippines) - <i>Les mangeurs de chiens</i></p> <p>Australia presents Aboriginal artist Rover Thomas at the Biennale of Venice</p> <p>Mia Couto (Mozambique) - <i>Every Man is a race</i></p> <p>Abd Al-Wahhab Bayati (Iraq) - <i>Love, Death and Exile</i></p> <p>Terry Eagleton Frederic Jameson and Edward Saïd - <i>Nationalisme, colonialisme et littérature</i></p>

1991	<p>South Africa: Abolition of discriminatory laws on land and housing (5 June)</p> <p>End of the USSR</p>	<p>Nadine Gordimer (South Africa) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Ben Okri (Nigeria) - <i>La route de la faim</i></p> <p>Khalil Hawi (Lebanon) - <i>From the Vineyards of Lenanon</i></p> <p>Boa Nonh (Vietnam) - <i>Le Chagrin de la guerre</i></p> <p>Salman Rusdhie (India-England) - <i>Patries imaginaires</i></p> <p>Timothy Mo (England) - <i>The Redundancy of Courage</i></p> <p>Derek Walcott (St Lucia) - <i>Omeros</i></p>
1992	<p>Algeria: Huge anti-islamist protests while the FIS is on the verge of winning the elections, a state of emergency is declared following the assassination of president Boudiaf, the FIS dissolves but many years of violence are to come.</p> <p>Salvador: The peace accord between the government and FMLN's guerilla fighters ends a war of 12 years that had caused more than 75,000 deaths.</p>	<p>Derek Walcott (St Lucia), Nobel prize for literature.</p> <p>Patrick Chamoiseau (Martinique) - <i>Texaco</i>, Goncourt prize</p> <p>Gina Dent, <i>Black Popular Culture: A Project by Michele Wallace (Discussions in Contemporary Culture #8)</i></p> <p>Dia Art Foundation</p> <p>Mary Louise Pratt (United States) - <i>Imperial Eyes: travel Writing and transculturation</i></p> <p>Dakar: First contemporary art biennale</p> <p>Ambai (C.S. Lakshami) (India) - <i>The Purple Sea</i></p> <p>Cheng Naishan (China) - <i>The Banber</i></p> <p>Michael Ondaatje (Sri Lanka/Canada) - <i>Le patient Anglais</i></p> <p>Aijaz Ahmad (India) - <i>In theory : classes, nations, literatures</i></p> <p>Arturo Uslar Pietri (Venezuela) - <i>The Creation of The New World</i></p> <p>Roberto Schwarz (Brazil) - <i>Misplaced Idea: essays on Brazilian</i></p>
1993		<p>Toni Morrison (United States) receives the Nobel prize for literature.</p> <p>Paul Gilroy (England) - <i>L'atlantique noire. Modernité et double conscience</i></p> <p>Exhibition Aratjara: Art of the first Australians in Düsseldorf (Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen) and in London (Hayward Gallery)</p> <p>Paris: Exhibition "La Peinture des aborigènes d'Australie ", at the Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie</p> <p>Exhibition <i>Images et Colonies</i>, BDIC-Achac</p> <p>Edward W. Saïd (Palestine / United States) - <i>Culture et impérialisme</i></p> <p>Amin Maalouf (Lebanon) - <i>Le rocher def Tanios</i></p> <p>Ivan Vladislavic (South Africa) - <i>The Folly</i></p> <p>Vikram Seht (India) - <i>Un garçon convenable</i></p>
1994	<p>Rwanda: Genocide against the Tutsi and the opposers of the Hutu regime</p> <p>South Africa: Nelson Mandela president after the first democratic elections</p> <p>Mexico: Uprising led by the Zapatista army for national liberation in Chiapas</p> <p>Haiti: the United States arrive in Haiti and reinstate Aristide in power</p>	<p>Kenzaburo Oe (Japan) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Muhammed al Maghut (Syria) - <i>Joy is Not My Profession</i></p> <p>Mal: First edition in Bamako of Rencontres Africaines de la Photographie [Bamako encounters biennale of photography]</p> <p>Shyam Selvadurai (Sri Lanka/Canada) - <i>Funny Boy</i></p> <p>Shu Ting (China) - <i>Selected Poems</i></p> <p>Homi K. Bhabba (India-United States) - <i>The location of culture</i></p>
1995	<p>Nigeria: The military regime executes the author and Ogoni chief Ken Saro-Wiwa</p>	<p>Subcommandante Marcos (Mexico) - <i>Shadows of Tender Fury</i></p> <p>Keki Daruwalla (India) <i>Collected Poems</i></p> <p>South Korea: First Gwangju contemporary art biennale "Beyond the Borders"</p> <p>Achac and Syros - <i>L'Autre et Nous, " Scènes et Types"</i></p>
1996	<p>Afghanistan: The Taliban rise to power</p>	<p>Calixthe Beyala (Cameroon-France) - <i>Honneurs perdus</i>, grand prix of the Académie Française</p> <p>China: Shanghai biennale</p> <p>Aboriginal artist Emily Kame Kngwerreye, represents Australia at the 1996 Venice Biennale</p>
1997	<p>England returns Hong-Kong to China</p> <p>Zaire: End of Mobutu's dictatorship</p>	<p>Nizar Chandra (India) - <i>Love and longing in Bombay</i></p> <p>Arundhati Roy (India) - <i>Le Dieu des petits riens</i></p> <p>A. Sivanandan (Sri Lanka) - <i>When Memory Dies</i></p>
1998	<p>Pinochet arrested in London</p> <p>Indonesia: Collapse of Suharto after 32 years in power</p>	<p>Okwui Enwezor (Nigeria) director of Documenta 11 in Kassel (1998-2002)</p>

1999		<p>Gao Xingjian (China) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p> <p>Ahmadou Kourouma (Ivory Coast) - Inter book prize for <i>En attendant le vote des bêtes sauvages</i></p> <p>Gao Xingjian (China) - <i>Le livre d'un homme seul</i></p>
2000		<p>Ahmadou Kourouma (Ivory Coast) - <i>Allah n'est pas obligé</i>, Renaudot prize</p> <p>Naiyer Masud (India) - <i>Essence of Camphor</i></p> <p>Zadie Smith (England) - <i>Sourire de Loup</i></p>
2001	<p>New York: September 11th attacks</p> <p>The USA invade Afghanistan</p>	<p>V.S. Naipaul (Trinidad and Tobago) receives the Nobel prize for literature</p>



LES AUTEURS

Marie Muracciole

Paris-based art critic and curator Marie Muracciole is currently working on an edition of Allan Sekula's writings. She curated *Riffs, Yto Barrada*, at The Renaissance Society, Chicago (spring 2012). Most recent publication: "Ich Sterbe", in *Marylene Negro, Sept Mondes*, Editions Analogue, 2012.

Claude Closky

Claude Closky is an artist living and working in Paris. Full documentation on his work is available on his website (with three and two w's) www.closky.info et ww.closky.info.

Köken Ergun

Born in Istanbul in 1976, Köken Ergun studied acting and Visual Communication in the UK and Turkey. He has exhibited internationally and has recently been working with ethnologists and extending his practice into academia. A doctoral student at the Interart Graduate College of the Free University of Berlin, he is preparing a thesis on wedding ceremonies among the Turkish-German community in Berlin.

Raquel Schefer

Film director Raquel Schefer (b. Oporto, 1981) is currently researching cinematographic representations of contemporary history for a PhD at the University of Paris 3. In 2008, she published "El Autorretrato en el Documental", in Argentina, based on her MA degree in Documentary Film. Her areas of interest include cinema, photography, anthropology and postcolonial studies.

José Filipe Costa

Filmmaker José Filipe Costa has directed and written several films, including *Linha Vermelha* (Red Line, 2011) and *Entre Muros* (In Between Walls, 2002). He is currently working for a PhD at the Royal College of Art, London and lecturing at IADE (Institute of Art and in Lisbon). He also works at UNIDCOM/IADE (Research Unit in Design and Communications) in Lisbon. In 2002 he published *O cinema ao Poder!* (Power to the Cinema!, 2002).

Antke Engel

Antke Engel is director of the Institute for Queer Theory in Hamburg and Berlin. In addition to extensive teaching and public lecturing, she has also been a cultural activist. The focus of her work is on feminist and poststructuralist theory, conceptualisations of sexuality and desire, and the critique of representation.

Morad Montazami

Art historian Morad Montazami is currently finishing his PhD on Poetics and Politics of Inquiry in Contemporary Art at EHESS in Paris. Artists he has written about include Jordi Colomer, Jeremy Deller, Philippe Bazin, Allan Sekula, Walid Raad, the Otolith Group, Éric Baudelaire and Zineb Sedira. He also writes for *ArtPress* and is editor-in-chief of the journal *Zamân* (zaman-revue.com).

Julien Bondaz

Julien Bondaz holds a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Lyon 2. His ethnographic research covers museums, zoos and forms of urban sociability in West Africa: Mali, Senegal, Niger and Burkina Faso. He is also researching the history of museums, ethnographic collecting practices and Africa-oriented ethnology.

Clemens von Wedemeyer

Clemens von Wedemeyer was born in Göttingen, Germany, in 1974, and studied Fine Arts under Astrid Klein at the Academy of Visual Arts in Leipzig. Clemens von Wedemeyer is wary of the fascination that the seventh art engenders. Referencing classics of cinema such as Antonioni or Tarkovski, his cinematic installations employ a diverse range of languages and techniques to play on the tropes of documentary and fiction.

Michael Taussig

I began fieldwork in 1969. I have returned every year. My writing has spanned different things in roughly the following order; two books in Spanish for local people on the history of slavery and its aftermath, and books and articles in academic journals on: 1) the commercialization of peasant agriculture, 2) slavery, 3) hunger, 4) popular manifestations of the working of commodity fetishism, 5) the impact of

colonialism (historical and contemporary) on “shamanism” and folk healing, 6) the relevance of modernism and post-modernist aesthetics for the understanding of ritual, 7) the making, talking, and writing of terror, 8) mimesis in relation to sympathetic magic, state fetishism, and secrecy, 9) defacement (meaning iconoclasm), 10) a two week diary detailing paramilitary violence, 11) a study of exciting substance loaded with seduction and evil, gold and cocaine, in a montage-ethnography of the Pacific Coast of Colombia, 11) currently writing a book entitled “What Colour is the Sacred?”. Columbia University, USA.

MEN

MEN (Neuchâtel Ethnography Museum) is part of a new breed of museums devoted to the everyday. Much appreciated for their innovatively stimulating and sometimes provocative character, MEN’s exhibitions – the work of Jacques Hainard and Marc-Olivier Gonseth – offer visitors original approaches to topical subjects as seen through the simultaneously committed and objective prism of ethnology. The local and the distant, the sophisticated and the ordinary, the artisanal and the mass-produced are all presented as signs of a culturally complex reality.

Jean Rouch / Sembène Ousmane

Convinced of the impossibility of objectivity, ethnologist Jean Rouch, one of the founders of the Ethnographic Film Committee, strove for a shared anthropology via a series of films he called “ethnofictions”, based on collaboration with African actors and technicians.

Sembène Ousmane is a writer and filmmaker. *La Noire De*, his first feature-length film, earned him recognition as a politically and socially committed director. Film historian Georges Sadoul wrote of him, “Thanks to Sembène Ousmane the Dark Continent has finally taken its place in the history of world cinema.”

Georges Limbour

“Philosophy teacher, journalist, traveller and writer, Georges Limbour was a member of the Surrealist group in the 1920s, until his expulsion. Above all a poet, he was extremely critical of his own work, burning most of his poems and allowing publication only of those he found completely satisfactory.” (Encyclopedia Universalis)

Victor Segalen

A fervent traveller drawn to distant lands, Victor Segalen never fell prey to idealisation of the Other. He set out to redefine the exotic in his *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity*, which was still unfinished when he died in 1918.

Sarah Frioux-Salgas

Born in 1978, Sarah Frioux-Salgas studied African History in Paris. Since 2003 she has been Head of Collections, Documentation and Archives at the Quai Branly Museum in Paris. She curated the exhibition *Présence Africaine* at the museum in 2009 and in Dakar in 2011.

Ines Doujak

A visual artist based in Vienna, Ines Doujak is currently working on the artistic research project *Loom Shuttles / Warpaths*. Her exhibitions include *The Potosi Principle*, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz (2011); documenta 12, Kassel (2007); and *Father Ass*, Secession, Vienna (2002).



CRÉDITS IMAGES

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To die Topless, 2009, collage and ball-point pen on paper, 30 x 21 cm. Mitterrand+Sanz, Zürich, Galerie Laurent Godin, Paris / p. 1, 3
To die at a masked ball, 2009, collage and ball-point pen on paper, 30 x 21 cm. Courtesy Mitterrand+Sanz, Zürich and Galerie Laurent Godin, Paris / p. 7
To die with a tan, 2009, collage et stylo bille sur papier, 30 x 21 cm. Mitterrand + Sanz, Zürich, Galerie Laurent Godin, Paris / p. 18
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Franz Boas posing for figure in USNM exhibit entitled "Hamats'a coming out of a secret room" 1895 or before/ Black and white original glass négative / National Anthropological Archives/ p. 53-56

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Köken Ergun

Binibining Promised Land, 2009-2010, Still of the film with the interview of Charlene James Dandan / Courtesy de l'artiste / p. 34

Ruy Guerra

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Marcel Griaule

Photographs of Mission Dakar-Djibouti, 1931-1933 / Courtesy musée du quai Branly, Paris / p. 46, 48

Ines Doujak in cooperation with Marth

From the series *Lick before You Look*, 2000 / Photography, copyright Ines Doujak / p. 49

Malinowski with friends, Trobriand Islands, circa 1918 / Courtesy of the London School of Economics / p. 31

CRÉDITS TEXTES

Victor Segalen, *Essay on exoticism. An Aesthetics of Diversity*, Fata Morgana, 1978
Courtesy Editions Fata Morgana and Duke University Press

Georges Limbour, "Eschyle, the carnival and the civilized", *Documents*, 1930, n° 2, p. 98 (translation by John Tittensor)
And republished by L'Elocoquent éditeur in a collection of texts whose title (almost eponymous) is: *Le Carnaval et les civilisés* / Georges Limbour, preface by Michel Leiris - 144 p. - Paris, L'Elocoquent éditeur (www.eloquent.org), 1986 - isbn 978 2 86826 000 4.
Thanks to Madame Limbour.

Marie Muracciole, *Zombies*, 2012

A Historic Confrontation between Jean Rouch and Ousmane Sembène in 1965: "You Look at Us as if We Were Insects"
Courtesy Muna El Fitri

Michael Taussig, *What Color Is the Sacred ?*, extract from chapter 7: "The instrument of ethnographic observation"
Courtesy University of Chicago Press

Köken Ergun, *Binibining Promised Land*, 2009-2010
Courtesy of the artist

José Filipe Costa, *Cinema as a driving force for revolution Transvestims in Thomas Harlan's "Torre Bela"*, 2012

Morad Montazami, *Trinh T. Minh-ha: "Reassemblage" on the ruins of ethnography*, 2012

Julien Bondaz, *The ethnographer's eyes*, 2012

Antke Engel, *Stirring up a post-colonial fantasy scenario*, 2011
Written for the project "Chewing the scenery" curated by Andrea Thal for the Venice biennial in 2011.
Courtesy Antke Engel

Sarah Frioux-Salgas, *Chronology 1900-2001*, 2012

Clemens von Wedemeyer, cover of *The Fourth Wall's* journal, 2008-2010
Republished for Intense Proximité, La Triennale, 2012
Courtesy of the artist

Raquel Schefer, *Re-constitutions. On "Mueda, Memória e Massacre" ("Mueda, Memory and Massacre")*, by Ruy Guerra, 2012



COLOPHON

Le Journal de la Triennale #4

April 2012

Chief editor of the Journal #4

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As part of la Triennale, 2012, *Intense Proximité*

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Publisher

Centre national des arts plastiques (CNAP)

Artistic Production Director of la Triennale

Marc Sanchez

Translations from French

John Tittensor: Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Julien Bondaz, Georges Limbour

Anna Léon: José Filipe Costa

Yael Rachel Schlick: Victor Segalen

Muna El Fituri: Interview between Jean Rouch and Ousmane Sembène

Translations from Portuguese to french

Raquel Schefer: José Filipe Costa

Proof readings

Mélanie Bouteloup

Design graphique g.u.i

La Triennale, 2012

Intense Proximité

Palais de Tokyo

and

Bétonsalon

Crédac

Musée Galliera

Grand Palais

Instants Chavirés

Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers

Musée du Louvre

From April 20th through August 26, 2012

La Triennale is organized at the initiative of the ministère de la Culture et de la Communication / Direction générale de la création artistique, commissioned, by the Centre national des arts plastiques (CNAP), associate commissioner, and the Palais de Tokyo, producer.