

The Present Is Not Enough Performing Queer Histories and Futures



HAU 20.-30.6.2019

The photo series in this newspaper shows pictures from the Berlin of the Weimar Republic. You can see activists, artists and theoreticians of this time.



Karl Giese, archivist and museum curator, partner of Magnus Hirschfeld.

Cover image: Transgender people in front of the entrance to the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft, during the First International Conference for Sexual Reform on the Basis of Sexual Science, 1921.

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20.-30.6.2019 / HAU1, HAU2, HAU3, Schwules Museum Berlin

2019 marks the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall uprising. In 1969 a group of people from New York's LGBTIQ community took a stand against constant police raids, thereby triggering a new liberation movement and initiating the fight for legal and social rights in the USA. 2019 also marks the 100th anniversary of the Institute for Sexual Research, which was founded by the German theoretician Magnus Hirschfeld. Starting from these two major historical events, HAU Hebbel am Ufer presents an interdisciplinary festival focusing on the notion of queer temporality. The festival analyzes both political and artistic histories as a basis for the outline of future scenarios as well as the active shaping of a queer present.

Which narratives are still missing when we address queer history/histories? With this festival, HAU offers a contribution to the politics of memory by presenting artistic positions from diverse countries which have been underrepresented in mainstream discourse until now.

The present is not enough – as long as people outside of cis and heteronormative structures are still arrested, persecuted and killed. Queerness can be understood as a vision for the future. The time to come will be determined by its people and their actions, which are already showing today the potential for a queer future.

As part of the festival, HAU initiated an open call for artists based in Berlin, who were invited to submit proposals for the Manifestos for Queer Futures. 270 artists replied to the open call, and 26 were selected and will be presented on the stage of HAU2. The spectrum of projects covers a wide range, from works with cultural and socio-political references, active examinations of the past, to visions of a possible future.

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"The Present Is Not Enough – Performing Queer Histories and Futures". A festival by HAU Hebbel am Ufer. Funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation.



"Manifestos for Queer Futures". A project by HAU Hebbel am Ufer. Supported within the framework of the Alliance of International Production Houses by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media.



Refusal of the Present

Because I lived in Portugal for a long time, one seminal episode always comes to my mind when looking back at queer history. The fascist regime ended in Portugal on the night of April 24, 1974. On May 1st, placards were seen at the demonstrations demanding “Freedom for homosexuals.” A few days later a manifesto was published in two national newspapers bearing the title “Freedom for sexual minorities.” After these events, a general of the army that controlled the political transition went on national television to say that the revolution was not fought for the benefit of prostitutes and homosexuals. It looked like freedom was not meant for everyone. I would like to bend time and go back to 1974 and say to that general: “we say revolution.”

Manifestos are a powerful medium for transformation. They are often not the product of one single voice, but of a polyphony that condenses ideas, energies, and opinions. The pro-

ject “**Manifestos for Queer Futures**” that opens the HAU festival “**The Present is not enough. Performing Queer Histories and Futures**” follows up on this practice and states the importance of not to be a single being. What we witness is a group endeavor of a multitude that shares, acts, and performs a shared common. And that demonstrates a living dynamic of cultural practices, intellectual circuits, and affective networks that travel across time, imagine futures, and enact the potentiality of living differently.

The many works of this festival navigate through time and space; they take the shape of performances, exhibitions, installations, and documentary films. The group **Moved by the Motion** (Wu Tsang & boychild with Patrick Belaga, Josh Johnson, and Asma Maroof) references the 18th century “phantasmagoria” theater using projections that echo stories of trauma and resistance across, through, and out

of time. In a text presented in this publication, **Ewa Majewska** writes about archival activism. In the same spirit, **Karol Radziszewski**’s project deals with queer archives from central and eastern Europe. The documentary films produced by **Mária Takács** show the living conditions of lesbians and gays in Hungary before 1989. **Mehdi-Georges Lahlou** also traces his queer cultural history, going back as far as the Islamic medieval period. At the opening concert, **Jam Rostron aka Planningtorock** tells us how a personal timeline mirrors social transitions. **Michał Borczuch**’s new creation reflects upon the AIDS crisis in Poland.

Through the work of these artists, the festival does not only trace the queer past, its memory and archive, but also reflects upon and connects with the present.

It asks how to face the absolute violence embedded in the relation between queer and cis-

heteronormative structures. A video installation by **Carlos Motta** articulates this question through the testimonies of queer refugees. The present also demands an ongoing action of complaining, a queer method, as we will hear in **Sarah Ahmed**’s lecture.

Queer people navigate the world between situations of invisibility and hypervisibility. **Travis Alabanza** speaks eloquently about this reality when speaking about his experience of walking in public spaces. **Maria Kulikovska**’s sculptures and videos show the violence perpetuated upon female bodies, and her resistance against forgetting such acts. **Maxim Eristavi** writes an article, which is also published here, about the urgency and need to change the present and asks not to accept that changes towards equality “just take time,” as many say.

Queerness is an ever-fleeting concept, an ongoing becoming, which is why it doesn’t en-

capsulate identities. Identities are fixed norms. How is it possible for queer people to fulfill and follow norms when these norms were structured by politics whose principle is precisely the exclusion of queerness from that set of norms?

Theorist **José Esteban Munõz** writes: “Queerness is not yet here. Queerness is an ideality. Put another way, we are not yet queer. We may never touch queerness, but we can feel it as the warm illumination of a horizon imbued with potentiality. [...] Queerness is essentially about the rejection of a here and now and an insistence on potentiality or concrete possibility for another world.”

The festival takes queerness as a tool to consider and rehearse futures. Future in this sense is not linked to an idle wish for things to become better. It emerges from the indignation one feels upon the visible and violent harm

acted upon queer people. It is an effective refusal of the present, a demand for something else.

This act of refusal is also present in **Mamela Nyamza**’s work, as it questions the notions of privilege in contemporary society. An installation and performance by **Jota Mombaça**, which is accompanied by a text in this publication, speak from a place of critical futurity, where it is not a question of when and how things will get worse, but how to build strategies and active networks to go through the turbulent times in front of us.

“The Present Is Not Enough” is hopefully a special event which participates and contributes to a vaster and common discourse in Berlin as a city of present and possible queer futures. ■

*Ricardo Carmona (curator)
and the HAU Hebbel am Ufer team*



Costume party at the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft, 1920.

Artists' thoughts on the question: “what are your wishes for the future?”

“I want a future where things are less binary. Less good and bad. Less male and female. Less stagnant – allowing room for us to be far more complicated, messy, and complex than we are currently allowed to be. A world where failure is expected, not punished. Where we can exist, and change, and be – without fear of violence, and with a guarantee of care.”

▼ **Travis Alabanza**

“The future is a contested ground when you live in a body and in a way that are not part of a normative-colonial futurity. My wishes for the future are concerned with dismantling futurity as a privilege, and with breaking the industries that hold the imagination captive. They are about leading into a proliferation of futures crafted and enacted by all those from whom the future was stolen.”

▼ **Jota Mombaça**



“My belief is that one cannot wish for the future without firstly looking back on the past experiences with honesty and credibility, and learn from those experiences, in order to further improve one's current situation and the future. My wish for the future is to work on this question: how can the democratic government of South Africa ensure that it also prioritizes arts, culture, and heritage in the same breadth as they do with issues of education and health, for example. Because the arts are the heartbeats of this nation.”

▼ **Mamela Nyamza**



Above: Women smoking in men's clothing.

Below: Counselling of a transgender woman by Felix Abraham, a pioneer of early sexology.

“History keeps repeating itself, and the old demons we thought we have got rid of for good are coming back. I would like us to be able to draw lessons and inspirations from our common past, so that changes would follow. For the better, more open and fearless future.”

▼ **Karol Radziszewski**



The sculptor Renee Sintenis and girlfriend.

Public against our will?

The caring gaze of Leviathan, the “pink files” from 1980s Poland, and the issue of privacy.

Before “Hiacynt” the homosexual share of the Polish population was practically invisible to the state. Between 1985 and 1987 extensive police and secret service operations were carried out under this flowery name in order to control the “unknown” share of gay men in the population. Cultural philosopher **Ewa Majewska** visited the archive and read the files again. In her essay she explains what role the private sphere plays for queers in Poland and what it has to do with state “care”.

“Privacy is the Oz of America”

Lauren Berlant, “The subject of true feeling”

Becoming public¹

The image of the public sphere reproduced in liberal media and political theory, academia and to some extent also in art most often suggests that becoming public is not only harmless, but should also be seen as highly rewarding. From the perspective of those who are excluded, oppressed and marginalized, the public sphere is not merely a blissful confrontation with common matters, but is also a zone of privilege, in which those who are allowed to enter it enjoy the possibility of expressing their political interests and sharing their political

concerns, while the excluded are exposed in a variety of ways, from a forced publicity to segregation, marginalization, and discrimination. The gay population of the People’s Republic of Poland enjoyed almost complete invisibility, with the exception of some key cultural figures in the 1950s and 1960s, who were investigated by the secret services. This changed with the sudden decision of the Headquarters of the Polish police (MO) in Warsaw to examine the population of homosexual men in the fall of 1985, in a nation-wide action called “Hiacynt”, which was repeated in 1986 and 1987. In this text I will give a brief account of the “Hiacynt” operations, based on my archival research at the state archives of the IPN (Insti-

tute of National Remembrance), conducted in April and June of 2015. This account is embedded in a wider investigation concerning the issue of queering the archives – which I understand as not only a production of grassroots archives of sexual minorities, but also as a transformative critique of the modus operandi of the existing state archives. In doing so, I critically address the issue of the archive, in the form shaped by the Foucauldian “critique of the repression hypothesis”.

Zitat: “From the perspective of those who are excluded, oppressed and marginalized, the public sphere is not merely a blissful confrontation with common matters, but is also a zone of privilege.”

A la recherche des archives perdus. The “Hiacynt” operations files.

“Hiacynt” is the name of 3 police and secret services operations in Poland, lasting approximately 48 hours each, conducted in 1985, 1986 and 1987. It is important to remember, that the archives of the Polish police and almost 90% of the secret services were destroyed, differently from, for example, their equivalents in the Czech Republic or East Germany, which were mostly preserved. At the time the Polish state was composed of 49 regions. The IPN archives provided me with information on only 9 of them.

The data from the IPN archive addressing the “Hiacynt” operations should not be seen as the sole source of information on these events. According to gay activists, some 3000 people were taken to the police stations and ques-

“From the perspective of those who are excluded, oppressed and marginalized, the public sphere is not merely a blissful confrontation with common matters, but is also a zone of privilege..”

tioned on November 15, 1985 alone. Witnesses claim that some 11.000 men were investigated. The main objectives of the “Hiacynt” operations, as defined in the documents issued by the headquarters of the police in

Warsaw, were: to investigate homosexual circles, to register homosexual prostitutes, to establish knowledge about possible AIDS cases and to learn more about these young men, including those who apparently became homosexuals while fleeing the country, etc. The initial document starting the “Hiacynt” operation of 1986 specified that the operations initiated in it should not concern individuals already under supervision by the Secret Services,

which most certainly means the political opposition. It actually seems that there was a genuine concern about “AIDS” and the unsolved criminal cases within the police forces

of the time, but also a desire to control the “unknown” population of gay men.

On October 14, 1985 a “Framework of the Nationwide Operation <Hiacynt>” had been issued by the headquarters of Polish police in Warsaw and signed by its vice-chief, general Zenon Trzcinski. In this framework we find a general description of the aims, strategies, tactics, etc. of an action that was planned to begin at 8.00am on Nov. 15, 1985 and should be terminated at 12.00 midnight on Nov. 16, 1985. Clearly the logic of the supposedly communist Leviathan is a “caring” one. The first reason given to legitimize the action is the lack of success in solving murder cases in which the victims were homosexual. The state does therefore not prohibit homosexual acts, but provides guidance and care. In line with Foucault’s somehow ironic narrative from The Society must be Defended, the Polish state’s agents also tried to “care” for their citizens, to protect them in classically “pastoral” ways.

Interestingly, some form of resistance can be found also in the police files. In a small town called Police and three other small towns near Szczecin, the police refused to conduct the “Hiacynt” operation, because – as they wrote in their notes, “no homosexual milieu was detected in our region”. This might simply mean laziness or insubordination, but perhaps it was more than that – a sudden act of refusal based on decency? The chief of

“Gay activists remember violence, arrests and threats, yet the state did not condemn its past actions.”

police in Szczecin demanded to register all gay men in Szczecin, which led to a list of 450 men in 1985 and 550 in the consecutive years. Such registration of gay men was not mentioned as a necessary task in the documents

issued by the Warsaw General Police Headquarters. In Białystok, on the other hand, it seems that the police re-opened the files of un-

solved crimes against homosexual men and actually performed some police work. There is no mention of any “registering” of gay men in that region, however we must remember that the IPN files are generally incomplete.

Privacy became a vital element of the popular image of a “good life”, and as such, it is obviously and nostalgically drawn from a highly improbable and definitely inaccessible idyllic “past”. We are somehow “nostalgic” about privacy and do fantasize about it

without acknowledging its always already interrelated character, depending on the context, including our own embodiment, historical and cultural conditions as well as the economy. The Polish state often employs the caring logic of protecting our privacy, neglecting the fact that society should be allowed to investigate the clear cases of the state’s abuses of power. Gay activists remember violence, arrests and threats, yet the state did not condemn its past actions. It is thus an element of “archivist justice” and research ethics to demand recognition for those targeted in actions such as “Hiacynt” as well as to pressure state institutions to assume their responsibility for them. ■

This text is part of a larger discussion concerning resistance against the constantly changing apparatuses of sovereign power, recently acquiring surprisingly “caring” and “maternal” aspects, as opposed to the pater familias figure of the Roman law and pre-modern times. While the caring aspects of state power have been analyzed at length since Foucault and his theory of bio-power, we still need a revision of the archive practice from a feminist and queer perspective. This is an abbreviated version of a long article published in Queer Studies Journal Interalia in 2017, please do consider reading it, too: http://interalia.org.pl/index_pdf.php?lang=en&klucz=&produkt=1513287939-283

¹ I would like to thank Agata Lisiak, Baruch Gottlieb, Robert Kulpa and to Claudia Peppel for the invitation to the conference Can we have some Privacy?, at the ICI Berlin (7-8 May 2015), where the first version of this paper was presented.

² J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989.

³ See: W. Montag and M. Hill, Masses, Classes and the Public Sphere (London: Verso, 2005); b. hooks, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (New York: south end press, 1984) and M. Gatens, Privacy and the Body. The Privacy of the Affect, in: B. Rosser (ed), Privacies: Philosophical Evaluations (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp 113-132.

⁴ Documents of the IPN: KR 0105/85 and KR I 020/87.

⁵ P. Kurpios, Poszukiwani, poszukiwane. Geje i lesbijki a rzeczywistość PRL, in: Magdalena Parus-Jaskułowska and Anna Stabrowska (eds), Kultura i społeczeństwo PRL, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2001.

⁶ M. Foucault, Society must be defended, Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976, Picador, New York, 1997.

⁷ IPN documents : KR 04381.85; KR I 03363/85 and L.dz. 02229/85.

⁸ IPN documents: IPN Bi 445/15 19/5, KR III 154/ 85, KR III 355/87, KR I 01829/87.

⁹ M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977 [1975]) and M. Foucault, “Society Must Be Defended”, New York: Picador, 2003.



Berlin bar for lesbian women.

“One day we will wake up in an amazing world of beauty, freedom, love for every dust of the universe. Cruelty, lies, fears, eating each other, poverty, power, hierarchy, inequality will be unknown horror tales from the past. The telepathic exchange of thoughts and ideas will have replaced all electronics. We will have saved our planet, and left it for it.”

▲ Maria Kulikovska



Berlin, "Eldorado" bar at the corner of Motzstrasse and Kalckreuthstrasse.

The 4 lessons Eastern Europe teaches us about tectonic shifts at global LGBT+ frontlines

Maxim Eristavi, an openly queer journalist from Ukraine, observes how LGBTIQ* communities expand safe space locally. At the same time, with regard to all of Eastern Europe he has to state: In the age of globalization, digitalization, worldwide waves of migration and transnational hate movements the suppression of LGBTIQ* lives is becoming more and more complex. He therefore calls for a new tactic in the struggle for equal rights: wider in scope, international and intersectional.



In the transgender bar “Eldorado” in Motzstrasse.

If I had a euro every time someone would compare my frontline fight for civil rights equality with the Western successes and assure that ‘it just takes time.’

Back in 2015 I did an interview with inspirational Edgars Rinkēvičs, the Latvian foreign minister, the first and only openly gay cabinet member in the post-Soviet space. He delivered the same line, though, the saying ‘the progress will probably take 20–30 years’. I remember I suddenly snapped: ‘but I don’t want to wait 30 years, I want to live my life now.’

The history proved us both wrong: things got worse and better, at the same time.

Despite unprecedented LGBT+ visibility and legacy of public figures like Rinkēvičs, Latvia has never delivered more equality and been sliding in LGBT+ rankings ever since. But back in my homeland Ukraine, public queer events broke free of violence and now attract thousands and, as the only openly queer journalist coming from

the region, I see safe space for my people expanding.

We deal with the same dichotomy all around Eastern Europe.

“But I don’t want to wait 30 years, I want to live my life now.”

On one hand, extreme anti-queer policies by Russian President Putin contribute to the rising violence against LGBT+ communities in the region. In the worst regional outbreak since the World War II, the 2017–2019 ‘gay pogroms’ in Russian region of Chechnya left dozens executed in extrajudicial manner or disappeared in government secret prisons, hundreds were subjected to brutal torture. On the other hand, a number of popular uprisings against Russian-backed kleptocracy brought a civilizational U-turn towards the European Union integration and greater political will for adopting progressive legislation. For example, the region’s only anti-discrimination laws protecting queer citizens were passed by Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova as a conditionality for a free trade deal with the EU.

These conflicting developments of the last decade tell us a story of fundamental changes happening at all global frontlines for LGBT+ equality. Four main lessons stand out.

First, globalization has forever transformed frontline battles for civil rights equality.

I like to tell the story of the 2018 Kyiv Pride, when a sizeable group of American conservative protesters tried to prevent me and other marchers from accessing the event’s area. They revealed to me that they’ve traveled from Pittsburgh, PA to protect ‘traditional Ukrainians from Western homosexual conspiracy.’ From Ukraine to Uganda, and from Brazil to Taiwan, a frontline fighter for queer equality faces bigger set of challenges, than an activist from the global North would during early stages of LGBT+ movements. Rising power of international homophobic groups and their export of disinformation messages places enormous pressure on indigenous human rights movements around the globe.

“Transborder Hate Movements” is new, but overlooked phenomenon of internationally organized effort by vast spectrum of hate groups utilizing politics and disinformation to trump equality movements all across emerging democracies. Take World Congress of Families (WCF) – once a fringe club of the American conservatives, has now emerged as well-organized and influential global force. Through this well-funded organization, anti-equality groups from all around the world have discovered the power of organizing in the international arena. They codify their ideology into regressive laws and policies for global export. The organization is not alone in this international crusade and it is important to acknowledge that global fight against homophobia won’t be winnable without fully addressing those pockets of well-organized hate groups, based in the Global North.

Second, intensifying global migration reshapes the portrait of a queer refugee and our migration policies aren’t ready for it.

In 2017–18 I was part of the global awareness outreach bringing the stories of Chechen gay pogrom victims (predominantly of Muslim minority, too) to light and briefed a number of foreign governments and diplomats, including members of the U.S. Congress. I faced a surprising knowledge gap among some key officials when it comes to

“The global fight against homophobia won’t be winnable without addressing those hate groups, based in the Global North.”

everyday life of queer communities from Global South. Specifically, some found it puzzling that LGBT+ victims from more community-oriented Muslim cultures find it impossible to sever ties with their families and are entangled in opposite-sex marriages serving more complex role than similar forced marriages of LGBT+ individuals in the Global North. Dealing with hundreds of cases of Muslim dissidents, including queer refugees, I keep hearing the same story of how they get rejected asylum because of a failure on behalf of Western authorities to understand what is like to be a queer person in a Muslim-dominated or non-Western communities. As a result, this knowledge gap resulted in misguided or sometimes damaging asylum and migration policies – most victims running from gay pogroms in Muslim-dominated Southern Russia, Azerbaijan, Ta-

jkistan in 2017–19 have been denied asylum or visa requests by Western governments at least once.

Third, repressive regimes exploit international policing law for more effective anti-queer oppression.

I’ve been documenting dozens of cases in the recent year telling the same story: from Turkey to Russia, authoritarian states got much better at abusing international anti-terrorism laws in the hunt for those running from the terror. Take for example the Chechen authorities in Southern Russia who logged more Interpol ‘red notices’ than Americans and Chinese combined. Most of those accuse the suspects of terrorism and ISIS links, including the victims of the 2017 gay pogroms. If you are a Russian, Turkish or Azeri dissident or oppressed minority person seeking refuge in the West, you know that the international policing system has been rigged for years.

Forth, we can’t ignore the role of disinformation weaponizing identity politics anymore.

“Today it is difficult or dangerous to have any wishes for the future. Everything changes fantastically quickly. We should pray that this future will be at all. Pray? But to whom? I come from a very Catholic country, but it also changes. I wish the churches to be only beautiful ruins, deserted interiors, visited without specific emotions. The same applies to shopping malls. I wish to work less and travel more often. Meet fewer people but get to know them more intensively. I wish the technological progress of our civilization to be slower but the emotional development to be faster.”

Michał Borczuch

“A slower and greener world, more time and love for each other. More balanced social circumstances for the people. And their own cultural house for the Hungarian LGBTQ community in Budapest.”

Mária Takács

As we learn more about growing wave of disinformation campaigns, including those designed and deployed by the Kremlin, one thing stands out – the anti-equality message is a core part of it. The concept that sexual or gender diversity is an ‘alien Western concept’ is now a strengthening ideology binding millions from Russia to the US and from Brazil to Uganda. The Russian disinformation campaigns pioneered it in late 2000s with the ‘Gayrope’ concept portraying homosexuality as a Western conspiracy to undermine Russian President Vladimir Putin as a

“Most victims running from gay pogroms have been denied asylum or visa requests by Western governments at least once.”

self-proclaimed defender of conservative moral values. The narrative is designed to help Putin to justify neocolonial expansion into neighboring countries and preserving regional kleptocracies under the façade of protecting ‘a civilizational block.’

There’s no coincidence that the societies where institutions of journalism are weakened or suppressed are among the most affected by organi-

zed disinformation campaigns. As the latter has become instrumental in launching discrimination efforts against queer communities – learning more about how disinformation works and supporting independent journalism are now officially part of the newly-emerged intersectional toolbox for addressing LGBT+ discrimination.

I want to end in Ukraine, which grabbed recent headlines with fascinating presidential elections bringing landslide victory for anti-establishment comedian. Despite being a ‘liberal’ ticket and a darling among young voters, President-elect Volodymyr Zelensky have utilized homophobic and misogynist tropes in his comedy before and avoided backing LGBT+ equality in his campaign.

We can’t blame politicians only: for example, just 1% of Ukrainians would accept a queer person to their families, according to a recent poll. However, lack of political leadership and weaponized identity politics make it much worse. In this

nutshell, Ukraine is a good illustration of the stasis that plagued most emerging democracies: global proliferation of identity politics brought more visibility for minorities, but it has also polarized public debate and locked pro-equality legislation in a logjam. While the Kyiv Pride in Ukraine emerges as the biggest pride event in Eastern Europe and the visibility of local queer community is at historic high, legislative process for any LGBT+ protection has been dead for years. Many queer Ukrainians seek dignity and fulfilment of their basic rights abroad (as I did myself marrying my partner, also a Ukrainian, in Denmark last year), which only fuels an ongoing brain drain of colossal proportions.

Nowadays, state policies are just not enough to make the pivot towards LGBT+ equality sustainable. Reimagining our frontline tactics, making it them intersectional, seeking broader groups of allies – including abroad and among transborder businesses – a combination of all it is something I believe will break the mold.

The first step, though, is to let go an outdated notion that LGBT+ progress ‘just takes time.’ ■

Maxim Eristavi is a Ukrainian-Georgian journalist and fellow at the Atlantic Council.



Group around Magnus Hirschfeld.

THE PRESENT IS

UAH

UAH

NOT FUNDING



The artist Anita Berber (right) with girlfriend.

2021

In Jota Mombaça's journal entries – less a dystopia than a poetic description of the status quo – the hierarchy of the world above and below materializes. In secrecy, in the labyrinths of tunnels, accompanied by sadness and constant losses, those present have to rely on their instincts, therefore holding on even more to community.

November, the 21st. 2021

WE LOST EVERYTHING AGAIN. This is the third time this has happened since the time has come. The days are long, almost eternal. We walk indefinitely through the tunnels, we have been thrown out from everywhere, always in the shade, always together. Down here, the vibration of the world can be disturbing. There are those among us who still dream of returning to the surface, some dream of taking the world back and restoring the integrity it seemed to have had before. There are also, among us, those who mock the nostalgics, insisting that the world, after all, has never been wholesome and that somehow we have always been here.

We have always been here, indeed. The tunnels which we now live in were made by the first ones of us who traveled through this territory – enslaved people, fleeing from the lashes of those who claimed to be their masters. Over the years, the paths have been opening up and multiplying, like an underground labyrinth, an ancestral infrastructure embedded in the earth under the white feet of those who, by the force of their weapons, have imposed themselves as masters of the world.

It is dark in here. We often lose sight of one another, so our senses are sharpened. We have learned to communicate by touch, by smell, by

the sound of our breaths, by the vibration that passes through our skins and reverberates in each and everyone. We also read the tunnels this way. Every aspect of this unusual geography speaks to us. The humidity, the smells, the sound of the creatures that are also here, just as that black, almost purple light that from time to time emerges from a deep place of the earth and floods everything, illuminating it all without becoming visible. Whenever we lose everything, the light comes and enters and stays our bodies, as well as in the very structure of all tunnels.

“To lose everything” is the expression we use when one of us dies. We stop saying “die” because, after all, we have all been dead since the first bomb... and even long before, since the very first slave ship, when our lives were all marked as part of a single undifferentiated mass of death-in-life. As the living-dead, some of us like to identify as Zombies. We are, in fact, Zombies because, strictly speaking, we are neither alive nor dead, but also because we descended from the warrior Zumbi dos Palmares. In the happiest hours, when our hearts quiet a little and we can feel small sparks of life burn everything inside us, we like to imagine that Palmares is here and that on the opposite side of all apocalypse, there is a Black life that manifests itself and vibrates and shines like that light that rises from the depth every time we

lose everything.

November, the 22nd. 2021

WE ARE TIRED. We no longer know how to count the time because, here below, nothing ever dawns. I am writing this desperate journal while pressing my left temple with my fingertips, looking for some sign or telepathic event that will allow me to pass on anything about us. I'm not asking for help. Most of us refuse the idea of being saved, for we know that the world – or at least the world as we know it – holds no hope for us. What I seek when I try to tune my mind to any other mind up there is a way of disturbing the peace that buries us, to invade the pacified consciousness of those who live above us and to shake it with the pain that we are made of.

We are tired and we are also furious. There are moments when we desire so firmly the abolition of all things done through our social death that we feel the earth to start trembling around us. We then hold hands, refusing the fear, in order to wish together that the earth finally vibrates their apocalypse this time.

November, the 23rd. 2021

THE BLACK LIGHT LIGHTED THE LABYRINTH OF TUNNELS ALL AT ONCE AND WE, TOGETHER, WE MADE EVERYTHING VIBRATE AROUND US. We are tired of always losing everything. It will be

needed to take something too, to cut the world. This time, it was the oldest warrior. She had been sick already, mumbling against our condition, sad, deeply sad, but still haughty in her own fury, raised to her own anger. In tribute to her, this time, after losing everything, we made something remain, as if the pain that passes through us had finally reached a point of overflowing.

We held hands. Around the sleeping body of our old woman, we made a great shudder come. Some were afraid that the earth would collapse upon us, but deep down we all wished for some form of collapse. The shuddering earth vibrated beyond the tunnels, and we felt the waves of fear come to us from those who over these years have made us exist in fear. It was an attack; we were catching up. We radiated with a sorrowful fury, and we felt that the more we shook each other's hands, the more we became intimate with the earth around us. Stunned by our own power, we also swayed, shaken by the shudder we were generating in their world, frightened by the materiality of our own power, with its ability to affect, so directly, the structure of their world, the health of their world, the architecture and grammar of their world. We were there, bound by a force that came precisely from the gathering of our fragilities. We were weak, broken, and we had lost everything so many, many times ... Somehow, from that labyrinth of tunnels under the earth, we were operating an earthquake against their world. In fact, it suddenly seemed like we were about to break their world into pieces forever.

Until an exhaustion came and fell upon us and upon the earth itself. Our hands loosened and we began to fall, one by one. The labyrinth of tunnels remained intact. For a moment, we all wondered, silently, about where and how many we were. How deep, how at the heart of everything had we ended up?

November, the 24th. 2021

WE DEEPLY WISH THE WORLD - AS IT HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO US - TO END. And this is an indestructible desire. We have been subjected to all forms of violence, fecundated in the impossible shade of all social forms, condemned to be born dead, and to live against all structures, at the opposite core of all structure. We deeply hope that the world as it is given us ends. And that it ends discreetly, on a particle-level, in the catastrophic intimacy of this world-deprived world, this world that even the earth itself rejects. These words circulated telepathically among all of us, not so much as a thought, but as something vibrating from the body, in the flesh of the tunnel, from our old woman, from us: we deeply wish that the world as it is given us ends.

The black light, which had flooded all and with all intensity, gradually slipped through the corners of the labyrinth, bathing our body, and sinking again into the depth. We were there for a long time, cooking together with the earth. Little by little, as our bodies regained access to our legs, we decided to split and move through the labyrinth of tunnels, trying to capture the repercussions of our attack, and study the implications of what we had done.

As I walked, I remembered a phrase I had learned shortly before the morning of January 1st, 2012, "May the victory reward those who have made war without loving it." I felt the memory of it rebounding from the walls of the tunnels, and it vibrated with all the people who accompanied me. Nothing vibrated in response. We continued in silence, studying the labyrinth. Everything seemed oddly calm. We were alive.

We would live. ■

"My wish for the future is to participate in the rejection and witness the inversion of violent models of social oppression and injustice, which continue to affect the majority of people's lives around the world."

Carlos Motta

Zukunft? Der Begriff wirft Fragen auf. Geht es bei ihm um die langsame Verschiebung der Kontinente oder, näher bei uns, um den Alterungsprozess der Körper? Wie dem auch sei, die Zukunft spricht von den Zusammenbrüchen, die kommen werden. Doch bleibt uns nichts anderes übrig, als aus diesem – geografischen, ökonomischen, persönlichen – Ruinenfeld fruchtbare Erde zu machen.

Mehdi-Georges Lahlou



"Transgender Pass" – these passports were introduced by the Magnus Hirschfeld Institute in order to certify that their holders dressed in contrast to their gender assigned at birth. These could be useful, for instance, during police operations.

The “Manifestos for Queer Futures” come from ...

Ania Nowak > artist, choreographer, performer

Bráulio Bandeira > Transdisciplinary artist. Mover. Producer. Maker.

Nicky Miller > French-Vietnamese artist/filmmaker based in Berlin

VLK > sex-positive, taboo challenging performance and design

Stasys Zak > multifunctional visual artist from upside down

Candice Nembhard > writer, artist, curator, poet & prophetess

Cointreau On Ice > You got me feeling emotions, eine Haut, smell my armpits and jiggle my fat, wir, die erleuchtet sind, High Five, fick dein Leben, bitch better pay my taxes // mit Claudio Campo Garcia, Johanna Köster, Justin Mamat, Sita Messer, Gregor Schuster und Meo Wulf.

Elisa Purfürst > audio-video artist, proficient in montage and collage

Joni Barnard > audio-video artist, proficient in montage and collage

Mmakgosi Kgabi > master physical-storyteller, puppeteer, virtuosic oral/aural manipulator of sound

Ian Kaler > Choreography beyond movement, happens to be trans, felt age varies

Isaiah Lopaz > Multilocal. Afro-Descendant. Geechee. Of Odessa. Present.

Iury Trojaborg > interdisciplinary artist who works practically and theoretically in theatre, opera, dance and performance

Ming Poon > choreographic interventions, social poetic action, resistance in vulnerability and care

Jair Luna > a body where different everyday situations intersect, a body where multiple identities coexist, a body in the process of transformation

Jeremy Wade > Performer, Choreograf, Lehrer und Kurator

Johannes Müller & Philine Rinnert > Musiktheater – Archäologie – Popkultur

Keith Zenga King > writer, performance artist, educator, political activist

Kübra Varol > performer, writer, drag queen, music producer, professional amateur

Mohamedali Ltaief > born 1984 in Tunis, visual artist/director and author

Neo Hülcker > composer and performer

Olympia Bukkakis > empress of despair, performer & event organiser

Isabel Gatzke > Dramaturgin

Parisa Madani / Psoriasis > Zoroastrian drag monster - choreographer - Bad A\$\$ Bitxh

Pêdra Costa > brasilianische*r Performance-Künstler*in, visuelle*r Anthropolog*in und Schriftsteller*in



Transgender people at the Berlin bar Marienkasino, 1920.

Political Fatties ft. Antigoni Tsagkaropoulou > activists, researchers, performers, artists

Przemek Kamiński > performer and choreographer

Quilombo Allee:

Marissa Tarsse Lobo > hospitalidade afeto impaciência bonde fuga ficção

Sandra Bello > Blackwomansapatãomotherandgrandmother. Aquilombadainberlinforsomeyears. Gründerin des Kollektivs QuilomboAllee. Und more. Survivor wanting existence.

Luezley Só > €€☪ ☺|.:#

Ricardo De Paula > Tanz-Künstler, Performer, Choreograf, Regisseur und Mitglied der Grupo Oito

Romily Alice Walden > socially-engaged, research-led, practice-based, transdisciplinary artist

Sanni Est > musician, actress, film-maker and founder of Empower

Simon*e Jaikiriuma Paetau > transcultural mutant lover, Technicolor obsessionist, semipermeable monotasker, gender cat, story witnesser/gossip girl, film improviser

Aérea Negrot > phoenix, artist of hundred expressions, nocturnal composer, voice acrobat, something with wings

Tucké Royale & Hans Unstern & Orlando de Boeykens > Tuba, Testosteron, Text, Harfe, Tenderness

Mi 19.6.

19:00 / Schwules Museum Berlin
Karol Radziszewski
Eröffnung: Queer Archives Institute
AUSSTELLUNG

Do 20.6.

18:00 / HAU2 / Eintritt frei
Festivalleröffnung
19:00 / HAU2 / Premiere
Manifestos for Queer Futures #1
PERFORMANCE, TANZ / Englisch, Deutsch
21:00 / HAU1
Jam Rostron
Non-binary them – 1972–2019
MUSIK

Fr 21.6.

17:30 / HAU1
Sara Ahmed
Mind the Gap! Complaint as a Queer Method
Im Anschluss: Gespräch mit Nikita Dhawan /
Moderation: Margarita Tsomou
DIALOG / Englisch mit deutscher Simultanübersetzung
19:00 / HAU3 / Premiere
Michał Borczuch
Untitled (Together Again)
THEATER, PERFORMANCE / Englisch
20:30 / HAU2 / Premiere
Manifestos for Queer Futures #2
PERFORMANCE, TANZ / Englisch, Deutsch

Sa 22.6.

18:00 / HAU3 Houseclub / Premiere / Eintritt frei
Jota Mombaça
Transition and Apocalypse #1
PERFORMANCE
19:00 / HAU1
Mária Takács
Secret Years
FILM / Ungarisch mit englischen Untertiteln
19:00 / HAU3
Michał Borczuch
Untitled (Together Again)
THEATER, PERFORMANCE / Englisch
20:30 / HAU2
Manifestos for Queer Futures #3
PERFORMANCE, TANZ / Englisch, Deutsch
Im Anschluss / WAU / Eintritt frei
Party / DJ: Ziór

So 23.6.

18:00 / HAU1 / Deutsche Premiere
Mária Takács
Hot Men Cold Dictatorships
FILM / Ungarisch mit englischen Untertiteln
Im Anschluss: Artist Talk mit Mária Takács
und Eike Wittrock / In englischer Sprache
18:00 / HAU3 Houseclub / Eintritt frei
Jota Mombaça
Transition and Apocalypse #2
PERFORMANCE
20:00 / HAU3
Michał Borczuch
Untitled (Together Again)
THEATER, PERFORMANCE / Englisch
Im Anschluss: Artist Talk mit Michał Borczuch
und Martin Reichert / In englischer Sprache

Di 25.6.

20:00 / HAU2
Mamela Nyamza
Black Privilege
PERFORMANCE, TANZ
Im Anschluss: Artist Talk mit Mamela Nyamza
und Lisa Tracy Michalik / In englischer Sprache

Mi 26.6.

20:00 / HAU2
Mamela Nyamza
Black Privilege
PERFORMANCE, TANZ

Do 27.6.

18:00 / HAU3 Houseclub / Eintritt frei
Jota Mombaça
Transition and Apocalypse #3
PERFORMANCE
19:00 / HAU3 / Deutsche Premiere
Travis Alabanza
& Hackney Showroom
Burgerz
PERFORMANCE, THEATER / Englisch mit deutschen und englischen Übertiteln

Fr 28.6.

19:00 / HAU3
Travis Alabanza
& Hackney Showroom
Burgerz
PERFORMANCE, THEATER / Englisch mit deutschen und englischen Übertiteln
20:30 / HAU1 / Deutsche Premiere
Moved by the Motion (Wu Tsang
& boychild, Patrick Belaga,
Josh Johnson und Asma Maroof)
Sudden Rise
PERFORMANCE, TANZ / Englisch

Sa 29.6.

18:00 / HAU3 Houseclub / Eintritt frei
Jota Mombaça
Transition and Apocalypse #4
PERFORMANCE
19:00 / HAU2 / Deutsche Premiere
Mehdi-Georges Lahlou
The Ring of the Dove
PERFORMANCE, TANZ
19:00 / HAU3
Travis Alabanza
& Hackney Showroom
Burgerz
PERFORMANCE, THEATER / Englisch mit deutschen und englischen Übertiteln
20:30 / HAU1
Moved by the Motion (Wu Tsang
& boychild, Patrick Belaga,
Josh Johnson und Asma Maroof)
Sudden Rise
PERFORMANCE, TANZ / Englisch
22:00 / HAU2
Light Asylum / Konzert
MUSIK

Im Anschluss / WAU / Eintritt frei
Party mit No No No! DJs: Zacker,
Claire DeCoer & Escape

So 30.6.

18:00 / HAU1
Histories of Our Future
Mit Josch Hoenes, Ewa Majewska, Omar Kasmani
u.a. / Moderation: Margarita Tsomou
DIALOG / Englisch mit deutscher Simultanübersetzung
19:00 / HAU3
Travis Alabanza
& Hackney Showroom
Burgerz
PERFORMANCE, THEATER / Englisch mit deutschen und englischen Übertiteln
20:30 / HAU2
Mehdi-Georges Lahlou
The Ring of the Dove
PERFORMANCE, TANZ

Ausstellungen & Installationen

Karol Radziszewski
Queer Archives Institute
AUSSTELLUNG
20.6.–2.9. / Schwules Museum Berlin
Eröffnung am 19.6., 19:00

Maria Kulikovska
Let Me Say: It's Not Forgotten
INSTALLATION, FILM
20.–22.6., 25.+26.6., 29.+30.6., 18:00–22:00 /
HAU2 / Eintritt frei
26.6., 19:00 Performativer Artist Talk in englischer
Sprache mit Maria Kulikovska

Carlos Motta
The Crossing
INSTALLATION, FILM
20.–22.6., 25.+26.6., 29.+30.6., 18:00–22:00 /
HAU2 / Eintritt frei

Jota Mombaça
Transition and Apocalypse
INSTALLATION, FILM
21.–23., 27.–30.6., 17:00–21:00 /
HAU3 Houseclub / Eintritt frei

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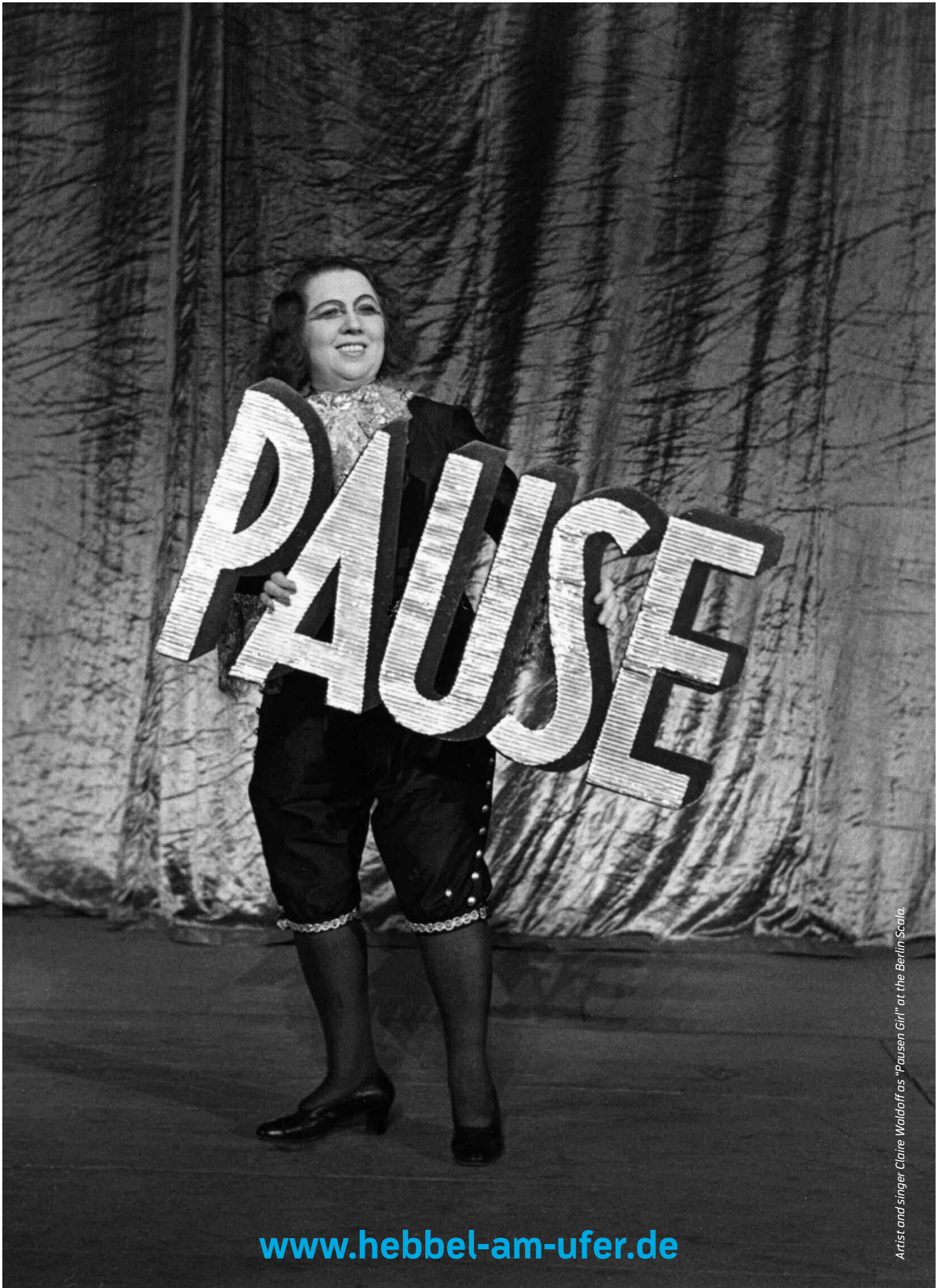
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HAU2 und WAU, Hallesches Ufer 32, 10963 Berlin
HAU3 und HAU3 Houseclub, Tempelhofer Ufer 10, 10963 Berlin
Schwules Museum Berlin, Lützowstraße 73, 10785 Berlin

Impressum
Hrsg & ViSdP: HAU Hebbel am Ufer, 2019 / Intendanz & Ge-
schäftsführung: Annemie Vanackere / Konzept und Programm
"The Present Is Not Enough": Ricardo Carmona / Redaktion:
Lisa Mara Ahrens, Ricardo Carmona, Annika Frahm, Annika
Reith / Gestaltung: Jürgen Fehrmann / Korrektorat: Iris Weis-
senböck / Mit herzlichem Dank an die Magnus-Hirschfeld-
Gesellschaft, Schwules Museum Berlin und den Suhrkamp
Verlag.

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Artist Muguette, transgender woman from the Eldorado bar in Motzstrasse, Berlin.



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Artist and singer Claire Waldoff as "Pausen Girl" at the Berlin Scala.