

de
Appel
Amsterdam

EN

Every Act of Struggle: Intrusion and Assembly

Participating artists:
Noor Abed, Chad Cordeiro,
Simnikiwe Buhlungu, Pieter Paul Pothoven

Performance documentation:
Henk Hokse and Albert van der Weide

Spatial design:
Iswanto Hartono

24.04-24.05.2025





Over the past two years, a complex discourse has emerged concerning the ways in which cultural institutions in the Netherlands navigate questions of historical violence and systemic injustice in the context of their colonial history. Artists have employed various strategies to urge these institutions to address these issues, often merging activism with their artistic practice. While some actions have brought these matters to public attention, much of the discourse continues to unfold in private, with many institutions adopting cautious or noncommittal stances. This current dynamic recalls earlier moments in history, namely the debates sparked by the cultural boycott of South Africa and the anti-apartheid movement of the 1960s through the 1980s in the Netherlands when cultural institutions faced similar pressures to critically reflect on their roles.

Adopting a methodology by School of Intrusions, the artists in this exhibition have been meeting in various archives and locations in Amsterdam, with each meeting or intrusion at a new site being led by a different artist. They look through research material, read texts collectively and discuss various cases of anti-apartheid campaigns, actions led by artist movements and institutional reactions. For the duration of the presentation at de Appel, new and former artworks by the artists Noor Abed, Simnikiwe Buhlungu, Chad Cordeiro, and Pieter Paul Pothoven will be exhibited, as well as documentation of a performance that took place at de Appel in 1977 by Henk Hokse and Albert van der Weide. The exhibition space around the works will be converted into a hospitable assembly space by architect and artist Iswanto Hartono to host activations by sharing open research and study sessions with audiences. The research will continue past the exhibition, culminating in another public moment in 2026.

The different meetings and research sessions lead to many open questions such as: What were the motivations for joining the anti-apartheid movements in the Netherlands? What was apartheid in South Africa and how is it similar to Israeli apartheid practiced in Palestine today? What tactics were adopted by anti-apartheid movements in the Netherlands? How important was cultural boycott at the time and what were the dynamics at play between cultural institutions and cultural workers/artists? *Can art be separated from politics?* Were visual artists active in the anti-apartheid movement? If so, how? How did cultural institutions respond to actions and cultural boycotts? What happened to the bravery of the seventies and eighties? Are the anti-apartheid tools and strategies that are employed today sufficient? And if not, what tools and strategies can be developed or co-opted in their place? How can cultural activism effectively navigate the tension between the distance and abstraction often required by art, and the immediacy and direct engagement demanded by activist practices?

ABOUT THE ARTWORKS

Iswanto Hartono
design of the exhibition space

Iswanto Hartono converted de Appel into a space where different forms of assembly can take place, based on horizontal discussion practice and participation. Taking the design and structure of Fridskul in documenta fifteen – a space that served as a repository for shared resources, knowledge, stories, and experiences – as the starting point, Hartono designed a hospitable space using recycled materials, allowing for the artworks to be interspersed within it, and for different public programmes to take place.

Noor Abed
Stars at Midday – نجوم الضُّهر, 2024
Recording of book reading and images from the book

Stars at Midday – نجوم الضُّهر is a personal production diary in which the artist and filmmaker Noor Abed compiles visual and poetic notes from the production phase of her film *A Night We Held Between*, filmed in Palestine in 2023 with family and friends. Like the film whose production it chronicles, the book interweaves narrative fragments, song and diaristic observations, creating a fusion of natural and composed sequences of movement, of documentary and fictional elements. The recording will be of a live reading and discussion at de Appel.

Simnikiwe Buhlungu
A Loooooong Ass Message, ya dig? (with readers), 2025
Installation

In this performative installation, an old fax machine delivers a message that spills over a stack of office boxes. This indirect presence of the faxers speaks to questions around lack of institutional access. The interruption of the art space's telephone line to deliver faxes of "the content erased and re-erased by art institutions" points to the importance of inserting politicised work that speaks against this erasure. This rendition of the same work from 2018 will include readers-as-faxers/faxers-as-readers from Bethlehem, Palestine, and Johannesburg, South Africa, namely Fairouz Hasan and Thuli Gamedze, who will be responding to excerpts of the archive that the participating artists have been engaging with.

Chad Cordeiro
Sjambok library, 2024 – ongoing
Mobile library

Sjambok library is a modular and portable library which Chad Cordeiro has worked on during his time at the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten. While doing research in Johannesburg, Cordeiro came upon a story about artists who were making exhibitions which would travel in suitcases all over the world in solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement; one was supposed to travel to the Netherlands before the studio was raided and it was lost. Inspired by the story, Cordeiro developed a backpack which can turn into a table and bookshelf. The mobile library contains an ever-changing set of books about art in relation to the anti-apartheid movement. The library functions as a communal space, which travels and touches down in different localities.

Pieter Paul Pothoven
observatie contra observatie, 2020

Installation with spoken monologue (15"44'), FM-radio transmitter with antenna, radios, take-away posters

observatie contra observatie is part of a research project by Pieter Paul Pothoven for and in collaboration with the Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA). RARA is an anonymous collective that fought against racism, oppression and exploitation in the 1980s and 1990s against the legacies of the Netherlands' colonial past, which still persist today. *observatie contra observatie* is a spoken monologue: a dramatised account of events surrounding the first attack that was claimed by RARA and forced Makro to pull out of South Africa (see more: Harvests, Second meeting). Pothoven wrote the script for the character who speaks from the perspective of several of the activists involved, based on interviews and historical documents. The monologue is broadcast using a radio transmitter built by someone who was involved in RARA. The script is made available on take-away posters that also feature a photo of the wood-burning stove that RARA used not only for heating, but also for burning evidence. The project is in collaboration with Khadija El Kharraz Alami (voice actor), Liet Lenshoek (dramaturgy), Katrien de Klein (editing), De Slapende Hond (sound studio), and studioHendriksen (design poster).

Pieter Paul Pothoven

*Notes – fragmented, incomplete – after Jan Wolkers
(Boycot Outspan Aktie, 1978), 2025*

Silkscreen posters, 68×68cm

The Dutch writer Jan Wolkers screen printed a poster in 1978 for the anti-apartheid organisation Boycot Outspan Aktie, which was founded by Esau du Plessis in 1970. The organisation campaigned for a boycott of Outspan fruit, especially oranges. The campaign was successful: within ten years, it was no longer possible to buy 'blood oranges' in Dutch supermarkets. For the work *Notes fragmented, incomplete – after Jan Wolkers (Boycot Outspan Aktie, 1978)*, Pothoven investigates the history of the poster, his own initial shock reaction, and the way in which the poster resonates with the present. He will also present his research and questions around the poster during the public programme and receive feedback on its reception.

Henk Hokse and Albert Van der Weide

Zuid Afrika, 1977

Documentation of the performance at de Appel, on loop in the archive
(ground floor)

In this performance, Van der Weide stood in the middle of the performance space and welcomed the visitors by offering them his hand, covered with black grease paint. When someone shook his hand – many refused to – the artist carefully painted his hand again, before allowing the next visitor to enter. This performance is based on a text by Steve Biko: "The government gave us houses, we will not mention their quality. The government gave us medical care, we will not mention its quality. The government has split up our country, we will not mention the quality of this. However, the government has never deigned to shake us by the hand."

PUBLIC PROGRAMME

24 & 25.04.2025

Opening Public Programme

On Thursday 24 April, between 4.30 and 9.30pm, the exhibition kicks off with an extensive public programme, which includes a sharing of research and discussion by the participating artists and curators (Noor Abed, Simnikiwe Buhlungu, Chad Cordeiro, Iswanto Hartono, Lara Khaldi and Pieter Paul Pothoven), a reading of the publication *Stars at Midday* by Noor Abed, and a live broadcast and listening session by Andrei Van Wyk and Dirar Kalash.

The next day, on Friday 25 April, between 4 and 9pm, the programme continues with a research sharing and study session with Miriyam Aouragh, Karl Moubarak and Omar Jabary Salamanca, and a talk by Mitchell Esajas. Food will be provided on both days.

08 & 09.05.2025

Collective study in Times of Emergency with L'internationale Online

The publishing strand *Collective Study in Times of Emergency* by L'internationale Online is a collective response to the drastic shifts in the public sphere as a result of the genocide in Palestine, bringing together 19 commissioned contributions spanning essays, listening sessions, poetry selections, music, and artistic contributions. To mark the launch of the publication, as well as the next phase of this publishing strand, the programme at de Appel will include presentations from the publication as well as new contributions to the next editions. Joining are the artists contributing to *Every Act of Struggle* at de Appel, Learning Palestine, Françoise Vergés in conversation with Charles Esche, Rasha Salti, Elke Uitenhuis, Rana Issa, Layal Ftouni, and Subversive Film in conversation with The Black Archives.

11.05.2025

Film screening at Filmtheater Kriterion

On Sunday 11 May at 7.15pm, a film screening around the exhibition will take place at Filmtheater Kriterion. The programme will be announced on Kriterion's website: kriterion.nl.

23 & 24.05.2025

Closing Public Programme

This programme will include discussions on cultural boycotts in relation to South Africa and Palestine, as well as 'Narratives of Neutrality in the Netherlands' by Vincent Kuitenbrouwer. Other themes that will be discussed are archival research around liberation struggles. More information on the programme will be published on de Appel's website.

25.05.2025

Film screening at Filmtheater Kriterion

On Sunday 25 May at 7.15pm, a film screening around the exhibition will take place at Filmtheater Kriterion. The programme will be announced on Kriterion's website: kriterion.nl

For tickets and more information about the programmes, see our website: deappel.nl.

ABOUT THE ARTISTS

Noor Abed (1988, Jerusalem, Palestine) is an interdisciplinary artist and filmmaker. Her practice examines notions of choreography and the imaginary relationship of individuals, creating situations where social possibilities are both rehearsed and performed. She aims to examine performances of the community and social movements in relation to rituals of waiting, resistance, and mourning. Her interest lies strongly in thinking about the role of collective rhythmic movement and the potential impact that shared feelings can evoke in creating and sustaining a community.

Simnikiwe Buhlungu (1995, Johannesburg, South Africa) is an artist engaged in a research-based practice that involves film, sound, installations, and text. Her work asks important and long-overdue questions about the nature of knowledge production and dissemination, as well as the contexts and circumstances that surround these epistemological phenomena. She is interested in language and the relationships between messages – whether conveyed visually, linguistically, or sonically.

Chad Cordeiro (1993, Johannesburg, South Africa) is an artist, printmaker and educator who works across the mediums of collage, print, sound, and installation. His research is currently centred on the DIY production of printmaking tools and materials, as well as open-source approaches to the archiving and dissemination of print-based media, history, and technical processes. The aim for his research is to increase public access to printmaking practices, tools and materials by exploring various formulations of knowledge exchange around the graphic arts.

Iswanto Hartono (1972, Purworejo, Indonesia) is an artist and architect whose interdisciplinary practice focuses on history, memory, globalisation, geopolitical powers, post-colonialism, and racial identity. Iswanto is interested in exploring structure and form, and in researching the alternative uses of a space. Hartono's work often refers back to Indonesian traditions and parts of the country's history that have consciously been forgotten, as well as dealing with current-day politics.

Pieter Paul Pothoven (1981, Amersfoort, The Netherlands) is an artist and writer who continuously questions the relation between past and present. His research based practice comprises installation, film, photography, different forms of writing, and archiving. An interest in historiography and material culture pervades all his projects and connects them in both theoretical and visceral ways.

School of Intrusions is an experimental educational platform in Palestine and The Netherlands that aims to develop a space for collaboration by bringing together independent practices of mutual learning. Seeing education as a form of intervening in the world that is not separate from daily life, the platform looks for possibilities for experiential site-based knowledge, formation of communities, collectivism and alternative economies. Through engaging with discussion, thought and action, they attempt to actively intrude in private and public spaces – treating sites, time and knowledge as commons. School of Intrusions was initiated by Noor Abed and Lara Khaldi in 2019.

Albert van der Weide (Meppel, 22 September 1949) is a visual artist, teacher, curator and writer, and worked for fourteen years as an administrator in higher education.

Harvests

During each act of intrusion, the artists met at a location pertinent to the subject, for moments of collective reading and research. The location is very important, as it brings forth questions and interactions that feed into the research. But it is also an act of intrusion into spaces that might not be welcoming to the discussion at times and a test of how open public institutions and spaces are. At each meeting a recording was made, and one of them was responsible for harvesting the conversation. A harvest is a creative form of note taking. Below we share snippets of those harvests.

First meeting on 20.02.2025 at Stedelijk Museum Archive

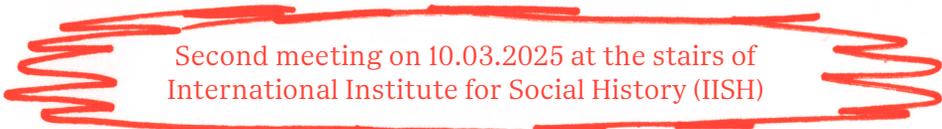
Dear reader,

This is our first School of Intrusions meeting. We had met a few weeks before and discussed the research project and involvement, where we use the methodology of the School of Intrusion: a horizontal school that N. and I developed in Ramallah where each participant leads a session at a chosen location and where the location becomes an integral part of the research. In preparation, N. and I had read the article *Dutch Dialogues with Afrikaners: The Netherlands and the Cultural Boycott Against the Apartheid Regime in the 1980s* by Jurg, V., & Kuitenbrouwer, V. (2021) and got in touch with the Stedelijk Museum archive to review the folders pertaining to Willem Frederik Hermans' exhibition there in 1986 and the media upheaval about calls to cancel the exhibition.

In the article, the authors take a case study focusing on the 1983 visit of Dutch writer Willem Frederik Hermans to South Africa and the intense public and media backlash it provoked in the Netherlands. This case study is used to reflect on the broader Dutch attitudes towards the apartheid regime and the cultural boycott. Hermans' visit sparked controversy because it violated the United Nations' call for a cultural boycott of South Africa. Hermans made several controversial statements during his visit, which were perceived by many as sympathetic to apartheid. A few years later, after the public outcry around his visit, Hermans was invited to contribute to programmes both at De Balie

and at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam. The article discussed how cultural institutions in the Netherlands were both battlegrounds for anti-apartheid activism and reflections of deeper historical ties between the two nations.

The article sparked our curiosity, especially as it speaks to today's institutional discourse around Palestine and cultural boycotts. We were curious about how the Stedelijk Museum reacted to the calls of cancelling the exhibition. We were welcomed at the archive of the Stedelijk Museum and provided with the files on the *One-Eyed Queen* photography exhibition by Hermans in September 1986. We found many newspaper clippings about the debate surrounding cancelling the exhibition, the cultural boycott and the Stedelijk Museum's position, as well as letters between the then-director of the Stedelijk Museum Wim Beeren and the Edler-woman for culture Luimstra-Albeda about the cancellation and the museum's stance. Later we went to see the room where Hermans' photography exhibition was held, and instead we found the artwork *Bakunin's Barricade* by Ahmet Ögüt, which prompted another long conversation between us, because the piece speaks quite directly to the same issues we had been discussing.



Second meeting on 10.03.2025 at the stairs of
International Institute for Social History (IISH)

Pieter Paul hands us the scripts one by one, we're all soaking up the rare sunshine, and having teas and coffees on the steps. He invites us to each read one part. He introduces the project by showing a photograph of a heater in a squat, which, as Pieter Paul points out, is where the group used to burn clothes after actions. In the background of the image there is a human-size mirror, and a hanger with a black jacket hanging on it. Pieter Paul explains that the photo was given to him by someone who was involved in RARA (Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action), and that RARA forced the Steenkolen Handels Vereniging (SHV) to withdraw from South Africa. Between 1985 and 1987, they set fire to four warehouses belonging to Makro, a wholesaler chain under SHV, which was owned by the Dutch Fentener-Van Vlissingen family, known for its economic ties to South Africa during apartheid. After the fourth Makro warehouse burned down, the insurance company refused to provide coverage, and the Dutch government declined to compensate for the damages. As a result, SHV had no choice but to exit South Africa.

He continues explaining that the script we're about to read is based on interviews he held with multiple activists who remain anonymous, which he morphed into one anonymous person in the script.

We begin reading the script, interchanging one by one. The script is difficult to summarise; you will come across it several times in the public part of the project, but I will try to summarise it here so that you can follow our discussion after we read out the script. The script follows one activist's internal monologue as they prepare for and execute an attack on the Dutch company SHV. The activist speaks about their motivations, frustrations with passive resistance, and commitment to direct action, specifically targeting Makro warehouses to pressure SHV to withdraw. The script details the meticulous planning, counter-surveillance, and execution of the arson attacks while reflecting on the moral and political implications of such actions. The activist places the actions in a broader struggle against Western capitalism and imperialism, viewing apartheid as an extreme yet transparent manifestation of these systems. The script ends with the activist acknowledging the risks, staying vigilant, and accepting the inevitability of being caught while remaining defiant.

After we all read it out against the sounds of the city; trucks loading and unloading things, people chatting on the stairs, cars passing by, we talk about our thoughts and questions pertaining to the script.

S: I wonder about why the violence in the townships in SA is focused on in the script.

PP: The news about these acts of violence reached the Dutch media, but it's also interesting that RARA and the ANC (African National Congress) were in disagreement; the ANC was against the use of violence outside South Africa, but RARA were of the point of view that the ANC knows how to fight in South Africa and RARA could assess how to fight in the Netherlands.

C: Which groups in SA were in favour?

L: Was this a public debate?

We all make a sticky note to look up RARA and ANC.

S: What was the demography of RARA?

- PP: It was mixed – women, men, queer, straight – and there was a part that came from countries formerly occupied by the Dutch, actions were not always done by the same people.
- S: What kind of media reporting was coming out in the 80s about the violence in South Africa?
- PP: The more palpable reports for Dutch media.
- PP: They made a statement in 1984 and took actions between 1985 and 1987 mostly, there were four bombings and 150 million guilders in damages which forced them to close down.
- C: Is SHV still owned by the same family?
- PP: Yes, but they don't own Makro anymore.
- L: Do you still have Makro in South Africa?
- S&C: Yes, it's a wholesale kind of supermarket, we always thought that it was South African.

(...)

Traffic sounds from Ramallah

- S: It's interesting to read about the townships in the script, but also important to think about the Bantustans, as they don't feature into any ideological structure from before the apartheid system. There are also hardly any political leaders from Bantustans. The founders and leaders of the ANC were middle class and educated in missionary schools – they were not working class.
- L: What was the difference between townships and Bantustans? I thought they were the same; areas to segregate indigenous South Africans from settler South Africans, like the West Bank in Palestine.
- S: Townships and Bantustans were indeed both places to segregate Black South Africans under apartheid, but they served different purposes. Townships were urban residential areas on the

outskirts of cities, meant to house Black workers who laboured in white-dominated urban centres, though they remained overcrowded and underdeveloped. Despite harsh restrictions, township residents were still considered South African citizens. Bantustans were rural, self-governing territories where the government attempted to relocate Black South Africans based on ethnicity, stripping them of their South African citizenship and assigning them to so-called “independent” homelands like Transkei and Bophuthatswana. While townships kept Black labour close to economic hubs, Bantustans sought to justify racial segregation by forcing Black people into economically dependent, internationally unrecognised territories.

N: So it is perhaps more translatable to area A B and C in the West Bank.

Third meeting on 24.03.2025 at Buurtcentrum Dynamo BIKO

That morning we met at Buurtcentrum Dynamo BIKO for the session: a small cultural centre that is led by and caters for residents of the neighbourhood and the city. A space consisting of a few small rooms on the ground floor that could be used for activities, study sessions, rented for events, etc. We spent about three hours there, reading collectively a text suggested by Simnikiwe to the group: *Feeding the Hand that Bites: South African Art & the Valparaiso Biennial of 1987* (Colin Richards, 20 December 2010). Simnikiwe explained to us that she chose this neighbourhood centre because it is named after Bantu Stephen Biko; a South African anti-apartheid activist and a key figure in the Black Consciousness Movement during the ‘60s and ‘70s. He died during police custody in the late ‘70s. Lara points out that a friend had told her that there were more actions connected to the anti-apartheid movement at neighbourhood centres than in art institutions.

At Vishandel Gibraltar, Amsterdam Oost, we had lunch after our morning reading session. It was Ramadan, the place was empty, and a reciting of the Quran was heard through the radio. While eating with our hands, around one big plate of mixed grilled seafood, we discussed the text we had read.

Conversations varied: from a sense of feeling home that Lara and I felt from the aesthetics of the restaurant, to conversations about

the history of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), the consequences of a liberation movement transitioning into an institution, (The Left) in Palestine, (The Left) as a notion elsewhere, resistance on the ground, cultural resistance. Simni shared stories from her visit to Palestine a few years back. One was about the many different IDs Palestinians inside Palestine are given, each ID allows movement in certain areas and limits access to others. We talked about the Zionist colonial ideology of land partition, strategically and structurally. She told us another story about being interrogated by the Israeli military at the airport while leaving. Pieter Paul mentioned that he got arrested by Hezbollah in Dahiyeh, a southern neighborhood of Beirut. He was in Lebanon to record bird sounds for a still unfinished project. He said they were courteous – others had much more unpleasant experiences – and released him quickly. He told us that he has also been to Palestine, and faced hours of interrogation from Israelis. He said he was young, and doesn't remember much.

While going home that day, I admitted to myself that I struggled with this particular text. When I struggle with a text, sometimes I find comfort in starting again by noting small sentences that give me a way in. Like these:

*Being informed is a responsibility, not an option
Answers are not too difficult to find
Matters do not improve the closer we look
The pattern is familiar
Too close to home and too close to the bone
Reality does seem to be the loser here
Freedom is bought at a cost*

And I share these paragraphs I highlighted during the session:

Perhaps more to the point, what are the possibilities for non-alignment, of liberal individualism in contemporary South African culture? What does it mean to be 'non-aligned' through a long and continuing history of institutionalised racism and economic exploitation? Perhaps it means nothing more than getting the best of both worlds while being committed to neither. The SAAA, the judge-selectors, the artists it seems would have us believe that it is indeed something more. They would have us

believe, and believe in, the image of an association of tolerant, moderate liberals, conserving and protecting freedoms threatened right and left.

Those hostile to this image see it as mystification. Perhaps this mystification is not intentional, the inevitable result of living in a protected sector of a complex and often contradictory social reality. There is, however, a deep suspicion that this cultivation of the so-called 'moderate middle ground' is but a screen hiding ambitions more to do with harvesting cultural power and short-term profiteering than anything else.

Fourth meeting at 03.04.2025, a walk from Rijksakademie to de Appel with various stops to read from Sjambok library

We gather at the Rijksakademie. Chad brought the *Sjambok library*, a heavy drawing table, which he salvaged from the trash during his fellowship here. He pasted the top with paper fragments and book covers. It holds multiple books by, amongst others, David Graeber. Chad straps the table over his shoulders, like a backpack, and hands out copies of the essay *The Not-so-Quiet Violence of Bricks and Mortar* by Zen Marie from 2010. We collectively read the text while slowly walking towards de Appel while making sure we don't bump into anyone.

Noor reads:

Art, philosophy and theoretical work often relies on distance from the phenomena, events or objects of analysis. Mediated by some form of techné, language or medium, this distance is important because it allows insights that immediacy or proximity disallows. However, forms of cultural activism often have to combine a mix of distance and abstraction with more direct or performative actions that do much more than describe or reflect an existing reality.

It reverberates. We read it again and discuss it during a short break, next to the bridge that crosses the Amstel and leads to the Ceintuurbaan. Noor mentions a lecture by Munir Fasheh, a Palestinian mathematician in which he speaks about his mother, who is illiterate, yet developed her own, highly advanced math to make calculations for the garments

she has been making all her life. Chad speaks about the knowledge we carry in us, versus the knowledge we learn at school.

We discuss the use of media and how we all experience “distance” and “proximity” in our practice. Lara tells us about an older generation of artists – Slieman Mansoor, Vera Tamari and Nabil Anani – who, during the first intifada (1987), made paintings that were also used as propaganda in the struggle and how they, after boycotting paint and canvases from Israel, started to use traditional pigments and methods, leading to more abstract work.

And, again, Simnikiwe asks the question: what happened to the bravery? Pieter follows up: how come the politics of a lot of artists stop short at the institutional walls?

After the break, Pieter Paul takes over the table from Chad. We slowly walk towards de Appel. On our way, we pass an alleyway named after Jacob Israel de Haan, a queer orthodox anti-zionist Jew from the Netherlands, who moved to Palestine and was assassinated by the zionist terrorist organisation Hagana. The sign, however, mentioned only that he was killed. Again, this passive use of language serves to obscure the responsibility in the killing.

We arrived at de Appel. The table will be part of the exhibition.

de Appel is
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Nell Donkers
Jacquine van Elsberg
Lucie von Eugen
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