

New World Summit Utrecht

Stateless Democracy

29–31 January
2016

www.newworldsummit.org

Colophon

The New World Summit is: Jonas Staal (artist and founder); Younes Bouadi (production and research); Renée In der Maur (project coördinator and programmer); Paul Kuipers (architect); Remco van Bladel (visual identity); Suzie Hermán (public communication); Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei (editor and advisor); Sjoerd Oudman and Charlie Berendsen (web design); Kasper Oostergetel (development and construction); Ernie Buts (photographic documentation); Ruben Hamelink (film documentation); Aida Kopmels (administration).

New World Summit has organized summits in Berlin (7th Berlin Biennial, 2012); Leiden (in collaboration with Museum de Lakenhal and theater collective De Veenfabriek, the Netherlands, 2012); Kochi (1st Kochi-Muziris Biennale, India, 2013); Brussels (in collaboration with the Royal Flemish Theatre, 2014); and Derik (in collaboration with the Democratic Self-Administration of Rojava, Rojava, 2015). It also founded the New World Academy (with BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht) in 2013, where stateless political groups develop collaborative projects with artists and students, as well as the New World Embassy, which represents stateless states through cultural means.

New World Summit
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Partners:

BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht
Centraal Museum Utrecht
Utrecht University, Utrecht
Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), Brussels/The Hague

Financial Partners:

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New World Summit Utrecht: Stateless Democracy

29–31 January 2016,
Utrecht University,
Utrecht, The Netherlands

bak

basis voor
actuele kunst



THE ART
OF IMPACT



Democracy & Media
Foundation Stichting
Democratie & Media



kiHein,fonds

The New World Summit in collaboration with BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht; University, Utrecht; Centraal Museum, Utrecht; and the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, Brussels/The Hague presents *New World Summit: Stateless Democracy*. This is the sixth summit dedicated to constructing “alternative parliaments” for stateless political organizations that find themselves excluded from democratic processes.

New World Summit: Stateless Democracy is a three-day assembly that explores the possibilities of uncoupling the practice of democracy from the construct of the nation-state. Core speakers are representatives of the Kurdish revolutionary movement, which in 2012 played a key role in declaring Rojava, the northern part of Syria, an autonomous “stateless democracy” based on principles of self-governance, gender-equality, and communal economy.

This summit takes place in a time of rising ultranationalism, the expansion of the War on Terror, and the emergence of Daesh, the so-called Islamic State. Nation-states are increasingly declaring martial law, deepening their surveillance apparatus, and enforcing political exclusion in the name of “democracy.” In response, this summit brings together stateless and autonomist movements from all over the world to explore the potential of stateless democracy as a transnationalist paradigm that opposes oppression in all forms, and to invest in a new emancipatory politics of the 21st century.

For this sixth summit a parliament is built in the aula of Utrecht University. It was in this hall that the Union of Utrecht was signed in 1579, a treaty which was to become one of the foundations of the Dutch state. The parliament is thus also a historical intervention, reaching back to the very origins of the Dutch state to engage its alternative in the form of stateless democracy: a space to confront our current crisis and occupy the imaginary of a new, common world.

Friday, 29 January 2016

Day I: Failed Democracy.

19:00-22:00

19:00-19:20

Welcome and introduction by
Jonas Staal
(New World Summit)

19:20-19:30

Introduction and procedures
by facilitator Maria
Hlavajova (BAK, basis voor
actuele kunst, Utrecht)

19:30-20:00

Lecture by Nancy Hollander
(legal representative of
Chelsea Manning and
Mohamedou Ould Slahi)

20:00-20:20

Break

20:20-20:50

Lecture by Birgitta Jónsdóttir
(Pirate Party Iceland, Iceland)

20:50-21:55

First reflection by Suthaharan

Nadarajah (Tamil Eelam) and
plenary discussion

21:55-22:00

Closing words by Maria
Hlavajova

Saturday, 30 January 2016

Day II: Stateless Democracy!

13:00-20:00

Block I: History of Stateless Democracy

13:00-13:10

Welcome

13:10-13:20

Introduction and procedures
by facilitator Joost Jongerden
(academic)

13:20-14:00

Dilek Öcalan (Peoples' Demo-
cratic Party (HDP), Turkey)

14:00-14:10

Response by Jodi Dean (politi-
cal theorist and writer)

14:10-14:20

Response by Sadet Karabulut
(Socialist Party (SP),
The Netherlands)

14:20-14:55

Plenary discussion

14:55-15:00

Closing words by Joost
Jongerden

15:00-16:00

Lunch break

Block II: Stateless Democracy and Self-Defense**16:00-16:10**

Welcome and procedures by facilitator Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei (philosopher and writer)

16:10-16:30

Lecture by Salih Muslim (Democratic Union Party (PYD), Rojava)

16:30-16:40

Response by Leila Khaled (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Palestine)

16:40-16:50

Response by Jennifer McCann (Sinn Féin, Ireland)

16:50-17:40

First reflection by Gorka Elejabarrieta (Sortu, Basque Country) followed by plenary discussion

17:40-17:45

Closing words by Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei

17:45-18:15

Break

Block III: Stateless Democracy as Transnational Revolution**18:15-18:25**

Welcome and procedures by facilitator Radha D'Souza

19:55-20:00

Closing words by Radha D'Souza

18:25-18:45

Lecture by Dilar Dirik (Kurdish Women's Movement, Kurdistan)

18:45-18:55

Response by Mireia Vehí and Quim Arrufat (Popular Unity Candidacy (CUP), Catalunya)

18:55-19:05

Response by Angela Dimitrakaki (writer, novelist, and propaganda worker)

19:05-19:55

First reflection by Karim Abdian (Congress of Nationalities for a Federal Iran, Iran) followed by plenary discussion

Sunday, 31 January 2016

Day III: Future Democracy?

13:00–20:00

Block I: Future Organization

13:00–13:10

Welcome

13:10–13:20

Introduction and procedures by facilitator Radha D'Souza (researcher and activist)

13:20–13:30

Meike Nack (Foundation of Free Women of Rojava (Weqfa Jina Azad a Rojava), Rojava)

13:30–13:40

Yoonis Osman Nuur (We Are Here, Amsterdam)

13:40–13:50

Elena Tarifa Herrero (Barcelona en Comú, Catalunya)

13:50–14:00

Fernando Burgés (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), Belgium)

14:00–14:55

Plenary discussion

14:55–15:00

Closing words by Radha D'Souza

15:00–16:00

Break

Block II: Future Representation

16:00–16:10

Welcome and procedures by Jolle Demmers (Center for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University, The Netherlands)

16:10–16:20

Ilena Saturay (National Democratic Movement of the Philippines, The Philippines)

16:20–16:30

Emory Douglas (artist, former Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party, United States)

16:30–16:40

Richard Bell (artist, Aboriginal Tent Embassy)

16:40–16:50

Callum Clayton-Dixon (Aboriginal Provisional Government)

16:50–17:40

First reflection by Vivian Ziherl (Frontier Imaginaries) followed by plenary discussion

17:40–17:45

Closing words by Jolle Demmers

17:45–18:15

Break

Block III: Future Projection (final assembly)

18:15-18:30

Welcome, procedures, and first reflections by Chris Keulemans (writer and journalist)

19:55-20:00

Conclusions and closing words by Chris Keulemans

18:30-18:45

Chris Keulemans in conversation with Simon P. Sapioper (Government of Republic of West-Papua, West-Papua)

18:45-19:05

Plenary discussion moderated by Chris Keulemans

19:05-19:45

Chris Keulemans in conversation with speakers from day I-III

19:45-19:55

Statement by Amina Osse, (Democratic Union Party (PYD), Rojava)

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[REDACTED] were helping
 the U.S. to extract information out of the [REDACTED]
 detainees. The [REDACTED] interrogators and the
 [REDACTED] threatened some of their
 interviewees with torture, when they got them
 back home. "I hope I had seen you in another
 place" said the [REDACTED] interrogator to [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] and "If we see each
 other in Turkistan, you're gonna talk a lot!"
 said the [REDACTED] interrogator to [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] In all in all I knew what was
 awaiting me, when it comes to [REDACTED] interrogators.
 I wanted to get things out off my chest. The
 day came and the guards pulled me and took
 me [REDACTED] where detainees usually
 me [REDACTED] Two
 [REDACTED] Gentlemen were sitting on the other side
 of the table, and I was looking at them locked
 on the floor. [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] who
 played the roll - bad guy - during the interrogation.
 Neither introduce himself, which was completely
 against the [REDACTED]. They just stood in
 front of me like ghosts as the rest of the secret
 interrogators. "Do you speak German, or do you
 need an interpreter?" asked the [REDACTED]. "I am
 afraid we don't," I replied. "Well, you understand

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Day I: Failed Democracy.

Friday, 29 January 2016
19:00-22:00

Left page: One page of the 344-page diary written
 by Mohamedou Ould Slahi in 2005, while detained
 in Guantanamo Bay. The diary was redacted and
 declassified by the U.S. government in 2011 after
 pressure of the author's lawyers.

The first day of the *New World Summit: Stateless Democracy* explores the current crises of democracy in the context of the security state. During the last fifteen years of the War on Terror we have witnessed radical expansions of the state security apparatus, including covert military operations, extralegal prisons, and a global surveillance apparatus. People and organizations that are regarded as potential threats to the power of the security state are stripped from basic rights—as in the case of the stateless prisoners in Guantanamo Bay or the imprisoned whistleblower Chelsea Manning. What does it mean when those who claim democratic rights are isolated or killed in the name of that very same democracy?

Maria Hlavajova

Maria Hlavajova is the artistic director of BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht since 2000, and of the international research project FORMER WEST (2008–2016). Hlavajova has organized numerous projects at BAK and beyond, including the series *Future Vocabularies* (2014–ongoing) and *New World Academy*; the latter was co-founded by BAK and artist Jonas Staal in 2013, as a learning platform where stateless organizations teach artists and students on the role of art in political struggle. In 2011, Hlavajova curated *Call the Witness*, the Roma Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale, Venice, and in 2007 the three-part project *Citizens and Subjects*, the Dutch contribution to the 52nd Venice Biennale. In addition, she co-founded the tranzit network, a foundation that supports exchange and contemporary art practices in Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. She regularly edits and contributes to publications, and lectures frequently on contemporary art. Hlavajova is co-organizer of the New World Summit in Utrecht.

Nancy Hollander

Nancy Hollander is a partner of the firm Freedman, Boyd, Hollander, Goldberg, Urias & Ward P.A. since 1983. Her practice is largely devoted to criminal cases, including those involving U.S. national security issues. Hollander has been counsel in numerous civil cases, forfeitures and administrative hearings, and served as a consultant to the defense of a high profile terrorism case in Ireland. She also represents two prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, one of which being Mohamedou Ould Slahi, whom she assisted in publishing his bestseller *“Guantanamo Diaries”* (2015). Furthermore, she is lead counsel for whistleblower Chelsea Manning on appeal. In her 2010 article “A Terrorist Lawyer, and Proud of it” she warned that in the light of the War on Terror “Those who are shouting the loudest today to limit the rights and protections available to my clients include some who may find themselves on the other side of the law in the future.”

Birgitta Jónsdóttir

Birgitta Jónsdóttir is a poet and politician currently serving as a member of parliament in Iceland for the Pirate Party. She was first elected to the Icelandic parliament in April 2009 on behalf of a political movement Citizens' Movement she co-founded, which aimed at democratic reform via direct democracy, transparency and accountability. In 2012, Jónsdóttir co-founded the Pirate Party in Iceland. She was the chief sponsor for IMMI – the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative, successfully tasking the Icelandic government to make Iceland a safe haven for freedom of information. Jónsdóttir is currently a chairperson for the International Modern Media Institute. She has been an activist and spokesperson for various groups, such as WikiLeaks, Saving Iceland and Friends of Tibet in Iceland. In her 2015 article "Democracy in the digital era" (New Internationalist), she argued that "We are living in transformative times and there are amazing citizens' initiatives occurring all over the world as people are waking up to the idea that they not only can but need to co-create their societies."

Suthaharan Nadarajah

Suthaharan Nadarajah is a Tamil political activist and a lecturer in International Relations at SOAS, University of London. His research focuses on the international community's efforts to secure global liberal order through the frameworks of security, development and liberal governance, and the consequences for political struggle. His doctoral thesis (SOAS, University of London) used Sri Lanka's armed conflict and the Norwegian-led peace process as case studies. He has published on the impact of terrorism proscriptions on diaspora mobilization and political activity, and his lecture at the 2014 New World Summit addressed the direct links between the War on Terror, the criminalization of self-determination movements, and the coercive imposition of global neoliberal order. He was also editor of the English-language diaspora newspa-

per, Tamil Guardian, from 1998 to 2007, and press liaison for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) delegation during the 2002–2003 peace talks.



Day II: Stateless Democracy!

Left page: Fragments of the flags of the autonomous region Rojava. Clockwise the flags of: the Democratic Self-Administration of Rojava; the Syrian Union Party (SUP); Star Union of Women (Yekitiya Star); Democratic Union Party (PYD); Rojava Democratic Youth Union (YCR); Movement for a Democratic Society (Tev-Dem).

Saturday, 30 January 2016
13:00-20:00

The second day of the *New World Summit: Stateless Democracy* explores the model of “democratic confederalism,” which the revolutionary Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan describes as “democracy without the state.” Developed over decades of revolutionary struggle since the foundation of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) to the recent Rojava revolution in northern Syria, the model of stateless democracy strives to create autonomy based on self-governance, gender equality, and communal economy. What can we learn from the history and practice of stateless democracy to understand and overcome the current crises of democracy?

**Block I:
History of Stateless Democracy**

How did the Kurdish revolutionary movement come to reject the structure of statehood and instead invest in communal forms of self-governance? From the work of PKK founders Abdullah Öcalan and Sakîne Cansiz, to the development of the autonomist Kurdish Women’s Movement and the 2012 Rojava revolution, this block will trace the history and present day practice of stateless democracy as an alternative to what the Kurdish revolutionary movement considers as the patriarchal, imperialist, and capitalist construct of the nation-state.

Joost Jongerden

Joost Jongerden is assistant professor at the Rural Sociology Group at the University of Wageningen (NL) and is specially appointed as an associate professor at the Kyoto University (Japan). He specializes in socio-spatial and socio-political analysis of rural development and conflict and the development and implementation of political alternatives. His research focuses on the geography of Turkey and Kurdistan. He has written extensively about the history of the Kurdish struggle in Bakûr and Turkey, the development of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK), and its influence in establishing democratic confederalism – *stateless democracy* – in the autonomous Kurdish region of Rojava in northern Syria. In October 2015 Jongerden partook in the fifth New World Summit in Rojava as a member of the international delegation.

Dilek Öcalan

Dilek Öcalan is a Turkish politician of Kurdish origin from the Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP) who currently serves as a member of parliament in Turkey. The HDP is a pro-Kurdish and pro-minority democratic socialist political party in Turkey, that adheres to anti-capitalism and claims to aspire to end religious, gender, and racial discrimination. The party has a 50% quota for women and a 10% quota for the LGBT community when fielding candidates. The party is also environmentalist, and spoke out strongly in favor of the Gezi Park protests in 2013. It is an associate member of the Party of European Socialists (PES) and consultative member of the Socialist International. While having passed the 10% threshold during the last two elections to enter into parliament, the HDP is dealing with structural criminalization from the side of the current Erdoğan regime, which accuses the party of being allied with the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) against which the regime is waging a relentless war in North-Kurdistan (southeastern Turkey), with hundreds of civil casualties as a result.

pledge loyalty to the soon-to-be-King, Dutch Crown Prince Willem Alexander, during his inauguration ceremony.

Jodi Dean

Jodi Dean is a professor of Political Science at the Hobart and William Smith Colleges in the United States. Drawing from Marxism, psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, and postmodernism, she has made contributions to contemporary political theory, media theory, and feminist theory. Most notable is her theory of communicative capitalism; the online merging of democracy and capitalism into a single neoliberal formation that subverts the democratic impulses of the masses by valuing emotional expression over logical discourse. In her book *The Communist Horizon* (Verso 2012), Dean emphasizes the continuous importance of the concept of Communism as the only radical counterpoint to communicative capitalism. Following this, in *Crowds and Party* (Verso, 2016), she argues for the importance of party formation for mass social movements such as M15 in Catalunya and Spain and the Occupy movement. In a 2015 lecture, she argued that “To make the people appear as the subject of multiple riots and demonstrations the party has to be as international as they are.”

Sadet Karabulut

Sadet Karabulut is a Dutch politician, former civil servant and trade unionist of Kurdish descent. As a member of the Socialist Party (Socialistische Partij) she has been an MP since 2006. After the 2006 general election, the Socialist Party became one of the major parties of the Netherlands, and is currently the main opposition force against the Rutte II coalition. Karabulut focuses on matters of poverty reduction, social assistance, purchasing power, and child benefit, as well as on emancipation and social integration. She studied public administration at Erasmus University Rotterdam and was active in the Dutch National Students’ Trade Union (LSVb). She is a leading member of the Dutch branch of the Democratic Workers’ Clubs Federation (DIDF). In February 2013, as a convinced republican, Karabulut stated that she would refuse to

Block II: Stateless Democracy and Self-Defense

Within the Kurdish revolutionary movement the concept of self-defense is crucial in establishing the conditions for stateless democracy. Self-defense applies to the right to physically defend oneself, most recently against the Erdoğan regime as well as Daesh (Islamic State), but it also includes the capacity and importance of the strengthening of cultural and historical consciousness through new models of education and the autonomous organization of women in all fields of life. Why, and in which ways, is self-defense a foundation to establish and practice stateless democracy?

Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei

Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei is a philologist with a background in music composition, linguistics, conceptual art, and philosophy. The vast array of his engagement has addressed topics such as Albanian socialist-realist heritage (*Lapidari*, 3 volumes, Punctum Books, 2015) and contemporary regimes of violence and torture in politics and literature (*Cross-Examinations*, MER. Paper Kunsthalle, 2015). Van Gerven Oei studied under poet Avital Ronell at the European Graduate School and Christopher Fynsk at the Centre for Modern Thought. His writings have appeared in journals such as *continent.*, *Frakcija*, *nY*, *Parmen-tier*, *postmedieval*, and *Theory & Event*. Van Gerven Oei is co-director of Punctum Books, director of The Department of Eagles, a project bureau for the arts and humanities in Tirana, and director of multilingual publishing house Uitgeverij. He is also founding editor of the journal *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*. Van Gerven has been an advisor to- and editor of the New World Summit since its founding in 2012.

Salih Muslim

Salih Muslim Muhammad is co-chairman of the Democratic Union Party (PYD), the driving power behind the de facto autonomous Kurdish-controlled region of Rojava (northern Syria) that separated from the Assad regime in 2012, and has had to defend itself severely against the attacks of Daesh (Islamic State). The PYD was established in 2003 by Kurdish activists in Rojava. The Syrian government saw the party as a particular threat due to its ability to mobilize large masses, and suspected it of organizing numerous demonstrations. With the outbreak of antigovernment demonstrations across Syria in early 2011, the PYD took a leading role in building what is today known as the autonomous Democratic Self-Administration of Rojava, and in building coalitions between the diverse peoples of the region. As part of the Movement for a Democratic Change (TEV-DEM) coalition, the PYD collaborates with other political parties and

grass roots movements in further developing self-rule in all domains of political, economic and social life.

Leila Khaled

Leila Khaled is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and its forerunners since 1959. The PFLP is a secular Palestinian Marxist and revolutionary socialist organization founded in 1967 by George Habash. It has consistently been one of the largest groups forming the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), second only to Fatah. The PFLP strives for the liberation of the Palestinian people, rejects the “two-state solution,” and instead advocates the democratic state of Palestine. Khaled was born in Haifa in Palestine but her family was expelled in the 1948 Nakba when she was four years old. Khaled is most known for the hijacking of two airplanes in 1969 and 1970 to raise international awareness for the oppression of the Palestinian people and demand the release of political prisoners. She is also a member of the Palestinian National Council, the legislative body of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and a regular speaker at the World Social Forum.

Jennifer McCann

Jennifer McCann is an elected member of the Northern Ireland Assembly for the Irish Republican party Sinn Féin on behalf of West-Belfast since 2007. Originally founded in 1905, Sinn Féin is a democratic socialist left-wing party and currently the second-largest party behind the Democratic Unionist Party in the Northern Ireland Assembly. Most of the party policies are intended to be implemented on an ‘all-Ireland’ basis and emphasize the effort of re-uniting Ireland. The party pledges support for minority rights, migrants’ rights, and eradicating poverty. In the 1980s McCann was imprisoned for over 10 years in Armagh Jail and the Maghaberry Women’s Prison as a political prisoner and member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). McCann has been a prominent voice in connecting the right to political self-determination

to the necessity of struggle against the politics of austerity. In this light, during a 2015 lecture to the trade unions of Ireland, she called upon “forging a positive progressive alliance to defend our communities and stand up for public services.”

Gorka Elejabarrieta

Gorka Elejabarrieta is a member of the International Relations Department of the Basque political party Sortu, meaning “Create,” which organizes under the banner of “Independence, Socialism and Feminism.” Sortu was founded in 2011 and is the first political party belonging to the abertzale left, – a term commonly referring to people or political groups who are associated with Basque nationalism. At a press conference on 8 February 2011, party supporters backed a Basque state “within a European Union framework, via exclusively peaceful and political channels. “After initially being banned for accusations of being linked to the blacklisted ETA, the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (“Basque Country and Freedom”), Sortu was legalized by the Constitutional Court in 2012 and is currently a member of the political coalition Euskal Herria Bildu (“Basque Country Unite”) with other left-wing independentist political groups. The strong internationalist culture of Sortu has brought it to support movements such as the Irish Sinn Féin and the autonomist Kurdish Rojava region.

Block III:**Stateless Democracy as Transnational Revolution****18:00–20:00**

Stateless democracy has been developed and brought into practice in two parts of Kurdistan, Bakûr and Rojava. Progressive political parties, libertarian-socialist organizations, and social movements from all over the world have been following its developments as a potential alternative to the dominant model of western capitalist-democracy. Could the theory and practice of stateless democracy be a paradigm for a new emancipatory politics on a transnational scale?

Radha D'Souza

Radha D'Souza is an academic, Indian lawyer, social justice campaigner, writer, critic and commentator. D'Souza has worked with social justice movements in India, New Zealand, the Asia Pacific region, the UK and internationally. D'Souza is from India and currently teaches law at the Westminster Law School in the University of Westminster in London. She has published academic articles, books, essays, commentaries and short stories. She has contributed articles in newspapers, magazines and activist platforms. She has been interviewed on mainstream TV channels, radio stations and magazines. And has taught in several disciplines including Sociology, Development Studies and Human Geography. Before joining the academy D'Souza practiced as a lawyer in Mumbai in India specialising in constitutional and human rights law and public interest litigation. Recently, she participated in the Kurdish congress for alternatives and collaborated with Paloma Polo in a film project titled *Unrest*. Her most recent book titled *What's Wrong With Rights?: Social Movements, Law and Liberal Imaginations* will be published by Pluto Press in 2016.

Dilar Dirik

Dilar Dirik is an activist of the Kurdish Women's Movement and a PhD candidate in the Sociology Department of the University of Cambridge. Her work examines the role of women's liberation in articulating and building freedom in Kurdistan. The Kurdish Women's Movement has been prominent from the early days of the Kurdish resistance. Rejecting the state as a patriarchal, imperialist and capitalist construct, the women's movement and their development of Jineology (a women-centered science paradigm) formed a key factor in developing the philosophy and practice of stateless democracy in Bakûr and Rojava. She regularly writes on the Kurdish freedom movement for the international audience.

Mireia Vehí and Quim Arrufat

Mireia Vehí is a member of the Catalunyan parliament for the Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (Popular Unity Candidacy, CUP) since the elections of January 2016, while Quim Arrufat was a member of parliament for the same party from 2012 until November 2015. The CUP is made up of local assemblies representing towns and neighborhoods and supports the independence of Catalunya from Spain and France. The highly decentralized nature of the party stems from a belief in eco-socialism and libertarian socialism. The importance given to municipal assemblies is also meant to avoid the hierarchical organization of most traditional political parties. During the most recent elections the CUP won 10 of 135 seats in the Catalan parliament. Vehí has studied Sociology, and Women, Gender and Citizenship. Prior to her candidacy, she has been engaged with political and activist organisations for many years, specialising in immigration issues, human rights, gender, and multiculturalism. She has been particularly involved in campaigns demanding the closure of Immigrant Detention Centers. Arrufat studied Political Science and Public Administration and has further been working for the International Centre for Minorities CIE-MEN. He has been an active advocate for the right of self-determination at the World Social Forum and the Human Rights Council of the UN. In October 2015 Arrufat was a speaker at the fifth New World Summit in Rojava.

Angela Dimitrakaki

Angela Dimitrakaki is an academic at the University of Edinburgh. Working across Marxism and feminism, she focuses on gender, democracy, and the critique of capitalist relations of production. Angela is also a novelist, writing in her native Greek and among the country's most vocal public intellectuals in support of the radical left, including in her column Unpaid Labour (national press popaganda.gr) where she also wrote on Kobani. Resident in Athens throughout the momentous 2015,

she undersigned, along with other artists and writers, the NO campaign for the Greek referendum on 5th of July.

Karim Abdian

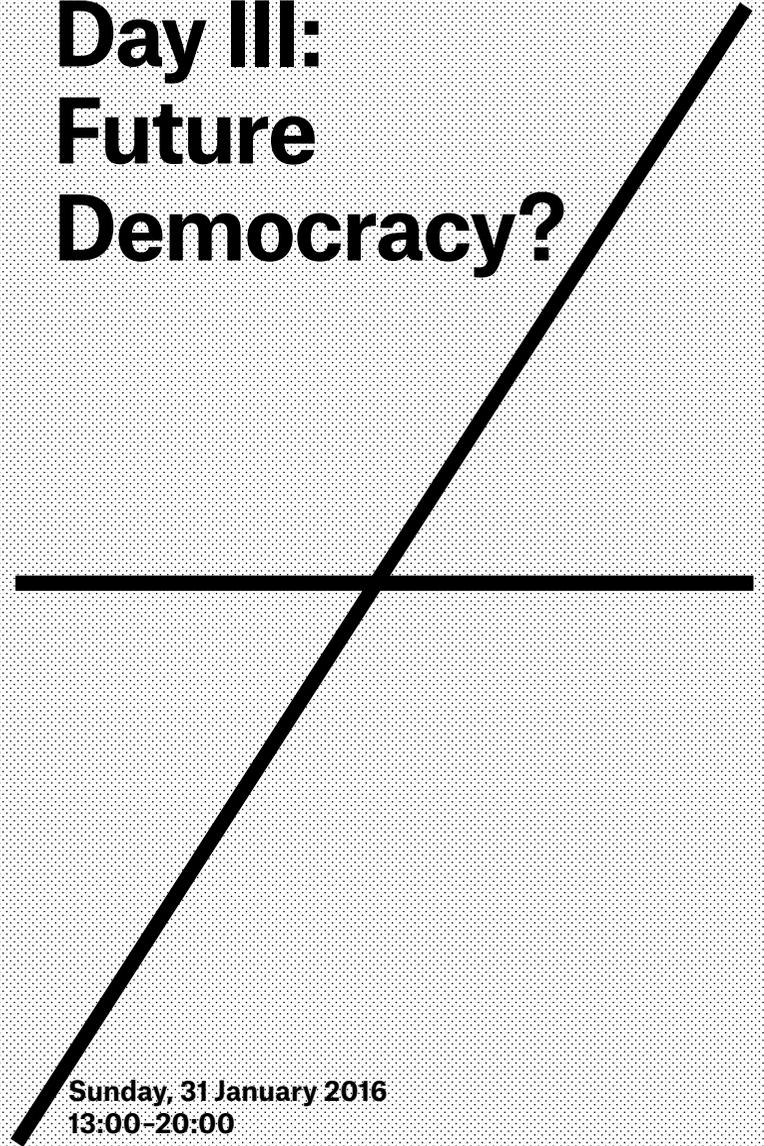
Karim Abdian is Executive Director of Ahwaz Human Rights Organization, Senior Advisor to the Democratic Solidarity Party of Al-Ahwaz (DSPA), Representative of Congress of Nationalities for a Federal Iran (CNFI) and co-founder of Iran Roundtable. The Ahwazi-Arab Alliance, an alliance of the Democratic Solidarity Party of Ahwaz (DSPA), the Ahwaz Human Rights Organization, the Ahwazi Civil Rights Society and the Centre Against Racism and Anti-Arabism in Iran, represents Iranian Arabs living in Al-Ahwaz, Iran's oil rich southwestern province, currently referred to as Khuzestan. Iranian Arabs face severe discrimination and cultural repression as Iran's central government pursues a plan of requisitioning land from Ahwazi Arabs in favor of ethnic Persians. The Democratic Solidarity Party of Ahwaz, and its allied parties, strive to promote the political and cultural rights of the Ahwazi Arabs as a minority in Iran. They strive for a secular, democratic and federal Iran as a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-national state. Karim Abdian has written, lectured and actively promoted the practical model of democratic federal/confederal and autonomous self-governance under the current oppressive nation-states regimes in the Middle East and beyond – in English, Arabic and Farsi.

Demokrasiya
Pëşerojë?

Demokrazia Etorkiz
unean?

Demokrasiya Ng
Kinabukasan?

Day III:
Future
Democracy?



Sunday, 31 January 2016
13:00-20:00

The third day of the *New World Summit: Stateless Democracy* explores the question of whether the concept of democracy is still relevant in order to develop new models of political autonomy. Has democracy lost its credibility due to its violent imposition, most recently through the War on Terror, or should we rethink and appropriate the radical and emancipatory legacy of democracy through forms such as that of stateless democracy? What other futures of political autonomy are imaginable and desirable?

Block I: Future Organization

Stateless and autonomist organizations from all over the world have developed models of self-governance and political autonomy parallel to the structure of the nation-state. What is the political potential of autonomist organizations such as large scale cooperatives, refugee collectives, municipal democracies, and transnational networks of unrecognized states?

Radha D'Souza

Radha D'Souza is an academic, Indian lawyer, social justice campaigner, writer, critic and commentator. D'Souza has worked with social justice movements in India, New Zealand, the Asia Pacific region, the UK and internationally. D'Souza is from India and currently teaches law at the Westminster Law School in the University of Westminster in London. She has published academic articles, books, essays, commentaries and short stories. She has contributed articles in newspapers, magazines and activist platforms. She has been interviewed on mainstream TV channels, radio stations and magazines. And has taught in several disciplines including Sociology, Development Studies and Human Geography. Before joining the academy D'Souza practiced as a lawyer in Mumbai in India specialising in constitutional and human rights law and public interest litigation. Recently, she participated in the Kurdish congress for alternatives and collaborated with Paloma Polo in a film project titled *Unrest*. Her most recent book titled *What's Wrong With Rights?: Social Movements, Law and Liberal Imaginations* will be published by Pluto Press in 2016.

Meike Nack

Meike Nack is a women's rights activist, sociologist and European representative of Weqfa Jina Azad a Rojava (WJAR, Foundation of Free Women in Rojava). WJAR uses a holistic approach to challenge the economic, social, political, medical, educational and cultural difficulties that women and children face in Rojava, facilitating the development of free thought and personal development in women and children, but also in men. WJAR supports women in building accessible health systems, education spaces for gender equality, economic women's cooperatives, and public spaces for women such as women's parks. One of its most significant projects is the creation of women's villages, where members articulate their own women's law, and organize their politics, labor, and care-work based on the principles of an

alternative feminist approach to the organization of power. This exploration of an alternative “ecology of power” through autonomist women’s organization forms one of the key elements of the Kurdish revolutionary struggle, which Nack supports but also attempts to broaden to the European context and beyond.

Yoonis Osman Nuur

Yoonis Osman Nuur is member of the Amsterdam-based political movement of refugees called We Are Here (“Wij Zijn Hier”), and part of the refugee council of the foundation Here to Support. We Are Here consists of a group of more than two hundred refugees in limbo who first organized themselves into a political group in 2012. The group aims at demanding the right to have rights for all of its members, some of whom have resided in the Netherlands without official papers for over fifteen years. Their key uniting principle is that the group attempts to get full recognition in the Netherlands of the problem of the asylum gap, of the legitimacy of the group and of their individual cases. As a human rights activist, Yoonis Osman Nuur fights for the visibility and recognition of these so-called “undeportable” refugees in the Dutch society and law, and has done so on national television programs, through speeches in the Dutch parliament, articles in newspapers, collaborations with artists and students as well as continuous work in organizing protests and broad societal mobilization.

Elena Tarifa Herrero

Elena Tarifa Herrero is a journalist, Secretary of the Equality committee of the Union of Journalists in Catalunya, and a feminist and civil society activist. She is also a representative of Barcelona en Comú, Catalan for Barcelona in Common. Barcelona en Comú is a municipalist coalition between the citizen platform Guanyem Barcelona, progressive political parties Equo and Podemos, and the Alliance of Greens and Alternative Left ICV-EUi, created for the May 24th 2015 local elections with the

aim of creating a new political force within the framework of representative elections. Barcelona en Comú is currently governing in minority in the City of Barcelona. Its policy agenda includes defending social justice and community rights, promoting participatory democracy, introducing mechanisms to tackle corruption, and developing a new model of tourism for Barcelona. Many of the founding members of the citizens platform Guanyem Barcelona, founded in 2014, have been active for many years in social and political movements in Barcelona, including the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH), and M15, often described as the autonomist predecessor of the Occupy movement. Barcelona en Comú gained notoriety due to its autonomist political agenda, and radical reforms of citizen participation in day to day governance, transforming the city of Barcelona into a 21st century municipal democracy.

Fernando Burgés

Fernando Burgés studied International Relations and Nationalism Studies as well as Political Science before becoming the Program Coordinator of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), based in Brussels and The Hague. The UNPO is an international, nonviolent, and democratic membership organization. Its members are indigenous peoples, minorities, and representatives of unrecognized or occupied territories who have joined together to protect and promote their human and cultural rights, to preserve their environments, and to find nonviolent solutions to conflicts which affect them. Although the aspirations of UNPO members differ greatly, they are all united by one shared condition – they are not adequately represented at major international fora, such as the United Nations. As a consequence, their opportunity to participate on the international stage is significantly limited, as is their ability to access and draw upon the support of the global bodies mandated to defend their rights, protect their environments, and mitigate the effects of conflict.

Block II: Future Representation

New forms of political autonomy generate new forms of visual representation and art. Stateless and autonomist organizations have realized temporal and travelling embassies, issued passports, and established new cultural institutions to represent their right to self-determination, their history, and their cultural heritage. What is the role of art and culture in establishing new models of political representation?

Jolle Demmers

Jolle Demmers is Associate Professor and co-founder of the Centre for Conflict Studies, based at the History of International Relations department of Utrecht University. She has a background in Political Science (International Relations) and Anthropology, and lectures and writes on theories of violent conflict, securitizing conflict-diasporas, and neoliberalism. She is director of the MA Conflict Studies and Human Rights at Utrecht University. Demmers was a contributor to the 2014 project *New World Embassy: Azawad* by Moussa Ag Assarid, representative of the National Liberation Movement of Azawad (MNLA), and artist Jonas Staal, in which she engaged the cultural imaginary of autonomist and independentist groups in a lecture entitled “Bluffing the State,” where she spoke of the process of both mimicking and contesting traditional enactments of statehood.

Ilena Saturay

Ilena Saturay is an artist and representative of the National Democratic Movement of the Philippines, which consists of a variety of underground movements as well as (semi-)legal political parties, and organizations with a strong leftist, Maoist signature. The National Democratic Movement gained its strength during the period of the US-backed Marcos dictatorship, from 1972 to 1986, as the Communist Party of the Philippines (founded in 1968) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (founded in 1969), rose to power in many localities throughout the country by mobilizing the peasant and worker populations by means of guerrilla tactics. Since the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, subsequent governments have continued to sell off land to foreign investors and their private militias, strengthening this broad resistance movement. Saturay is further active in several organizations confronting social and political issues such as migrant rights, women’s rights, and social justice. In October 2015 she was a speaker at the fifth New World Summit in Rojava.

Emory Douglas

Emory Douglas was the Revolutionary Artist and Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party from early 1967 until its ending in 1982. The Black Panther Party was a black revolutionary nationalist and socialist organization active in and beyond the United States. At its inception, the Black Panther Party's core practice was its armed citizens' patrols to monitor the behavior of police officers and challenge police brutality in Oakland, California. It further instituted a variety of community-based social programs, most extensively the Free Breakfast for Children Programs, and community health clinics. Douglas' artwork and design formed a powerful signature for social justice during this era, and his revolutionary art continues to support the struggle against social injustice transcending borders. Emory Douglas had retrospective exhibitions at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles and the New Museum in New York. An overview of his work was published as *Black Panther: The Revolutionary Art of Emory Douglas* (Rizzoli, 2007).

Richard Bell

Richard Bell is an Australian artist and political activist born in 1953 in Charleville, Queensland, and a member of the Kamilaroi, Kooma, Jiman and Gurang Gurang communities. He is an active voice in the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, and one of the founders of proppaNOW, a Brisbane-based aboriginal art collective. Bell's artwork emerged into the spotlight when his painting *Scientia E Metaphysica (Bell's Theorem)* won the 2003 Telstra National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Art Award with the claim "Aboriginal Art, It's a White Thing". Based in Brisbane, Bell has held numerous solo exhibitions since 1990. Richard Bell's work features in the collections of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra; Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney; as well as many state institutions. He is represented by Milani Gallery, Brisbane. Currently Bell's work is on display in the Stedelijk

Museum Bureau Amsterdam in an exhibition titled "Bell Invites," including the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, curated by Vivian Zihlerl.

Callum Clayton-Dixon

Callum Clayton-Dixon is an Anaywan man living on country and spearheading efforts to revive the Anaiwan language. As a member of the Aboriginal Provisional Government (APG), an organization formed in 1990 to campaign for Aboriginal sovereignty and self-determination, Callum carries an Aboriginal passport. He is a founding member of Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance (WAR), an organization of young Aboriginal people committed to decolonization and Aboriginal nationalism. He also coedits Aboriginal activist magazine Black Nations Rising, which promotes symbols, stories and strategies of resistance and revival.

Vivian Zihlerl

Vivian Zihlerl is a critic and curator from Brisbane (Australia), living and working in Amsterdam. Zihlerl is the founder of *Frontier Imaginaries*, a multi-platform exhibition and research project initiated in 2014/2015. The project departs from Australian dialogues such as climate debates, the offshoring and enclosure of asylum seekers, ongoing Indigenous struggles, and urban-rural divides within a knowledge economy. Zihlerl has further curated major projects with the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, the Witte de With Centre for Contemporary Art Rotterdam, the ICA London and OCAT Shenzhen. She has taught at the Dutch Art Institute (Arnhem) and in Critical Studies at the Sandberg Institute in Amsterdam. She is editor of *The Lip Anthology* (MacMillan, Kunstverein Publishing, 2013), *The Drumhead by Gerry Bibby* (Sternberg Press, 2014) and *ReReading Appropriation (If I Can't Dance, I Don't Want To Be Part Of Your Revolution, 2015)*.

Block III: Future Projection (final assembly)

Having discussed the crises of democracy in the security state of the War on Terror, the alternative practice of stateless democracy, as well as examples of autonomist models of organization from all over the world; what is our assessment of the democratic project in our present time, and how do we look upon its potential future?

Chris Keulemans

Chris Keulemans is a Dutch writer and journalist who has stood at the foundation of several cultural and political institutions in Amsterdam, as the founder of Perdu, director at De Balie, artistic director of de Tolhuistuin, and the co-founder of Free Press Unlimited. He is chairman of ASKV, the aid organization for undocumented refugees in The Netherlands, and of In den Vreemde, in support of artists under pressure. As part of his research into the role of art in times of crisis and armed struggle, he has traveled to Beirut, Jakarta, Algiers, Prishtina, Sarajevo Tirana, New York, New Orleans, Kiev and Ramallah. He has published several novels, amongst them *Een korte wandeling in de heuvels* (Van Genneep, 1994) and *De Amerikaan die ik nooit geweest ben* (Augustus, 2004). He is a widely known speaker and moderator, connecting the domains of art, society, and politics. Keulemans publishes for the Dutch weekly *Groene Amsterdammer*. In October 2015, he was a member of the international delegation to Rojava organized by the New World Summit.

Simon P. Sapioper

Simon P. Sapioper is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the second cabinet of the National Government of the Republic of West-Papua since 2010, a member of the Papua National Party (PARNA), and a member of the leadership of the National Executive Board of the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM) since 2006. West-Papua is the western part of the island of New Guinea in the South Pacific Ocean, and is home to over two hundred and forty different peoples and languages of Melanesian origin. Following its independence from the Netherlands in 1963, West-Papua was annexed by Indonesia. West-Papuan face severe human rights abuses, destruction of natural resources, forced transmigration programs, and murder at the

hands of the Indonesian army. Despite the many different languages and peoples, West-Papuan peoples have recently drafted a common constitution. Raising their flag is considered a criminal offense by Indonesia, who has blacklisted the Free Papua Movement (OPM) and its liberation army as a “terrorist organization.”

Contributions to the final assembly will be made by the following speakers of the New World Summit–Utrecht:

Karim Abdian; Quit Arrufat; Richard Bell; Fernando Burgés; Callum Clayton-Dixon; Jodi Dean; Jolle Demmers; Dilar Dirik; Emory Douglas; Radha D’Souza; Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei; Elena Tarifa Herrero; Maria Hlavajova; Nancy Hollander; Joost Jongerden; Chris Keulemans; Leila Khaled; Meike Nack; Yoonis Osman Nuur; Ilena Saturay; Mireia Vehí; Vivian Zihlerl; and others.

