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**Readymade-image-sentence: protest aesthetics in
a time of democracy post-1989**

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READY-MADE-IMAGE- SENTENCE: PROTEST AESTHETICS IN A TIME OF DEMOCRACY POST- 1989

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ABSTRACT

Jacques Rancière perceives the image as what is sayable and visible and 20C film montage as an Image-sentence: the closest proximity of parallel realities (Rancière 2007). Prohibited from public view, Marcel Duchamp's 1917 Ready-made revolution is remembered in a photographic image: a fountain-urinal (Hick 2012). The mourning after WWII, George Orwell noted readymade-sentences of what could(n't) be said (Covil 2017). Captured by Rene Magritte, the treachery of a painted-word-image-thought, could have been a film about what it wasn't (Flavia 2014). About now, Walter Benjamin saw an optical unconscious in the photograph miraculously inverting the awe of culture and nature (Ferris 2008). After 1989, Bruno Latour held this modern Constitution as equally anti-modern (before ever having been modern) and postmodern, after which there would be nothing, except the digital image (Latour 1993). Before this, Situationist International and Fluxus showed life as the other side art. Keep your coins, I want change, read millennial graffiti's signature anonymity. With no True North, this portfolio-essay presents an Image of protest aesthetics in a time of democracy post-1989. Before, from a North in the South; after from southern hemisphere parallels; in-between from a South in the North. Overarching is a Pacific mirror. Each readymade-image-sentence has four cartoons and four, 200-word max. abstract captions.

Keywords:

aesthetics, protest, city, North-South, East-West

AUTHOR'S NOTE

My understanding of a visual essay (see: portfolio-essay) draws on my life experience, acquired knowledge through making art and a recent reading of Jacques Rancière's Future of the Image that struck me with two ideas.

The image is what is sayable and simultaneously what is visible.

The montage of photographic images is the closest proximity to two parallel realities.

However, I believe this visual essay is a collage in that it is the visible and sayable, in montages and text, of and as a material reality.

I utilize the idea of the readymade (what is materially available in contemporary society) with the image (what is the montage of the sayable and the visible) to create a very long sentence called the visual essay.

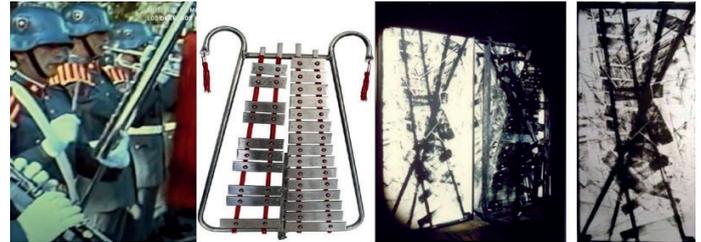
1. GRADUATION

I studied at an Institute of Technology that became a University just before art and design practice became academic research. Graduating with a degree in Graphic Communications, my first commission was creating props for a scene in the Australian film Neil Lynne released in 1985 (Stratton 1990). Made for the cinema, the celluloid film was only shown electronically in people's homes. It concerned the love affair of an artist/political activist and a journalist/soldier, divided and united before, during, after and in between Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. Overarching these 1984 props for a fictitious 1970s demonstration in a reconstructed street of Melbourne, was a 1968 Atelier Populaire aesthetic. Anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-war, Cold War images from the Southern hemisphere but what is now called the Global North. I haven't seen the picture. Overarching this and the beginning of the next decade, I was living in the empty Melbourne city centre. When the Wall came down in Europe, Melbourne Australia was re-imagining its former industrial port as a Multifunction Polis, part of Global Waterfront development. The world turned, without going anywhere, from premodern modernity to postmodern modernity (Latour 1993, Subirats 2005). The words for "Third World"

changed to "Developing" for the Global South and "Developed" for the Global North with the New Cold War contained in the image of Iraq War I and II.

2. SOLID-ARITY 1984-1994

The image developed by chemical photography was becoming obsolete in the 1980s. I made chemical photographic



Before: Scene from David Bradbury's documentary Chile ¿Hasta Cuando? 1986. Image of Lyre Xylophone. Defence Phetching and sculptural negative plate 2.0m X 2.0m X various. Defence, Artist Proof Phetching, 1986 1.0m X 2.0m. Author.

contact prints using 1:1 glass plates as negatives. Glass, rolled with flat and frottaged printer's ink, scribe-etched in lines of transparency, was mounted in large wooden frames with or without readymade objects/images. In a blackened studio, a reversed SLR camera (darkroom enlarger) was used as the exposure source. Each print was altered in the process with direct ink drawing onto the photographic paper. The chemical development of the reversed contact-image would wash out the ink drawing as white line. I called



After: Triptych "Three Kind Deaths for Servants and Conmen" 90 cm X 160cm 1987. In 1988, together with the before Phetching Defence, this triptych was donated to Chilean Solidarity Exhibition and Auction entitled the Bond Building/Towers of Torture, Tin shed Gallery, University of Sydney 1988. Author.

these images Phetchings. The image above portrays a lyre xylophone played,

distorted and broken in frustration, then burnt with its frame, leaving the image of glass keys suspended and reverberating in time. Based on the opening scene from Australian documentary film maker David Bradbury's Chile ¿Hasta Cuando? released 1986. The film begins with a military band, playing Happy Birthday for the Chilean Dictator General Pinochet (1973-1989) with metal key, xylophone player in midground.

The image consists of three standing figures, propped up by scaffolding, from which are respectively hung twisted coat-hangers, a board game of the pea and three cups and a tray of burnt matches for sale. The base for each is an emptied oil barrel. The heads are respectively: a two-way inundation of a scream/shower, a sphere of asphyxiation/drowning and, lastly, a defaced road sign. Over 60 artists donated works to the Chilean solidarity exhibition-auction which the University of Sydney Pro-Vice Chancellor unsuccessfully attempted to ban. The Curators responded by saying "We want to remove the distance between here and Chile by linking his (Alan Bond's) proposed Sydney monument (tower buildings) with his activities in Chile. We want to negate the positive images of power and prestige that these monuments are supposed to symbolise" (Munz 1988). Alan Bond, multi-millionaire-media-mogul and property developer invested in General Pinochet's telecommunications company in dictatorial Chile. However,

During rapid change, the advertisement and conversion of the new from the old occurs at an accelerated rate until... the new is known as well as the old is forgotten; redundant. These periods of overlap and progress to the point where the new becomes old once it is expressed and remembered, can only be reaction to what happened.

In-between: Nett Gain 1989. AV analogue, synchronised, double SAV carousel projectors, 4 track recording and 99, 35 mm 1:1 handmade Phetching slides. Detail of part of the audio represented in an accompanying concrete poem of cutup typewriter written text. Screened at Victorian State Film Theatre Modern Image Makers Association, Other Pleasures, Experimenta 1989. Author.

none of what was said, heard, seen and reproduced in the created media controversy of art, politics, solidarity and free speech in Australia concerned what would happen in the streets of Chile one month later.

The typewritten words, printed on photocopied transparency as a Phetching, were heard on the analogue multitrack recorded voiceover in the darkened auditorium. The text as sound and the slides as visuals opened with an image of the words in the sentence "Visit the Potato Eaters in the year that Irises sells for 54 million" referring to two Van Gogh paintings, and Alan Bond's purchase of the latter in 1987. The image of Nett Gain concerns, the privatisation of prisons, public



Overarching: My enemy's enemy is my 1988. Phetching in its three constituent parts as an exhibited-installation. 1. Single piece of glass, 1M X 1M, cut to a unilateral cross 1M X 1M as the 3-dimensional, plane, negative plate of rotating object. 2. framed printed image 1.4m X 1.2M and 3. Projected transient, rotating 2- dimensional projected image. Solo installation/exhibition .333 recurring that included before, after, in between and overarching at Linden Gallery, St Kilda, Melbourne, 1990. Author.

opinion and the globalisation of media through digitisation and advertising. The sequence closes with the audio image of

“Opinion polls found that 80% of the voters agreed that 33% of those eligible to vote did” and the statistical fact that only 4% believe that “art has no use at all”.

On 5 October, 1988, 98% of registered Chilean voters voted in a plebiscite and 56% voted NO to eight more years of the Dictatorship.

The title is a Cold War slogan represented without words in the X-Y unilateral cross. The cruciform axes are etched/ intersected with the parabolic curve of exponential equations and the optical destruction of perspectives in three uniform spaced, equal figures, placed over two sets of converging lines – in both axes. The medium of Phetching (light) is presented with its plate and print as a three-part installation in the white cube of the gallery turned into a black box. Three is the smallest collective number to form a tyranny of the majority vote: One divided by three in decimal currency = .333 recurring. In 1990 Chileans elected a center-left Coalition Government that won four consecutive elections with

different Presidents to govern until 2010. The return to Democracy in Chile was marked by the globalization and digitization of markets, including art.

3. DEMOCRATIC PREPOSTMODERNITY 1994 -2000

Before the revolution, since the beginning of the 20th century, the Somoza family ran Nicaragua on behalf of the United States United Fruit



Before: Central Managua, Nicaragua 1994. 35mm photograph, Olympus OM-1 camera, silver gelatine print, 10 X 8 inches, (Intencity AFP 2004). Building destroyed by 1972 Earthquake with derelict armoured vehicle from 1979 revolution. Author.



After: Graphic design, photography and illustration for NGO Cantera (the Mine) Centro de Educación y Comunicación Popular. 1994-1996. Documentation of theatre workshop with children. Ciudad Sandino. Managua, Nicaragua. Analogue 35mm photography, Olympus OM-1 camera, silver gelatine print, 10 X 8 inches. Author.

Company, as a feudal, family farm. “He may be a bastard but he’s our bastard” is the character reference for the three generations of Somoza Dictators as attributed intergenerationally by US Presidents Truman, FDR and Nixon. The earthquake in 1972 destroyed the capital city of Managua leaving only the Bank of America and the Intercontinental Hotel towers standing. Taking the

reconstruction money with him, Somoza fled the revolution in 1979. On the country's northern border, the counter revolution began the same year. The US government armed and trained the counter revolution Contra and imposed crippling trade sanctions on Nicaragua from 1981-1984. This continued illegally with the US administration trading Iranian drugs for Contra arms (Iran Contra Affair) from 1985-1987. Nicaragua's first democratic elections were held in 1990. Lonely Planet described the image of the non-existent capital city as "look[ing] like the third world war had been fought and lost in Managua's streets" (Keller, 1992). It had.

God is Dead said Nietzsche's madman in



In-between: 1000 Cordoba banknote stamped with 1,000,000 1979-1990 inflation of 1000%. Reissued 20 Cordoba banknote 1995. Author's collection. Steel sculpture with neon contour. Augusto Cesar Sandino, Centre of Managua, 25 metres X 1 metre by various. 35mm photograph Olympus OM-1 camera, silver gelatine print. 12 X 4 inches. Author.

1882 (Nietzsche 1882). Thank God for the Revolution wrote an Australian solidarity member of Victorian Parliament in 1985 (Coxsedge 1986). After the Berlin wall fell in 1989, the global Left of solidarity went on a soul-searching mission. Nicaragua experienced democracy for the first time the following year.

Guided by Australian satellite bases, the smart bombs of Iraq War I began to fall in 1991. In this state of mind, my Chilean/Australian partner and I volunteered to live and work in post-revolutionary Nicaragua with the Australian Overseas Services Bureau. My partner was appointed as a professor of Architecture

at the National University of Engineering. I volunteered to be houseperson for our two kids and became a part-time graphic designer for Cantera. This work included the photographic documentation, design and illustration for publications, photo-novels of and for their community development activities, the re-establishing a photographic darkroom and mural projects. Cantera has an educational facility in Ciudad Sandino on Managua's outskirts.

Posthumous celebration of Augusto Sandino's 100th birthday, 1995. Considered right-wing, Nicaragua's first democratically elected president Violeta Chamorro was elected for a second term in 1994. She was the wife of the editor of the newspaper La Prensa who was assassinated by Somoza's national guard in 1978. In 1979, the incoming Revolutionary guard quickly ostracized Chamorro's family and businesses yet they had fought and died with the Frente Sandinista Liberación Nacional (FSLN) against the Dictator Anastasio Somoza. During the revolution, from 1979, Comandante Daniel Ortega of the FSLN assumed and held military presidency



Overarching: 1972 Earthquake and 1979 revolution. The destroyed tombstone sculpture for Gavarette 1889. Destroyed Managua Cathedral. 35mm photographs, Olympus OM-1 camera, silver gelatin print. 10 X 8 inches 1994. Author.

until 1990. Augusto Cesar Sandino, the founding, fighting father of Nicaragua's campesino revolution is identified by his broad brimmed hat, likened to the image of a volcano sitting on top of an infinity symbol. Cut to this man's figure,



in the night sky, the postmodern 100th birthday present monumental image appears like a 1950s advertising billboard for a fast-food franchise.

The first postmodern building in Nicaragua, designed by Mexican Architect Ricardo Legorreta, opened in 1993. It was the new Managua Cathedral and its multitude of doomed roofs was locally likened to parts of the male and female anatomy. We left from the fledgling democratic republic of Nicaragua in 1996, via a post-second world, post-Socialist, post-Dictatorial Chile, arriving in post-industrial first world Australia, across the Pacific and walked into the new millennia in a car dependent suburb. Then the other 9/11, like a 1970s disaster movie, and Iraq II as a sequel from whence we came. Imbedded journalists and bomb-cam were everyday images. In Nicaragua in 2007, democratically elected President Danial Ortega was moving the constitutional goalposts to remain in power. Still in power in 2021, he arrested the opposition leader, daughter of the first democratically elected President of Nicaragua Violetta Chamorra, then 18 more opposition leaders. The clock was striking 13 for Presidential elections.

I listened from Australia to the toll our Nicaraguan, former FSLN combatant, journalist friend noted in 1995: that the revolution created two bourgeoisie. This summoned the current, second dictator dynasty, former revolutionary President and now wife-vice-president to the fore for life and the one to come after.

4. CITY IMAGE 2000 -2014

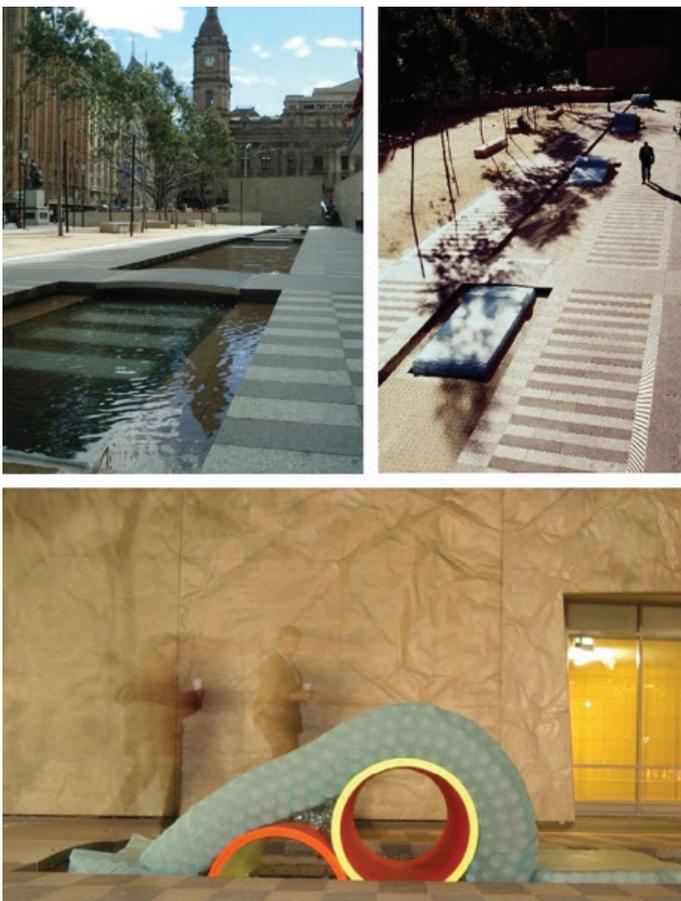
Established in 1835, Colonial Governors of Melbourne believed public squares pro-



After: Public Writing. Laneway Commission 2010, Lingham Lane, Melbourne. 3 months 2010-2011. Digital dual projection. Animated hybridized typewriter and plumage of a Yellow crested Cockatoo. Text composed for the dimensions of sealed window and doorway cavities and the bluestone walls and lintels of the heritage listed lane. Author.

moted democracy, so none were built (Annear 2005). The first square was built in 1980, then cut in half with the first half being sold as property and the second half opening in 1999 as the New City Square. By 2000, Melbourne's Waterfront Development had built a second CBD next door. The first one was regenerated with a temporary public art commissioning program, shopping and university education as contemporary commodities and laneways of apartment living. Melbourne became the World's Most Liveable City 2010 to 2017 (Melbourne 2017). Before this, the millennial drought 2001-2009 closed all city fountains in a symbolic, governmentality, gesture. New City Square was readymade for a temporary intervention that I conceived in the supermarket, made ready in the factory and assembled by hand in the square. The City Council commission purchased

Before: Square Water, 5 sculptures - 7000 purchased bottles of water, polyurethane membranes, 2 concrete water pipes. 5 X 1.5M X 6M X various. 12 weeks, 2003, New Melbourne City Square, Melbourne Environmental Commissions. Author.



my drought-fountain for public image, weaving together water's symbol of commodification as lifestyle - purchased bottled water - and retro-packaged this new public product in 1970s kitsch - the waterbed. This intervention revealed-concealed two heritages: an absent square missing from the original city grid and absent water from the Fluid City's reticulating fountains (Dovey 2005). The New Melbourne Square closed in 2017.

running the heritage laneway's length.

In Melbourne's second suburban expansion 1947-1971 (Davison 1978), the transport solution for the movement of goods and people was the freeway network. Two images of this unlikely public space are experienced in the same M3 of Melbourne's eastern and south-eastern suburbs. This "large static vehicle" (Virilio 2004) combines the 18 kilometres public Eastern Freeway, constructed between 1972- 1997, and the privatised tolled extension called Eastlink of 36 kilometres built between 2003-2008. The Eastern freeway was the site of Melbourne's longest and most violent urban protests (anti-freeway) in the 1970s (Rundell 1985). Since 2006, I documented through commemorative actions the spontaneous memorials to car fatalities along the Eastern freeway, in place since 1998. The sites of fatalities on Eastlink tolled freeway 2010-2014 have no spon-



In-between: Commemorative Collage clockwise. M3 tolled/public freeway, Melbourne Australia 2006-2010. Frottage of lighting pole & commemorative brass plaque, base & site of fatality on the Eastern Freeway. First road fatality, Eastlink, tolled Freeway 18/2/2010 photo by Tony Eccelston. Colored plastic flowers on replacement gantry 2013. Black replacement flowers on same gantry. 2014. Author.

Melbourne is a suburban city – one that developed suburbs before a dense urban core (Davison 1978). The first suburban expansion (1869-1888) was followed by a depression more devastating than the Great Depression of the 1930s. H.G. Lingham was writing in the 1890s and his books were banned, considered seditious. This audio-visual intervention has the authors words being type-spoken by a hybridized writing machine of the quill and a typewriter. The last global typewriter factory may have been closed in 2009, but its QWERTY keyboard continues to be thumb typed on mobile phones. Public Writing is composed from news re-membered by the author from the car radio when travelling to the city from the suburbs on the freeway where he found the roadkill. Projected into the heritage-listed lane, the silent voice of the text begins "what can be said and what goes w/o saying" and ends with: "Our post-industrial bodies crave something without cost, worth or value.... Boredom." The separate lines of a couplet sequentially rise above the writing machine, visually leapfrog to join the lintel and form non-sensical sentences



Overarching: The Sky Above the Water Below, one day, 2014. Exchanged tolled freeway signs. Two bridges on Eastlink freeway cross the same-signed Dandenong Creek, 15 km apart. Author.

taneous memorials. Commemorating the first reported Eastlink fatality - the collision of a semi-trailer with a tolling gantry - I cable-tied coloured plastic flowers to the replaced identical gantry. They were immediately removed by 24/7 maintenance. Approaching at 100 kph, the black plastic flowers I replaced them with, were indistinguishable on the black gantry, only noticeable in a sideways glance at the commemorative site. They remained.

Melbourne 2030 urban growth boundary aimed to limit urban sprawl but was obsolete when drawn because the third sustained suburban expansion had begun in 2005. The suburban city's privatised transport solution shared the public's sky and unconsciously crossed the public space of the Dandenong Creek via two seamless bridges. Forming a non-rhyming couplet for "now" (3 seconds to cross @ 100 kph) (Hoy 2012) the signs on either side now held the image of "The Sky Above" then "the Water Below". First line appears in the windscreen, the second in the rear-view mirror once across. The second time this "now" happens is in 10 minutes @ 100 kph crossing the second bridge. Then again in the evening, returning home to the third suburban expansion. In 1901 Australia became a federated nation, Melbourne the de facto Capital until 1927, the White Australia Policy was enacted and aboriginal people would not vote until 1962, the year I was born. Federation Square opened in 2003 partly funded by the sale of half the original 1980 square of which the other half was closed in 2017. The sky above, the water below.

5. READYMADE SEASONS 2012-2016

The UNCTAD III building, 1972 constructed an urban myth that it was built in 275 days by the will of the people (reference 2014). For the Chilean Chamber of Construction, it was no miracle but the public and private partnership of 245 days (El mercurio 1972). The missing month to build the home for the third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is like Marxist President Allende's unkept/unbroken promise to unite "the split nature of Modern Man with Socialism's New Man" (Allende 2014).

Bombing the Presidential Building on September 11, 1973, the Military Junta occupied UNCTAD III where the Dictator celebrated the first anniversary of Chile's 9/11. When he decreed the 1980 Constitution, the Artists collective UCA created a protest intervention, pouring red ink into the Mapocho River (Mosquera 2006). This non-art as protest concept only exists in a photograph image taken before the small stain dispersed unnoticed in the torrent of the river that runs across Santiago. In 2014, the New Majority coalition government raised the issue of



Before: Re-Constitution. 2016. Mapocho River, Santiago de Chile. Child's inflatable buoy, three 120 degree Go-pro cameras = 360 degree. Mapocho river. Author.

a new Constitution. Re-Constitution 2015 proposes to film the entire Metropolitan with an iridescent red buoy subtitle in the 360-degree frame.

The 40th commemoration of the Golpe Estado, the symposium title and slide beginning the day on Culture, hypothesised that the current democracy (23 years) is a continuation of the Dictatorship (17 years). Influenced by the



After: Arte y Política: 17+23, PowerPoint title slide. GOLPE 1973-2013, History, Culture, Politics. International Symposium, 9, 10, 11 September 2013 Santiago de Chile. (LaPSoS 2013). Author's photograph.

1960s interventions, appropriations, and semiotics, the first generation of Chilean artists that were represented in this



Overarching: La Ciudad Enferma es Rescatable, 2016. Providencia, Santiago de Chile. Urban intervention festival 100 en 1 día. October 2016. 300 plaster-cast, builder's plumb bobs suspended from Racalamac Bridge (1955). Author.

1989 into a globalised art market with this non-art of protest as the only art. By 2000 these artists were teaching an unprecedented number of art school graduates. Major government funded cultural institutions opened by 2010 including the Museum of Memory and Human Rights and the Gabriela Mistral Centre for Art, Culture and People (the rebuilt/former UNCTAD III building – GAM). Born in democracy, the next generation of artists were graduating and in attendance at GOLPE 1973-2013.

Travelling between Santiago and Melbourne (2012-2015) my practice-lead research of the Mapocho River became the solo exhibition "Orrillas, Puentes y el Torrente" (edges, bridges and the torrent), Museo Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna 2016, Santiago. 'La Ciudad Enferma es Rescatable' (the sick city can be saved) is a saying of Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, the father of Santiago's 19C modernisation who envisaged the canalisation of the Mapocho river to create public space and connect the city. From this river's edge, the plumb bobs appear to hover above the river. From the bridge, the image of a network of moving parabolas vertiginously materialises the wind's upstream turbulence. Chilean author, ambassador and former member of the Communist Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), Roberto Ampuero recollects 1980s Santiago with "... bodies floating down the Mapocho river" (Ampuero 2012). Ampuero's fellow convert from MIR and Minister for Culture in the centre right government in 2018, Mauricio Rojas, questioned the selected memory of such images and



In-between:

Wrapped Corner of the GAM, Alameda Avenue, next to the metro Universidad Católica. Not an artwork, the glass cube underneath began being protected from protest violence in 2013. Original, uncovered clear glass cube 2014. Permanent protection, Manifiesto GAM billboard project 2018-2019. October 19, 2019. October 22, 2019, with vandalized Metro entrance. GAM façade voluntarily turned into mural wall (Álamos 2019). Finally rearmend with full metal jacket December 2019. Author. '40 years are nothing' was the title of the parallel solidarity conference in Australia in 2013 (Leighton, López 2015). On the other side of the Pacific in 2013, the protection of the GAM was a foreboding image of a readymade image sentence. The threshold logic (Peña 2020) of the urban insurrection of 18 October 2019, provided the grammar for the victory of violence over dialogue as common language in this image centre. Google "Chilean Winter" June 2021 = The Chilean Student protests 2011-2013 for the General wikipublics: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011%E2%80%932013_Chilean_student_protests + "A Student Revolution" for wikiacademics and sympathizers of global student struggles wherever they are: <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/iujur/article/view/24207>. Google "Chilean Awakening" June 2021 = The constitutional process "Global Rights Advocate" which any decent citizen is: "protests against metro fare price hikes led to an unprecedented constitutional process". <https://www.openglobalrights.org/chiles-constitutional-awakening/> + "A troubled relationship between neoliberalism and democracy" for Marxist academic which most academics are (even if they don't know it) is: <https://press.princeton.edu/ideas/chiles-awakening-and-the-troubled-relationship-between-neoliberalism-and-democracy>.

symposium, created non-art as protest based upon: the unattainable freedom of expression during a Dictatorship; the manifestation of this in-and-as art not to be seen, shown or sold except clandestinely and; the absolute "say no and die" that made this art unable to be appropriated by the Dictatorship (Mosquera 2006). The second generation of artists represented graduated post-



Before: Pío Nono bridge (2017-2019). Mapocho River, Santiago de Chile. Covered in graffiti, the bridge hosted billboard advertising to pay for its restoration but was soon re-covered in graffiti. I carried a can of matching spray-paint and each day, walking the dog, I painted over a section of the bridge. Within a month it was restored and maintained this way for six months. Then the urban insurrection 2019. Author.

changed into “Pío Nono”, and in 1986 it was moved 100 metres downstream. This Meccano bridge was listed as heritage in 1996 after being moved, i.e., the object of the bridge was listed, whereas the place made by the crossing wasn't. This bridge was turned into a theatre, but its nickname stayed with the original site

was forced to resign after 96 hours in the post. Post WWII history locates Nazism and Communism as born in the same inimical perspective entering the 20th century. Postmodern scholars place Nazism and Capitalism in the same inimical perspective of nascent globalisation in 1989.

6. THE IMAGE SENTENCE MONTAGE 2016-2019

The focus of my later investigation of the Mapocho River concerned the remaining, but moved, Meccano bridges of the 19th century Canalisation of the Mapocho river. One of these heritage bridges ran from Plaza Baquedano, the centre of Santiago. In this location lies the ornate, imitation 19th century bridge, built and located in 1986. (Project Anywhere 2020). The 19th century Meccano bridge that formerly existed in this site, was originally named after the Chilean poet Vicente Huidobro who created concrete poetry with Apollinaire in Paris at the beginning of 20C. Around 1930 its name was



After: Readymade, Ground Zero 2019. Santiago de Chile. Instrumentalized pavement as missiles. Daily accumulation of such weapons. Shovel and Broom as GAM 2019. Re-appropriation of Marcel Duchamp's Snow Shovel 1915 and Joseph Beuys May Day broom (1972). Author.



In-between: Protest intervention and detail. Design and installation of intervention by Author, neighbourhood protest. June 2019, Intersection of Parque Forestal and Plaza Baquedano, Santiago de Chile. Same site, 2020. Park benches torn up and burnt in nearby barricades. Advertising for Apruebo (approve) for the writing of a new constitution, September 2020 ACAB defaced Metro sign, one of the 77 attacked in the urban insurrection that extorted the plebiscite.

and crossing of an imitation of earlier heritage. Alongside this bridge, Plaza Baquedano is being called “Plaza de la Dignidad” – Dignity Plaza – by supporters of the urban insurrection that began in 2019.

October 14-15, 2019, Secondary school students socially networked to ambush Metro stations. October 16-17, Metro stations extensively vandalized. October 18, 20 Metro stations simultaneously set ablaze. Widespread looting, arson and vandalism spread up and down the country and, by October 25, directly caused the deaths of 11 people. October 19, a State of Emergency declared. October 20, 77 of a possible 136 Metro stations suffered damage and numerous buses burnt, the entire metropolitan public transport system shut down (Metro 2019). October 21, State of Emergency extended to 11 of Chile’s 16 regions. In the epicentre, all urban infrastructure was destroyed by rioting protesters, a soccer field area’s worth of pavement smashed up with crowbars and hammers to be used as missiles to throw at police. After this image of the “Chilean Awakening”, my area of practice lead research was renamed ‘Ground Zero’. At street level, for 6 kilometres east and west, every window and doorway were fitted with welded, sheet metal protection. Eighteen buildings were burnt in Ground Zero, four destroyed and three historic

churches desecrated with fire and stone and no functioning street or traffic lights in what was now called Ground Zero. I joined volunteers cleaning our heritage barrio every morning until 1.2 million people marched on Plaza Baquedano on October 25, 2019.

In mid-2019, A new Metro entrance connecting a new underground line to Metro Baquedano was planned for the park. Thirty-three, 100-year old trees would be removed from the city park in the plan. My intervention mapped the harm that would be done to public space. Like bandages or Red Cross arm bands, the Metro’s logo with the words “no me cortes” “don’t cut me down” were installed on the trees designated for removal. Strikingly visible from the two parallel roads of traffic and public transport the intervention read like a line-up of elderly citizens, blindfolded to be euthanised.

October 2019, Parque Forestal 2020. Two hundred park benches burnt in barricades, all park lighting smashed, and the thirty monuments vandalised. Supporters of the urban insurrection were university educated with an average age of thirty.

In 2020 after COVID quarantine was temporarily lifted, regular Friday riots resumed this art of protest and, marking



Overarching: Bi-lingual heritage tour of Barrio Lastarria, Santiago – art, architecture and public space - National Heritage Week, May 2019. Author and tour guide. 100 Santiaguinos participated. Converting this to an English-speaking heritage walk, the first booking was for 19 October, 2019. Tourists could not enter Santiago because the riots of the urban insurrection had closed the airport. The second booking was for 20 October, 2019 and I took stranded tourists through the smouldering, vandalised and graffitied remnants of our heritage barrio home. Metro Universidad Católica 2016-2019-2021. Author.

the 18 October first anniversary, protesters destroyed two historic churches with arson. I documented the urban insurrection Act I (October 18, 2019, to March 27, 2020) as a Ground Zero resident. In 2020, we sold our apartment home after being threatened by masked protesters many times, eventually being beaten up for trying to prevent vandalism (el Mercurio, 17 January 2020). I conducted a revised 2019 heritage tour for National Heritage Day, May 2021, entitled Material Heritage and Chilean October Crisis 2019-202X (<https://www.diadelpatrimonio.cl/>).

7. READYMADE SENTENCE INVERSION 2019-2021

The world was watching this Image in October 2019 but only had Image-sentences to describe what was visible and sayable, as the urban insurrection

called the Chilean October Crisis exploded. None of these Readymade Sentences stated the material reality of the urban insurrection. Brute protest violence's victory over democratic dialogue began with the inversion of Chile's Image as a Readymade. Beginning on October 18, the protesters eventually destroyed 7 metro stations and extensively vandalised 70 more. The next day, October 19, the same protesters alleged human rights abuse in response to the State of Emergency declared to quell the urban insurrection. Then, 1.2 million protesters demanded and achieved the writing of a new Constitution in a Peace Accord but Peace never came. The protagonists of this non-Peace as protest, we-are-not-at-war but no-peace-without-justice slogan were called Primera Línea and this anonymous ANTIFA organisation dressed in balaclavas and raised their collective fist in the right to protest. The on-screen

character carrying out the wholesale destruction of urban infrastructure was their doppelgänger called the Encapuchado (the hooded one), also in baclava, holding a Molotov at the peak of their hierarchy of needs. It was hard to tell who the delinquents were because they were not called this. They were called protesters or social justice warriors by the whole world.

Primera Línea organised tours of Ground Zero soon after the riots began. Called the Art of Protest, the free, bi-lingual tours were conducted before the nightly barricades were erected and the riots began. In Santiago, after two months of urban insurrection, the material damage in Santiago rose to 106 million USD, not includ-



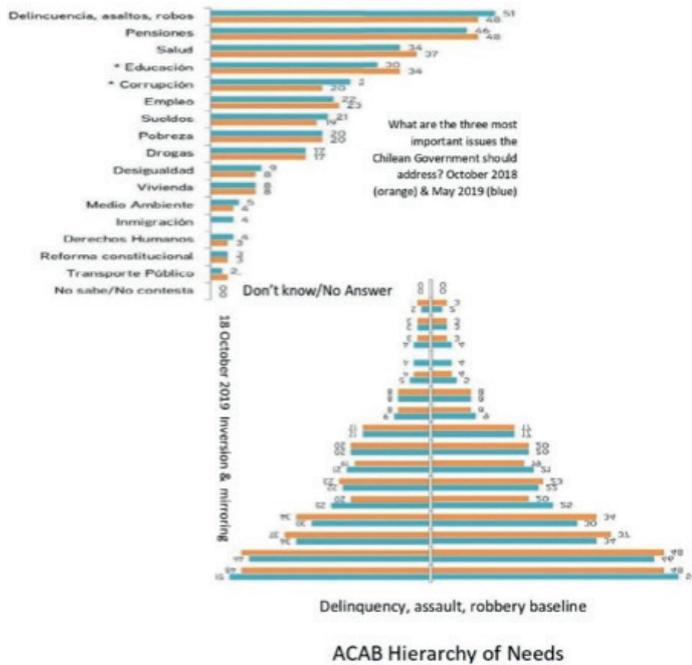
After: Ground Zero, Santiago de Chile, 19 October 2020. San Francisco de Borja Church (also known as the Police Church), Asuncion Church Primera. Police Monument.

insurrection was 4 billion USD, the loss of economic growth estimated at 3.5 billion with damage to the body politic taking another 30 years to quantify.

When COVID quarantine lifted in October 2020, the cultural revolution began in earnest. The plebiscite for the writing of the new Constitution, extorted by the urban insurrection, approved the writing of a new constitution. Protesters marked the first anniversary of October 18 by destroying two historic churches in Ground Zero with fire, the second arson attack on the same churches and monuments made by the same protesters of the first October 18.

Ground Zero's first building burning was broadcast live on October 18, 2019. Protesters called it a montage or said el Paco lit it to frame protesters. So began the montage of public space and electronic images. EVADE, the mass fare evasion and violent ambush campaign by secondary school students in early October was called Civil Disobedience. This word image sentence appeared next to ACAB early in the urban insurrection on the GAM's gates. ACAB doesn't need translating and the Chilean Police Forces known as el Paco, Los Carabineros were Primera Línea's Bastards.

During COVID quarantine, protesters played "Chile Crisis" through avatars – Spiderman, Feminista, etc. – stoning Police to death in a virtual Plaza Baquedano. The purpose-built Violeta Parra Museum that opened in 2015, was closed in May 2020 after 3 arson attacks by Primera Línea. Violeta Parr's, Gracias a la Vida, was not sung by protesters. Ground Zero's postcode became the alphanumeric 1312. The video game has been taken down.



Before: Inverted and mirrored infographics of CEP. (<https://www.cepchile.cl/>) Author. In 2017, Chile held the highest United Nations Human Development Index in Central and South America (Conceição 2019), ranking #42 in the world. In October, 2018 and May 2019, Centro de Estudios Públicos conducted a public opinion survey on the issues that the Government needed to address. The top issue was “delinquency, assaults and robbery”. The last three issues were “Human Rights”, “Constitutional reform” and “Public Transport”, equal last with “Don’t Know”.

ing the Metro damages estimated at 350 million USD (Atisba 2019). The axis of destruction spread four kilometres east and seven kilometres west of Plaza Baquedano, being in the national epicentre, Ground Zero.

At a national level, up to March 2020 and COVID quarantine, the national material damage caused by the urban



In-between: Top: GAM entrance 2014, Google Earth 2014 and author’s photograph 2019. Bottom: GAM Alameda façade and reinforced protection of glass cube (first wood, then wood and metal and finally sheet metal) with ACAB graffiti, slogan about urban insurrection “political prisoners” and a paste-up image of 1993 convicted, jailed, escaped in 1996, extradited and jailed in Chile in 2019, assassin and kidnapper Comandante Ramiro - Mauricio Hernández Norambuena. Author’s photograph 2019. Ramiro is a former commander of the political-military organization Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez, FPMR). Readymade Duchampian intervention in Comandante Ramiro’s public image with Hitler moustache by the Author. The original image of Comandante Ramiro on the GAM façade appears on; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauricio_



8. PACIFIC CITY MIRRORS 2019-20XX

In 2013, the University of Sydney Australia held a solidarity conference with the 40th commemoration of the Golpe Estado, 11 September 1973. It was turned into a book called “40 years are Nothing” (Leighton López 2013). In Chile, the book *Arte y Política 2005-2015* concerns contemporary artists, iconic Chilean Artist Lotty Rosenfeld’s influence and her representation in the Venice Biennale 2016. NO + (read as “no more”) 1983-1984 was an iconic non-art-protest intervention during the Dictatorship by artist collective CADA that included Rosenfeld (Neustadt 2001). NO+ pre-

Overarching: Cleaning the tomb of the unknown soldier with seven conversations. January 18, 2020, Plaza Baquedano, Santiago de Chile. Body bag self-portrait. Readymade use of Square Water membrane 2003. Author.

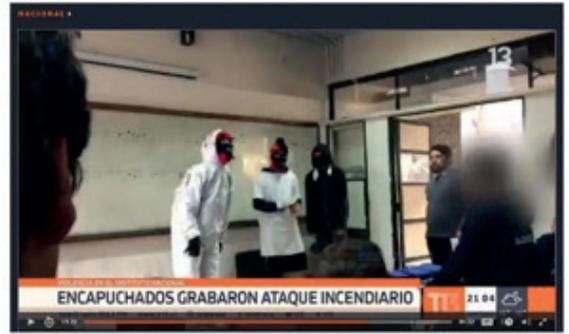


I cleaned the bronze plaque desecrated tomb to reveal the text for anyone who could read. 1. Carabineros checked my Chilean ID and we talked about the monument. 2. A woman with two children asked, "do you know where's Matapaco monument?" (protesters' mascot dog, whose name means cop killer). 3. Two female Basque tourists talked about protest. 4. Two North American tourists with Chilean guide who told us cynically that "things can be replaced ..." and I finish his slogan with sarcasm "but people can't." 5. A Chilean Father and son read "here is a soldier who fought with General Baquedano and triumphed". 6. Chilean males approached and informed me that March'll be hell. 7. National Council of Monuments representative asked me to stop because the plaque is heritage listed and protected. Author.

empties the victorious pro-democracy 1988 NO campaign. NO + LUCRO (No more profit from education) was the Chilean Winter mantra (2011-2013) (Richard 2018). NO+ is a Chilean Awakening mantra, 2019. 40 Years are Nothing, Chapter 5, examines the Dictator's appropriation of images of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular Government (1970-1973) as pure negativity and the re-appropriation of presidential ceremony to distance the Dictator from the image of violence (Leighton 2015). In 2018-2019 in Chile, the balaclava clad young protester appeared on the television news and newspapers

every other day, with a Molotov in hand (Delgado 2019). On March 15, 2020, in front of a hijacked and burnt bus as barricade in Ground Zero, this was the last time such images would be called Civil Disobedience. These images weren't seen or reported overseas. In 2021, the urban intervention protagonists who have been arrested, charged and sentenced are called "political prisoners". (Chaparro 2020).

Arte y Política 2005-2015 (Richards 2018) covers three generations of Chilean artist making non-art as protest. A double-



Before: Encapuchados, Instituto Nacional, roof, classroom and yard. Chile's leading public secondary school, Santiago. Source: Print and television Media 2018-2019.



With Metales Pesados publisher-poet, Papasfritas made a quarantine compliant non-art, art as protest, urban intervention. From the fourth-floor Publisher-poet's apartment in Ground Zero, they dressed a showroom dummy in a police uniform, put an imitation gun in its hand pointed at its head, and stood this figure on the balcony edge in a double-suicide stance. When COVID quarantine lifted, I redacted Metales Pesados' portfolio of non-art-as-protest artists and launched the contra-propaganda in the street at the base of the poet publisher's apartment building. A pyramid of these fake remainders were mounted on a destroyed piece of urban infrastructure – the remaining base of illuminated advertising destroyed after 18 October.

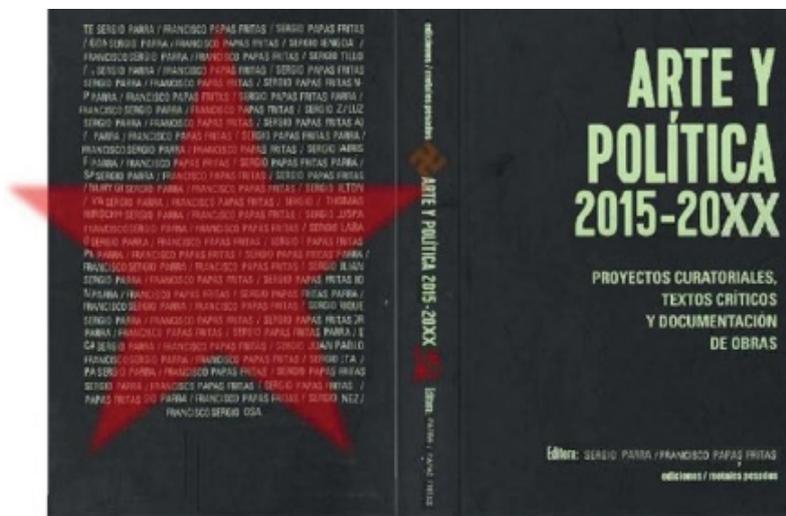
Accepting a Latin Grammy, Chilean popstar Mon Laferte bared her breasts revealing the same message, the same day, as placards in Melbourne, Australia. The allegations of rape and torture that these transpacific placards were based upon were proven false (Ayala 2020). 33 people died in the urban insurrection, 29 deaths were directly caused by rioting protesters. After four weeks of riots and

NO +. Graffiti on side of GAM, video Chile Depertó (Chile awoke), for Manifiesto GAM II, inside GAM Santiago de Chile, November 2019.

page spread features "suicide-artist" Francisco Papisfritas (Francisco Tapia Salinas) dressed as Osama Bin Laden, burning a pile of fake University student fees in his combi van parked at the GAM, 2014. Born in the years of NO+, he was 30 by the 40th GOLPE commemoration.

The pandemic of March 2020 suspended the Chilean Awakening's violence and destruction and postponed the plebiscite for the writing of a new Constitution that the urban insurrection had extorted in the November 15, 2019, Peace Accord.

After: Redacted Arte y Política 2005-2015. Publishing house Metales Pesados (Heavy Metals) is owned by poet Sergio Parra. (Richards 2018). 2020, Author. Redacted Centre spread Che Papis Manson and Sergio Stalin. 2020, Author.



destruction, Chilean President Piñera signed a Peace Accord. Peace never came (Blanco 2019).

In Australia, the co-author of 40 Years is Nothing, was teaching second semester at the University of New South Wales, Australia. Mandatory reading includes a chapter from Global Genocide Studies (Esparza 2009). In Santiago, since 2017, I have co-written and taught the course “Interventions in Public Space” at the University of Chile. Our site was Plaza Baquedano. On October 21, 2019,

Students joined the national strike and didn't return. Our site of investigation was physically destroyed by the urban insurrection.

“... [S]erious historians argue that the current democracy is a continuation of the dictatorship ... it prevails in the universities.” (Hopenhayn 2020). Sol Serrano, 2018 National Historian. National Council of Monuments removed General Baquedano's monument on March 2021. A three-metre-high, welded sheet metal wall, able to withstand the impact of a



In-between: Street Art poster. Ground Zero -Primera Línea. Representation of Mon Laferte, Pop Artist at Latin Grammys 14, November 2019 on side of GAM, Santiago de Chile, 2021. Google search “Australian Solidarity with Chile” June 2020. The Melbourne protests, ABC TV News, 14 November 2019.

vehicle travelling at 80 kph (50 mph), 30 metres long, protects the empty plinth and the tomb of the unknown soldier. Metro Baquedano underneath remains welded shut, the concourse is the pile of rubble left by Primera Línea and the Encapuchados. An unofficial truce in this 21C Cultural Revolution was called when 27 La Lista del Pueblo candidates were elected in May 2021 to the 155 seat Constitutional Assembly to write the new Constitution. These delegates said they were not bound by the rules that elected them (having not signed the November 15, 2019 Peace Accord). Primera Línea and the Encapuchados had their representatives at the table, demanding the release of “political prisoners” and a new type of government

and claimed “the mobilized people have clearly stated; normality always was the problem” 5 July 2021.

9. READY MADE IMAGE SENTENCE 2020-0202

Before we end where we began in a millennial version of 20th century teenagerhood, the GAM, including its Tourist Information Centre, was turned into a readymade propaganda centre for the New Constitution on 18 October 2019 until the GAM closed, like 500 surrounding businesses that shut down along with it by December 2019, and the ongoing urban insurrection it promoted. PUTIC proposes a tourist information centre for Ground Zero made of ready-



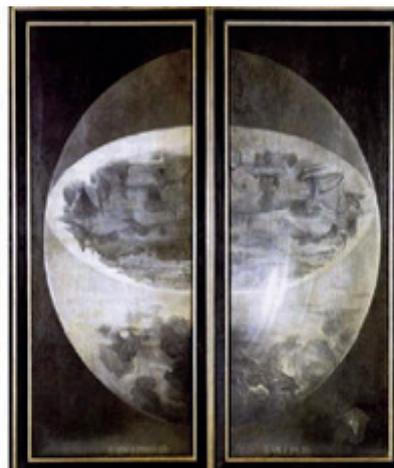
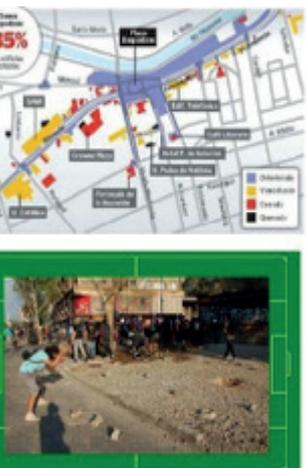
Overarching: Monument General Baquedano. December 2019. The right to protest. November 2019. Plaza Baquedano, Santiago De Chile.

made-image-sentences as a mobile montage. The Tourist creates the first montage. The Tourist encounters themselves in an optically inverted self-image. A self-portrait rendered with a flat-mirror produces an reversed asymmetry of the face. We recognise ourself-portrait but no-one else does. PUTIC half restores this inversion of reality but turns the world up-side-down. Opening the doors in solitude, the Tourist sees a magnified focal-point-flat-mirror-asymmetrical-self-image, in public.

The montage is made of infographics, found graphics, Google historic Street View (2013), author's photographs (50 of 60 day/nights Oct-December 2019) and photojournalism before, after and in-between Act I, urban insurrection 2019. Overarching: figure: Revolution: for the

modern constitution and its practice (we have never been modern). (Latour 1993).

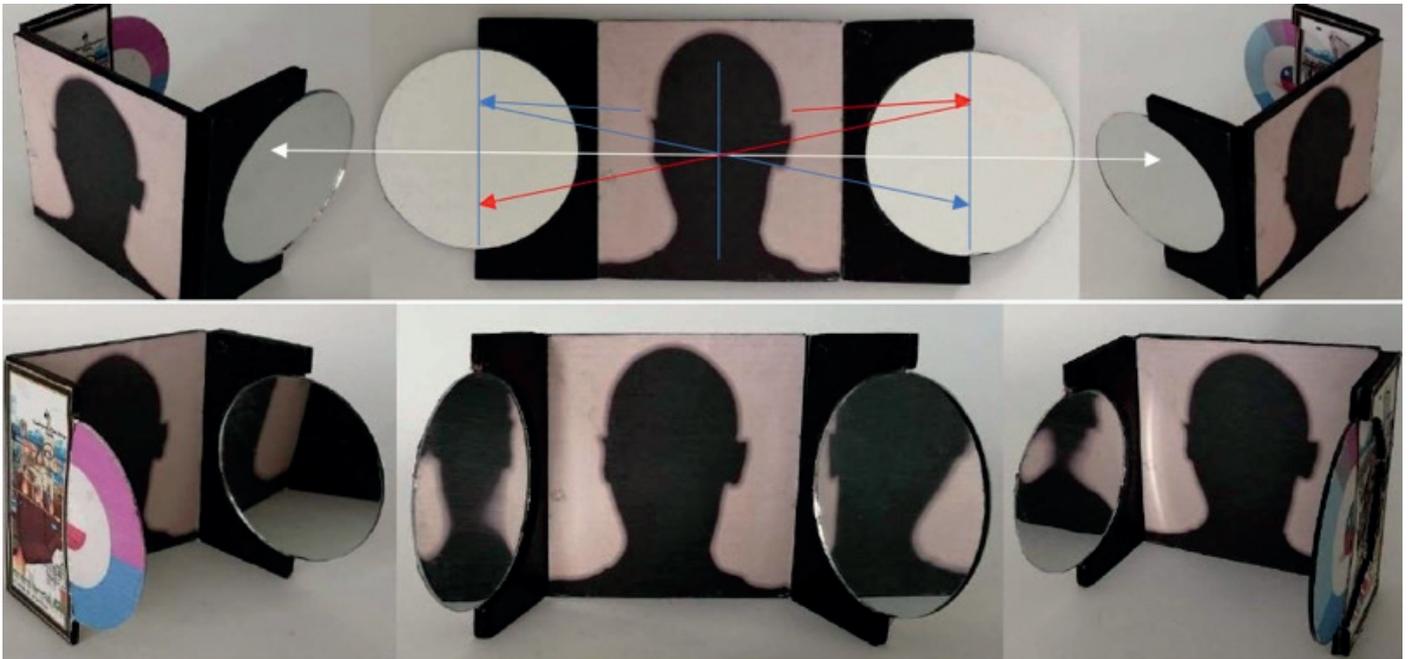
PUTIC's location in Ground Zero determines the inverted background noise; an image of what is no longer there, that the tourist can't see, without the montage of readymade image sentences present as public space. On National Heritage Day, May, 2019, I conducted a walking tour for 100 people. This historic neighbourhood is what is now known as Ground Zero. In 2020, in the middle of the urban insurrection suspended by COVID quarantine, National Heritage Day was cancelled. In 2021, I proposed the same walking tour for National Heritage Day. Entitled Material heritage and the Chilean October Crisis 2019-20XX, 5 people booked. For National Heritage Day 2022, PUTIC will be installed in various sites of Ground Zero.



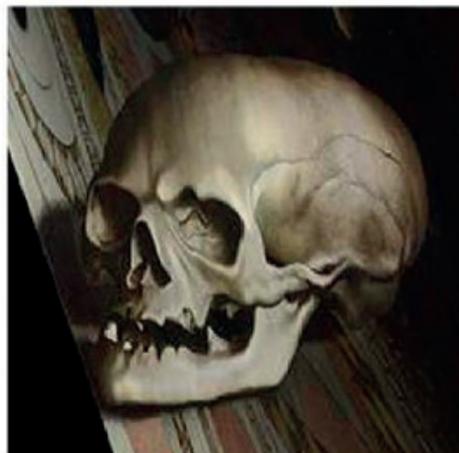
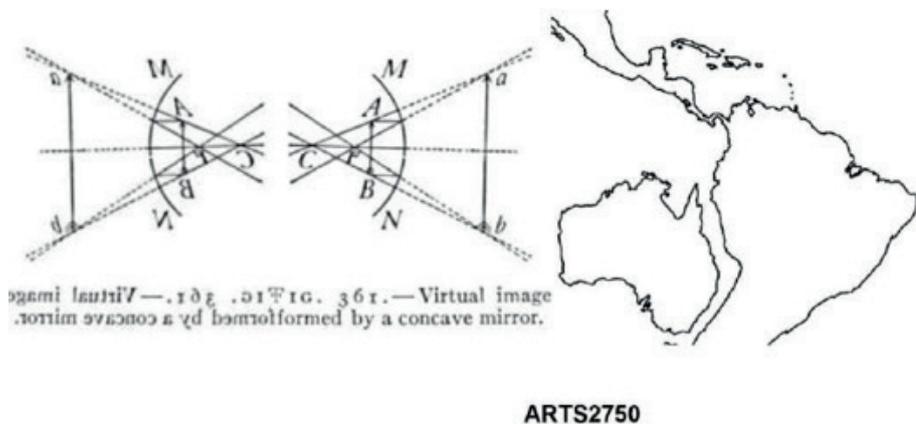
Before: Audit Map. (Atisba Monitor 2019) Urban Insurrection, material Damage, Ground Zero, including 85% of businesses damaged, and below, a representation of the soccer field area of pavement smashed up with hammers for missiles. GAM Tourist information, November 2019, urban insurrection propaganda. The Garden of Earthly Delights, 1490-1510, Hieronymus Bosch, inverted closed front doors of proposed reappropriate triptych: format for Pop-up Tourist Information Centre (PUTIC), Centro Información Tourista Emergente (CITE) 2021. Scale model 1:1 Closed font double doors each with overlapping concave mirrors.



After: Open PUTIC. Triptych 3M X 1M, Scale model 1:10. Re-mounting of author's "Modernity's Bridge" (Project Anywhere 2020). Infographics split on convex side of mirrors: global survey about 18.O: respondents knew or heard: Nothing 40%/Very Little 30%/Something 24%/A Lot 6%, yet 50% believed the urban insurrection would improve equality. PUTIC, one third open, Ground Zero site map. Embracing the tourist are three symbolic sites of destruction in Ground Zero: Centre, Plaza Baquedano - Earth; Left, the GAM - Paradise; Right, the Police Monument/Church - Purgatory. Uniting each: graphic representation of the Andes Mountain range taken from a commemorative box of Andes matches as horizon; Midground, Metro public transport map with some of the arson attacked stations in flames; Base, Event chart, October 18 to November 25, 2019, Peace accord signed but peace never came then 1.2 million marched. Some 2000 assaulting/Molotov/rock-throwing, arson, looting, vandalising and destroying of these "events" were called "protest".



In-between: PUTIC One third open. 1M X 1M X 1M, Scale model 1:10. Triptych embraced by two halves of international survey. PUTIC open, inside. Tourist's shadow projected onto the blank white page with Inverted focal points. PUTIC fully open, outside, displaced Ground Zero landscape. Tourist embraced by two concave mirrors. Left-right are two magnified flat-mirror images of self, inverting each other. Opposing concave mirrors created and inverting infinite image.



Overarching:

Readymade = “Use a Rembrandt as an ironing board”, (Duchamp 1976). Advertising used other art for different means. Hans Holbein’s Ambassadors 1533 + Image = oblique view of Anamorphic skull from Ambassadors + Sentence = placement billboard advertising that communicates material reality by removing the image of mortality = a montage of what is sayable and visible.

Bus stop, with readymade- image sentence. Nokia publicity appropriating Holbein’s Ambassadors, removing the skull. Melbourne, Australia 2007

Readymade = two-way concave mirrors = convex lens + Image of Humanities solidarity (liberal arts) = Gondwanaland (<https://www.handbook.unsw.edu.au/undergraduate/courses/2019/ARTS2750>) + Sentence = empty plinth in Santiago de Chile of internationally unknown monument. Metal wall protecting this absent monument and the present, subterranean tomb of the unknown soldier, Plaza Baquedano, Santiago de Chile, 2021 = Readymadeimagesentence: urban planning for public space and the aesthetics of protest in a time of democracy post-1989.

Up North, Surreal, Insurrectional Violence and the greatest threat to democracy is the global image of the 6-hour storming of Washington’s Capitol, USA January 2020. The violent removal of monuments is sanctioned as protest and made mandatory.

Down South, in the Pacific mirror, urban insurrection’s image, is seen and heard, internationally as the Chilean Social Crisis October to 15 November 2019. Like advertising’s appropriation of art, the art of protest re-appropriated the image through montage and edit. The readymade-image-sentence, the protest aesthetic in a time of democracy post-1989 is the image of the victory of violence over dialogue that could only be suspended by a global pandemic in March 2019. No words describe what can’t be heard and seen. The image stopped short.

In July 2021, the first business of the Constitutional Assembly elected in May, and their writing of Chile’s new Constitution for which they were elected, was the so-called amnesty and/or pardoning and all crimes committed in the urban insurrection in Chile after 18 October 2019. This is not within the role of the Assembly. The violence and destruction for which the convicted criminals were jailed – including immolation of Police and causing the death of 29 of the total of 33 people who were killed in the urban insurrection Act I (October 2019-March 2020) - was being openly admitted as the intimidation that extorted the Peace Accord, that held the plebiscite, that elected the assembly who do not recognised the limitation of the Peace Accord and the rules of their own election. This surreal insurrectional violence is the montage of the readymade-image-sentence, the Modern Constitution and its practice and the aesthetics of protest in a time of democracy post 1989.

In Chile, this readymade-image-sentence is claiming a pardon for Comandante Ramiro’s crimes in Chile, after the return to democracy, of murder, kidnapping and ransom. There was a Presidential election in Chile in November 2021. A second-round election between what the English speaking press was presented in the image of a “Leftist and an Admirer of Pinochet” with the latter given the added image of having parents who were Nazis. (Guardian 19 December 2021). The image of the electoral victory of the Leftist doesn’t mention or show the coalition partner of his former student protest leaders party who is the Chilean Communist Party on 20 December 2021.

One month earlier, in Post-1989 Nicaragua a readymade-image-sentence of the zero sum game of capitalism was held up for their democratic elections in November 2021. The opposition’s aesthetics of protest in a time of Democracy post-1989 was not able to be seen or heard as they were held up in a prison cell. Ortega was elected to continue a Dictatorship that will be of 17 years old when it comes up for endorsement again in 2024.

On the other side of the Pacific, the North in the South, Australian academics are re-releasing readymade-image-sentences and typing new ones to be heard and seen by the post 1989 collective optical unconscious. On this side of the pacific, the metal cube in the middle of Plaza Baquedano’s protecting an empty plinth and the tomb of the unknown soldier was destroyed by protesters to celebrate the second anniversary of October 18 2019. It was the third most violent day in two years of ongoing violence as protest. The Chilean National Council of Monuments in consultation with the Armed Forces exhumed the remains of the unknown soldier on 22 October 2021. On Friday 23 October, in addition to the now “traditional” burning barricades every Friday, a fire was lit on the patch of earth, in front of the empty plinth, were the unknown soldier once laid. The Administrator of one public art Facebook page would not publish my account citing that they felt “the language was too aggressive” in describing this readymade image sentence.

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ANTHONY MCINNENY

Dr Anthony McInnery is a visual artist, designer and academic as conjoint fellow at the University of Newcastle (Australia), School of Architecture. He is the current President of Architects for Peace and a founding member since 2003. McInnery obtained his PhD (architecture) Latent Space, Temporary Art and Suburban Public Space in 2014 (RMIT Australia). His research concerns Henri Lefebvre's concept of spatial practice and appropriation. His research interests are in the contemporary forms and uses of the street, the plaza and the park. Between 2004 and 2014 he was a coordinator, lecturer and academic in the RMIT Master of Art, Art in Public Space program and established the studio teaching method in this program. He has over 10 years experience in the field of cultural development, planning and art in urban renewal with municipal governments throughout metropolitan Melbourne, Australia. He has been commissioned to create temporary and permanent artworks in public space and has published and presented in various workshops, conferences and studios in Australia, USA, Asia, Latin America and Europe. He is currently living and working in Chile where he is teaching and undertaking research through practice in the public spaces of the capital city, Santiago. In 2016, his investigation on the Mapocho River, Santiago de Chile, was selected for the annual exhibition at the Museo Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. In 2019 his further investigation of this site, Crossways. The Bridge as a Readymade, was accepted as part of the University of Melbourne Project Anywhere 2020 research program.

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