

# Borders

by Salman Natur, writer.

I am a 54 year old man and I do not know for how much longer I will live, but I wish to have the possibility of seeing the Middle East finally transform itself into a secular democracy. A free Middle East without repression and without discrimination. I dream of open borders between one country and another in the Arab world, capable

# ARCHIS

containing the 5 million Hebrews who live in Israel, both as a state as well as individuals. Arab culture has always accepted the Jewish culture, together with other cultures, such as that of the Armenians for example. I do not consider the liberation of the Palestinian people to be a dream, because I consider it to be a reality already underway.

## State



Preview #4 2003

Architecture City Visual Culture

Special edition

# Selfdetermination

by Ruba Salih, researcher.

The self determination of Palestinian people must be realized through the acquisition of universal rights, the right to citizenship and to a passport with which one may travel. Individual and collective self determination must be realized in their diverse forms: the right to a house, the right to live a normal life where conflicts are contained within the sphere of that which we call normality. How this is to be realized remains an open question.

# STATELESS NATION

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# Borderline Syndrome

by **Ole Bouman**  
Editor **Archis**

There is no avoiding it: crossing borders is part of our daily life. We leave home, we enter our place of work, we return home. And then there's everything in between: the public transport turnstiles, the motorway toll gates, customs, speed detectors, security checkpoints, electronic surveillance systems, the checkout. When you think about it, you realize that it's scarcely possible to move without crossing one or another visible or invisible dividing line. It is the spatial regime of the modern world, where life is subject to compartmentalization and protocols as if it were a scientific experiment to be carried out under strictly controlled conditions.

Yet for most of us this cross-border traffic is something that barely impinges on life itself. Of course, the idea that one is being continually checked up on and monitored is not a pleasant one. But for the time being it does not diminish one's sense of self-determination. Your movements may be monitored, but your motives for moving are as yet relatively unquestioned.

But what if those motives were to become the object of monitoring? Imagine if 'they' not only wanted to

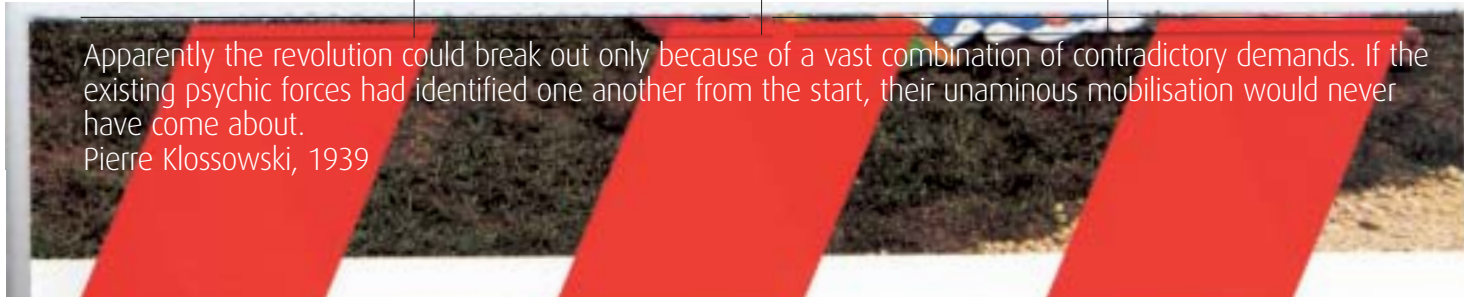
know where you were going, but also why. Imagine if your 'name' were not just a matter of your personal identity but also of your spatial identity. Worse still, imagine if you were not only required to declare that you are going from A to B, but also why. And why it was that yesterday you went from B to A. A world in which the powers that be want to know who you are, where you are, where you were, why you were there, why you still are in fact, et cetera. To lead such a life is no longer to pass through checkpoints, it is to become a checkpoint.

This is architecture at its cruellest. A struggle for space and for control of space. A practice concerned with erecting borders and guarding them. A continual definition of inside and outside and a war about who should be allowed to do the defining. A war not conducted by people about people, but inside people. In the long run it could lead to a spatial policy more radical than deportation: exile from one's self.

Before it comes to this, a lot will have had to happen in the way we try to come to terms with mass migration. There is so much more that can be done that falls within the bounds of the humane and that results in something resembling

society. There is no shortage of historical examples. If not nation building or melting pot, with an enlightened spatial policy of mixing programmes and people, then peaceful and respectful co-existence sustained by zoning, enclaves and, if need be, corridors. If not cohabitation, then straightforward restraint with gates and walls, strict surveillance, spying and other forms of spatial apartheid. And if that is not enough, there is still deportation, the simple removal of elements people are unable to come to terms with. Despite their differing degrees of mutual trust, all these strategies attest to respect for other people's lives. But there is a form of mistrust that can no longer be conquered by the strategies that exist between community and removal. It is the state of constant scrutiny. Of endless monitoring and recording of someone's spatial history as an indication of their risk profile. For some, a stamp in a passport is a trophy of cosmopolitanism. For others, it's a nail in your coffin.

Architecture can not exist without its borders, any more than it can exist without a discussion about what these borders are. Stateless nation: a question of architecture.



Apparently the revolution could break out only because of a vast combination of contradictory demands. If the existing psychic forces had identified one another from the start, their unanimous mobilisation would never have come about.  
Pierre Klossowski, 1939

the free world just milliseconds



RavenCo Limited is exploiting a unique opportunity to set up the world's first real data haven. The initial showcase datacenter is the Principality of Sealand, the world's smallest sovereign territory. It was founded over thirty years ago and has obtained a unique legal status as the only sovereign man-made island. Its claim to sovereignty has been tested and supported in several legal challenges. Please go to the Government of Sealand site for more information on the Principality.

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Sealand, data harbour.  
Photo: Rian Lackey

Maybe there is a substitute for Europe.



# Mrs. COMPROMISE

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THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM  
OF JORDAN

PASSPORT

BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING  
TO ALL WHOM IT MAY  
CONCERN GREETING:

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF  
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF  
JORDAN, REPRESENTATIVES  
ABROAD AND ALL THOSE  
WHOM IT MAY CONCERN ARE  
REQUIRED AND REQUESTED  
TO ALLOW BEARER TO PASS  
FREELY WITHOUT LET OR  
HINDRANCE AND TO AFFORD  
EVERY ASSISTANCE  
AND PROTECTION OF WHICH  
MAY STAND IN NEED.

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية  
جواز سفر

باسم صاحب الجلالة الملك  
الجميع من لهم علاقة بهذا  
تحتية

يرجى من موظفي حكومة المملكة  
الأردنية الهاشمية ومن مثيلها  
في الخارج ومن جميع من لهم  
علاقة بهذا الشأن أن يسمحوا  
لحامل هذا الجواز بحرية المرور  
من غير تأخير أو عاقبة وأن  
يبدلوا له كل مساعدة لوجستية  
قد يحتاج اليها.

Issued at AMMAN صدر في عمان

Date 20.1.1997 بتاريخ ١٩٩٧/١/٢٠

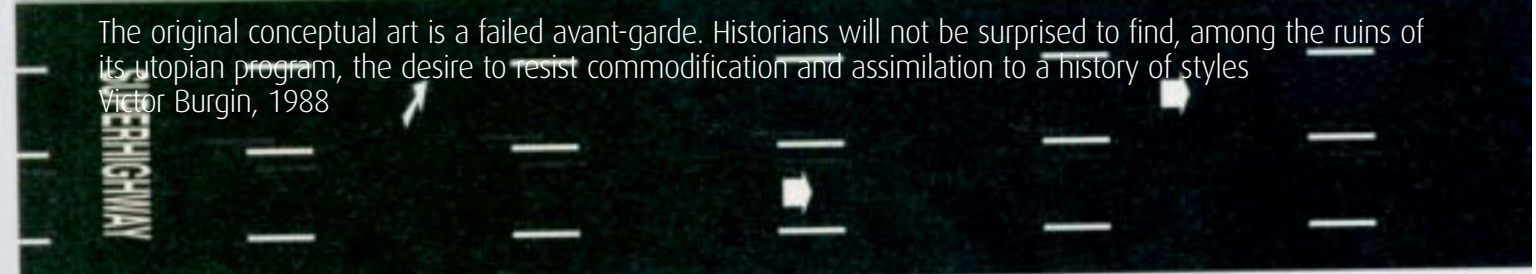
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AND PASSPORT DEPARTMENT مدير عام الأحوال المدنية  
و الجوازات



Photo Chryssa Panousiastidou  
Source Archis 3, 2002

The original conceptual art is a failed avant-garde. Historians will not be surprised to find, among the ruins of its utopian program, the desire to resist commodification and assimilation to a history of styles  
Victor Burgin, 1988





# Stateless Nation

by Sandi Hilal and  
 Alessandro Petti

31 May 2003 – What is Palestine today and where are its borders? Who are the real Palestinians and what type of documents do they possess? Why are so many Palestinians forced to live outside of Palestine, in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the Gulf Nations, Europe and America? What is the dream that continues to hold the Palestinian people together, wherever in the world they may be?

Stateless Nation is a research project about citizenship. This concept, born during the French Revolution, with roots in the Greco-Roman world, finds itself today in a serious crisis. Palestine now represents a place where basic concepts of equality and liberty, proudly represented by western civilisation, are being placed in question. Simultaneously, the Palestinian people are a population who find themselves either living under military occupation, in exile or as strangers in their native land. They are men and women tied to a human experience, to a memory, to a dream to be realised. A nation without a state, without a right to citizenship, a people rooted in an absence of place. The traces of this absence are found in the documents which instead should represent them: pass-

es from the Lebanese Government, special identity cards for those living in Jerusalem, Egyptian travel documents, a passport with no state, travel documents from the Palestinian Authority, Jordanian, European or American passports. In the end, there are even those who possess no documents at all.

## The Palestinian Pavilion

The display space of the Venice Biennale Gardens is a space organised according to national pavilions, a metaphoric space for a world organised according to nation states.

How is it possible to represent this situation in the Palestinian Pavilion? How is it possible to represent a nation without a state in which more than half its members are dispersed outside of its borders? 10 different large travel documents and passports, traces of the absence of a state and belonging to Palestinian women and men, occupy, in a dispersed fashion, the spaces between the national pavilions. Each Palestinian is by definition "without a state", even if he/she possesses some form of citizenship within the nation in which he/she currently resides, but to which he/she does not belong. The Palestinian people are dispersed in their various realities, in the territories occupied in 1967, in various states throughout the world (Jordan,

Lebanon, Syria, the Gulf Nations, Europe, The United States of America, Latin America) and within the state of Israel. Notwithstanding such widely varied conditions, the Palestinian people continue to feel that they belong to a singular community, with a shared historical memory, of an unstable present defined by uprooting and deprivation, and above all tied to a dream which binds them together, wherever they may be.

In the publication of the work by Archis and in the book edited by Marsilio, we present direct testimonials, points of view and reflections by intellectuals, artists, medical doctors, sociologists, architects, labourers and poets. Our aim is to articulate a message, an attitude, a philosophy, through the voices of its protagonists. The result of the interviews is a direct attack on the stereotypes and the reductive categories which often imprison the complex and variegated human experience and in particular that of the Palestinians.

• **Sandi Hilal**, *Bethlehem 1973*  
 Architect, researcher in *Trans-border policies for daily life at the University of Trieste*.

• **Alessandro Petti**, *Pescara 1973*  
 Architect, researcher in *Urban Studies at the University Institute of Architecture of Venice*.

[www.statelessnation.org](http://www.statelessnation.org)



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# Citizenship

by **Mustafa Barghouthi, medical doctor**

The citizenship which the Palestinians desire, given that to this day they are still without citizenship, is the possibility to be free in the land in which they were born, to be free in their own country. The possibility to say, without fear, "we are Palestinians". The possibility to travel without restrictions, the possibility to be like other normal people. The citizenship to which they aspire is also more than this, not

only to have a free country and a country in which to be free, but also sensations of belonging and of ownership, the feeling of actually having a country, a sense of belonging to it, the possibility to live in a democratic society where it is possible to freely express opinions and to live in a state in which there exists a separation of power. I believe that Palestinian citizenship should be about rights and dignity, the right to be free and to live in a dignified way.

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# Identity

by **Salman Natur, writer**

Each Palestinian is aware of the fact that the loss of identity is equal to the loss of our political cause, of our recognition as a people and of our rights. For this reason identity is so rich with meaning. I believe that by today the Israelis should have learned to accept the idea that the Palestinian people exist.

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# Identity

by **Khaled Hourani, artist**

Identity, for a Palestinian, has an enormous weight. This is due largely the result of discrimination. Palestinian identity is continuously threatened and constantly at risk of disappearing altogether. I am convinced that if the Palestinian people enjoyed liberty and independence they would not be tormented by problems of identity. They would most probably have been critical towards this notion, perhaps we would even have hated it, instead we are pushed towards this concept

because it deeply touches the life of each and every Palestinian. Many believe that the Palestinian people exaggerate with their seemingly endless battle, with their desire and necessity to affirm their identity, to possess a sense of citizenship. Each Palestinian suffers, in many different ways, the consequences of the absence of the right to citizenship, whether they live in Israel, the occupied territories, or in Diaspora. Even if a Palestinian is successful in obtaining documents from another country, he/she will continue to dream of Palestinian citizenship.





# Feeling out of place

by Sari Hanafi, anthropologist

Being Palestinian means being constantly out of place.

# Identity

by Ezz Aldin Almanasra, poet

Palestinian identity is not transmitted through words, but passed on through a sense of belonging. Some seek to negate the fact that they are Palestinian, but soon come to realise that they cannot choose, the outside world reminds them of this each day. Some countries, such as Jordan, offer the possibility of becoming class B citizens, negating the possibility of being Palestinian. Other countries recognise the fact

that you are Palestinian, but only so that they may subject you to discrimination, such as in Lebanon, where Palestinians are not permitted access to more than 84 professions. The Arab World has a hypocritical position towards the Palestinian people. They do not accept that a Palestinian can declare himself to be so with the rights that this implies. The Palestinian question is not a political question, but a question of existence.

# Demolitions

by Suad Amry, architect

The conflict with the Israeli people is first and foremost a conflict connected to territory. Since 1948 the Israelis have tried to cancel any physical trace of the presence of the Palestinian people, of Arab Culture. Between 1948 and 1952 they have demolished more than 420 Arab villages, razed completely to the ground, there no longer remains a testament to ancient Arab civilisation. In Jerusalem, two entire historic neighbourhoods in the ancient

city were completely demolished to create the square in front of the Wailing Wall and a new Jewish quarter. In Jaffa, the entire Manshia neighbourhood was destroyed in April 2002. When Nablus was once again occupied this year, in one of the numerous incursions, various buildings in the historic center were destroyed. In recent days, the Israeli authorities have begun demolishing a large Arab neighbourhood, Jaber, in the historic centre of Hebron. The Palestinian fight is a fight for existence.

# Uniforms

by Rula Jebrean, journalist

I lived in eastern Jerusalem for twenty years without ever meeting

an Israeli who was not wearing a uniform. I met an Israeli in civilian clothing in a peace camp in Florence.

...a community no matter how small is unavoidably and importantly, a political instrument.  
Ian Burn, 1975

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# Jerusalem

by Omar Yussef, architect

The Israeli occupation finds its greatest expression, its most limpid manifestation in the transformation of the territory of the city.

Jerusalem is the epicentre of these transformations. Following the occupation in 1967, eastern Jerusalem was colonised by villages for Israelis which were strategically placed on the hillsides. All the politics of planning favoured the Israeli occupants. In this way there exist, beside the well connected colonies, equipped with services and high technology, Arab villages to which the authorities offer no services whatsoever. The new highway arteries, in addition to connecting the new colonies, are used to separate one Palestinian area from another. Moving along the highway which follows the plan of the wall of 1967,

it is possible to note how the city remains, even though the wall no longer exists, a heavily divided city. Jerusalem has been transformed into Arab ghettos with Christians and Muslims and Jewish ghettos.

In the Arab parts of the city the only public works constructed by the local government are the police headquarters and the prison, the largest in the city. The public institutions in the Arab zone serve as a form of intimidation, their presence like a threat. They are the spaces of Apartheid. Not of the division between whites and blacks, as was the case in South Africa, but between Jews and Arabs. Jerusalem is the metaphor of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. If this conflict is not resolved in a just manner, we will continue to distance ourselves from a possible solution, simply postponing the problem.

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# State

by Ruba Salih, researcher

I believe that the form of the state is a form which by nature tends to homogenise, to create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, therefore I do not believe in the state as a panacea that, once it includes the Palestinians, will instantly erase problems of inequality between man and woman, rich and poor. All of these issues will become even more evident than they have been in recent years. For me, as a woman, the feminine agenda is very important. Palestinian women are very well aware of the fate of their Arab

sisters in their respective feminist battles. They are well acquainted with the risks of decolonialisation and the creation of a state. Risks which a country like Algeria reminds us of. On the other hand I feel that the state is the only form existing at the international level which guarantees the acquisition of certain rights and obligations. There are currently no other forms that can guarantee access to citizenship in the same way as a passport. In this sense I feel that we must then pass through the state. The Palestinian people know what risks are involved in this passage.

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# State

by Hasan Karmi, man of letters

If ever a Palestinian state should be born, it will be a magnetic state, the state of all Palestinians in Diaspora, of all Palestinians spread around the world. It will be the motherland of the homeless.



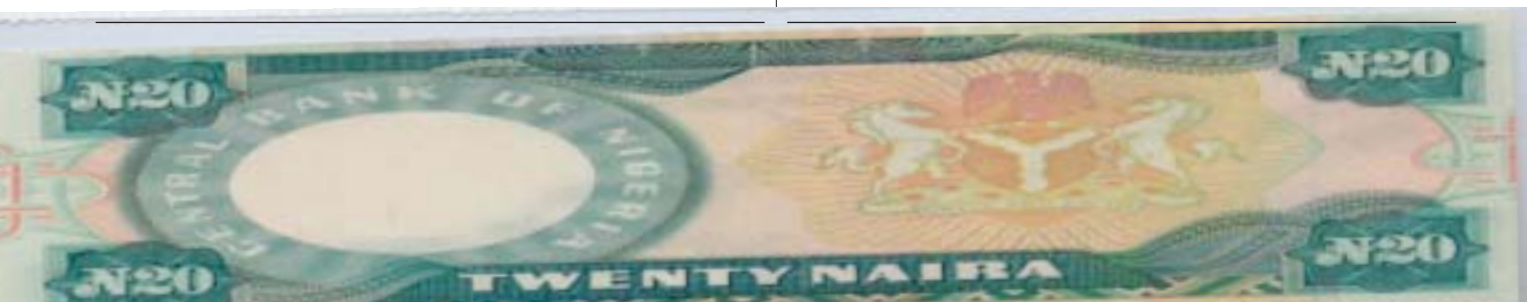
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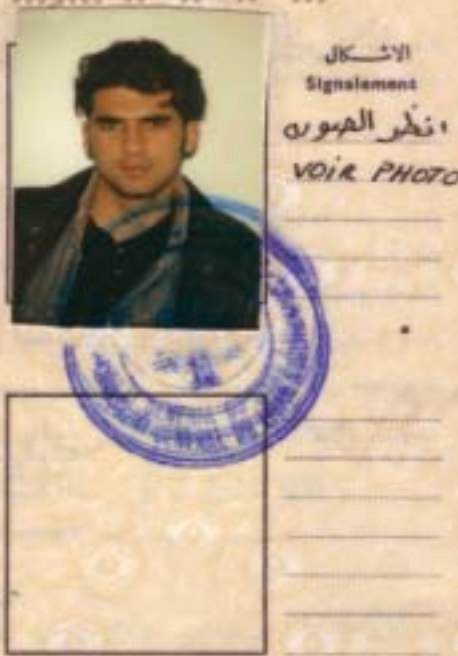
# State

by Salim Dabbour, writer

When the Palestinian Authority established itself in the occupied territories, we were full of hope. Finally we could have our own Palestinian National Government and not a regime of military occupation. I was enthusiastic as were

all other Palestinians. We went into the streets to celebrate and to sing. However, after only a few days I realised that the truth was another. One occupation was being substituted by another. What was occurring was not that for which we had suffered and waited for such a long time.





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## Justice

by Ezz Aldin Almanasra, poet

For the future of Palestine, there exists an acceptable and a just solution.

The acceptable one is the existence of two states, Hebrew and Arab, the just solution is a democratic Palestinian state for Hebrews, Muslims and Christians, a multi-religious and multicultural state, as the Palestinian state has been throughout history.

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## Spaces

by Zakaria Mohammed, writer

The dream of every Palestinian is to be a man who lives in his own space. This is the minimum existence of every human being, the lack of which causes us to suffer. We do not live like other men in the world...I want to forget Palestine, I would like to decide to leave because I wish to and not because I

am forced to by the Israelis. I want Palestine so that I may finally be able to forget it! My dream is to be able to wake up in the morning, take my passport, to be able to leave and to return when I wish to. To leave now, I require permission from the Israelis, and to return, once again I require their permission.

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## Dream

by Suad Amry, architect

My dream is to live freely in the Palestine of old. I have always thought that the Palestinian state could be a solution, but in recent months I have begun to think that this place must have a different character, it must be an open place, a place where people may live together. The Palestinian state which is being discussed today sanctions the prohibition of my being

able to visit Jaffa which has great meaning for me. It is for this reason that I imagine instead a state composed of Palestine, Jordan and Israel, which may possibly grow to include Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. I wish to live in a place in which I am not a second class citizen. I wish to live in a democratic place, where women have full rights, where Palestinians are not seen only as such. Before belonging to a state, we are all human beings.

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## Refugees

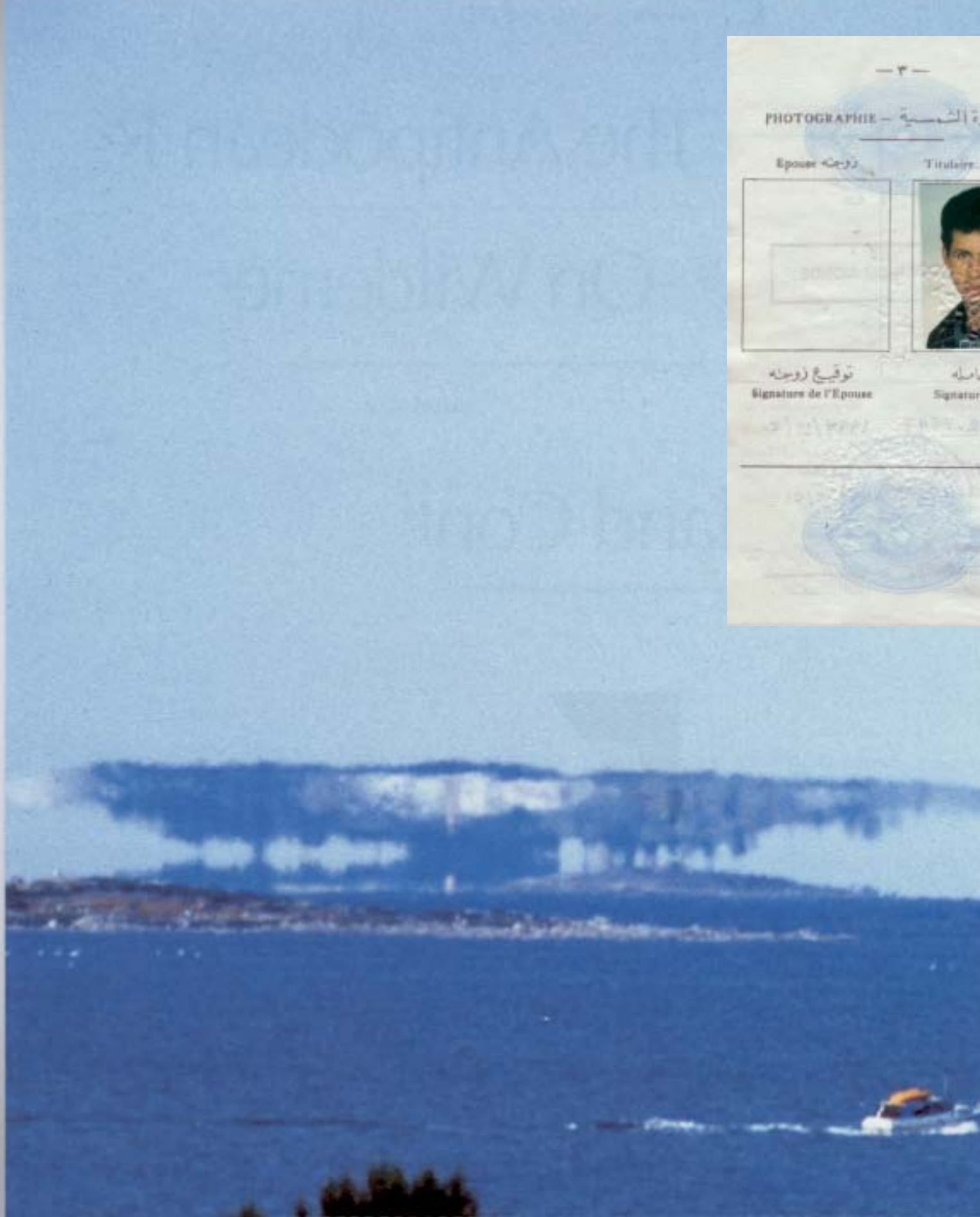
by Sari Hanafi, sociologist

I believe that the right to return is an extremely important one, but it will be the least determinant element of a possible geographic mobility of Palestinian refugees. I believe that it is fundamental for a Palestinian refugee in Syria to have the right to return, to know that he can return, and that finally this historic injustice will be resolved. At the same time, I am not sure that a Palestinian who has lived in Syria for 50 years would wish to return to Haifa to live in a place where Israeli flags fly everywhere, where he may be forced to join the military. In the

same way that I am not sure that Gaza could become a better place for a Palestinian who lives in the United States. This means that, notwithstanding that the Palestinians fight for a just cause, for their right to return, that we will most likely not be witness to a sudden rush of 4,000,000 refugees into the occupied territories and the Gaza strip. I believe that these refugees will maintain what I call a trans-national existence. They will maintain their various ties, rich with various meanings. Some will return to work in Palestine for only a short time, or others simply to visit or to buy land.

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When you work with real stuff you have to think about potential consequences. A lot of things would never enter the decision making process if one worked with symbolic representations.  
Hans Haacke, 1971



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الصورة الشخصية - PHOTOGRAPHIE

زوجته - Epouse	حامل الوثيقة - Titulaire
توقيع زوجته Signature de l'Épouse	توقيع حامله Signature du titulaire

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I OFFER YOU NOTHING

SIGNALEMENTS - الأوصاف

زوجته	Titulaire	المهنة
	حامله	Profession
	بورو	محل الميلاد
	عز	Lieu de Naissance
	1969 / 4 / 14	تاريخ الميلاد
	14.3.1969	Date de Naissance
	عز	محل الإقامة
		Domicile
	انظر لصورة	الطول
	N.P.H.	Taille
		العيان
		Yeux
		الشعر
		Cheveux
		الأوصاف الخاصة
		Signes Particuliers

ENFANTS - الأولاد

تاريخ الميلاد	الجنس	الاسم
Date de naissance	Sexe	Nom
		(1)
		(2)
		(3)
		(4)
		(5)

scapisme

Image Mirage  
 Photo Pekka Parvianen  
 Source Archis 6, 2002  
 Passport The Arab Republic of Egypt

BETTER WORLD AHEAD





**Statements**  
Image Al Quds newspaper

# The West

by Raba Salih, researcher

Palestine is the dark side of the West. The tragedy of the Palestinian people is born of the tragedy of the Hebrew people who have suffered the most shocking ambivalence of modern Europe and its history. The two tragedies are profoundly intertwined and each reflects, though in a different manner, the dark side of Europe. The holocaust is a product of the story of Europe and not of Palestine. Moreover, Europe was not capable of accepting the

responsibility of resolving this other tragedy, that of the Palestinian people. A population which finds itself, casually, the victim of the victim par excellence. Europe has always confronted itself with its constitutional myths. European civilisation, modern and democratic civilisation and plurality are continually faced with the reality which they have created in Palestine, the non-modern, the denial of self determinism, the denial of rights and of liberty.

# The Future

By Ala Hlehel, journalist

I look around me and see Palestinians in every corner of the world, and I ask myself: Are we a people? What do we have in common? Beginning in 1948 our experiences have taken many different

roads and to say that our identity can be founded upon our memory is a weak argument. I believe instead that that which is truly capable of holding us together are our hopes for the future and our common ambitions.

# Dream

by Salim Dabbor, writer

I have a small, big dream. Actually, to tell the truth, it is not a dream, but a right. It is the right to live as a free man, free in my native land. My dream is not a state, this does not interest me. What interests me is the possibility to live freely in my country, and this is much more than simply having a state.

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# Dream

by Sari Hanafi, sociologist

My dream is to live in a world where national states do not exist. This is part of my culture as a refugee, to hate the national state, to feel myself to be constantly in a position of being a minority and of not feeling completely represented by the state in which I find myself. My dream is freedom of movement.

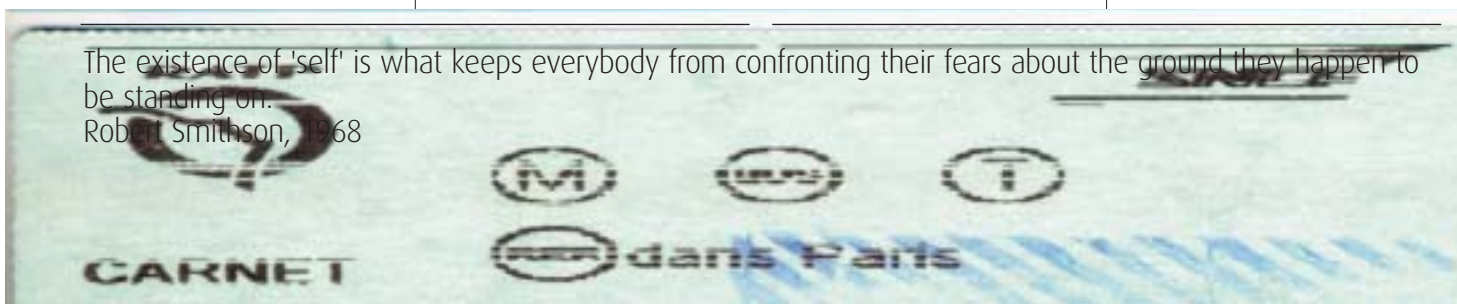
# Conflict

by Liana Bader, writer

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is not only a conflict for land, but a conflict of culture. Each day they attempt to cancel our multicultural heritage, seeking to transform us into a singular identity. I am a daughter of Jerusalem, and Jerusalem has many identities. The Israelis are seeking to give this city only one face, a Hebrew one, destroying the richness of this city.

The existence of 'self' is what keeps everybody from confronting their fears about the ground they happen to be standing on.

Robert Smithson, 1968





[www.statelessnation.org](http://www.statelessnation.org)



**Archis**

Independent bimonthly magazine for architecture, the city and visual culture.

**Special edition Biennale Venezia 2003**

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**Publisher**

Stichting Artimo  
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**Printer**

Die Keure, Brugge

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Stichting Archis, Amsterdam

Archis is published with financial support from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Welfare and produced in association with the Netherlands Architecture Institute and with the support of the Flemish Community.

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