

# Hans Haacke

for real

Works

1959

2006



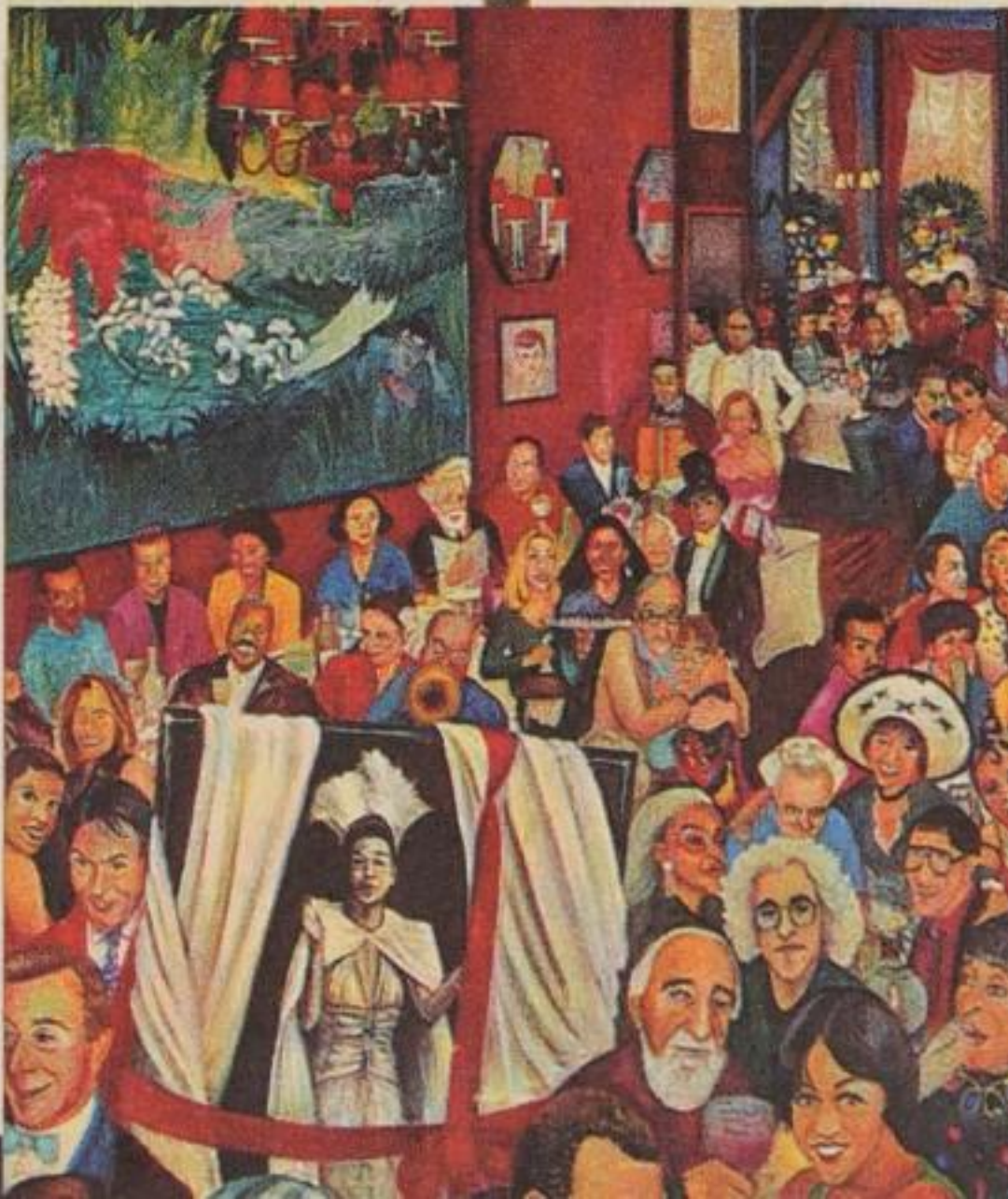
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**Hans Haacke for real**





















**Hans Haacke**  
wirklich  
Werke 1959 - 2006

**Ausstellung**  
18.11.06 - 14.1.07

AKADEMIE DER KUNSTE

Deichhallen Hamburg 17.11.06 - 4.1.07

AKADEMIE

**Mahmud Azhar**  
geb. Pakistan  
am 6.3.1990  
erschlagen  
in Berlin  
40 Jahre alt

**Andrzej Fraczk**  
geb. Polen  
am 7.10.1990  
erstochen  
in Lübbenau  
(Brandenburg)

**WEIL**

**Amadeu Antonio Kiowa**  
geb. Angola  
am 25.11.1990  
erschlagen  
in Eberswalde  
(Brandenburg)  
28 Jahre alt

**Nihad Yusufoglu**  
geb. Kurdistan  
am 28.12.1990  
erstochen  
Hachenberg  
(Rheinland-Pfalz)  
17 Jahre alt

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# BRITANNISCH

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |  |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| <b>Mustafa Demiral</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 9.3.1993<br>Herzinfarkt<br>in Mülheim/R.<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>56 Jahre alt | <b>Gürsün Ince</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 29.5.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Solingen<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>27 Jahre alt     | <b>Ayşe Yılmaz</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 23.11.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Mölln<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>14 Jahre alt     | <b>Nuzana Bunga</b><br>geb. Angola<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>6 Jahre alt       | <b>Christelle Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>6 Jahre alt | <b>Sylvio Amoussou</b><br>geb. Libanon<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>27 Jahre alt    | <b>Nuno Lourenco</b><br>geb. Portugal<br>am 29.12.1998<br>erschlagen<br>in Leipzig<br>(Sachsen)<br>42 Jahre alt              | <b>Belaid Baylal</b><br>geb. Marokko<br>am 4.11.2000<br>erschlagen<br>in Belzig<br>(Brandenburg)<br>42 Jahre alt        | <b>Oleg V.</b><br>am 21.1.2004<br>erschlagen<br>in Gera/<br>Bieblach-Ost<br>(Thüringen)<br>27 Jahre alt              |
| <b>Hatice Genc</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 29.5.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Solingen<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>18 Jahre alt        | <b>Gülüstan Oztürk</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 29.5.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Solingen<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>12 Jahre alt | <b>Kolong Jamba</b><br>geb. Gambia<br>am 7.12.1993<br>erstochen<br>in Buchholz<br>(Niedersachsen)<br>19 Jahre alt | <b>Françoise Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>27 Jahre alt | <b>Legrand Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>4 Jahre alt    | <b>Achmed Bachir</b><br>geb. Syrien<br>am 23.10.1996<br>erstochen<br>in Leipzig<br>(Sachsen)<br>30 Jahre alt          | <b>Farid Guendoul</b><br>geb. Algerien<br>am 13.2.1999<br>gejagt,<br>Todesfolge<br>in Guben<br>(Brandenburg)<br>28 Jahre alt | <b>Mohammed Belhadj</b><br>geb. Algerien<br>am 22.4.2001<br>erschlagen<br>in Jarmen<br>(Meckl.-Vorp.)<br>31 Jahre alt   | <b>Oury Jalloh</b><br>geb. Sierra Leone<br>am 7.1.2006<br>verbrannt<br>in Dessau<br>(Sachsen-Anhalt)<br>21 Jahre alt |
| <b>Hülya Genc</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 29.5.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Solingen<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>9 Jahre alt          | <b>Bahide Arsalin</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 23.11.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Mölln<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>51 Jahre alt    | <b>Piotr Kania</b><br>am 6.11.1994<br>erstochen<br>in Rotenburg/<br>Fulda<br>(Hessen)<br>18 Jahre alt             | <b>Christine Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>19 Jahre alt | <b>Jean-Daniel Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>1 Jahr alt | <b>Antonio Melis</b><br>geb. Italien<br>am 13.2.1997<br>ertränkt<br>in Caputh<br>(Brandenburg)<br>37 Jahre alt        | <b>Carlos Fernando</b><br>geb. Mosambik<br>am 15.8.1999<br>erschlagen<br>in Kolbermoor<br>(Bayern)<br>35 Jahre alt           | <b>Kajrat Batesov</b><br>geb. Kasachstan<br>am 26.5.2001<br>erschlagen<br>in Wittstock<br>(Brandenburg)<br>24 Jahre alt |  |
| <b>Saime Genc</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 29.5.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Solingen<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>4 Jahre alt          | <b>Yeliz Arsalin</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 23.11.1993<br>verbrannt<br>in Mölln<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>10 Jahre alt     | <b>Maiamba Bunga</b><br>geb. Angola<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>27 Jahre alt   | <b>Miya Makodila</b><br>geb. Zaire<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>12 Jahre alt      | <b>Rabia El Omari</b><br>geb. Benin<br>am 18.1.1996<br>verbrannt<br>in Lübeck<br>(Schleswig-H.)<br>17 Jahre alt     | <b>Phan Van Toau</b><br>geb. Vietnam<br>am 2.5.1997<br>erschlagen<br>in Fredersdorf<br>(Nordrhein-W.)<br>42 Jahre alt | <b>Alberto Adriano</b><br>geb. Mosambik<br>am 11.6.2000<br>erschlagen<br>in Dessau<br>(Sachsen-Anhalt)<br>39 Jahre alt       | <b>Ahmet Sarlak</b><br>geb. Türkei<br>am 9.8.2002<br>erstochen<br>in Sulzbach<br>(Saarland)<br>19 Jahre alt             |  |

# ICHT DEUTSCH AUS SAHEN.

an face **Erich Hauser**  
27. Mai - 17. Dezember  
**Walter Benjamins Archive**  
1. Oktober - 19. November

← Einbahnstraße

Keine  
Wendemöglichkeit





# MEMORIAL DER KUNST

**Mahmud Azhar**

geb. Pakistan  
am 6.3.1990  
erschlagen  
in Berlin  
40 Jahre alt

**Andrzej Fratzak**

geb. Polen  
am 7.10.1990  
erstochen  
in Lübbenau  
(Brandenburg)

**Jorge João Gomondai**

geb. Mosambik  
am 6.4.1991  
überfahren  
in Dresden  
(Sachsen)  
28 Jahre alt

**Agostinho Comboio**

geb. Angola  
am 16.6.1991  
erstochen  
Friedrichshafen  
(Baden-Württ.)  
34 Jahre alt

**Nguyen Van Tu**

geb. Vietnam  
am 24.4.1992  
erstochen  
in Berlin  
29 Jahre alt

**Sadri Berisha**

geb. Kosovo  
am 8.7.1992  
erschlagen  
in Ostfildern  
(Baden-Württ.)  
56 Jahre alt

**Mustafa Demiral**

geb. Türkei  
am 9.3.1993  
Herzinfarkt  
in Mühlheim/R.  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
56 Jahre alt

**Hatice Genc**

geb. Türkei  
am 29.5.1993  
verbrannt  
in Solingen  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
18 Jahre alt

**Gürsün Ince**

geb. Türkei  
am 29.5.1993  
verbrannt  
in Solingen  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
27 Jahre alt

**Gülüstan Oztürk**

geb. Türkei  
am 29.5.1993  
verbrannt  
in Solingen  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
12 Jahre alt

**Ayse Yilmaz**

geb. Türkei  
am 23.11.1993  
verbrannt  
in Mölln  
(Schleswig-H.)  
14 Jahre alt

**Kolong Jamb**

geb. Gambia  
Am 7.12.1993  
erstochen  
in Buchholz  
(Niedersachse)  
19 Jahre alt

WEIL

SIE

NICHT

DEUTSCH

**Amadeu Antonio Kiowa**

geb. Angola  
am 25.11.1990  
erschlagen  
in Eberswalde  
(Brandenburg)  
28 Jahre alt

**Nihad Yusufoglu**

geb. Kurdistan  
am 28.12.1990  
erstochen  
Hachenberg  
(Rheinland-Pfalz)  
17 Jahre alt

**Samuel Kofi Yeboah**

geb. Ghana  
am 19.9.1991  
verbrannt  
in Saarlouis  
(Saarland)  
27 Jahre alt

**Dragomir Christinel**

geb. Rumänien  
am 15.3.1992  
erschlagen  
in Saal  
(Meckl.-Vorp.)  
18 Jahre alt

**Ireneusz Szyderski**

geb. Polen  
am 3.8.1992  
erschlagen  
in Stotternheim  
(Thüringen)  
24 Jahre alt

**Sahin Calisir**

geb. Türkei  
am 27.12.1992  
überfahren  
in Meerbusch  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
20 Jahre alt

**Hülya Genc**

geb. Türkei  
am 29.5.1993  
verbrannt  
in Solingen  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
9 Jahre alt

**Saime Genc**

geb. Türkei  
am 29.5.1993  
verbrannt  
in Solingen  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
4 Jahre alt

**Bahide Arsaln**

geb. Türkei  
am 23.11.1993  
verbrannt  
in Mölln  
(Schleswig-H.)  
51 Jahre alt

**Yeliz Arsaln**

geb. Türkei  
am 23.11.1993  
verbrannt  
in Mölln  
(Schleswig-H.)  
10 Jahre alt

**Piotr Kania**

am 6.11.1994  
erstochen  
in Rotenburg/  
Fulda  
(Hessen)  
18 Jahre alt

**Maiamba Bunga**

geb. Angola  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
27 Jahre alt



**Zuzana Bunga**  
geb. Angola  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
4 Jahre alt

**Christelle Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
6 Jahre

**Sylvio Amoussou**  
geb. Libanon  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
27 Jahre alt

**Nuno Lourenco**  
geb. Portugal  
am 29.12.1998  
erschlagen  
in Leipzig  
(Sachsen)

**Belaid Baylal**  
geb. Marokko  
am 4.11.2000  
erschlagen  
in Belzig  
(Brandenburg)  
42 Jahre alt

**Oleg V.**  
am 21.1.2004  
erschlagen  
in Gera/  
Bieblach-Ost  
(Thüringen)  
27 Jahre alt

**Françoise Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
4 Jahre alt

**Legrand Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
4 Jahre

**Achmed Bachir**  
geb. Syrien  
am 23.10.1996  
erstochen  
in Leipzig  
(Sachsen)  
30 Jahre alt

**Farid Guendoul**  
geb. Algerien  
am 13.2.1999  
gejagt,  
Todesfolge  
in Guben  
(Brandenburg)  
28 Jahre alt

**Mohammed Belhadj**  
geb. Algerien  
am 22.4.2001  
erschlagen  
in Jarmen  
(Meckl.-Vorp.)  
31 Jahre alt

**Oury Jalloh**  
geb. Sierra Leone  
am 7.1.2006  
verbrannt  
in Dessau  
(Sachsen-Anhalt)  
21 Jahre alt

## AUS SAH EN.

**Christine Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
1 Jahre alt

**Jean-Daniel Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
1 Jahr alt

**Antonio Melis**  
geb. Italien  
am 13.2.1997  
ertränkt  
in Caputh  
(Brandenburg)  
37 Jahre alt

**Carlos Fernando**  
geb. Mosambik  
am 15.8.1999  
erschlagen  
in Kolbermoor  
(Bayern)  
35 Jahre alt

**Kajrat Batesov**  
geb. Kasachstan  
am 25.5.2001  
erschlagen  
in Wittstock  
(Brandenburg)  
24 Jahre alt

**Ya Makodila**  
geb. Zaire  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
4 Jahre alt

**Rabia El Omari**  
geb. Benin  
am 18.1.1996  
verbrannt  
in Lübeck  
(Schleswig-H.)  
17 Jahre alt

**Phan Van Toau**  
geb. Vietnam  
am 2.5.1997  
erschlagen  
in Fredersdorf  
(Nordrhein-W.)  
42 Jahre alt

**Alberto Adriano**  
geb. Mosambik  
am 11.6.2000  
erschlagen  
in Dessau  
(Sachsen-Anhalt)  
39 Jahre alt

**Ahmet Sarlak**  
geb. Türkei  
am 9.8.2002  
erstochen  
in Sulzbach  
(Saarland)  
19 Jahre alt









St. James str  
(Thüringen)  
Biedersteiner-Platz  
in Gera  
erschienen  
am 21.1.2004  
Oleg V.

St. James str  
(Zachsen-Anhalt)  
in Dessau  
verbraucht  
am 7.1.2006  
geb. Ziers Leone  
Oleg V.

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**Hans Haacke**

**for real**

**Works 1959-2006**

Edited by

Matthias Flügge and Robert Fleck

for the Akademie der Künste, Berlin,

and the Deichtorhallen Hamburg

Richter Verlag Düsseldorf



## **Lenders**

Hans Haacke

MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

Parlamentsarchiv des Deutschen Bundestages, Berlin

Daled Collection, Brussels

Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection, Detroit

Fonds régional d'art contemporain de Bourgogne (France), Dijon

Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven

Stedelijk Museum voor Actuele Kunst, Ghent

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld

Tate, presented by the Patrons of New Art through the

Friends of the Tate Gallery, London

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Fonds national d'art contemporain, Ministère de la culture

et de la communication, Paris

Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

Museum für Gegenwartskunst Siegen

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Klaus-Werner and Petra Richter, Eva Schmidt, Oliver Schwarz,

Sir Nicolas Serota, Gilbert and Lila Silverman, Klaus Staeck,

Vicente Todoli, Guy Tosatto, Hans Vegt, Gerd de Vries,

Agnes Wegner, Werner Zellien



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## Foreword

I/ May 1981. A gallery in Cologne. Among the young people who participated in setting up the exhibition 'Westkunst: Zeitgenössische Kunst seit 1939' (West Art: Contemporary Art since 1939), word had gotten around that a solo exhibition by Hans Haacke was opening at the Galerie Paul Maenz. *Der Pralinenmeister* (The Chocolate Master) was illustrated on the invitation. In the gallery, fourteen panels were distributed in groups of two on two walls. The presentation could not have been less concerned with superficial appeal: dense text appeared on the panels, each with a black-and-white photograph and a graphic design that violated what was currently considered good taste in the art world. It was borrowed from the packaging for chocolates found in discount supermarkets in West Germany at the time.

At first glance at the black-and-white photograph that appeared in each of the paired panels, viewers were taken aback. They recognized Peter Ludwig, who since the mid-1970s had been assembling a large collection of contemporary art in Aachen and was receiving a great deal of attention in the media. Whether at the Centre Pompidou in Paris, which opened in 1977, at the Museum Moderner Kunst in Vienna, founded in 1979, or in Cologne, Budapest, or even East Berlin, a significant selection from Peter Ludwig's collection of contemporary art was always on display. Gallery owners trembled whenever Ludwig stepped through the entrance of an art fair. In Haacke's solo exhibition at Galerie Paul Maenz, the ideological construct that surrounded Peter Ludwig became the subject of art in a way that would not have been thought possible previously. On the panels to the left in each diptych, the methods of art sponsorship and the ways of the modern collector were listed in detail for the first time. On the panels to the right, the reality of the workers in Peter Ludwig's chocolate factories were described, facts whose existence had been, at most, a rumor in the art world before that time.

The journalistic character of the exhibition recalled the investigative reporter Günter Wallraff. The aesthetic character of the work gave many from my generation, still young in those days, an idea of how the legacy of conceptual art could be continued in an appropriate way, despite the seemingly irresistible return of painting, which left many of the gallery owners we knew suddenly concerned above all about their wallets.

That visit to the opening at the Galerie Paul Maenz had an immediate effect. The following day Franz West, then an unknown artist from Austria who was represented in the 'Heute' (Today) section of 'Westkunst,' went to the microphone at the end of the press conference to say that the exhibition had been organized to make the use of municipal taxes to build a Museum Ludwig more palatable to taxpayers in Cologne. Most of the journalists had already left the room.

II/ Berlin, fall 1990. The East German currency had been converted recently, and euphoria dominated the public sphere. Amid seas of German flags, the likes of which would not be seen until sixteen years later during the World Cup, 'the people' briefly permitted themselves the illusion that they were now 'one people.' In the October issue of the East Berlin journal *Bildende Kunst*, which I had been running together with Michael Freitag since August 1990, we wrote in an editorial: "Now the time has come: the Iron Curtain [Eiserner Vorhang] has been melted down into an Iron Occurrence [Eiserner Vorgang], leaving behind mountains of rhetorical slag, among other things." The clash of East and West in art had reached its first climax with Baselitz's general verdict, and *Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit* (The Finitude of Freedom) catalogue was published in Berlin. We remained skeptical: "Artists are ordered from the Free World to which the GDR did not belong and have gone about in a free GDR without taking its artists into account. The result has been that a well-intentioned project to bring the city



together by means of art has become a demonstration of the new artistic liabilities." That was accurate, but it was not correct. For Haacke's watchtower, to which we devoted a full-page illustration, aptly photographed by Ludwig Rauch through the ruins of the Berlin Wall, was, as we can see much more clearly today, and like several other works in the project, very far from the new liabilities that the market was beginning to spread over the East. Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gesponsert - aus der Portokasse (Freedom Is Now Simply Going to Be Sponsored—Out of Petty Cash). A few steps from the wall, on Stallschreiberstraße, Haacke realized his paraphrase of the cathedral of capitalism's frontline city, the Europa-Center of West Berlin, with its crowning star. The word 'sponsorship' was not yet part of our active vocabulary, and we took the question of freedom very seriously. Hans Haacke's work was incredibly disturbing for just that reason. It read "Bereit sein ist alles" (the readiness is all), and it became chillingly clear that this slogan for the defense of the socialist nation had long since become the premise of globalized capital. The inscription on the other side: "Kunst bleibt Kunst" (art remains art), by contrast, offered only a fatally poisoned consolation. The watchtower in the death strip along the wall—repression embodied in concrete—seemed to us at the time to be a tour de triomphe that was not simply ironic, like a piece of booty from the cold war erected after a Pyrrhic victory. Some felt it was also a cynically aesthetic epitaph to the quasi-theocratic ideology of salvation in the East. It was, however, in its painful corrosiveness, a monument to the situation, to the historical instant of the no longer and the not yet, whose ample moments of happiness had temporarily befuddled many a mind.

III/ The personal experiences with Hans Haacke's oeuvre that we describe here concern, from very different perspectives, both defining strands of effect in his oeuvre: the gallery/museum and the

public space, with their economic and political implications. Again and again the artist has been able to connect these, defining the museum paradigmatically as a public space and in turn making public space a place to come to terms with art. The two belong inseparably together: Haacke's oeuvre insists on the publicness of institutions, their unconditional independence and the responsibility that results from that. And he numbers among those who unconditionally defend public space as a prerequisite for democratic forms of society. In many of his works he has made it possible for us to experience the more or less clandestine connections between—and influence of—economics and politics and the consequences these entail.

In the overview that the preparations for this large double exhibition in Berlin and Hamburg have provided for the first time, Hans Haacke's oeuvre has proven, even more so than was evident at the beginning of the project, to be one of the most successful and influential bodies of work in recent decades. A central point of view in his work, if not the guiding one, which began with the perspective of a young visitor to Documenta 2 in Kassel in 1959 (in what was then a new medium for art: photography), emerges from the way Haacke, like few other artists of the time, has made objects, themes, and facts outside of the art world the subject of his reflections in art in a systematic way, even with a certain single-mindedness. With particular stubbornness, Haacke gradually introduced into contemporary art themes concerning the relationships between economics and ecology, social and cultural power, economic interests and the art market, politics and the view of history, collective historical consciousness and individual fate. At the time this generally met with skepticism from art critics and exhibition organizers, but it is no longer possible to imagine art without it; it is part of the fundamental repertoire of many young artists. Not least for that reason, many contemporary works that have turned up in large international exhibitions in recent years



seem like the work of Haacke himself, even though one suspects their authors were not aware of this. It is high time to recapitulate this contribution to recent art history and to demonstrate its unconditional topicality.

These first retrospectives in Germany could perhaps be summed up as a demonstration that Hans Haacke is among the few artists who anticipated in the most enduring way the 'framing themes,' ideas, and strategies of the art of the twenty-first century. He brought the lucid integrality, intelligence, and poetic power found in his earliest works from around 1960 to project after project with perseverance and concentration. Over nearly fifty years he produced no more than about 250 works, a fraction of the quantity in a traditional artist's oeuvre.

The retrospective reveals once again something that visitors to Haacke's exhibitions realized long ago when encountering his works: none of them belongs to any sort of canon in terms of form; each of them finds a new, incomparably precise personal style for its subject. That is one source of the effectiveness of Haacke's works, as is the "evocative spark" that is ignited when non- (or meta-) artistic subject matter encounters a purely artistic existence that has rigorously broken with all the artistic clichés of the nineteenth century now being revived again.

Dokoupil, one of several of Haacke's students at Cooper Union in New York who have since become renowned, remarked on the occasion of his large exhibition at the Deichtorhallen in 2005 that Haacke repeatedly told his students around 1980: "For every problem there is a formal solution." For Haacke, however, 'formal solution' does not mean an aesthetic overpowerment but rather a heightened awareness of the balance between reduction and opulence appropriate in a given case. For that he had important models. Between 1956 and 1960 Haacke spent four semesters studying in Kassel with Fritz Winter, who, along with Hans Hartung, uncompromisingly refined the rigorous formal con-

cepts of High Modernism that both had helped to develop. His experiences with Documenta and his encounter with Arnold Bode, its founder and, in the words of Manfred Schneckenburger, an "obsessed practitioner of 'understanding visually,'" were influential. In his early work, Haacke created exemplary sculptures that offered an artistic analogy to the development of self-regulating systems, which is the foundation of cybernetics and the technology of computers and the Internet. 'Understanding visually,' which has since become a central category of today's information technologies, was at the core of Haacke's artistic methods and strategies from the outset. From the central works of Systemic art in the 1960s, in which the artist developed those methods, the present exhibition traverses an arc by way of his political conceptual art of the 1970s and the postconceptual installations of the period that followed to the most recent works produced in New York and Berlin.

The idea that the retrospective should be held in two locations, at the 310-year-old Akademie der Künste and in the young Deichtorhallen, was the artist's own. It takes into account not only the histories of the institutions but above all their cultural topography. At the Akademie, which took an active part in the conversations about Haacke's DER BEVÖLKERUNG (To the Population) in the Reichstag, there were discussions as early as 1999 of an exhibition in the newly renovated halls on Pariser Platz that would reveal the context of the artist's oeuvre as a whole and at the same time outline for the present the historical, political, and art historical encumbrances of this site. In observing, as Benjamin Buchloh has done once again (p. 42), the "barring of his work from institutional evaluations such as the museum retrospective," the conviction had been growing for some time at the Deichtorhallen as well that something had to be done to remedy this situation. That has led to the "parallel action" of this retrospective.

What material for an artist like Haacke! On the one



hand, the Akademie is the site of a tradition revived, with all its implications for German history, from the conservatism in the time of the Kaiser's reign, the brief flourishing of culture under Max Liebermann during the Weimar Republic, its shameful failure in 1933, the appropriation of its building by Hitler's general architectural offices under Albert Speer, its partial destruction in 1945, and the subsequent schizophrenic use of its ruins in the German Democratic Republic as a protected space for art together under one roof with a guardhouse and prison for the border guards—all the way to the cultural success story of the unification of the eastern and western art academies in 1993. On the other hand there is the Deichtorhallen, with its far-reaching reputation in the world of contemporary art as one of the first significant examples of redefining the large-scale architecture of the fading industrial age in Germany for cultural purposes. Between the prosperous trading and media metropolis of Hamburg and the political capital of Berlin, which in all the contradictory historicity of the modern age has forgotten its identity, a natural thematic balance was achieved: the Hamburg section of the exhibition concentrates on works concerning economics, business, and sponsorship, while the works in Berlin focus on history and politics. Both institutions are also showing early works by Haacke that clarify the inner stringency of his artistic biography throughout all the stages of his oeuvre. The artist conceived new works for both exhibitions, each of which accentuates the particular characteristics of its site. During this same period his Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg (Memento for Rosa Luxemburg) has been completed. For a time, Hans Haacke's oeuvre will be evident in all its complexity.

We owe a special debt of gratitude for this opportunity to Hans Haacke for his willingness to present a survey of his work in Germany for the first time, and to Linda Haacke, the constant, kindred companion of this oeuvre. Without their help, and espe-

cially the weeks they spent preparing images of the work and accompanying texts, we would have been lost.

The Kulturstiftung des Bundes made the exhibition possible with its generous support. The assistance of the Kunststiftung NRW made it possible to publish this catalogue in its present form. The Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung is supporting the exhibition's education programs.

Our two institutions have worked closely and amicably from the beginning; we would like to thank all our employees, who have showed great commitment to the project.

The authors—Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Rosalyn Deutsche, and Walter Grasskamp—have prepared profound analyses covering the entire time span of Hans Haacke's work. Richter Verlag also provided significant commitment to the catalogue, which is being published in both German and English editions.

We are particularly grateful to the many lenders, supporters, and intermediaries involved in this project, who are listed elsewhere in this volume.

Matthias Flügge, Akademie der Künste, Berlin  
Robert Fleck, Deichtorhallen Hamburg



I/ Documenta, the most important exhibition of contemporary art worldwide, has taken place in Kassel since 1955. For a long time no one had worried about its towering role in the reception history of modern art, but in late summer 1981 the preparation of a retrospective on the subject brought me to the Documenta archive. I found hundreds of photographs waiting to be dated, identified, and organized. Among them was one that was fundamentally different from all the others: while the other snapshots from Documenta's history were all professionally developed, this print showed traces of hurried, rather amateurish fixing; it was moreover so blurry and low contrast that it seemed impossible, if only for technical reasons, to use it for the planned publication. Any desire to order a better print from the photographer seemed hopeless, as there was no information on the back of the print that could have identified its author. Because it was a photograph of Documenta II, and hence from 1959, it did not seem reasonable, twenty-two years later, to expect the lost photographer could be found.

That was regrettable, for even if the chemical quality of the print was as unprofessional as the lack of indication of an author (and bank account number) on the back, the motif was of astonishing originality and demonstrated unusual perspicacity. It showed two German student fraternity members in full regalia standing in front of a painting by Wassily Kandinsky. In that found juxtaposition the photographer captured two extremely different German

traditions. The students stood for the fraternities that had supported a liberal German nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Roughly a century after their biggest demonstration, the Hambach Festival of 1832, many had forgotten their republican tradition, however, and as academic elites enabled National Socialism to enter the universities.

Kandinsky, by contrast, stood for a very different German tradition—that of a country whose situation predestined it to play a role as mediator between East and West and that since the nineteenth century had embraced a large number of artists and architects from Central and Eastern European countries. At the turn of the twentieth century in particular, the German Reich was a land of artistic immigrants, and Russian-born Kandinsky was a perfect example of the ambivalent nature of this immigration, for he would leave the country twice: in 1914 because Germany had declared war against his native country and in 1933 because it had declared war against 'degenerate art.'

In 1959, at Documenta II, the triumphant return of Kandinsky's paintings and the self-confident posture of a discredited academic elite thus formed a precise miniature of the contradictions that make this fatherland so complex. The photographer who had spotted this postwar constellation must have seen Documenta through different eyes, and he must have possessed the rare talent to be a contemporary who does not blindly accept the myths of his or her time but instead looks more closely. Thus I had no choice but to include the spotted and faded print in my publication, volume 49 of the journal *Kunstforum International*, of which I was editor at the time. In the commentary devoted to the photograph I wrote: "Photography is art destined to depict the historically notorious nonsimultaneity of the simultaneous, and this unknown photographer at Documenta II has achieved a small, appropriate masterpiece."

As it happens, Hans Haacke was the first person to



Snapshots from Documenta 2, 1959



whom I gave a copy of the freshly printed publication. He happened to be in Germany at the time preparing his contribution to Documenta 7. A few days after our meeting he called up and announced that he was the 'unknown photographer' from 1959. Even someone who has known him for some time is thus never safe from surprises.

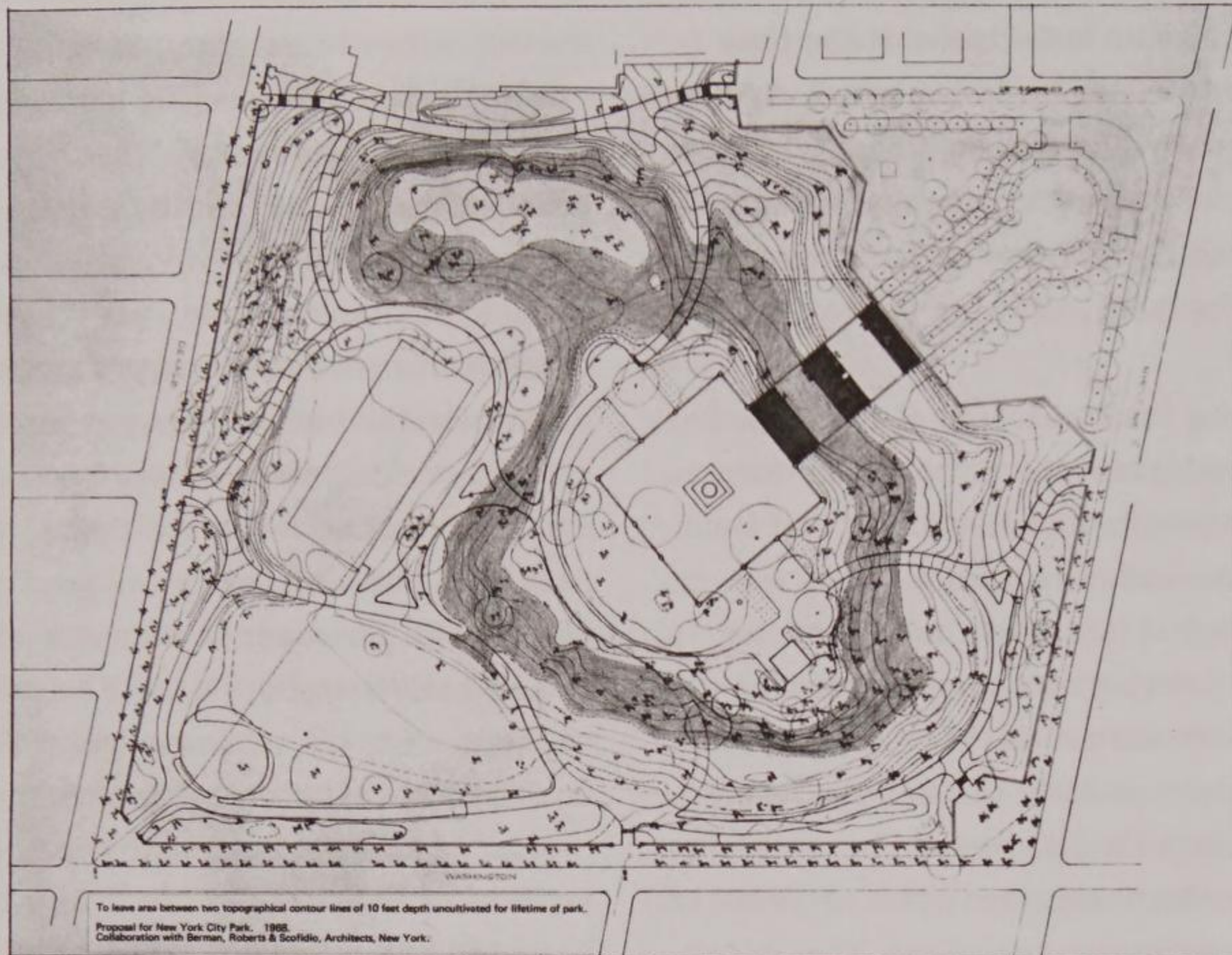
II/ In 1959 Haacke, then a student at the Werkakademie in Kassel, spent his vacations working as an assistant at Documenta II and during that time made use of his new camera. That exercise was by no means a part of his artistic education, for he was studying painting with the then-famous abstract artist Fritz Winter. Moreover, at the academy in Kassel, which just after the war was located in former barracks, a tiny, makeshift darkroom attested to how little photography was appreciated at art schools in Germany at the time. That might explain the print's lack of technical polish, but how did its author derive his political perspicacity? Other photographs that Haacke had made in 1959 and now sent to me demonstrated that his photograph of the student fraternity members had not been a fluke. On the contrary, they suggested that the twenty-three-year-old painter had anticipated in these photographs, as if in a vision, the heart of his later themes and characteristic way of working. The situation of historical tension that he recognized between the Kandinsky painting and the fraternity members was just one special case of the discrepancies he captured with his camera—discrepancies between the paintings and the public, between art and its operations, between art and its socialization. The rupture between the pathos of modern art and its everyday reception included comic situations such as these as well: a young boy leafing through a Mickey Mouse comic book with his back to a Kandinsky painting, illustrating, as end user of the culture industry, the future of how art would be perceived and seemingly anticipating the aesthetic vandalism of Pop art; a baffled

family consulting the exhibition catalogue in a manner suited to comedy, personifying the modern viewer's sense of existential homelessness; a young woman standing with her baby carriage amid Kandinskys, as if both mother and child had entered a labyrinth.

Haacke did not, of course, make these jokes about fleeting encounters with eternal values at the expense of the visitors, whose everyday habitude certainly held its own against the formal rigor of art. It was not a case of criticizing the unworthiness of the masses before the lonely triumphs of art—a notorious German theme. In their attitude of helpless admiration, Haacke found instead a counterpart to his own experience of burgeoning doubt, which began to be directed against the 'works.' In his photographs they seem like petrifications of an artistic studio dynamic that had been imported across great historical and aesthetic distances into the fleeting reality of an exhibition to whose social and political constellations they could not respond.

Yet these works come across so impressively because a conscientious exhibition presents them in sequences of spaces and auratic isolation that demand respect. Arnold Bode, the 'spiritus rector' of the event, understood this so well that his mise-en-scènes for the first Documentas are still considered milestones of modern exhibition design. As an assistant at Documenta II, Haacke had, of course, experienced this at close range: the work that was necessary before art could radiate that special aura and provoke admiration, and the behind-the-scenes conflicts that influence the hierarchies in an exhibition's pathways. Sculptures photographed during the confusion of the installation show how dependent on their presentation even masterpieces are. The art world at Documenta II also revealed itself to him as a contradictory world of work that included quite unheroic professions. He discovered the astonishment that comes over a shipper who, unpacking his freight to find a work of art whose





Topographic Contour Project, Proposal for Fort Greene Park Brooklyn, 1968

high insurance value has been impressed upon him, is unable to discover a value in this work that could possibly justify to him the effort of transport and his own labor. The illusion of an autonomous art necessarily evaporated in the experience of a world of work that Haacke shared with the cleaning crew.

He thus was perhaps already immunized against the political pathos with which modern art began to be vested in West Germany at the time, and at Documenta in particular. Kassel found itself in a symbolic place for that: once located at the center of the German Reich and hence of the so-called Third Reich, during the Second World War the city, as the site of the armaments industry, had been completely destroyed and suddenly found itself in a fateful border zone. To an extent equaled by few other large cities in West Germany, it was within sight of the border of the 'Soviet occupation zone.' If Documenta was to compensate for Kassel's marginal position at the edge of the 'iron curtain' and

attract tourists, it would also have to serve as an intellectual deployment area for the 'cold war.' In the process, the freedom of art was marched out as the privilege of the 'Free West,' in contrast to the unbroken Stalinist dictatorship of art under Soviet Communism. So it was not really a bad joke at all that the camera Haacke used to photograph this subtle propaganda event of the West was a product of the enemy camp: it was from the German Democratic Republic, then still known as the Eastern Zone. Admittedly, ideological preferences had not been crucial factors in the choice of this camera; it simply was the cheapest imported single-lens reflex camera available on the West German market at the time. Yet thanks to its brand name, Exakta, it also can be seen as an emblem of Haacke's later artistic strategies, which even today are distinguished by his thorough research and his meticulous aesthetic reflections.

In their contrasts of the viewers' reality with the works of art, Haacke's photographs from



Documenta II reveal an anecdotal, caricature-like humor; at the same, however, they were already indebted to the empirical world of a sociology of art that is articulated visually. Skepticism and criticism, two dispositions that would later mark his oeuvre, are already evident in these photographs, along with a playful seriousness of reflection and an unmistakable pleasure in unmasking false claims. These are the prerequisites for a perception of art that began to interest him at the time, and something he would never again lose sight of; Framing and Being Framed is the title of one of the publications on Haacke's work, in which the seasoned sociologists Howard Becker and John Walton offer respect to the artist as a colleague.

While Haacke might retrospectively object that back in 1959 he was still rather naive, in the photographs of this twenty-three-year-old we nonetheless recognize the blueprint for his later oeuvre. There is a certain poetry in this anticipation, as if he were encountering himself at the time but without any self-recognition. In any case, his service as an assistant at Documenta II was a stroke of luck for Haacke: there, his growing skepticism toward art found not only the fuel of disconcerting behind-the-scenes glimpses into the business of art but also, in photography, a medium for depicting this discrepancy. This spared him the need to direct his crippling doubt at himself; instead he learned to make it the thread running through his artistic work.

III/ A year after Documenta II, Haacke took leave both of Kassel and abstract painting. His path took him first to the Rhineland, to the circle of the artists' group Zero, which had been founded in 1957 and was searching for new artistic strategies and forms of communication in Düsseldorf, the home of an influential art academy. Because it dispensed with the subjectivism and decisionism of gestural abstraction, Zero was attractive to younger artists. The sobriety of its material experiments also found

a receptive sympathizer in Haacke, who was attracted not least by the promise that this new practice could take on a credible function in society beyond that of mere exhibition art. It was already clear from his photographs, however, that he would not be fooled by promises for long. By 1964, when a much admired section in the loft of the Museum Fridericianum at Documenta III was set up for the Zero artists, Haacke had already spent two years in the United States, and a year later, after an interim stop in Cologne, he would move to New York for good.

Not until 1972 would Kassel and Documenta become significant for him again: Harald Szeemann, whose pioneering exhibition 'When Attitudes Become Form' had included Haacke in 1969, invited him to participate in his legendary Documenta 5—this time, of course, not as an assistant but as an exponent of conceptual art. Haacke's contribution to Documenta 5, Documenta-Besucherprofil (Documenta Visitors' Profile), was "a questionnaire with ten demographic questions and ten about opinions on current sociopolitical problems," which viewers were to fill out and drop in an urn, to be evaluated using electronic data processing; the interim results were updated constantly throughout the exhibition.

This work can be seen as a late echo of the astonishment with which, thirteen years earlier, he had observed the discrepancy between the aesthetically dolled-up meaning of works of art and the visitors who were burdened with everyday problems and symbols. But in the interim, the uncertainty had grown considerably deeper, for since that time Haacke had mutated from an amused observer to a victim of the art world and its rather harsh laws. A year prior to Documenta 5, Thomas M. Messer, then director of the Guggenheim Museum, had canceled Haacke's solo exhibition just six weeks before its opening and put him, along with Edward F. Fry, the show's curator, in a rather ominous situation: Fry lost his position as a result, and was never hired by



APRIL 1, 1971:  
 HANS HAACKE'S ONE-MAN SHOW  
 CANCELLED BY GUGGENHEIM FOR  
 ALLEGED SOCIAL & POLITICAL  
 CONTENT . . . .  
 APRIL 26, 1971:  
 CURATOR ED FRY FIRED (WITH 4  
 DAYS' NOTICE) FOR SUPPORTING  
 HAACKE & ARTISTS' RIGHTS  
 OF FREE EXPRESSION . . . . .  
 MAY 1, 1971:  
 ARTISTS DEMONSTRATE AT  
 THE GUGGENHEIM IN SUPPORT  
 OF HAACKE & AGAINST ART  
 CENSORSHIP; PETITION  
 CIRCULATED INTERNATIONALLY  
 TO CENSURE GUGGENHEIM &  
 DIRECTOR THOMAS MESSER . . .  
 NEXT ?

Guggenheim Museum,  
 protest pamphlet  
 (Cover Carl Andre),  
 1971

another museum; Haacke, too, became persona non grata in the American exhibition business for many years. As one of the first artists to understand art as communication, Haacke was excommunicated from the system; the Free West that had been exhibited in Kassel by means of art was apparently not so free after all.

This fall from grace can be understood only if we realize that for a German-born artist just thirty-five years old, a solo exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum would have signified a remarkably early canonization. How many artists already familiar to the public for longer would have to wait a long time for this consecration when it was taken away from Haacke! Despite this competition, there were numerous declarations of artistic solidarity with him—specifically, a call for a boycott against the Guggenheim Museum that included artists Haacke would meet again as a participant in documenta 5 in Kassel: Robert Barry, Mel Bochner, Daniel Buren, Dan Graham, Douglas Huebler, Neil Jenney, Sol LeWitt, Brice Marden, Claes Oldenburg, Robert Smithson, and Keith Sonnier. The list of other cosigners who were not invited to Documenta 5 (astonishingly in many cases, in retrospect) gives a sense of the weight of the outrage directed against the Guggenheim: Carl Andre, Arakawa, Arman, Alice Aycock, John Baldessari, Lynda Benglis, Louise Bourgeois, Scott Burton, Judy Chicago, Oyvind Fahlstrom, Philip Glass, Leon Golub, Al Held, Donald Judd, Alison Knowles, Gordon Matta-Clark, Charlotte Moorman, Robert Morris, Forrest Myers, Brigid Polk, Robert Rauschenberg, Nancy Spero, Frank

Stella, and Bernard Venet. In 1972 Marcel Broodthaers even reproached his opposite number in Düsseldorf, Joseph Beuys, for accepting an invitation to a group exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum rather than declaring his solidarity with Haacke.

What happened? What terrible things did Haacke want to show that caused the gates to the Guggenheim, that Holy Grail of the free art of the Free West, to be closed to him? In prior years he had experimented with condensation cubes and containers for fluids, with instable sculptures kept afloat on artificial air currents, and with weather data. By 1970 he had expanded his explorations of materials to include ice, snow, fog, and steam. His discontent with finished works that leave the artist's studio as snapshots of a privileged creativity and as indifferent pieces of evidence of artistic subjectivity to impress exhibition visitors left him searching for an art form that would come alive only in the situation of the exhibition and would transform there, according to complex structures in which time, energy, and space took on transitory forms, rather than ossifying into exhibits.

He sought such 'real-time systems' not least outside the zone of art, outside the 'white cube,' in Brian O'Doherty's phrase, of galleries and museums, in natural stages and processes in which animals and elements transformed their environment. Today, some of these real-time systems reveal Haacke to have been an early forerunner of ecological art, but at the time they qualified him 'formally' for an exhibition at the Guggenheim—namely, as a radical protagonist of a new, process-oriented conceptual art, but still without great political ambitions.

To the extent that Haacke sought motifs and materials for his art outside the art business, that business had of course already become alien to him, and so he began, as a participatory observer, so to speak, to regard that art business itself as a real-time system, whose participants aroused the same



curiosity as the seagulls in his *Live Airborne System* (1965/1968), the ants in *Ant Coop* (1969), or the chicks in *Chickens Hatching* (1969). He had never tried to intimidate viewers before, but now he included them in the work of art by asking them to participate in opinion polls or surveys, beginning with the 'Information' exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in 1970. But he also addressed urban real-time systems, for example, in the documentation of *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1* (1969).

From this topography of visitors to a gallery it was just a short step to observing urban real-time systems, such as the living conditions of urban dwellers who were not among those who habitually visited galleries and museums. To the extent that the city attracted Haacke's attention as a preexisting real-time system, the economy necessarily drew his attention as its crucial determinant. Hence the systematic impoverishment of urban neighborhoods through real-estate speculation became the theme of meticulous documentations that he addressed in 1971, using the example of one New York real-estate group: *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real-Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*.

This was the work that cost Haacke his solo exhibition at the Guggenheim. Surely even more surprised than the artist by this sudden turn in the evolution of his *œuvre*, Messer categorically refused to include this more recent work in the exhibition—in part because, in the dense plexus of art and money, he had to make allowances for the fact that his New York institution, which received hardly any public funding whatsoever, was dependent on private donations. Because Haacke refused to renounce the work following the 'liberal' path of silent self-censure that was recommended to him, the exhibition was canceled shortly before installation was to begin. In fact, however, the work had already begun before that act of censorship, for the seeds that Haacke had planted in order that a



Guggenheim Museum, protest demonstration, 1971

natural real-time system would form during the course of the exhibition were already growing in the museum.

It is the experience of this censorship, on which his stubbornness and lack of illusion feed, that Haacke has drawn on to stem the encroachments of business and politics into culture as he explores the role of art in society. It is a continuation of Conceptual art by other means, borne by a democratic earnestness that is beginning to sound old-fashioned in some circles. If at first it was merely an act of self-defense that led Haacke to these themes, he was able to seize hold of them, for in his historical and contemporary investigations in the years that followed it became clear that the influence of social forces on the perception and dissemination of art is greater than the apologists of its autonomy would like to admit. The extent to which it is precisely the supporters of art that threaten this autonomy or tarnish its reputation has been the theme of numerous works since then, which have dealt with a variety of companies and art collectors, examining the significance of art to 'corporate identity' long before this advertising strategy became noteworthy in Europe as well as in the United States. Only after being censored by a museum did the ideological role and power in cultural politics of those communicating, collecting, or patronizing the arts become the focus of his *œuvre*, to the point where Haacke is considered internationally to be the epitome of the political artist, though the prominence of that theme can easily blind us to the complex artistic profile of his origins and evolution.





Live Airborne  
System, 1965/1968

Ant Coop, 1969

Chickens Hatching,  
1969

28 IV/ Haacke was not invited to Documenta 6, which took place in 1977 and was supposed to be dedicated to the significance of the media in contemporary art. That is strange above all because Evelyn Weiss and Manfred Schneckenburger, who played a decisive role in organizing the show, had only three years earlier invited Haacke to participate in their exhibition 'PROJEKT '74: Kunst bleibt Kunst' in Cologne, and had personally spoken up for his contribution to the exhibition when there was pressure to remove it from the show. It was, of course, not the same work that had been perceived as too provocative in New York, for Haacke had already set himself the goal of conceiving his contributions to exhibitions with the location in mind—'site-specific' not only in a formal but above all in a political sense.

In Cologne the dispute was over ten panels, at first glance seemingly harmless, that documented the afterlife of a painting by Edouard Manet: a still life with asparagus, *La botte d'asperges* (Bunch of Asparagus) from 1880, which hung in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne. Perhaps no other work articulates as elegantly, drastically, and at the same time originally the 'sociological turn' in Haacke's oeuvre as does this Manet-PROJEKT '74. It took into account a discussion emerging in those years—for example, in the writings of the art philosopher Walter Benjamin that were being rediscovered at the time—that recognized the reception of a work, its afterlife, as a genuine theme of aesthetics and for the first time accorded this aspect the status of an artistic manifestation. At the same

time, in the prosaic documentation of purchases, sales, and inheritances, it denied the ideology of the timelessness of art that was evoked precisely by the exhibition's subtitle: 'Kunst bleibt Kunst' (Art Remains Art).

Beginning with the first buyer of the Manet work, Haacke's Manet-PROJEKT '74 provided a complete survey of the owners of this painting, right up to the museum board of trustees that purchased it for a donation to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne in memory of Konrad Adenauer. Every temporary owner of *La botte d'asperges* was identified with relevant, generally available biographical data, including the chairman of the museum's board, the German banker and patron of the arts Hermann Josef Abs, who was described with biographical details, not all of which seemed laudable, that while common to many of his contemporaries had often been suppressed.

As we know even more precisely today than we did then, thanks to new documents, Abs had played a central role in the economic stabilization of National Socialism and its war economy by means of forced labor in concentration camps and satellite camps. That was a historical fact of great effect, given that most of the previous owners of the Manet painting had been Jewish. In response to pressure from the director of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum at the time (and surely in the interests of Abs, who was extraordinarily influential in postwar Germany as well), Schneckenburger and Weiss were forced, against their will, to remove Haacke's work from the exhibition, even though Haacke had





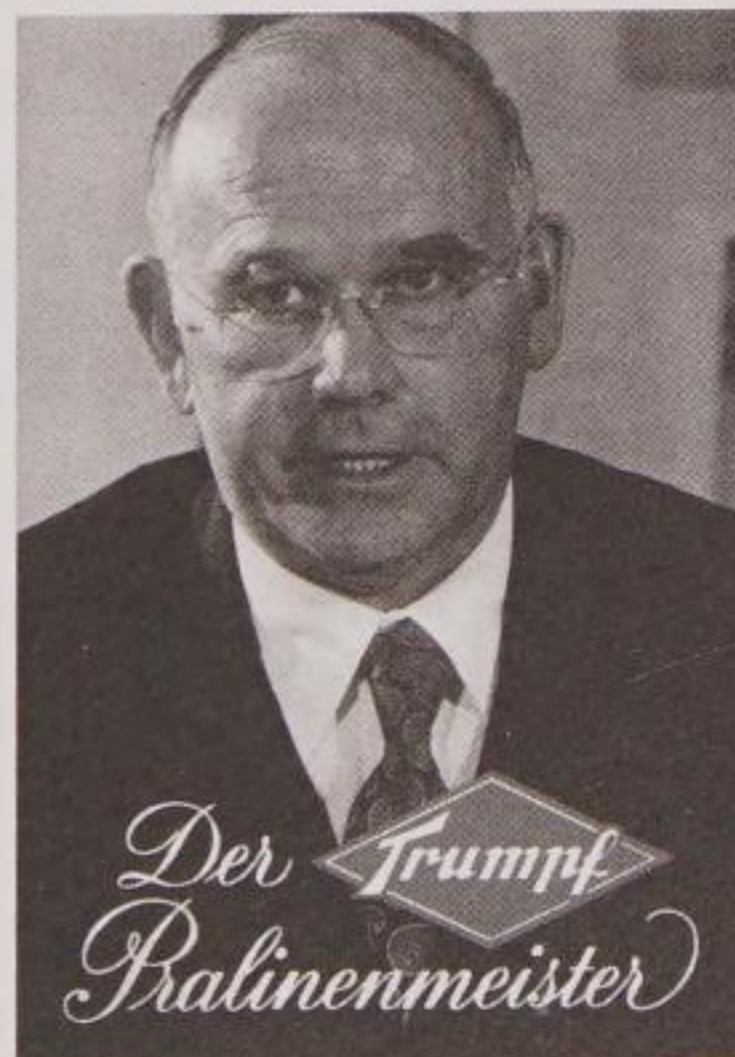
included no facts about Abs's life that could not have been found in any handbook of the time. In protest against this censorship, Daniel Buren made photocopies of Haacke's panels and pasted them to his own contribution to the exhibition, for which he was censored in turn; out of solidarity with Haacke, Marcel Broodthaers increased his own contribution, adding a second palm tree to his installation. Here again, the political scandal tends to overshadow in retrospect the artistic subtlety and precise contemporaneity of the work, for in the demure texture of conceptual art, Haacke had opened a completely new chapter with his Manet-PROJEKT '74: the social history of art as a—sobering—theme for art.

V/ Haacke was invited to Kassel again for Documenta 7 (1982), and he showed three substantial works: *Der Pralinenmeister* (The Chocolate Master, 1981), *A Breed Apart* (1978), and *Oelgemaelde: Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers* (Oil Painting: Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, 1982). Two of these had been conceived for and shown at other exhibi-

tions; the third, *Oelgemaelde*, by contrast, had been developed especially for Kassel. *Der Pralinenmeister* was another work that could not be shown at an exhibition in Cologne, in this case 'Westkunst' (West Art), organized by Kasper König in 1981. In seven diptychs, this series of panels offered a portrait of the West German entrepreneur and art collector Peter Ludwig, who at the time was setting about using his collecting and donating strategies to exert an enormous influence on cultural policies in the Federal Republic of Germany, especially in Cologne. Haacke contrasted the documented arch-coolness and calculation of the entrepreneur with his reputation as a generous patron of the arts and passionate art lover, detailing the sober reality of his quite deft poker game to acquire influence and respect.

In formal terms, this work was no longer indebted to the pure typology of Conceptual art but instead attempted to do justice to the commercial aesthetic of its protagonist by means of mimicry. It was the first recognizable sign of Haacke's reverence

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Cover of  
exhibition catalogue,  
Gallery Paul Maenz,  
Cologne, 1981





A Breed Apart, 1978

for Pop art, from which he would acquire crucial inspiration for the design of his later documentations. In the choice of his artistic means, Haacke has occasionally since allowed himself to be guided by the found aesthetic of his themes, even to the point of self-denial of his own forms; he has taken his orientation from familiar signals and tried-and-true constellations, be they clichés from advertising or political representation or models from art history or contemporary art.

Not only the 'readymade' but also, and above all, Pop art have inspired the mimicry with which Haacke artfully decimates his chosen formulas and contexts, as when he treated the relationship between the tobacco company Philip Morris and the ultraconservative American senator Jesse Helms on oversized cigarette packages. Nor does he preclude cross-references to contemporary artists; these need not be motivated by admiration, as was the case with the *Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers*, but can also be intended as parodies. That was the case in 1987 when he presented the wall installa-

tion *The Saatchi Collection (Simulations)*, which could have been the work of two favorites of that collector at the time—Haim Steinbach and Jeff Koons. It is a style of 'subversive imitation' that Haacke uses to formulate his documentations of cultural politics and in which his own artistic quality is manifested: the greater his ability to empathize and the more skilled his persiflage, the more plausible the end result seems—which makes it too easy to overlook the considerations and alternatives used in the choices of form and their transformation, and hence for many viewers these things recede behind the provocation of the theme. Over the decades his oeuvre has developed a lack of individual style as its truly individual style. By contrast, *Oelgemaelde: Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers*, conceived especially for Documenta 7, came to terms with the significance that painting had begun to acquire again in the early 1980s, having been more or less marginalized in the art of the 1970s. By confronting a portrait of Ronald Reagan he painted and presented in a museum-like setting



Helmsboro Country, 1990

The Saatchi Collection (Simulations), 1987



with a large-format photograph of a demonstration in Bonn against Reagan's transatlantic arms build-up, Haacke was contrasting two informational mediums whose aesthetic rank seemed to be inversely proportional to their political content. In the years that followed, Haacke repeatedly took up the once-castoff means of painting and employed them in his installations in pointed ways.

Whereas both *Der Pralinenmeister* and *Oelgemaelde* continued the theme of art and power, the third work at Documenta 7 was devoted to another recurring motif—the entanglement of industrial companies from democratic countries in the economy and politics of the racist minority regime in South Africa. Originally intended for an exhibition in Oxford, the work considered how the South African military and police liked to use the Land Rovers produced by the auto manufacturer located there, British Leyland. Texts indicating the company's remarkable willingness to supply their products to the apartheid regime were collaged with original advertisements from the company, which also manufactured Jaguar. Rudi Fuchs and Johannes Gachnang were responsible for documenta 7, which was of high quality though rather equable if not academic in its effect, and the considerable attention paid to Haacke's work there represented an astonishing homage to a political artist who in the meanwhile had developed a reputation as being troublesome.

VI/ At Documenta 8 (1987)—which, like documenta 6 ten years earlier, was curated by Manfred Schneckenburger—the organizer took a second opportunity to invite Haacke and provided him with a central place in the entrance area to the Museum Fridericianum. Haacke took up the theme of South Africa again in a large installation, but this time he treated a different example: Deutsche Bank, with its main headquarters in nearby Frankfurt am Main. The largest and most influential West German bank had been attracting a great deal of attention just

then for its spectacular art collection, housed in the hallways and offices of its central office in Frankfurt. Each floor is dedicated to one artist in the collection, whose name is next to the corresponding button on the elevator; in this way, one travels to the Immendorff or Beuys floor rather than to a sequentially numbered one.

The aestheticizing of the work world of its employees earned the company, as usual, the bonus of a reputation as being culturally minded, even as being a patron of the arts, and the status of the collection, ensured by hiring qualified advisers, was a critical success on the cultural scene. Such strategies of image promotion are, of course, all the more suspect to an observer like Haacke, since in his experience they tend to be made by the very companies that fear 'negative' headlines for other reasons. And, in fact, Deutsche Bank had been massively criticized for having refused to end its collaboration with the racist minority regime in South Africa, a stance that had already caused the Evangelischer Kirchentag (Protestant church congress), for example, to cancel all its accounts in protest. Deutsche Bank and its stock involvements with Daimler-Benz's armaments activities in South Africa resulted in such a dubious image that one of the artists in their collection, Walter Dahn, had already protested in an open letter against his painting being misused as a way of glossing over the company's political relationships. The use of art as political decoration with which controversial themes can be downplayed under the threshold of attention represents a constant challenge for Haacke to turn the game around and use the context of art to point out political problems.

Haacke was not invited to Documenta IX, organized by Jan Hoet in 1992. That was to be expected, as Hoet had let it be known in advance that he was interested in art not for open political commitment but for its mystery. In view of the mess that Hoet got himself into with sponsors, it was in retrospect probably a clever preventive measure not to invite



Haacke to Kassel. How easy it would have been for Documenta IX, with its barely acceptable campaign for West cigarettes, to have become the subject of Haacke's contribution!

VII/ Instead, surprisingly, Haacke was invited to represent the reunited Germany at the Venice Biennale in 1993, together with Nam June Paik. For various reasons, that was an unusual decision by the commissioner of the exhibition, Klaus Bussmann, the director of the county art museum in Münster. First, it brought peace to a thorny dispute: Should the German Pavilion of the Venice Biennale, which until reunification had been open only to West German artists, now permit a West and an East German artist to appear? After all the years of very different artistic developments in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, that would have been a difficult, if not embarrassing venture. Bussmann avoided the internal discussion of proportionality by pointedly inviting a West German artist who since 1962 had been living primarily in New York and a South Korean who had spent crucial phases of his artistic development and influence in the Rhineland. Thus the reunited Germany presented itself at once as a land of emigration and of immigration, a pointed gesture in light of incipient violent attacks against foreigners and asylum applicants at the time.

The choice of Haacke to install the large central space of the pavilion, moreover, did not represent the selection of a national artist. At that time only two works by Haacke were owned by German museums, specifically those that had been purchased by the bold Dierk Stemmler, most recently director of the Abteiberg Museum in Mönchengladbach and commissioner of the German Pavilion at the Biennale from 1986 to 1988, while still director of the Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn. By contrast, Haacke had long enjoyed a substantial reputation in France, where by that time a total of eight of his

works were in public collections, including that of the Musée nationale d'art moderne at the Centre Pompidou in Paris. The lack of recognition by German museums is as little surprising as his reputation in France: there people understood, in the tradition of skeptical moralism, that which had been disapproved of in Germany as attacks on the intellectual coziness of postwar prosperity.

If Haacke had not previously been considered a German national artist, he became one with the installation for the German Pavilion in 1993. The building, which had been completely redesigned by the National Socialists in 1938, was taken over almost unaltered by the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War, though the eagle on a swastika on the building facade was removed. In its sober classicism and the cleverly dimensioned monumentality of a minute space, it is clearly intended from the outside to intimidate the viewer; the interior, by contrast, is transported into a pseudosacred atmosphere by means of an apse and high rows of windows. Previous artists chosen to represent the Federal Republic here had found the off-putting angularity of the Nazi building a challenge, but never before had it been so massively confronted as it was by Haacke, who made it literally impassable.

He destroyed the field on which viewers normally strolled, breaking up the slabs of the floor and thus recasting the structure as a setting more appropriate for the resurrection of the dead than a cheerful opening. The same proud inscription found outside the remodeled space—GERMANIA—was repeated in the apse, a gesture that also gave the work its name; in the tension between that inscription and its quotation lay a field of rubble like the echo of a mania experienced. The marble slabs put down in 1938 now formed the exploded walking surface of a political house of cards codified at the time the building was constructed in the significant association of 'Blut und Boden' (blood and soil); the central space of the overbearing pavilion was groundless



[bodenlos], as if vandals had wrecked the place (though, in truth, they were the ones who built it). Haacke took on the ambivalence of the site and made it the theme that dominates the space: because he prepared the ground for no one, he opened the door even to the visitor whose image one saw on entering: Adolf Hitler, who had prominently visited the Biennale in 1934.

Yet the installation also referred to the current situation of the reunification of Germany. As a new emblem of the state, Haacke placed an oversized coin of the old West Germany, and now the new pan-German currency—the German mark—precisely where the eagle on a swastika had been placed on the wall in 1937, a spot that simply had been left empty since 1945. The date on the coin was the year the unification treaty was signed, and thus it symbolized the economic victory of Western capitalism over a rundown communism. By filling the place once reserved for the eagle on a swastika with a simple coin, Haacke raised the question of whether the national spirit that the pavilion embodies to this day was representative, and also whether that spirit still haunts the uneasy country this pavilion is supposed to represent. As the face value of a corporate identity of the state, the coin replaced the traditional symbolism of the state with a sober heraldry of economic life. The pavilion containing the works by Haacke and Paik received the Golden Lion, the 'Prize of the Nations,' but the reaction to Haacke's contribution was very much split. Among non-German critics and visitors the positive voices dominated, whereas the response in Germany ranged rather from indifference to rejection.

VIII/ Haacke's unexpected invitation to Venice led him to confront the question of whether national identity can be represented visually, a theme that would accompany his work in the years to come, and not just when the German choreographer Johann Kresnik asked him to design the stage sets

for a dance piece on Ernst Jünger in Berlin in 1994. In 1998 Haacke—along with Gerhard Richter, Sigmar Polke, Anselm Kiefer, and Georg Baselitz, among others—was invited in the name of the Bundestag to contribute art for the new-old parliament building, the renovated Reichstag in Berlin. The resulting project, DER BEVÖLKERUNG (TO THE POPULATION), marked a strand within Haacke's oeuvre that had already occupied him prior to the 1990s but now moved to center stage, at least in his works related to the reunified Germany: the unconventional monument and the unruly site of memorial, the national idea, and the problem of political identities under the sign of migration.

Until this time, Haacke's occupation with the theme of nationalism had been subsumed primarily under the urgency of coming to terms with Germany's National Socialist past, as in 1988, in an outdoor work for the Steirischer Herbst (Styrian Festival) in Graz, Und Ihr habt doch gesiegt (And You Were Victorious After All), in which he took up the subject of the National Socialist rededication of a column honoring the Virgin as a triumphal monument to the annexation of Austria. When the curator of the Graz show, Werner Fenz, invited him to participate in another exhibition in a public space, this time on the Königsplatz in Munich, Haacke's contribution to the exhibition, Die Fahne hoch! (Raise the Flag!), exposed a fatal continuity: in Fraktur type and beneath the death's-head cockade of the SS, he listed West German companies that, despite an international embargo—intended not least to protect Israel's existence—had delivered military equipment to Iraq in the late 1980s.

By contrast, DER BEVÖLKERUNG accentuated a completely new set of national themes: in the wake of arson attacks against homes for asylum applicants and xenophobic assaults that occurred just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, there emerged the explosive problem of a country that suddenly, following reunification, no longer wished to be a land of immigration. Even if the reunified Federal





GERMANIA, 1993  
Ernst Jünger, 1994

Republic preferred not to think of itself as a land of immigration, however, generations of labor immigrants, primarily from southern Europe and more recently from Turkey, nonetheless had come there and belied the impression of a homogeneous national character that the historical inscription on the portico of the Reichstag building continued to suggest.

Haacke used the building's slogan as an occasion to inscribe the virulent conflict into this site of political representation. The inscription "DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE" (To the German people) would be contrasted with the neutral alternative "DER BEVÖLKERUNG" (To the population), spelled out in the same lettering—not, as the quickly mobilized opponents to his project insinuated, in order to replace the inscription on the portico but rather to supplement and contrast it through a work on the floor of one of the interior courtyards. The months-long debate that ensued drew a public response even from those who did not follow art—as if Haacke had wanted to misappropriate one of the most sacred symbols of the German nation. In the end, the Bundestag had to decide the matter; it approved the project by an extremely small majority; since September 2000 it can be seen as a continuing work in the Reichstag and at [www.der-bevoelkerung.de](http://www.der-bevoelkerung.de).

As is so often the case with Haacke's work, the formal continuities of DER BEVÖLKERUNG are constructed in such a way that they can be recognized only by those familiar with his development. In the work in the Reichstag, this involved the idea of a

zone of growth left in a natural state without any gardening interventions, just as he had planned for an outdoor work in 1968 in a park in New York and in another unrealized project, Niemandland (No-Man's-Land), which had been proposed in the early 1970s as an artwork for the new building of the West German federal ministries in Bonn—a no-man's-land that was intended to be located not only beyond the interventions of gardeners but also those of politicians and the police.

IX/ Another example of Haacke's dialectic approach to monuments, maxims, and commemorative places was produced in Berlin: his Denkzeichen für Rosa Luxemburg (Memento Rosa Luxemburg, 2006), a memorial to Rosa Luxemburg on the square named after her. That sounds like a simple task for a confessed leftist intellectual and artist, one that he could deal with easily and emphatically. But to which Rosa Luxemburg should he dedicate his monument? She was perhaps the greatest individualist of German social democracy, and when she was murdered at the age of forty-seven she had only recently taken one of the most important steps of her life: the founding of the Communist Party of Germany. How would Luxemburg have handled herself in the tension between her challenging, combative individuality and the requirements of party discipline? Without question, that would have become one of the most exciting chapters in German political history in the early twentieth century. What contribution could she have made, or would she have wanted to make, to uniting antifascist



forces in the early 1930s? How would she have emerged from the predictable fight over what best served the party? We can only speculate today. Along with the everyday political texts, her letters are the most important source for understanding this exceptional individual—dictated as events were occurring and marked by a personality as perceptive as it was restless. They offer contradictory images, and thus both democratic socialists and totalitarian communists, antiauthoritarian members of the sixties generation and those loyal to the party line of the German Communist Party, dictators and civil rights groups of the German Democratic Republic could each claim another Luxemburg for themselves with appropriate quotations from different phases of her life.

Haacke made this contradictoriness the subject of his monument, and thus it never stood erect, in keeping with the oldest rule of the visual arts.

Thinking of traditional equestrian statues of monarchs and generals standing on high pedestals so that they tower even further over the surroundings of the viewer, we might have wished Luxemburg a similarly towering monument, if only to undo the terrible humiliation and brutal debasement of her death. But monuments are poor compensation and are not even a guarantee of thoughtful reflection, as Robert Musil recognized when he traced their habitual invisibility in the cityscape back to the impermeability caused by habit.

Haacke's proposal for the competition to which the

work was submitted offered an urban text-image, as it were:

"The paved area of Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz is covered with a hundred sentences from Rosa Luxemburg's writings. The excerpts are set in brass letters flush with the surfaces of the streets and sidewalks. The placement of the lines of text ignores both the orientation of the square and its articulation into slabs, mosaic, and asphalt roads. The lines can cross the separation between the road and the pedestrian zone—that is, a sentence can begin in the road and cross the curb to end on the sidewalk, and vice versa. The direction of reading is as little uniform as the placement of the lines. The quotations are taken from Rosa Luxemburg's writings, highly varied in terms of their tone, themes, and addressees: from her letters to friends, lovers, and enemies; from articles, polemics, appeals, and theoretical writings. Their placement follows no thematic concentration. For example, fragments from a political debate will appear right next to very private messages. Wrong assessments and views that no longer correspond to our understanding of democracy will be included just as much as views that have lost nothing of their relevance for the present and still serve as signposts. There will be no attempt to reconcile Rosa Luxemburg's incompatible positions. In Denkzeichen für Rosa Luxemburg people will move, almost literally, through the complex thought world of the woman murdered in 1919."



And You Were Victorious After All, 1988

Raise the Flag!, 1991



Haacke's use of the urban ground as the user interface of thought seems anything but imposing, in the tradition of monuments, especially because it works neither with sentiment and figures nor with monuments and abstraction but rather through writing. The inserted quotations seem not to relate to the tradition of the monument at all but rather to the ground as the intersecting surface with the culture of burial customary here.

Alongside GERMANIA, this is another work in which the ground or soil plays a prominent role. Haacke's competition entry for a monument on the bicentennial of the French Revolution (*Calligraphie*, 1989) had earlier turned the ground into the venue of memory. Another unrealized competition entry, *Wir (alle) sind das Volk* (*We [All] Are the People*, 2003), proposed for the courtyard of the Nikolaikirche in Leipzig, consisted both of a wall projection and points of light distributed throughout the pavement of the square, flush with the ground. For the exhibition 'Deutschlandbilder' (*Images of Germany*), in 1997, he created in the light well of the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin *Beton (Concrete)*: a facsimile of twenty continuous meters of the autobahn built by the Third Reich.

Nor was the Rosa Luxemburg memorial the first time that writing played a role in Haacke's work: the scope of his typography ranges from questionnaires to panels of words and images, from the variation on the citation from the Reichstag

inscription to the mimicry of advertising brochures. Thus when faced with the conception of this monument-as-writing, we need not think of contemporary artists like Joseph Kosuth, who for decades has used writing installed flush with the surface to create spaces of memory, or Jenny Holzer, whose 'truisms' are now reeled off electronically worldwide. For Haacke, the point is neither elegantly evoked cultural heritage nor generous servings of commonplaces; his conception of this monument-as-writing is not a trademarked method but rather a response to a particular challenge.

Just as every museum, as Per Kirkeby has remarked, says more about the time in which it was founded than about the eras it exhibits, monuments, too, formulate a certain perspective of a person or an event that is not only historically conditioned but also becomes historic itself. This occurs according to the principle of a selective reduction that accentuates and contemporizes in the people or events memorialized precisely that which is politically useful about them. That is what Haacke wanted to avoid, because he was not interested in the Luxemburg of the Social Democratic Party, nor that of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, or the civil rights movement; he was, instead, interested in the presence of an individual of historical stature. And in this case it could not be about the seemingly self-contained image that monuments have tried for centuries to cast into the guaranteed physiognomy of a person.



Memento Rosa  
Luxemburg, 2004

Concrete, 1997





Calligraphy, 1989

The quotations from Rosa Luxemburg sunk into the ground seem much more like spoils from a life that had been smashed, like traces of a conversation with herself that was ended too soon, like testimony of various plans for a life that never became full length.

Even if the ground can become a legitimate surface for thought, against the background of today's culture of burial it remains a perplexing aspect of Haacke's concept for a monument. For the act of moving with feet, and still more with tires, over these texts intended to call up and preserve an important personality seems like a casual, downright encouragement of vandalism. But that is precisely why Haacke's monument to Rosa Luxemburg is not made impermeable by habit: the texts inserted in the ground change the urban space more than any sculpture on a pedestal could do, because every passerby now has to make decisions: walk or read, walk on or respect, suppress or remember.

X/ In Germany, Hans Haacke has long been counted among the lesser-known artists, because he never became one of the highly paid stars of the art market—how could he have?—or even a favorite of the speculation collectors and other opportunistic offshoots of the art market; nor did the boom in the 1980s leave him with the same mass-appeal glamour that such contemporaries as Georg Baselitz or Gerhard Richter have enjoyed. Even among intellectuals in Germany, at most his name and some of the more spectacular works are known, with little awareness of their context and even less of the complex evolution of his oeuvre. His relative obscurity is no doubt related to the widespread venues his work has occupied. As Dieter Daniels has demonstrated for Marcel Duchamp in an excellent book on that artist,<sup>1</sup> Haacke has both a European and an American oeuvre, and two corresponding strands of reception. Anyone with a partial grasp of Haacke's appearances in Europe will not necessarily know or understand his American works, because they are site-



Mixed Messages, 2001

ViewingMatters, 1996



specific in the political sense. That is why this essay takes its examples from the European oeuvre, although even that is not exactly easy to follow, for alongside Venice and Oxford, Paris and Zurich are among the venues, as well as Krefeld and Barcelona, and not least Rotterdam and London, two cities in which Haacke was invited to reconfigure a museum collection for temporary presentation: a 'museum mix-up.'<sup>2</sup>

Within a subset of the art world, Haacke is of course prominent and enjoys a strong reputation. To praise Haacke is to burnish the reputation even of those of his colleagues who busily make their compromises with the art world and are glad that someone else is relieving them of the task of political enlightenment. That is why Haacke cannot be satisfied with the reputation that precedes him as the 'consciousness of the art world.' He is a moralist, but not one who embodies morality as an exception. Likewise, he could only be alienated by the echo his work found in that of certain younger artists and critics in the 1980s, who viewed his strategies of provocation as a contemporary recipe for success.

No doubt the universalization and escalation of provocation is one of the basic strategies of contemporary art precisely because provocation is still the best means to attract attention in the marketplace. The symbolic violation of taboo is, at least since Pop art, one common strategy; and 'radical chic' was the mainstream of the 1990s. Many works ever since can be reduced to this aspect, but in the process they often experience the fate that is the flip side of provocation—namely, being overshadowed by the next violation of taboo.

Since the time of Pop art, however, provocation as a strategy has taken a cynical turn, having been employed in almost textbook fashion in the oeuvre of Jeff Koons. The enormous success that Koons had in the 1980s inspired young critics (demonstrating how much art does indeed alter consciousness) to insinuate that Haacke's constant maneu-

vers on the edge of censorship had ensured him uninterrupted attention and hence ultimately merely secured him an economic niche—as if Haacke's political commitment were merely a strategy for success motivated by techniques for attracting attention.

This criticism might have a point if Haacke's economic success even distantly approached that of Warhol or Koons. But that is not the case. With his political art, Haacke rather has for decades taken the risk of being marginalized in the art market, and that was a remarkable decision to have made not only in light of the boom of the 1980s, from which even the most dubious talents profited. In fact, it was the undaunted loyalty of his gallerist at the time, John Weber, and of a few private collectors, that saved him in 1971 from being suddenly marginalized as an artist, if not ruined, as did the Cooper Union art school, where Haacke began working part-time in 1967, becoming a full-time employee in 1971 and a tenured professor in 1975. That position provided him with the independence he needed to produce works he could otherwise not even have contemplated.

Hans Haacke is an artist who stands squarely in one of the most essential aesthetic traditions of modernism, that of the moralist, and only through tinted, postmodern lenses can he be seen as a speculator in motifs. He is a stage director of perception, like Marcel Duchamp, whose ironic sense of mission did not transpire without the pathos of the loner. As with Marcel Broodthaers, it is the great self-confidence of the man stripped of his illusions that distinguishes Haacke. It was a demonstrative recognition of precisely this quality that led Catherine David to present as one of the key works of postwar art at her Documenta X in Kassel, in 1997, the very work that the Guggenheim had not wished to show a quarter century earlier.

Nearly half a century, something no one would have wagered on at the time, lies between Haacke's use



of an East German camera in the front-line city of the Free West and a pan-German memorial for Rosa Luxemburg, between the photographs of Documenta II and the German retrospective in Hamburg and Berlin for his seventieth birthday. This look back ought to show, among other things, that the series of photographs made by a student in 1959 was an unsuspected anticipation of his later oeuvre. Few artists have the good fortune at such an early stage of their development to have an experience that shows them the path from an only

seemingly current art to a genuinely contemporary one in which they will be the protagonist, no matter whether it is a question of beginning to believe in something or of losing faith. Haacke's photographs from 1959 testify to such a shift in perspective, without false pathos or any melodrama at all. As always, he is characterized by a playful seriousness of reflection and an unmistakable pleasure in testing higher ambitions, dispositions that were already evident back then.

— 1 Dieter Daniels, *Duchamp und die anderen. Der Modellfall einer künstlerischen Entwicklung in der Moderne* (Cologne: DuMont, 1992).

— 2 *AnsichtsSachen/ViewingMatters*, exh. cat., Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 1999); *Mixed Messages*, exh. cat., Serpentine Gallery, London, 2001.











Historical blockages of reception, as for example the delayed admittance of Hans Haacke into the discursive construction of the canon of postwar sculpture or the barring of his work from institutional evaluations such as the museum retrospective, inform us in a fairly accurate manner about the institutional, social, and ideological investments in cultural production and reception at particular historical and geopolitical junctures. They tell us as much as do their opposites, the often premature acceptance of traditional cultural practices (such as painting and sculpture by the generation of German Neo-Expressionists), about what is putatively viable, if not normative.

In the following, I want to explore the implications of these blockages in the reception of some of Haacke's most important works from the early 1970s: his first photographic installations, entitled *Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile, Part 2 (1970)*, *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real-Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 (1971)*, and *Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real-Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 (1971)*. As is well known (having been discussed by now in great detail), these works were censored from an exhibition of Haacke's work at New York's Guggenheim Museum, which was ultimately canceled.

I will not be addressing this particular and crucial aspect of their reception history. However, with hindsight it seems equally, if not more important to understand why they also would be excluded from scholarly and curatorial evaluations of the later 1970s. Apparently, the major critics and scholars of sculpture of that period could not situate Haacke's work within the rather dramatic shifts that Minimalism and Post-Minimalism had brought about at that moment. Literally all major accounts of 1960s sculpture, and those of Minimal and Post-Minimal sculpture in particular, have refrained from considering Haacke's work.<sup>1</sup> Even though Haacke's projects and propositions were exhibited relatively early

in a variety of institutional presentations, they encountered a similar fate soon thereafter, being denied their proper place in the most advanced anthologies of Conceptual art. Haacke was thus, once again, strangely absent from most accounts of the historical movements with which he would obviously have to be associated.

This dual exclusion allows for a productive reading of the institutional and discursive expectations of that particular period, and it also allows us to recognize the extent to which Haacke's cunning historical constructions continually succeeded in positioning themselves at the threshold of traditional categories (Minimal sculpture, for example) and new propositions (such as linguistic and photographic Conceptualism) without ever fully complying with either the old rules or the new genres being established at the time. Observing this operation allows us to better comprehend the double severing of Haacke's work from the reception process of both Post-Minimal and Conceptual art. On the one hand, there were the differences imposed by the discursive and institutional orders, which declared his work unacceptable, incompatible with ruling or emerging definitions of contemporary practice. On the other, there were the crucial differentiations Haacke himself introduced. This comparative approach to Haacke's work of the late 1960s and early 1970s also clarifies the extent to which it changed the actual parameters of the conception and production of sculpture. The inevitable outcome for sculpture historians in the subsequent decades was that it became almost impossible to recognize his work for what it actually was: that is to say, a primary contestation of the rigid categorical conventions and discursive boundaries of sculpture that Minimalism, despite itself, reinforced. Haacke confronted the various positions of sculptural production of the 1960s and early 1970s with a precision that might best be understood in the context of changes that began in 1965 in the work of his peers of the Post-Minimal and Conceptual



moment. Rather than analyzing individual practices in detail, however, I would prefer for now to discuss certain categorical and paradigmatic changes that these artists initiated in order to contest the traditional materials and media of sculpture and the place and purposes of artistic practices at large.

### **Toward a New Architecture**

One of the most astonishing changes that Haacke introduced into his work around 1970 was a (seemingly) sudden turn toward vernacular architecture and its photographic representation. This move stands in important relation to the focus on vernacular architecture of the urban everyday that already had been at the center of proto-conceptualist work for almost a decade. One need only think of the representations of gasoline stations or Los Angeles junk-space architecture in the books of Ed Ruscha in the early 1960s, or of the photographic archive of industrial architecture collected by Bernd and Hilla Becher since the late 1950s. Possibly in response to an encounter with both these projects, the architecture of the everyday would later become a key subject in the photographs that Dan Graham produced in preparation for his work *Homes for America*, published as an article in 1966.

Comparisons such as these suggest that Haacke did not engage with photographic representations of vernacular architecture as a (primarily artistic) reflection on Pop and Minimalist definitions of painting and sculpture, as had been the case, for example, with Ruscha's and Graham's devotion to the vernacular. And neither would Haacke have wanted to expand the iconographic range of the Bechers' melancholic collections into the urban everyday culture of New York. Rather, what we see in this grouping is that, in manifest differentiation from his predecessors' concerns for photographic representations of public space and architectural structures, Haacke approached both from the start as political and economic systems, and as networks

of social relations. To fully understand Haacke's contribution to postwar sculpture, however, requires that we not only differentiate his view of architecture and public space from the interests of his peers and immediate predecessors but that we differentiate Haacke's specific engagement with architecture from that of the avant-garde practices of the 1920s in the Soviet Union, in Weimar Germany, or in the Dutch de Stijl contexts.

After all, at the moment of the 1920s, artists could still declare programmatically that a transformation of painting and sculpture into architecture would transcend all the cognitive and perceptual limitations of easel painting and detach sculpture from the apparatus of artisanal skills and pre-industrial materials by which it traditionally had been determined. Most important, the aspiration of artists turning to architecture in the 1920s was to liberate spectators from their fixation on individual objects and eventually to generate different forms of simultaneous collective experience within inhabited public space.

Even the briefest of comparisons illuminates what the postwar return to architecture and public space 'was not,' and what it never could have been. The landmark projects of the 1960s, and the work of Haacke in particular, obviously did not subscribe to the utopian aspirations of the avant-gardes of the 1920s. In the 1960s and 1970s, architecture as social site was conceived as an actual 'negation' of all utopian aspirations; it was presented in terms of its utter failure to have delivered any of the avant-gardist promises. For Haacke, architecture was never available as a site for the utopian expansion and collectivization of use value, nor was it a space of emancipatory communication. Instead, it was and has remained a space of social entropy and aesthetic decrepitude, a site of regulation and control, a locus of economic exploitation.

### **Sculpture as Photography**

Haacke's Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real-Estate



Holdings originates in the insight that artistic production of the 1960s had to reorient itself toward questions of public space. It therefore seems appropriate to further differentiate Haacke's conception of architecture from that of the other major figures we have mentioned. We would even argue, somewhat speculatively for now (and with corroboration, hopefully, in the following), that the markedly different relationships to architecture developed by all these artists will find exact correspondences in their diverse attitudes toward the technical and artistic execution of their 'photographic representations' of architecture and public space.

Thus, for example, in whatever different ways we might want to read the photographic production of the Bechers, it seems beyond doubt that the iconography of their work is fundamentally motivated by a desire for historical and mnemonic reflection. First, on the level of technique, photographic skills, and masterly execution, the Bechers resume the lost (and in many ways problematic) legacy of the photography of German 'Neue Sachlichkeit.' Haacke had a professional art school education that clearly qualified him to produce photographic images of elementary technical standards, but while the photographic archives of slum housing and real-estate accumulations the artist recorded were obviously produced with technical competence, at the same time they lack any photographic ambition, and they are devoid of any overt reference to historically defined photographic styles. A second dimension starkly differentiates the Bechers' position from that of Haacke. The Bechers' photographs are clearly situated within the horizon of the mnemonic: the structures archived during their photographic travels constitute a body of industrial architecture on the verge of obsolescence, either by decay or by the abandonment of a particular mode of production that had defined their functions. In manifest contrast, Haacke's collection of slum housing is not the sub-

ject of a melancholic archive, nor is it an attempt to rescue a withering complex of objects from total oblivion. Rather, Haacke's archival collection is primarily determined by the economic, political, and legal questions concerning the problem of individual ownership of the means of production. His particular examples, in this case, are the large segments of low-income housing privately owned and controlled in New York for the purpose of profit maximization.

Third, if the photographs of the Bechers presume contemplative or even melancholic spectators trying to cope with the historically determined memory crisis of postwar Germany, Haacke's photographs anticipate spectators whose previous passivity presumably could be transformed through the act of looking as much as through the provision of proper textual information into a critical and investigative mode of readerly and spectatorial behavior. After all, conceptually defined photographic practices, rather than continuing the production of esoterically coded or artificially rarefied objects, wanted to provide mere 'information' (one of the key concepts of the late 1960s and early 1970s) precisely because it was part of everyday life, appeared to be free of privileged forms of perception, and was offered as though it was in fact universally available and accessible.

The second model we should at least briefly consider as an equally important precursor to Haacke's orientation toward the photographic record of architecture and its archival organization is the deployment and display of photographs in Ed Ruscha's photobooks of the early 1960s, in particular perhaps his second publication, *Every Building on the Sunset Strip* (1966). In this leporello accumulation of frontal views of vernacular Los Angeles buildings on the Sunset Strip, the photographic image, as Ruscha has asserted repeatedly, is treated as a (photo-) graphic equivalent to the Duchampian readymade. That is to say, its mode of communication is primarily deictic rather than



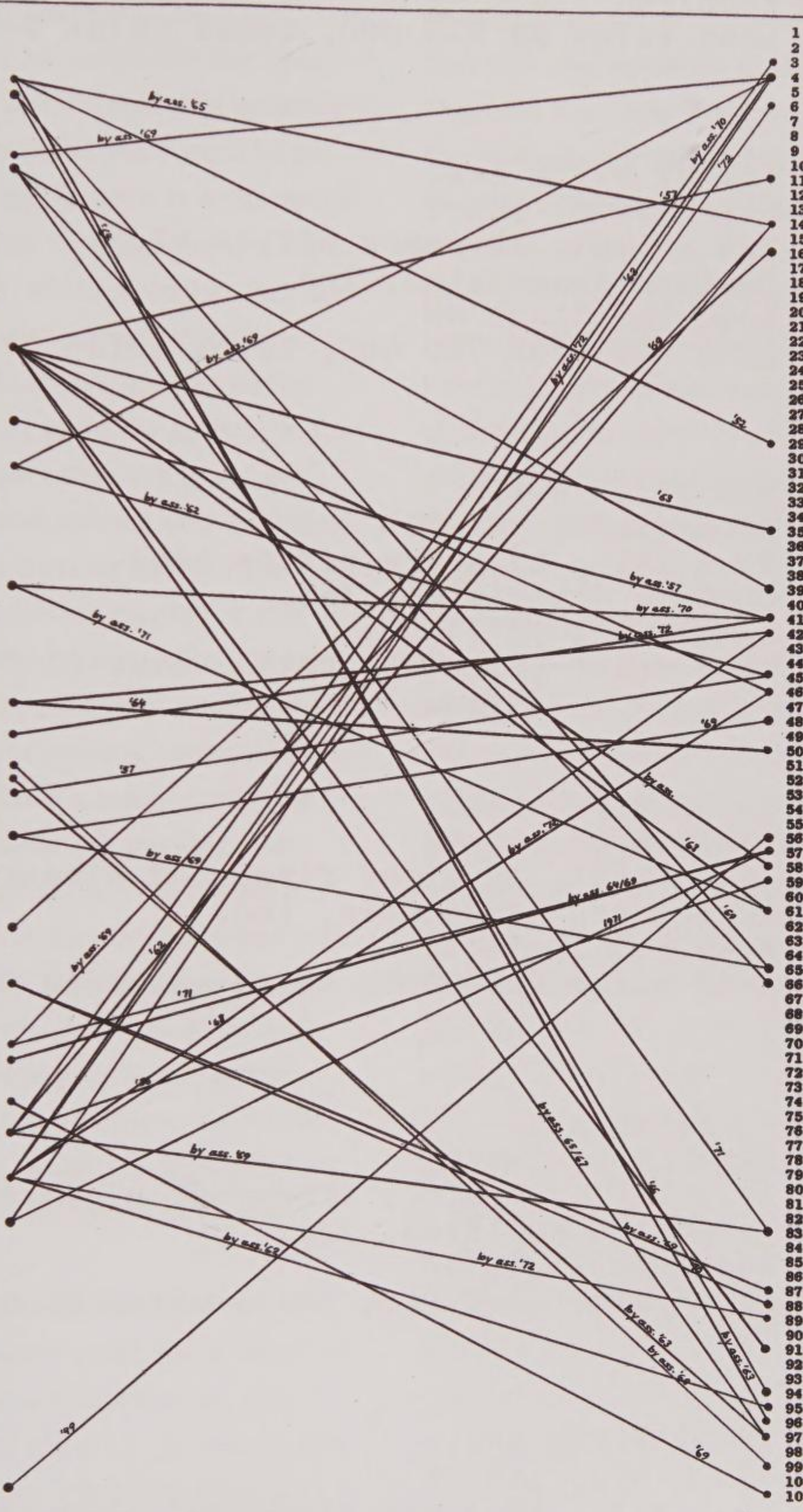
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- Apache Realty Corp. 1
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- Callipari Construction Corp. 6
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- Ernest Callipari Estate 8
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- Efsher Realty Corp. 15
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- 88 Hopkins St. Corp. 17
- Espearl Realty Corp. 18
- Alfred Fayer 19
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- 507 E 11 St. Corp. 21
- 419 Tenth Realty Corp. 22
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- Ian Adam Realty Corp. 34
- Incfran Realty, Inc. 35
- Jath Realty Corp. 36
- Daniel Kirschenbaum 37
- Sam Kirschenbaum 38
- Kirshop Realty Corp. 39
- Pearl Kleinberg(Shapolsky) 40
- Kupshap Realty Corp. 41
- Lijuto Realty Corp. 42
- John Loiaconon Jr. 43
- Lopahs Realty Corp. 44
- Marol Realty, Inc. 45
- Maryn Realty Corp. 46
- Clara Moskowitz 47
- No. 3 Madison Corp. 48
- One Fifty Four Realty Corp. 49
- 189 St. Nicholas Realty Corp. 50
- 183 Realty Corp. 51
- 156 Forsyth, Inc. 52
- 142 Ninth Ave. Corp. 53
- 194 Ave. A Realty Corp. 54
- 117 Realty Corp. 55
- 174 E 3 St. Corp. 56
- 170 Norfolk Corp. 57
- 177 Mulberry Realty Corp. 58
- 166 Norfolk St. Corp. 59
- 131 Lexington Realty Corp. 60
- 128 Realty Corp. 61
- 102 W 115 St. Realty Corp. 62
- 1951 Second Ave. Corp. 63
- 1771 1st Ave. Realty Corp. 64
- Ray Dome Realty Corp. 65
- S & K Estates, Inc. 66
- Saral Estates, Inc. 67
- Saturn 1850 Estates, Inc. 68
- Anthony Schimizzi 69
- Scotty Lee Realty Corp. 70
- Shalane Realty Estates, Inc. 71
- Shapmar Realty Corp. 72
- Shapol Realty Corp. 73
- Anita Shapolsky 74
- Arthur Shapolsky 75
- Harry J. Shapolsky 76
- Martin Shapolsky 77
- Marilyn Shapolsky 78
- Pearl Shapolsky 79
- Sam Shapolsky 80
- Donald Sherman 81
- Surenko Realities, Inc. 82
- 300 Realty Corp. 83
- 28 West 132 St. Corp. 84
- 29 Ridge St. Corp. 85
- 292 E 3 St. Corp. 86
- 278 Tenth, Inc. 87
- 213 Madison Jefferson Corp. 88
- 232 Harper Estates Realty, Inc. 89
- 227 E 127 St. Corp. 90
- 2357 Realty Corp. 91
- Venus 3843, Inc. 92
- Seymour Weinfeld 93
- West No. 4 Realty Corp. 94
- West No. 1 Realty Corp. 95
- West No. 6 Realty Corp. 96
- West No. 10 Realty Corp. 97
- West No. 3 Realty Corp. 98
- West No. 2 Realty Corp. 99
- Winthrop Properties, Inc. 100
- Wonnart Realty Corp. 101



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- 98 West No. 3 Realty Corp.
- 99 West No. 2 Realty Corp.
- 100 Winthrop Properties, Inc.
- 101 Wonnart Realty Corp.





539-45 Fifth Ave.  
Block 1279, lot 69  
75 x 150', 13 story office bldg.  
Chatham Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 11-21'69  
Land value \$2 650 000, total value \$4 500 000



531-37 Fifth Ave.  
Block 1279, lot 1  
125 x 140', 33 story office bldg.  
Chatham Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 11-21'69  
Land value \$3 700 000, total value \$7 000 000



509 Fifth Ave.  
Block 1277, lot 72  
37 x 123', 12 story office bldg.  
Chatham Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 4-12'71  
Land value \$850 000, total value \$1 700 000



92-96 Fifth Ave.  
Block 816, lot 42  
103 x 150', 18 story fireproof elevator apt. bldg.  
West Haven Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 11-11'70  
Land value \$545 000, total value \$3 000 000



41 Fifth Ave.  
Block 568, lot 6  
54 x 141', 15 story fireproof elevator apt. bldg.  
Newport Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 10-22'64  
Land value \$340 000, total value \$1 205 000



18-22 Fifth Ave.  
Block 572, lot 38  
80 x 124', 17 story fireproof elevator apt. bldg.  
Newport Associates, Inc.  
Acquired 7-20'64  
Land value \$420 000, total value \$1 560 000



mnemonic. Even if we might not immediately identify the book's primary aesthetic motivation, we recognize immediately that it does not originate in the desire to preserve existing architectural structures from loss and disappearance.

Instead, Ruscha addresses his readers/spectators with distinct indifference toward both the object of recording and their own prospective spectatorial responses. This mode of indifference is a rhetorical device Ruscha had inherited from Duchamp's readymade strategy. After all, as is well known by now, nothing could have been more dubious for Duchamp than a model of communicative action based on artistic means, let alone an artistic model that would position the spectator in a place of potential aesthetico-political agency and activism. What Haacke retains from Ruscha's structural organization and from his formal display of the photographs in the leporello format is its lapidary order of non-hierarchical sequencing. While the arrangement of singular yet serially connected units in Ruscha's case follows a merely topographical order (the found numerical sequence of the buildings on the Sunset Strip), the focused, causal principle that determines the inclusion and positioning of the images in Haacke's project is solely the condition of ownership. Yet, if viewed merely in formal and non-compositional terms, the linear display of both works seems merely to follow the order of Donald Judd's famous (Minimalist) compositional principle of "one thing after the other."

Once again, as we saw in the comparison with the work of the Bechers, Haacke's meticulous recording and archiving of images of architecture as an object of political economy differs in almost every regard from that of Ruscha's alignment of serial photographs. And Haacke's precise economic (as opposed to merely topographic or typological) information addresses readers/spectators who most likely would be as diametrically opposed to Ruscha's nonchalant accounting of anomic archi-

itecture as they would be skeptical of the Bechers' putatively mnemonic, melancholic project.

Haacke's photographs construct the paradoxical coincidence of 'straight' and 'committed' photography, while avoiding at the same time any association with the tradition of the social documentary. Thus, for example, they programmatically exclude any reference to the actual presence of the inhabitants within the slumlord properties, and avoid even the slightest trace of any atmospheric or contextual surplus. Restricting their iconic information to the exactitude of necessary detail, intensified further by the almost suffocatingly tight cropping of the objects under consideration, these photographs provide visual information in the same manner that they present their lapidary textual information, culled meticulously by the artist from public real-estate records. Given that Haacke's visual/textual construction avoids commentary altogether, let alone any polemical or agitational modes of address, it would seem plausible (at least initially), to refer to Haacke's method of collecting, archiving, and displaying photographic and textual information as emerging from a factographic aesthetic similar to the one that had been developed in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s.

In proposing such an aesthetic for Haacke, there is of course a predicament that would have to be addressed immediately: that of the specific historicity of the factographic model itself. While it is astonishing to see that Haacke would in fact be one of the first, if not the first and only artist of his generation even to address the legacy of factographic aesthetics (hardly known to anyone at the time of the production of Shapolsky et al.), it is equally important to recognize that the situation from within which the factographic approach first developed in the Soviet Union, in the wake of Productivism of the late 1920s, is not in any way comparable to the situation of Haacke's contribution to an emerging aesthetic of Conceptual art.



Indeed, one of the defining criteria of factography had been to eliminate all aesthetic surplus from the definition of artistic production—not only in order to communicate with the emerging (working-class) masses of the Soviet Union but also to shift from an aesthetic of symbolization and expression to one of pure information within an emerging mass-media culture. This purpose, in itself, clarifies the extent to which Haacke's factographic approach differs from that of his antecedents in the Soviet Union.

Haacke's approach to historical information is never agitational. In fact, it was one of the grotesque misunderstandings of the censoring of Shapolsky et al. on the occasion of Haacke's retrospective exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum to have perceived it as a muckraking, accusatory work that presumed art could claim strategies of political and economic intervention within existing conditions of everyday life.

48 Rather than being factographic in the full sense of the postrevolutionary Soviet model (of inscribing new spectatorial and readerly positions within a rigorously de-aestheticized and deskilled communicative model of artistic production), Haacke's approach is instead clearly marked by a deep sense of the historical limitations to any political activist intervention by artistic means. The actual radicality of Haacke's work has consisted instead in the very transformation of traditional sculpture into the photographic recordings of architecture as the index of the conditions of private and collective experience in public space. What appears at first sight as a purely factographic approach actually carries with it all the criteria that are integral to the definition of Conceptual art at large: first and foremost, an innate comprehension that a neo-positivist and empiricist critique of representation is one of the fundamental preconditions for the credibility of any type of aesthetic practice at the end of Modernism. Moreover, the legal/administrative rigor of Haacke's project tacitly acknowledges

the fact that any aspirations for real communicative transformation—from spectatorial consciousness to political activism resulting from the act of seeing and reading—would be excruciatingly naïve. Haacke's project constructs a complex network of relationships that redistribute and redefine the spatio-temporal interaction of subjects and objects (and in this it echoes what are ostensibly the dominant traits and goals of sculpture in general). But what traditionally had been offered as volume and mass, as materials and production procedures, Haacke now presented as a 'mass' of photographic and textual information about a particular type of New York architecture and its economic organization. And what traditionally would have been expressed as the spatial expansion of the sculptural object, or even of monumental sculpture itself, is, in Haacke's hands, shifted into the register of the photographic record. Likewise, what would have been perceived traditionally as some kind of numinous plasticity, a bodily or spatio-temporal inscription of the spectatorial interaction within the psycho-physiological, perceptual, and tactile radiance of the sculptural object, is now transformed into 'mere' information.

I would argue that a tripartite transformation occurs in the definition of the sculptural in Haacke's work and that it is precisely the radicality of this redefinition that has consistently thwarted its apprehension and acceptance within the registers of the sculptural. The historical significance of Haacke's project originates precisely from the challenge it poses to the definition of the traditional morphologies, the material and procedural structures of the sculptural. In the long shadow of such established, apparently ineluctable convention, the impact of Shapolsky et al. on an ethical, moral, or political level pales, and of course, historically speaking, it has consistently receded with time. Today it would be completely incomprehensible to most people why an account of the real-estate holdings of two New York slumlords/landlords



would have moved a major museum and its director to engage in an act of blatant censorship. Not only was all the information Haacke displayed absolutely public at the time of the production of the work, but his was also a relatively lapidary and fact-oriented account of a structure of property and ownership that is far from astonishing or scandalous in and of itself. This reality seems all the more striking given the magnitude that real-estate empires have attained since the moment of documenting Shapolsky et al.

Thus, if the work could maintain any credible claim to performing the function of an agitational device, it would be that of having agitated first of all on behalf of a new definition of the status of sculpture toward a horizon of the photographic and the factographic. And in doing so, it would inevitably reorient a privileged group of spectators/readers toward a comprehension of a new sculptural aesthetic of social relations, spatial considerations, and the role of archival information that would contest the putative transhistorical validity of the traditional sculptural aesthetic of 'pure' materials and processes.

### **Sculpture as Communicative Action**

The actual transformation of sculptural experience from three-dimensional object to photographic representation, or to linguistic performative, had originated of course in debates among the artists themselves. While classical Minimalist and Post-Minimalist sculptors such as Carl Andre and Richard Serra were perfectly well disposed to accord to the work of Haacke (or Dan Graham and Lawrence Weiner) the status of some type of critical art—or, erroneously, critical journalism or even poetry—they would vehemently refuse to accredit the work with the status of sculpture. And as we have mentioned already, the key authors on sculpture of the sixties and seventies followed suit in that categorical exclusion. Ironically, the work of the most complex figures of Minimalism and Post-

Minimalism (Robert Morris, Bruce Nauman, and Richard Serra, for example) would itself initiate these transformations at the same moment Haacke introduced his critiques of traditional sculpture. All these sculptors seem to have considered what would happen to the category of sculpture if its material kernel and basis withered away, if it actually could be replaced by photographic records, linguistic propositions, or performatives alone. More importantly, they sought to understand the causes for such a fundamental transformation: the imminent disappearance of all sensual and perceptual elements that had previously allowed for the inexhaustible pleasures of plasticity, or the disintegration of the seemingly transhistorical categories of the tactile or the voluminous, of the material, of mass and weight, or of the laws of physical gravity. In other words, they pondered all those elementary sculptural determinants that had just been isolated and foregrounded in sculpture's most advanced forms of late-modernist self-reflexivity.

But beyond the questions of what necessitated this disengagement from the ontology of sculpture, sculptors perhaps even more crucially had to confront the rather disquieting prospect that the photographic and the linguistic might convince audiences that these new media could best articulate the actually existing conditions of experience: the repression of the somatic, the constraints on the psycho-sexual, and the power structures of the spatio-temporal and architectural frameworks. And perhaps these new media were also better equipped to reflect the actual conditions of advanced forms of alienation that govern the relationships of subject to subject, subject to object, and subject to space in the present.

As an inevitable consequence, a third question thus arose: what would then become of the age-old conventions and materials of sculptural plasticity? Would they just disappear altogether? Or would they linger as ominous ruins from a different phase of object experience in the face of an intensely



accelerating elimination of all experience by spectacle and sign exchange value? Would sculptural traditions and materials thus suddenly find themselves on the side of obsolescence? Reversing its orientation from a rigorous late-modernist exploration of its specific medium and proper qualities, sculpture had reached a point where it had to confront the unexpected loss and disappearance of matter, form, and mass. Inevitably, if not involuntarily, it had to rethink a sculpture of monumentality and commemoration which would possibly, in the future, be devoted to nothing other than the memory of its own conventions and material presence.

Haacke's work, then, is in fact a primary instantiation of a substantial shift in sculptural production that emerged in the late 1960s in the context of Post-Minimal and Conceptual art. This shift first of all contested utterly foundational conventions like tactility, materiality, and morphology, which had traditionally defined a phenomenology of sculptural perception. What was challenged in particular was the quasi-ontological affirmation that the 'sculptural' corresponds at all times to a bodily need for matter and mass, for volume and form. In fact, by contrast, sculpture as an object of pure anthropomorphic embodiment, or as an object that engages and responds to the tactile desires of the hand and the body—one that presumes a free-flowing and unhampered transfer of libidinal energy from the object to the subject and vice versa—had become totally unthinkable in a present in which there was not a singular bodily articulation or gesture that would not be instantly contained in pre-established forms of object relationships or recuperative behavioral controls.

Put differently, sculpture faced a condition of everyday life in which the subject's experience of the object in space could not find a single somatic inscription or embodiment free of fetishization. And everyday domination of all bodily resources as targets, if not objects, of commodification would hardly sustain sculpture's credibility as object, let alone

as an anthropomorphic representation. Eventually, the same critique would have to be directed even against the type of sculpture that had structured space and perception according to technologically derived stereometric or geometric volumes instead of bodily morphologies. Promising its spectators a phenomenology of unfettered perception and self-constitution in the act of perceiving, the social deployment and reception of an aesthetics of Minimalism had actually enforced a totalization of the techno-scientific within the registers of bodily perception, and it had thereby extended that regime even further into the recesses of the subject's unconscious.

Thus the question that posed itself most virulently at the end of the 1960s was whether the sculptural could in fact be defined outside of the registers of the corporeal and the perceptual at all. And artists like Haacke answered that question—creating significant resistance, if not distress, among their 'true' sculptor colleagues—not only with a resounding affirmation but even an emphatic assertion that the shift into the photographic/factographic mode, just as much as the shift into the linguistic/performative mode (in Weiner's work, for example), responded to an inexorable necessity: namely, to perform rather than to produce the sculptural under the circumstances of the universal reification of tactile and perceptual experiences.

As a result, from the perspective of Haacke and his closest peers, sculpture was to be redirected toward actually existing social relations and articulated as a linguistic and semiotic exchange. Henceforth, all types of dialogic relations could be defined and perceived as fundamentally sculptural operations. For Haacke it was in particular a model of communicative action that Jürgen Habermas had identified as the available social system in which necessary conditions for the dialectics of democratic, egalitarian social relations and individual autonomous subjecthood could be developed and sustained.





Condensation Cube, 1963/1965 (Detail)



## Sculpture as Cut

Indeed, it was just such a specific theory of meaning and communicative exchange that differentiated Haacke's approach from that of his peers in the context of Conceptualism. Already since the early 1960s, partially in opposition to Minimalism, Haacke had insisted on a model of social referentiality, communication, and contextuality most evident in works such as his *Condensation Cube* (1963/1965).<sup>2</sup> This approach appears incompatible with the interest in structural linguistics that had informed the work of his peers such as Morris or Weiner, and equally incompatible with the adaptation of Wittgenstein's analytic language theory that had been formative for the work of Bruce Nauman and others.

Nevertheless, the fracturing of the discursive conventions within the presumed ontology of sculpture occurs with the same intensity in Haacke's work as it does in Morris's and Nauman's. With the emergence of the first Post-Minimal propositions, the ontological status of the sculptural had been all of a sudden shattered. These artists were the first to propose that traditionally modeled and cast objects could operate in conjunction with, or could alternate with, linguistic propositions or performative statements, and that found objects (say, fluorescent lighting) and built structures (such as corridor constructions) could fulfill haptic, tactile, and bodily demands—delivering all the functions that the previously well-contained definitions of the sculptural had offered. Yet given that the reception of these two types of Post-Minimal practice (that is, the post-structural and the Habermasian models) could not have been more different, it might be worthwhile to clarify the causes for the discrepancy in the responses to these divergent yet in many ways complementary propositions.

The extent of these differences and their complementarity are further elucidated if we compare the denotative structure of Shapolsky et al. with purely connotative works driven by a rather different con-

ception of language. One might think of works by Lawrence Weiner, for example: A 36" BY 36" REMOVAL TO THE LATHING OR SUPPORT WALL OF PLASTER OR WALLBOARD FROM A WALL, or his A 2" WIDE 1" DEEP TRENCH CUT ACROSS A STANDARD ONE CAR DRIVEWAY, or his A SQUARE REMOVAL FROM A RUG IN USE (all initially proposed by the artist in his book *Statements* in 1968, and some of them publicly executed for the first time in 1969).

The comparison, odd as it initially might appear, is justified first of all by the fact that these three works reorient the focus of sculpture once again toward architecture and public space, as was typical of the late 1960s, and two of them specifically direct the spectators' attention to the traditionally anonymous and unreflected support structure of sculpture, the very floor that carries the base as much as it sustains the spectators on their feet to contemplate the sculptural objects. Yet unlike our previous examples from the proto- and photo-Conceptualists, they refrain from photographic/factographic representation. More important still, we also discover in Weiner's three works the nucleus of a crucial sculptural strategy that would re-emerge twenty-five years later, in a complex transfiguration, in Haacke's *GERMANIA* (1993), his installation for the German Pavilion at the Venice Biennale, which will occupy us in the remaining part of this essay.

Weiner's works not only signaled a shift of attention toward architecture but would also instantiate new strategies of sculptural cutting and removal, of spatial negation and withdrawal, as processes henceforth integral to sculptural production. These would reverberate in numerous works throughout the next decade, reaching a point of culmination when Haacke adopted this crucial strategy for his work in 1993. We must consider briefly some of the originary structural and contextual implications in the work of Weiner and that of his followers in the late sixties and early seventies in order to under-



stand the full range of these historical ramifications.<sup>3</sup>

First, it is important to recognize that Weiner's cuts are not inserted into the traditional supports and materials of painting and sculpture<sup>4</sup> but actually are incisions within the surfaces of a semi-public architectural space, the display walls of an exhibition space, a one-car driveway of a private home, or a carpet within the living room of a collector. Second, the gesture of the cut fuses subject and object, figure and ground in a heretofore inconceivable unit. Third, and most important perhaps, these cuts fuse performance and place (after all, a cut or removal in a public space executes a gesture that is as much a performance as it is a transformation of a mass of material in the tradition of cutting the wood, stone, or metal for a sculpture). However, a new dialectic is established once the cut acquires the condition of the public sculptural performative: what used to be a gesture of production has now become a gesture of material removal, if not of

destruction. Rather than applying a process of forming material that is essentially additive, Weiner's cutting and removal consists of an act of subtraction. As such, it is a gesture of proto-vandalism, or at least a disturbance of private property (since the 'driveway' is one of the most elementary forms of American vernacular architecture, defining private property). By implication, Weiner's cut-and-removal process lacerates the very concept of the work of art as an object of possession and investment, since it exchanges a removal of property for a monetary compensation, offering the disappearance of matter as the reward for the exchange. While these implications might merely have been buried in Weiner's work, they would be made programmatically explicit shortly thereafter in two works by Michael Asher, both of which expand the size and scale of the intervention of incision and removal and thereby position these operations even more programmatically within the architectural frameworks containing the spectatorial activities.

53



GERMANIA, 1993 (Detail)



The first would be Asher's extraordinary installation at the Franco Toselli Gallery in Milan in 1973, where the artist proposed to sandblast the entire gallery space (and actually executed this proposal) in order to have its white display walls removed from the former industrial structure-turned-exhibition space. The second work, less known but certainly of central importance for our discussion here, is the only commissioned sculpture that Asher ever executed for a private collection (that of Stanley and Elyse Grinstein, Los Angeles). Approached by the collectors to fabricate a work for their collection, Asher proposed and executed in 1978 a thirty-foot cut and notched removal from the wall defining the compound of the private garden of the family home. The work subsequently was finalized by negotiating a legally binding contract with the collectors to cede the piece of land that had been cut from their property to their neighbors and rebuild the wall accordingly to accommodate the notched removal.<sup>5</sup>

If one traces the development of the strategies of the sculptural cut and material removal from Weiner's works to those of Asher's Toselli and Grinstein pieces, and through to Haacke's installation in Venice in 1993, one can recognize once again a number of crucial, distinguishing features in the development of the diverse conceptual sculptural practices of that generation. What was at first merely implicit in Weiner's subtle reflections on the intersection of private property, performative cut, and sculptural definition as an act of withdrawal is brought out into the open by Asher's already much more explicit and charged intervention within a seemingly neutral architectural element, the white walls of the gallery. Here, a display system that traditionally had been bypassed as neutral and devoid of any meaning whatsoever, taken for granted by most spectators, was suddenly exposed as one of the foundations (in both a literal and a figurative sense) of the ideology of modernist aesthetic autonomy. The semiotic strategies of cutting and

removal collapsed 'pure' opaque architectural materiality, mere surfaces and textures, into a transparent ideological carrier system.

But it is only in Haacke's systematic removal of yet another architectural surface—ironically, once again the floor supporting spectator and sculpture alike, but in this instance a floor whose historical condensation and (repressed) memory immeasurably exceed that of a private rug in use or one-car driveway—that the full depth of historical and ideological inscriptions within a seemingly nondescript and noncoded institutional space are fully articulated. Haacke's now manifestly 'vandalizing' gesture performs an intervention that not only fells the false claims for aesthetic neutrality and autonomy in one stroke, as the language would have it, but whose removal of false foundations also provides the platform of a future counterconsciousness that distinguishes itself from all previous incantations of the cut as a purely performative sculptural operation. In contrast to all the 'cuts' that preceded it,

GERMANIA develops an entirely different model of incision, or rupture and removal. It insists on a site specificity that is defined not by an almost exclusive focus on process and context or materials on their own terms but by a focus on historical information and accumulated knowledge.

Clearly one major aspect of GERMANIA was its size and scale, filling as it did an entire segment of the German Pavilion like a stage set to be walked on and climbed over by the viewers. Sculptural tactility here not only implicated spectators literally in texture and surfaces but inscribed them even physiologically as it forced them to brave the minor clouds of dust particles generated by the increasing number of people simultaneously stumbling and striding over the mountain of actual and historical debris. Yet the work sutured its spectators even further in the acoustic side effects generated by the contact between climbing and clamoring feet and the shards of the vandalized travertine floor of the pavilion.



If Walter Benjamin's famous image of the angel of history—who faces a storm from paradise and at whose feet history unloads mounds and mounds of debris in a never-ending succession—ever could have found a subsequent articulation, it is certainly in this installation. Here Haacke managed to counter the moment of triumph of German 'History' (the reunification of the formerly divided 'Vaterland' and the strengthening of its economic and political order, which positioned the country once again in a hegemonic role in the larger context of Europe) with the allegorical destruction of that triumphant moment. By literally removing the ground from under their feet and rendering it as rubble, the piece reminded spectators of the groundlessness of their renewed historical self-consciousness. It reneged on the euphoria of rallying once more and once again around the eternal draw of the mythical nation-state that supposedly unifies and binds the subjectless subject and the asocial sociality.

The paradox of *GERMANIA* is of course that it deployed one of the most advanced strategies of self-referential late-modernist process sculpture, the cut, and one of the most central strategies of institutional critique, site specificity, for its own historicist ends. In order to succeed, the work had to abandon the aesthetic of the 1960s altogether and to lay the foundations of an entirely new aesthetic of staged spectacle that has since then almost become the norm for sculptural practice (as in the work of Thomas Hirschhorn or Rirkrit Tiravanija, to mention only two of the more relevant figures in this trajectory).

Haacke's *GERMANIA* thus constitutes an entirely new model of sculpture and a new standard. In it, the legacies of the most radical forms of late modernist self-reflexivity and institutional critique are transfigured onto the level of the stage set, a peculiar contradiction in which the uniqueness of site specificity meets the needs of absolutely singular spectacularity. It is also a paradoxical structure in another way, a paradox that has been one of the

great riddles of modernity. It announces the contradictory relationships, or rather the seemingly unresolvable intertwinement, between self-referentiality and metaphoricity.

It goes without saying that in the general transition from institutional critique to spectacle sets, the originary purity of an intervention within display codes and material conventions that demarcated the work of Asher would disappear altogether in favor of a new wealth of possible readings and interpretations and unleash an almost endless range of references. The work of art as spectacle set is no longer foreboding and opaque. Its meaning is not the prohibition of meaning as it had been at the moment of the 1960s, when it had been precisely the enactment of voiding spectatorial expectations that paradoxically would define a newfound spectatorial autonomy and agency.

It might well be worth pausing for a moment to reflect on what modernism's initial prohibition on metaphoricity had promised. Paradoxically perhaps, it was a prohibition that had been as much at the center of Haacke's work as it had been at the center of Post-Minimal sculpture at large, from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, if not beyond. 'Pure process' clearly had been one of the promises. The foreclosure on interpretation had been another mainstay, one in which the Conceptualists had invested extraordinary aspirations. In fact, one could suggest that the prohibition on metaphoricity constituted an equivalent to the strategies of deskilling within the field of meaning production. Metaphor, like the virtuosity of artisanal or artistic skills, had always presumed a formative moment of privileged experience that would predate and supersede the *hic et nunc* of the (nonmetaphoric) condition of pure process, pure indexicality, pure self-explanatory presence. This was a condition in which the work of art would acquire a degree of obvious self-evidence, ideally becoming congruent with the phenomenon itself, like a photograph. "No meaning, no mediation, no metaphor," after all, had been the



triple cultural war cry of 1968. Metaphoricity, like virtuosity, always had been the site of privileged information. A typical example from *GERMANIA* is its intrinsic reference to Caspar David Friedrich's painting *Das Eismeer* (The Arctic Sea, 1823/24). Though not integral to the reading of *GERMANIA* (and possibly not even intended by Haacke himself), the frequency and enthusiasm with which almost every reviewer established this reference points to the conditions of sudden relief that the yielding to metaphoricity provides to its audience. This audience wants to be newly conventionalized within the very places and positions that had instantiated traditional modes of audience behavior: passivity, admiration, awe, entertainment, and most important, disciplinary separation. Once all the confusing prospects of the reader becoming author/artist has finally subsided and the traditional division of labor has been restored, metaphoricity relocates the reader/spectator back in the traditional position of the passive recipient.

The return to metaphoricity signals an acceptance of the spheres of culture as passive and merely consumable, severed from the definition of culture as political practice and agent of transformation. The very moment that this severance is accepted, the insistence upon (and urgency of) the cultural intervention recedes. It is lost behind the conventionality of its location and within the discursive orders that are the preserves of a particular type of highly specialized meaning production.

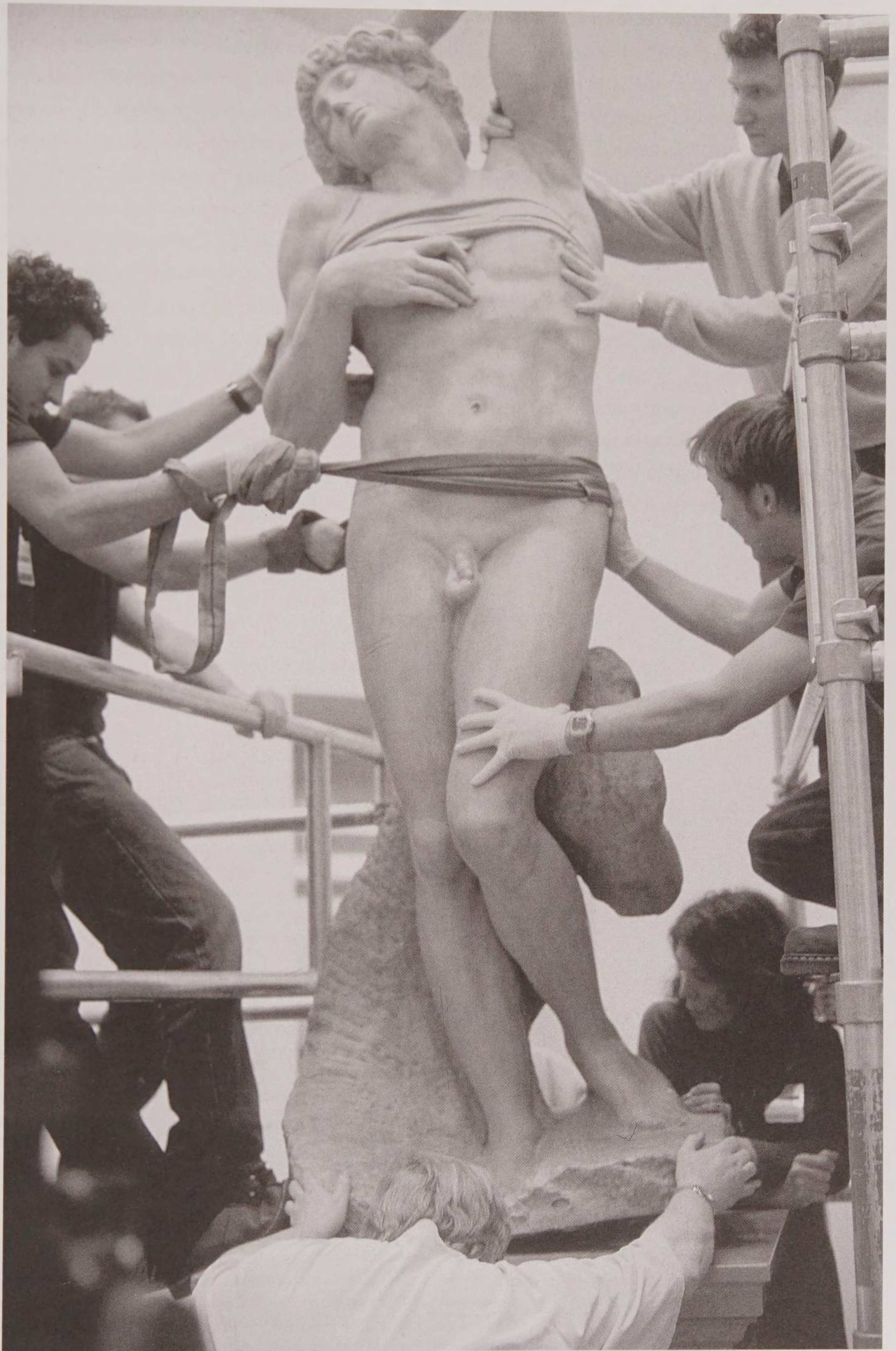
The same could of course be said for the transformation of the event structure that occurs in a newly emerging type of installation sculpture, of which Haacke's *GERMANIA* is undoubtedly one of the greatest examples. The 'event' concept, in its initial avant-garde definition in the context of Fluxus (and in particular in the work of George Brecht), had defined the microscopic structure of experience that a work of art could credibly trigger and sustain.<sup>6</sup> It was a structure that displaced the static objecthood of the Duchampian readymade, trans-

forming it into a spatio-temporal and performative operation. Each spectator, each subject of the 'event,' was thus figured as an active agent/participant/producer, not an unconscious (duped and infantilized) participant, as most of the ludically based participatory works of the 1950s had suggested. The subject was redefined as a keenly observing and cognizant one for whom the proximity of temporal process and spectatorial participation was an indispensable precondition of experience. Most of the central works of Post-Minimalism drew on such a definition of 'process-approximating-participation.' They shared a sense of the artistic 'event' inducing spectatorial agency. Even if it was only perceptual or cognitive, it was an agency fully conscious of all aspects of the 'event' taking place: the event as process instead of merely as closed object.

Again, a comparison within the development of Haacke's own work makes the historical transformation perfectly transparent: his early *Condensation Cube* performs its sculptural functions at all times and in all places; it retains its empirical and critical exactitude while at the same time dissolving all the traditional assumptions about the sculptural body, since it is clearly an object that is defined to an equal degree by substance and contingency, by author's concession and spectatorial participation in the most literal sense of the word. And the definition of context is of course central to a work that properly becomes an 'event' only at the very moment of its exhibition.

An equally important question to consider is the status of a work such as *GERMANIA* in posterity: its extreme specificity, in the moment of its exhibition, in the institutional context of its architectural site, in the historical framework of its production (the recent unification of Germany and the introduction of a unified currency), makes the work uniquely and singularly operative, like an unrepeatably spectacle, on the stage of its institutional production: it can never be repeated (you cannot remove the Nazi







travertine floor of the German Pavilion twice). This dialectic of iterability/singularity is central to an understanding of how site-specific installations relate to their innate tendency to become an integral part of the very spectacle culture that they set out to contest, and it is in this regard that sudden insights into the validity of traditional sculptural models might appear, even though it is all but impossible to imagine what a return to a noncontingent sculptural object would look like.<sup>7</sup>

What Haacke's gesture of literally removing the ground, or taking the ground out from under, achieves is a triple indictment, if not annihilation, of the newly fortified national consciousness of Germany after unification. First, it suggests that the fortified consciousness of the nation-state is

built largely upon a repressed history of Fascism (a condition that was and is particularly virulent precisely in those parts of the divided nation that had committed themselves to continuing authoritarian rule under the guise of state socialism in the forty-some years of the GDR's existence). As a result of Haacke's typically Brechtian humor, the facade of the pavilion, which had once proudly displayed the emblem of Fascist ideology, was decorated with a lapidary and apparently cheap enlargement of the emblem of economic might, the deutsche mark. The inanity of this latter not only replaced the insignia of Fascist glory but also revealed itself as the fundamental bond of the late-capitalist (corporate) state posing as the rebirth of a nation.

— 1 Rosalind Krauss, in *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), her by now classic study of twentieth-century and postwar sculpture, illustrates Haacke's *Condensation Cube* (1963-65) without discussing it at all. Margit Rowell, in her magisterial exhibition 'Qu'est-ce que la sculpture moderne ?' (Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1986), neither included Haacke in the exhibition nor mentions him in her catalogue. Alex Potts, in his *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), published fourteen years later and now widely considered one of the most important studies of twentieth-century sculpture after Krauss, still devotes only a footnote to Haacke.

— 2 One of Haacke's initial theoretical interests had been the discovery of the writings of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, the Austrian-Canadian biologist who was a principal founder of General Systems Theory. By the late 1960s, however, when Haacke's first works engaged with social systems, the artist was already following a rather different approach.

— 3 After all, the gesture of cutting, except of course within the traditional production of sculpture, is not coded as a convention. It is in fact totally outside the registers of drawing and painting and other forms of mark-making. At best, it could be recognized as a productive gesture when it is related to the manufacturing of goods (e.g., tailoring) or industrial production (e.g., the fabrication of serially produced ele-

ments and parts). Cutting in traditional sculpture, by contrast, had always been in the service of producing form, but as pure process and performative never had become form itself. Traditionally, cutting had been a procedure that removed materials so that shapes and forms could appear, and the residual morphological and procedural traces of the cut (within Expressionist wood sculpture, for example) at best would have been perceived as an accidental ornamentation of surface and structure, or as emphasis on texture.

Of course, the cut as a device—as a performative intervention, as a gesture, and as a formal procedure—emerges logically and historically at the first signs of crisis in the production procedures of traditional sculpture. In a certain sense, one could argue that the cut not only trades the control of the sculptor's hand for decisive control by the tool but also 'displaces' modeling and all of its registers of sensuous assimilation of matter and form, of form and body, and of libidinal immediacy in the transcription of the modeled matter and replaces it with a set of operations that give sculptural definition a distinctly mechanical appearance. The cut is on the level of production procedure what the readymade was on the level of the sculptor's object choice and morphology. Not surprisingly, following the first step made in Picasso's *Guitar* (1912), it is in Duchamp's *3 Standard Stoppages* (1913-14) that the cut displaces modeling, carving, and casting for the first time in a programmatic and decisive manner. (The same intrusion of the cut into



sculptural production occurs only a few years later in Jean Arp's reliefs produced by a professional carpenter's saw.)

— 4 This, of course, had been the case for the cuts inserted by Lucio Fontana into the mostly monochrome grounds of his paintings since the late 1940s, when the question of how to further spectacularize Pollock's gestural apparatus and how to remove it more drastically from the legacy of manual virtuosity and post-Surrealist automatism had forced Fontana to shift the painterly gesture into the sculptural performative of cutting and removing the very material that had traditionally served as the support of mark-making and inscription. One of the first and in many ways key works of the introduction of the aesthetic of the cut into postwar American abstraction would be the much derided or simply ignored painting *Cut Out* (ca. 1948–50) by Jackson Pollock. The individual and historical genius of this painting is to have suspended the three modes of pictorial signification in a simultaneous occurrence, a collision of sorts, in which it is not at all clear at first which of the three modes (iconic figuration, painted gestural abstraction, and the cut's pure indexicality) will become the victor and which the vanquished. The picture's importance results precisely from the artist's inability to make a decision at this point, and his epistemic wavering is what gives the painting its historical power. Unlike the cuts in simultaneously produced paintings by Fontana, Pollock's cuts are depicted in opposition to the return of figuration, which was for him, at that moment, a much more plausible route with which to re-engage than the seemingly accidentally discovered steps into a totally new territory of pure indexicality and radical removal of the very surfaces upon which the painterly figures and marks were supposed to be placed.

— 5 There is of course an additionally sublime irony in Asher's notched removal inasmuch as it acknowledges the origins of notched removals in Frank Stella's early 1960s paintings, which had served as one of the stepping stones for the development of the strategy of cuts and removals that Weiner inserted first into his own paintings and subsequently into the works that we have discussed above.

— 6 It is very important to recognize that this conflict is played out here for the first time, being literally "the legacy of Jackson Pollock," as Allan Kaprow's famous essay named it. Both Kaprow's concept of the Happening and Brecht's concept of the 'event' are part of the same historical dynamic—the increasingly total erosion of the work of art as an autonomous object, substantial and stable in its material and formal organization, by the all pervasive forces

of spectacle culture—even though they respond to it with very different means and strategies. If Kaprow's Happening literally incorporates spectacularization as an inescapable condition for both producer and receiver, and transforms both the structures of making and viewing the work of art into a performative operation that simulates if not identifies with pure spectacle, then Brecht's 'event' structure sustains the concept of a self-determining subjectivity in the act of aesthetic experience by shifting from the confinement of the readymade object to the auto-articulation of the interaction between subject, object, place, and time that comprise the event temporarily, often in an almost invisible manner, thereby clearly defying spectacularization and at the same time defying the fetishization of traditional sculptural objects.

— 7 It is important to recognize that at least one artist, Michael Asher, whose works were among the first to initiate the contradictions between singularity of intervention, radicality of critique through strategies of site specificity, and spectacularization, has addressed the problematic of that singularity by phasing it back into iterability. One of his most famous works, the 1977 Münster installation of a camping trailer, submitted and exhibited as a contribution to the exhibition 'Skulptur/Sculpture,' which is staged every ten years, was repeated exactly in the subsequent two installations of this exhibition, and the artist is currently, to my knowledge, proposing to repeat the singular and site-specific work for a fourth time.











62 For nearly four decades, Hans Haacke has put his art at the service of extending and deepening democracy—broadly defined not only as a form of government but as a form of society in which it is possible to question power and to engage in contests over the social order. According to the political philosopher Claude Lefort, the democratic possibility emerges when, with the French and American declarations of the rights of man at the end of the eighteenth century, the power of the state is no longer attributed to a transcendent source, such as nature or divine law. Now, power is located inside the social world; it derives from “the people.” But they, too, have no transcendent or substantial identity. So democracy gives rise to public space, a realm of political interaction that appears when the meaning of the people becomes uncertain—in the deep sense of lacking a proper foundation—and is therefore open to debate.<sup>1</sup> Less a site than a process, the public sphere, the condition of democratic politics, sets in motion what Etienne Balibar calls “a universal right to politics,” the right of all to both constitute the social order and put it at risk.<sup>2</sup> Michel Foucault, who theorized what he saw as modern society’s proliferation of techniques to govern individuals and society, techniques that exceed but also include those of the state, might have defined this democratic right as equal freedom to raise the perpetual question of “how not to be governed.” Not how not to be governed at all but “how not to be governed quite so much”; how, that is, to limit and transform government: “how not to be governed like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them.”<sup>3</sup> Haacke asserts the primacy of the nongovernmental aspect of democratic politics more colloquially: “One should never leave politics to the politicians.”<sup>4</sup> Since 1969, Haacke has persistently attempted to universalize the “art of not being governed quite so much”—the art, that is, of critique—by expanding

his audience’s capacity for public life and encouraging the appearance of a public sphere. Although, so far as I am aware, no critic has theorized this attempt as the unifying principle of Haacke’s oeuvre, democracy and related terms appear frequently in texts on, and by, the artist. Conversing with his like-minded colleague, the radical sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, Haacke has said: “A democratic society must promote critical thinking, including a constant critique of itself. Without it, democracy will not survive.”<sup>5</sup> Art historian Walter Grasskamp (p. 27) mentions Haacke’s “democratic earnestness,” which he fears “is beginning to sound old-fashioned in some circles.”<sup>6</sup>

It would be a grave error to treat Haacke’s passion for democracy as out of date, for today democracy’s survival is indeed in question and the freedom of critical speech, as Judith Butler puts it, in a “sorry” state.<sup>7</sup> We live in the age of protected democracy, of what the philosopher Giorgio Agamben has described as a permanent state of exception.<sup>8</sup> Technically, a state of exception is a state-declared suspension of democratic law, with the supposed aim of protecting democracy. The founding modern example occurred in 1933, when, on the day after the Reichstag fire, Hitler convinced President Hindenburg to sign a decree “for the Protection of the People and the State,” which restricted the individual and civil liberties guaranteed by the Weimar Constitution. Agamben argues that since then, the creation of a permanent state of exception, even when it is not declared in a technical sense, has become an essential practice of democratic states, although the tendency in Western democracies is to replace an official state of exception with a prioritization of security as the technique of government.<sup>9</sup> Instead of declaring states of exception, governments issue exceptional laws.<sup>10</sup> In the United States, for instance, soon after the attack on the World Trade Center, which, needless to say, has escalated the “protection” of democracy, President Bush issued a military order that



authorized “indefinite detention” and trial by “military commissions” of noncitizens suspected of terrorist activities. The order created a new category of individuals: detainees, who, like Jews in Nazi concentration camps, are neither prisoners nor persons accused but who have lost all legal status and have no rights.<sup>11</sup>

The erosion of rights in the current period of protected democracy poses a threat to cultural institutions that declare a right to politics. One example—closely tied to the creation of detainees, since both are legitimated by the War on Terror—is the cancellation in 2005 of plans to relocate New York City’s Drawing Center to the World Trade Center memorial complex, a position for which it had been selected in June 2004 by the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation. Under the leadership of its director, Catherine de Zegher, the Drawing Center had long excelled at the democratic art of critique. A salvo of anti-terrorist rhetoric set off the campaign against the Drawing Center when a Daily News headline announced that the presence at Ground Zero of a museum that had shown art critical of the Bush administration would “violate” the public “again.”<sup>12</sup> The newspaper thus defined art that instantiates democracy as, in the words of Yates McKee, itself a kind of terror—“aesthetic terror.”<sup>13</sup> The following day, New York Governor George Pataki, adopting the newspaper’s vocabulary of aesthetic violence and violation, proclaimed: “We will not tolerate anything on that site that denigrates America ... or freedom.”<sup>14</sup> In the name of protecting freedom, Pataki pronounced Ground Zero a site where the freedom of critical speech is suspended. “We would never be able to accept censorship,” responded de Zegher, a defense of freedom of expression that she reiterated a month later when the Drawing Center’s forthcoming exhibition ‘Persistent Vestiges: Drawing from the American-Vietnam War’ became controversial, no doubt due, at least in part, to the similarities between its theme and the current war in Iraq. In March 2006,

de Zegher resigned her position, ostensibly because the Drawing Center’s board decided that she was not suited to fund-raising. It seems clear, however, that the board was unwilling “to play hardball,” as Haacke has suggested art institutions must, to support her unequivocal defense of the critical independence of art.<sup>15</sup>

Haacke sometimes uses a meteorological metaphor to underscore the inseparability of art and society: art is a particular “geographical” area in a general social climate, which decides the direction a society will take.<sup>16</sup> Today, the art world is a micro-region in a climate of antidemocratic ideology. In 1950, adopting the same metaphor, Theodor Adorno worried that such a climate entailed “the danger of a large-scale following of antidemocratic movements if they should get under way.”<sup>17</sup> To fight against this potential, he called for “decisive changes of that cultural climate which makes for the over-all pattern.”<sup>18</sup> The current urgency of such changes gives new relevance to Haacke’s early democratic works, inviting us to reconsider their significance in light of democratic theory instead of the systems and social-science theories with which they have been historically, and by no means incorrectly, associated.

Haacke began the process of forming the art audience into a democratic public, one that thinks and acts politically, in 1969, not in his native Germany but in the United States. Radically shifting aesthetic direction rather than merely taking, as is often claimed, the “natural” or “inevitable” step of extending his previous interest in biological and physical systems to social systems, he began conducting polls and surveys of visitors to museums, galleries, and other exhibition spaces.<sup>19</sup> A few years later he installed polls in Krefeld, Kassel, and Hannover, but his first five took place or were proposed in the United States. However, it was Haacke’s experience of German Fascism—the economic and political opponent of democratic relations and freedoms—that led him to keep his ear to the ground in



order to detect the presence or approach of anti-democratic tendencies within democracies. In Germany, he had circulated among various artistic groups concerned with forging a democratic culture in a post-fascist country. In the early 1960s, as Grasskamp points out, he identified with the interest of the *Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel* in making art accessible to those without art-historical training, an attempt that was understood as democratization.<sup>20</sup> But it was with the polls that Haacke's art (despite the fact that he has never been influenced by Adorno) began overtly to follow Adorno's "new categorical imperative ... imposed by Hitler upon unfree mankind: to arrange their thoughts and actions so that Auschwitz will not repeat itself, so that nothing similar will happen."<sup>21</sup>

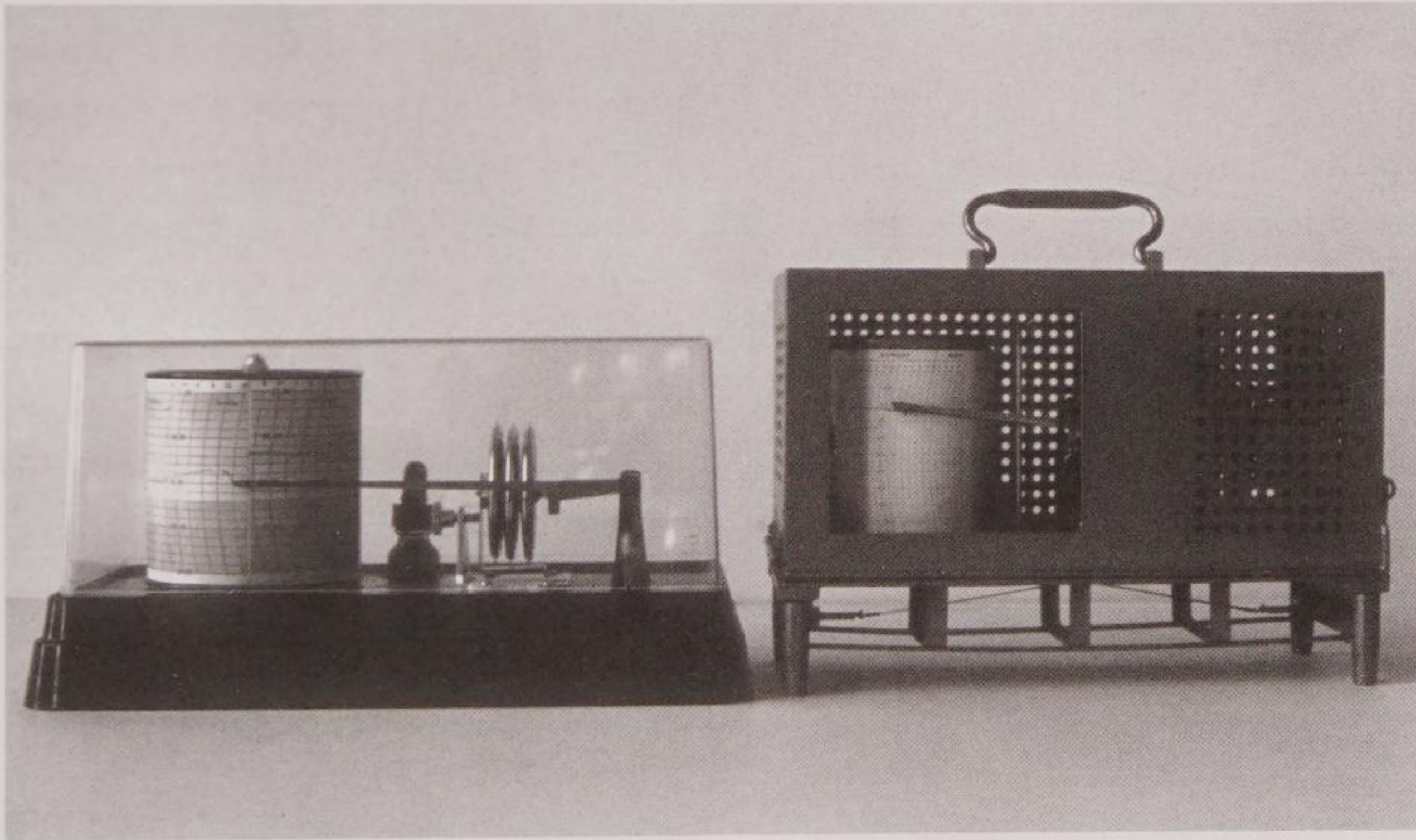
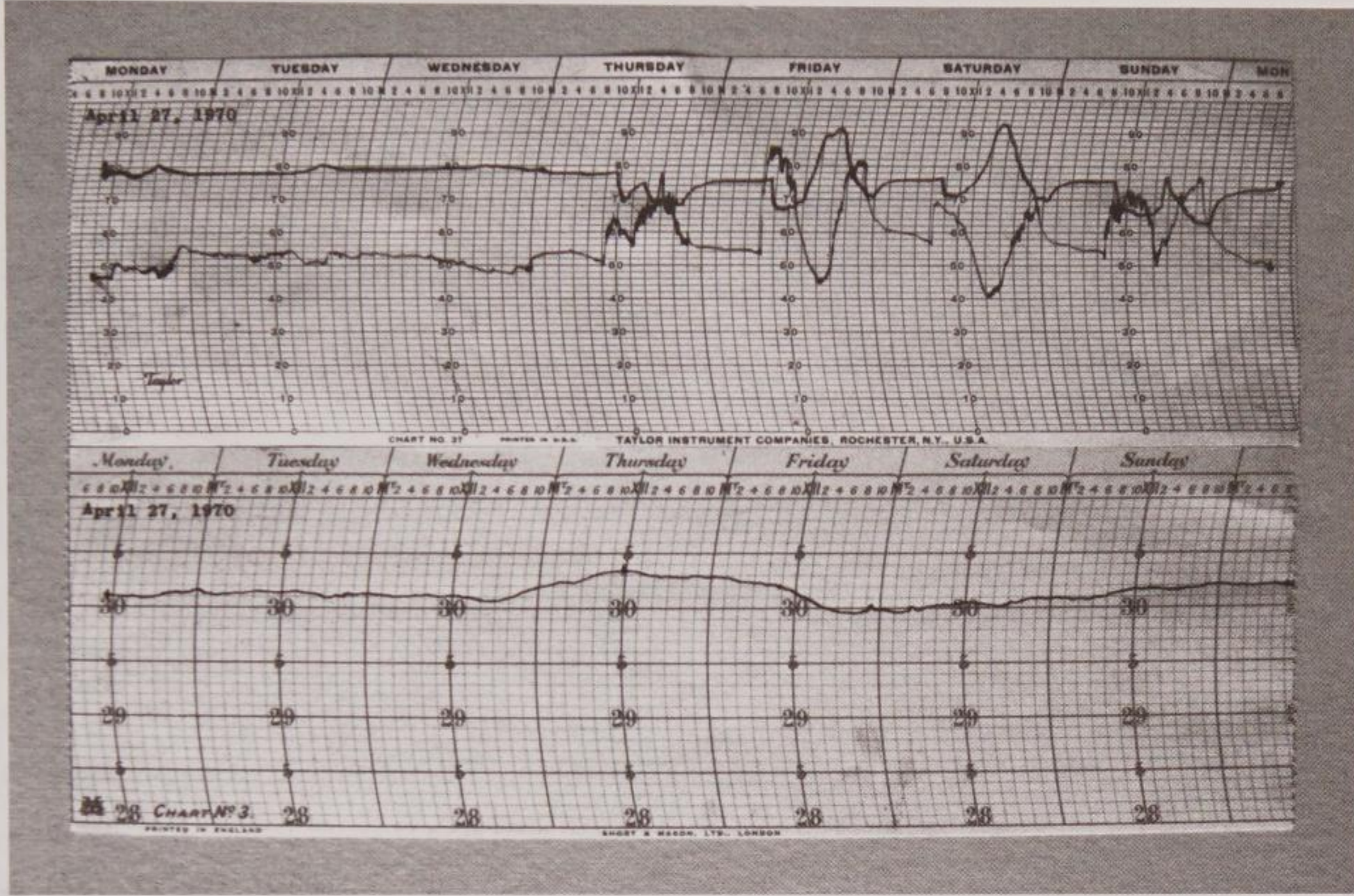
Haacke's first poll, and his first work of institutional critique—*Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1* (1969)—took place at the Howard Wise Gallery, in New York City.<sup>22</sup> On the gallery walls, the artist hung maps of Manhattan, the five boroughs of New York City, the New York metropolitan area, the United States, and the world along with a text that issued instructions to visitors: "Indicate your birthplace with red pin, permanent residence with blue pin." *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile* was Haacke's first work to take the social world as its object of study. But the poll inaugurated an equally important change in the form of Haacke's art.



*Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1, 1969*

Previously, he had experimented with a variety of methods to include the audience in his work, for example, using materials that reflected the viewer, as in *A8-61* (1961), or making objects that registered, and sometimes were altered by, the presence of viewers, as in *Photoelectric Viewer Controlled Coordinate System* (planned 1966; executed 1968). Influenced by Minimalism, he had tried throughout the 1960s to open up his works to their exhibition contexts. The polls implemented a new tactic: direct address. Haacke's instructions spoke to the gallery-goer in a type of sentence—the direct imperative—that issues a command or, in Haacke's case, makes a request: "Indicate." A subject in the second person—"you"—is always understood as the addressee of a verb in the imperative mood. In subsequent polls, Haacke addressed viewers both imperatively and interrogatively. The first time he asked direct questions was in a proposal for a poll to be conducted at the Jewish Museum's 'Software' exhibition in 1970, when he planned to introduce a new polling method—the multiple-choice questionnaire. Visitors would have been directed to answer computer-generated demographic and, in another shift, sociopolitical questions, such as "In your opinion is the moral fabric of this country strengthened or weakened by the U.S. involvement in Indochina?" and "Is the use of the American flag for the expression of political beliefs, e.g., on hard hats and in dissident art exhibitions, a legitimate exercise of free speech?" At the end of the exhibition, visitors would have been offered printouts of the processed answers in the form of continuously updated statistical profiles of the museum audience. Because of equipment failure, the 'Software' poll never materialized, but all later polls took the form of multiple-choice questions, whose content was tailored to the country and the historical moment in which they were shown and whose answers were tabulated either manually or by machine. If, as Haacke has noted, Marcel Duchamp was the first artist to reveal "the symbolic power of the







context,"<sup>23</sup> and if he did this, as Rosalind Krauss writes, by redefining the making of art as "the speculative act of posing questions,"<sup>24</sup> then Haacke literalized Duchamp's interrogative heritage. Works that asked questions include: MOMA-Poll, installed at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1970; the poll that Haacke proposed for a one-person exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in 1971 and that was partially responsible for the museum director, Thomas Messer, canceling the show;<sup>25</sup> and polls conducted at the Milwaukee Art Center (1971), the Museum Haus Lange in Krefeld (1972), Documenta 5 in Kassel (1972), the John Weber Gallery in New York (John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 1 and 2, 1972 and 1973), and the Kunstverein Hannover (1973). Haacke always exhibited the tabulated results in the form of either printouts or, as in the John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile works, bar graphs and charts.<sup>26</sup> All polls used the apparatus—ballots, ballot boxes, keypunch cards, questionnaires—of some of the core institutions of representative democracy—voting, demographic studies, opinion surveys—to foster the growth of direct democracy.

In "The Constituency," an essay (see pages 266-269) written in 1976 and published in 1977, Haacke analyzes the data he gleaned from the John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 1 and 2.<sup>27</sup> The polls, he says, showed that the audience for art Comes from the college-educated middle and upper-middle classes.

In this way, they challenged the idealist notion of aesthetic universality that is promoted by art institutions—or, to use Peter Bürger's term for a more dispersed aesthetic apparatus, "art as institution"<sup>28</sup>—which, as a consequence, withdraw art from social life.

But, coupled with the polls' data, the use of direct address also disrupted the discourse of the gallery and museum. Acknowledging the presence of viewers, direct address countered the then-dominant doctrine of American formalist critics like Michael Fried, who a few years earlier, in his essay "Art and Objecthood," had insisted that a work of art must turn its back on the viewing subject in order to maintain its ability to cohere as a self-contained totality, an entity whose meaning remains constant despite changing circumstances.<sup>29</sup> Direct address, as I have argued elsewhere, announces that a work of art is not such an entity but, rather, a social relationship with a context that includes a viewer or, more accurately, an object whose meaning arises in social relationships.<sup>30</sup> Direct address brings art and art institutions down from the heavens—down, that is, from the abstract realm in which they are placed by doctrines of aesthetic transcendence—and sets them in the social world. It also brings the spectator down to earth, countering the abstract subjectivity constructed by the museum. Haacke's "you" is not some universal citizen of art or phenomenological spectator standing outside class, race, gen-



MOMA-Poll, 1970

Visitors' Profile,  
Documenta 5, 1972







Do you think the moral fabric of the US is strengthened or weakened by its involvement in Indochina?

ANSWER TO QUESTION NUMBER 12		4547 RESPONSES		
WITH PROFESSIONAL INTEREST IN ART . . . . .	193	1401	138	
WITH NO PROFESSIONAL INTEREST IN ART . . . . .	269	2312	180	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	3	25	13	
UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE . . . . .	161	792	107	
19 TO 30 YEARS OF AGE . . . . .	158	1954	123	
31 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE . . . . .	63	542	41	
46 TO 55 YEARS OF AGE . . . . .	54	395	40	
OVER 65 YEARS OF AGE . . . . .	14	37	7	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	5	18	13	
MARRIED . . . . .	155	1343	100	
SINGLE . . . . .	282	2184	197	
DIVORCED . . . . .	8	114	8	
SEPARATED . . . . .	4	27	5	
WIDOWED . . . . .	12	42	2	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	4	28	19	
MALE . . . . .	237	1746	116	
FEMALE . . . . .	224	1975	206	
NO RESPONSE . . . . .	3	16	9	
HAVE CHILDREN . . . . .	165	1100	86	
HAVE NO CHILDREN . . . . .	298	2628	231	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	2	10	14	
AFRICAN (BLACK) . . . . .	14	42	5	
ANGLO - SAXON . . . . .	91	810	56	
EAST EUROPEAN . . . . .	18	211	24	
GERMAN . . . . .	173	1291	98	
ITALIAN . . . . .	9	117	6	
ORIENTAL . . . . .	2	29	1	
POLISH . . . . .	50	297	22	
SCANDINAVIAN . . . . .	19	262	21	
SPANISH - AMERICAN . . . . .	7	46	12	
OTHER . . . . .	62	633	86	
ANNUAL INCOME UNDER \$2000 . . . . .	177	1093	92	
(BEFORE TAXES) \$2000 - 4999 . . . . .	166	1079	103	
\$5000 - 9999 . . . . .	12	227	11	
\$10000 - 25000 . . . . .	44	450	31	
OVER \$25000 . . . . .	40	578	36	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	26	310	57	
CATHOLIC . . . . .	146	1117	79	
PROTESTANT . . . . .	38	399	31	
NO RESPONSE . . . . .	112	683	138	
JEWISH . . . . .	64	657	38	
OTHER . . . . .	95	709	39	
NO RELIGION . . . . .	20	173	6	
NO RESPONSE . . . . .	112	683	138	
LIVING IN CITY OF MILWAUKEE . . . . .	165	1559	131	
WITHIN MILWAUKEE COUNTY, OUTSIDE OF CITY . . . . .	155	1226	95	
WITHIN 50 MILE RADIUS OF MILWAUKEE . . . . .	16	158	21	
ELSEWHERE IN WISCONSIN . . . . .	41	231	17	
ELSEWHERE IN MIDWEST . . . . .	38	281	24	
ELSEWHERE IN U. S. A. . . . .	34	226	16	
ABROAD . . . . .	3	14	1	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	13	42	25	
WITH COLLEGE EDUCATION . . . . .	205	2295	155	
WITHOUT COLLEGE EDUCATION . . . . .	244	1409	146	
OTHER ANSWER OR NO RESPONSE . . . . .	16	33	30	



der, and history. Rather, she is a concrete subject located in time—the implied present of the “I” who speaks to “you”—and, what is more, in social space, which is the explicit subject matter of Gallery-Goers’ Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1. Even while describing the polls as participatory, art historians have tended to neglect the manner in which Haacke spoke to the viewer, and, as a result, they sometimes characterize Gallery-Goers’ Birthplace and Residence Profile as simply a positivist sociological project or “mere data collection,” because the activity it asked viewers to perform required no decision-making and had no explicit political content.<sup>31</sup> It is true that in this and other polls Haacke used sociological methods, like the politico-scientific survey, that have been subject to critique for a number of reasons: they fail to take into account their own mediating effect on the purportedly independently existing data they gather; they present us with an imaginary plenitude—“the voice of the people”—while in reality limiting what is politically thinkable; and they function as technocratic instruments, constructing a “political discourse produced by experts rather than the dominated classes, who have no control over their political ‘tongue.’”<sup>32</sup> Bracketing concrete inequalities, including unequal access to the right to speak, polls, in Bourdieu’s words, recognize only “the electoral imperative of formal equality before the questionnaire.”<sup>33</sup>

It is also true that Haacke drew important conclusions about the art-world population from the data he collected in Gallery-Goers’ Birthplace and Residence Profile and the other polls.<sup>34</sup> Yet to restrict the works’ meaning to their supposedly straightforward sociological methodology and to the face-value of their data is to play down the fact that bringing the sociological into the space of the aesthetic was an interventionist gesture that modified the identity of both fields. As far back as 1975, sociologists Howard S. Becker and John Walton noted that the resemblance between social-science

research and Haacke’s work is superficial, though to be sure they also took him seriously as a social scientist studying power.<sup>35</sup> They argued that because “Haacke works in the same social space as those his work describes,” his art “differs profoundly from social studies of the powerful” and even has greater power.<sup>36</sup>

Drawing attention, visually and textually, via maps and instructions, to the fact that the spectator and gallery are situated, Gallery-Goers’ Birthplace and Residence Profile made clear that the art institution is a material rather than transcendental site, one whose identity, far from being autonomous, is constructed as pure by excluding other sites. Eroding art-as-institution’s aura of isolation, it engaged in a politics of space that investigated the way in which purportedly self-contained spaces are actually produced by a gesture of exclusion, an investigation sharpened in 1971 in the artist’s real-estate pieces.<sup>37</sup> Simply by insisting on the fact of spatial location, then, Haacke performed a democratic action that Bertolt Brecht describes in his 1933-34 essay “Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties”: he withdrew support from “a great many lies.”<sup>38</sup> Brecht’s essay has inspired the artist since he read it in a high-school anthology when he was eighteen years old, and its influence pervades the polls. Truth, says Brecht, is not “a lofty and ambiguous generality.” Often it is “something practical, factual, undeniable, something to the point. ... something statistical.”<sup>39</sup> It takes away the “rotten, mystical implications” of words.<sup>40</sup> Haacke had sought to demystify the word ‘art’ prior to his first poll, which confronted the lofty claims of the art institution with, precisely, something practical and dry: concrete location, a fact that poses questions about the art world’s relation to the broader organization of social space. Brecht’s notion of withdrawing support from lies is akin to Foucault’s “politics of truth,” a practice in which the subject questions the truths promulgated by powerful institutions.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps most important, the use of direct address



Diese Fragen und Ihre Antworten gehören zum

# DOCUMENTA-BESUCHERPROFIL von Hans Haacke, einer Arbeit, die während der documenta 5 entsteht.

Bitte füllen Sie diesen Fragebogen aus  
und stecken Sie ihn  
in den dafür vorgesehenen Kasten – ohne Unterschrift.

Muster: 

Bleistift benutzen.

Nur Querstriche!

0024793

1	Sind Sie beruflich an Kunst interessiert, z. B. als Künstler, Kritiker, Galerist, usw.?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>	13	Haben Sie schon einmal eines der folgenden Rauschmittel genommen (ohne ärztl. Verordnung)?	Haschisch, Marihuana <input type="checkbox"/>	Opium <input type="checkbox"/>
2	Meinen Sie, ein Künstler, der ein Bild ausstellt, auf dem Franz Josef Strauß mit einem Hakenkreuz kombiniert ist, sollte vor Gericht gestellt werden?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>			Morphium, Heroin, Codein <input type="checkbox"/>	LSD, Meskalin, andere Halluzinogene <input type="checkbox"/>
3	Welche Schule besuchen Sie oder haben Sie zuletzt besucht?	Volksschule <input type="checkbox"/>	Realschule/Gymnasium bis zur mittl. Reife <input type="checkbox"/>			Weckamine (Amphetamine) (Captagon, AN 1, Preludin) <input type="checkbox"/>	Schlafmittel (Barbiturate) (Vallum, Evipan) <input type="checkbox"/>
		Gymnasium mit Abitur <input type="checkbox"/>	Fachschule <input type="checkbox"/>	14	Wie alt sind Sie?	nein, keine <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Hochschule/Fachhochschule <input type="checkbox"/>				unter 20 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>	20-25 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>
4	Der Ostpolitik welcher Parteien stimmen Sie eher zu?	der Ostpolitik der SPD-FDP <input type="checkbox"/>	der Ostpolitik der CDU/CSU <input type="checkbox"/>			25-30 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>	30-35 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>
		weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>				35-45 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>	45-55 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>
5	Meinen Sie, Mitglieder kommunistischer Organisationen sollten nicht zum Beamtendienst zugelassen werden?	nicht zulassen <input type="checkbox"/>	zulassen <input type="checkbox"/>			über 55 Jahre <input type="checkbox"/>	
		weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>		15	Meinen Sie, die Interessen der Industrie seien im allgemeinen mit dem Gemeinwohl vereinbar?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>
6	Wo wohnen Sie?	in Kassel <input type="checkbox"/>	in 40 km Umkreis von Kassel <input type="checkbox"/>			weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>	
		im übrigen Hessen <input type="checkbox"/>	in der übrigen Bundesrepublik <input type="checkbox"/>	16	Würden Sie für den Schutz und die Sanierung der Umwelt höhere Steuern und/oder höhere Preise in Kauf nehmen?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>
		im Ausland <input type="checkbox"/>				weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>	
7	Sind Sie für die Freigabe von Schwangerschaftsunterbrechungen?	ja, generell <input type="checkbox"/>	nur in den ersten 3 Mon. generell <input type="checkbox"/>	17	Wie hoch ist Ihr monatliches Nettoeinkommen?	unter 700 DM <input type="checkbox"/>	700-1000 DM <input type="checkbox"/>
		nur bei sozialer/seelischer Notlage und Vergewaltigung <input type="checkbox"/>	nur bei gesundheitlicher Gefahr für Mutter oder Kind <input type="checkbox"/>			1000-1400 DM <input type="checkbox"/>	1400-1800 DM <input type="checkbox"/>
		nein, in keinem Falle <input type="checkbox"/>	weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>			1800-2500 DM <input type="checkbox"/>	2500-3500 DM <input type="checkbox"/>
8	Geschlecht?	männlich <input type="checkbox"/>	weiblich <input type="checkbox"/>			über 3500 DM <input type="checkbox"/>	
9	Welcher Konfession gehören Sie an?	evangelisch <input type="checkbox"/>	katholisch <input type="checkbox"/>	18	Meinen Sie, für Einkommen von jährlich 200.000 DM sollte der Steuersatz auf 60% erhöht werden?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>
		andere <input type="checkbox"/>	keine <input type="checkbox"/>			weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>	
10	Was halten Sie vom Einfluß der Kirchen in der Bundesrepublik?	er ist zu klein <input type="checkbox"/>	zu groß <input type="checkbox"/>	19	Welchen Beruf üben oder übten Sie zuletzt aus?	Arbeiter <input type="checkbox"/>	Facharbeiter <input type="checkbox"/>
		gerade richtig <input type="checkbox"/>	weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>			ausführender Angestellter <input type="checkbox"/>	mittlerer (qualifizierter) Angestellter <input type="checkbox"/>
11	Was halten Sie vom Einfluß der Gewerkschaften in der Bundesrepublik?	er ist zu klein <input type="checkbox"/>	zu groß <input type="checkbox"/>			leitender Angestellter <input type="checkbox"/>	Beamter im unteren und mittleren Dienst <input type="checkbox"/>
		gerade richtig <input type="checkbox"/>	weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>			Beamter im gehobenen Dienst <input type="checkbox"/>	Beamter im höheren Dienst <input type="checkbox"/>
12	Wenn heute gewählt würde, welche Partei würden Sie wählen?	SPD <input type="checkbox"/>	CDU/CSU <input type="checkbox"/>			freier, intellektueller Beruf <input type="checkbox"/>	Selbstständiger <input type="checkbox"/>
		FDP <input type="checkbox"/>	NPD <input type="checkbox"/>			Landwirt <input type="checkbox"/>	Hausfrau <input type="checkbox"/>
		DKP <input type="checkbox"/>	andere <input type="checkbox"/>			Soldat <input type="checkbox"/>	Schüler <input type="checkbox"/>
		keine, weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>		20	Begrüßen Sie es, daß die Stadt Kassel, das Land Hessen und der Bund mit Ihren Steuergeldern die documenta 5 finanziert haben?	ja <input type="checkbox"/>	nein <input type="checkbox"/>
						weiß nicht <input type="checkbox"/>	

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mitarbeit. Ihre Antworten werden durch einen Computer ausgewertet. Die Ergebnisse werden in der Ausstellung angeschlagen.



was Haacke's first maneuver in a campaign to form his audience into a public. For a public, writes Michael Warner, "exists by virtue of being addressed."<sup>42</sup> It is constituted in a moment of attention or "active uptake."<sup>43</sup> To address a public, then, is not simply to speak to an empirical referent; it is also to 'make' a public. Of course, as Warner argues, "no single text can make a public"; it must be part of a context in which a previously existing discourse can be supposed and a responding discourse postulated.<sup>44</sup> Haacke's text—*Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1*—responded, as we have seen, to the discourse of the art institution, which addresses its public as unsituated, ahistorical, disembodied beings. The poll addressed them differently. Haacke describes his polls as an early form of institutional critique that attempted to produce a self-portrait of the art public and thereby "create awareness among the art public about itself."<sup>45</sup> Which is to say that, "like other products of the consciousness industry," the polls had the potential, as Haacke wrote in another context, to shape "their consumers' view of the world and of themselves" and to lead "them to act upon that understanding."<sup>46</sup> In making visible the fact that art audiences are always addressed as a public, and in making those audiences aware of themselves as a public, Haacke's polls set down the condition for the audience to transform itself into a different kind of public, one composed of desubjugated subjects, practicing the art of critique. Marking a departure from the census-like *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1*, the famous MOMA-Poll mimicked a different sociological method—the public opinion survey. At 'Information,' an exhibition of Conceptual art held in 1970 at New York's Museum of Modern Art, Haacke posted a wall text that read: "Question: Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon's Indochina policy be a reason for you not to vote for him in November? Answer: If 'yes' please cast your ballot into the left box, if 'no' into the

right box." At the entrance to MoMA, museum-goers were supposed to be given ballots that were color-coded on the basis of the visitor's status: full-paying visitor, member of the museum, holder of a courtesy pass, or visitor on Monday, when admission to the museum was free. Below the wall text stood two transparent ballot boxes equipped with photoelectric counting devices into which visitors could cast ballots. Every evening, a chart displayed a tally of responses that were organized by category of visitor. Mounted during a period of mass protests in the United States against the Vietnam War, the bombing of Cambodia, and the killing of four Kent State students who had demonstrated against the bombing, MOMA-Poll was the first of Haacke's works (with the exception of the aborted 'Software' proposal) to poll its viewers on a timely political question.

The question not only asked for an opinion on a seemingly extra-aesthetic political event but cunningly—to use one of Brecht's and Haacke's favorite words—asked them to question the politics of the museum. For, as a review of 'Information' in the *New York Post* made clear, members of the family of Rockefellers, a name practically synonymous with big capital, had founded and long governed the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>47</sup> In a passage that indicates the artist's interest in using mass media to further the workings and expand the reach of his art, Haacke pointed out that the reviewer "succinctly provided the necessary background information for understanding the socio-political field for which this work was designed."<sup>48</sup> Governor Rockefeller was a member of the museum's board of trustees at the time of MOMA-Poll, and his brother David, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, was also chairman of the museum's board. David's position is especially significant in light of Haacke's democratic ambitions. For it was he and a group of other "private citizens" who, three years after MOMA-Poll, would bring together prominent government, business, academic, and professional figures to



**JOHN WEBER GALLERY VISITORS' PROFILE 2** by Hans Haacke

A work in progress during his exhibition at the J. Weber Galler, 420 W. Broadway, NYC, April 28 - May 17, 1973.

Please answer by punching out bridge between edge and hole next to the answer of your choice.

<input type="radio"/> as artist <input type="radio"/> as art/art history student <input type="radio"/> other professional interest <input type="radio"/> no professional interest	Do you have a professional interest in art?	<input type="radio"/> 100 % <input type="radio"/> 75 % <input type="radio"/> 50 % <input type="radio"/> 25 % <input type="radio"/> 0 % <input type="radio"/> don't know
<input type="radio"/> Manhattan <input type="radio"/> Brooklyn <input type="radio"/> Queens <input type="radio"/> Bronx <input type="radio"/> Richmond <input type="radio"/> adjoining counties <input type="radio"/> elsewhere North/Middle Atlantic States <input type="radio"/> South Atlantic States <input type="radio"/> Central and Mountain States <input type="radio"/> Pacific States <input type="radio"/> abroad	Where do you live?	<input type="radio"/> 100 % <input type="radio"/> 75 % <input type="radio"/> 50 % <input type="radio"/> 25 % <input type="radio"/> 0 % <input type="radio"/> don't know
<input type="radio"/> favor <input type="radio"/> tolerate <input type="radio"/> reject <input type="radio"/> don't know	Does your notion of art favor, tolerate, or reject works that make deliberate reference to socio-political things?	<input type="radio"/> none <input type="radio"/> \$1 - 1999 <input type="radio"/> \$2000 - 4999 <input type="radio"/> \$5000 - 9999 <input type="radio"/> \$10000 - 14999 <input type="radio"/> \$15000 - 19999 <input type="radio"/> \$20000 - 24999 <input type="radio"/> \$25000 - 29999 <input type="radio"/> over \$30000
<input type="radio"/> yes, 50 % <input type="radio"/> yes, but no specified quota <input type="radio"/> sex should be no criterion <input type="radio"/> don't know	Do you think, as a matter of principal, that all group shows should include women artists?	<input type="radio"/> male <input type="radio"/> female

Continued

<input type="radio"/> none <input type="radio"/> \$1 - 1999 <input type="radio"/> \$2000 - 4999 <input type="radio"/> \$5000 - 14999 <input type="radio"/> \$15000 - 29999 <input type="radio"/> over \$30000	How much money have you spent on buying art (total)?	<input type="radio"/> yes, a lot <input type="radio"/> somewhat <input type="radio"/> slightly <input type="radio"/> not at all <input type="radio"/> don't know
<input type="radio"/> only to themselves <input type="radio"/> patrons of museum <input type="radio"/> museum membership <input type="radio"/> museum staff <input type="radio"/> artists' representatives <input type="radio"/> publicly elected officials <input type="radio"/> American Association of Museums <input type="radio"/> College Art Association <input type="radio"/> National Endowment for the Arts <input type="radio"/> Associated Councils of the Arts <input type="radio"/> foundation representatives <input type="radio"/> other (write in) _____ <input type="radio"/> don't know	To whom should the trustees of art museums be accountable (more than one can be named)?	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> always <input type="radio"/> often <input type="radio"/> occasionally <input type="radio"/> never <input type="radio"/> don't know
<input type="radio"/> responsible <input type="radio"/> not responsible <input type="radio"/> don't know <input type="radio"/> poverty <input type="radio"/> lower middle income <input type="radio"/> middle income <input type="radio"/> upper middle income <input type="radio"/> wealthy <input type="radio"/> Catholic <input type="radio"/> Protestant <input type="radio"/> Jewish <input type="radio"/> other <input type="radio"/> mixed <input type="radio"/> none	Some people say President Nixon is ultimately responsible for the Watergate scheme. Do you agree? How would you characterize the socio-economic status of your parents?	<input type="radio"/> under 18 years <input type="radio"/> 18 - 24 years <input type="radio"/> 25 - 30 years <input type="radio"/> 31 - 35 years <input type="radio"/> 36 - 45 years <input type="radio"/> 46 - 55 years <input type="radio"/> 56 - 65 years <input type="radio"/> over 65 years <input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> don't know
<input type="radio"/> Catholic <input type="radio"/> Protestant <input type="radio"/> Jewish <input type="radio"/> other <input type="radio"/> mixed <input type="radio"/> none	What is the religious background of your family?	<input type="radio"/> very different <input type="radio"/> somewhat d. <input type="radio"/> essentially same <input type="radio"/> don't know

Thank you. Drop the card into the ballot box. Your answers will be tabulated with the answers of all other visitors. Intermediate results will be posted during the exhibition.



form the Trilateral Commission, an organization whose mandate was to foster a new world order controlled by the liberal democracies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan. Among the reports issued by various task forces of the commission was one on the "governability of democracy," which concluded that increasing demands for political participation in the 1960s had weakened governmental authority and, indeed, all authority based on hierarchy, wealth, and expertise. What the report described as an "excess of democracy" produced a crisis of democracy that, in its view, must be resolved by a return to passivity on the part of the people.<sup>49</sup> Like other, less blatantly authoritarian writers who nonetheless advocate relegating the tasks of governing liberal democracies to elites, the authors of what became known as the "Huntington Report" (after its American member, Samuel Huntington) called for eliminating the public sphere—the very public that Haacke, one of those who had taken democracy "too seriously," sought to foster by withdrawing support from authoritarian truths in Rockefeller's own museum.

In revealing the presence of power in a space where it is rendered invisible by aestheticist ideologies and revealing that the war was not external to the museum, MOMA-Poll challenged the closed nature of the art institution, disrupting its privacy by linking it to its supposed outside. The work was public, then, in the sense of being political and in the sense of being open. The poll addressed its audience not as private beings but as members of social groups situated in a historical context. It was public rather than individual. Exposing to scrutiny the concealed economic and ideological structure of the museum, and asking viewers to question the role played by specific economic interests in defining a culture that the museum presents as serving the universal interest, it was public as opposed to secret. In the context of the 'Information' exhibition, it was educational in that it provided information not for its own sake but to bring about the

freedom to discover the truth. In short, MOMA-Poll transformed aesthetic space into one where power could be questioned, constituting its audience into a public capable of giving itself the right to politics. Benjamin Buchloh, one of the most astute interpreters of Haacke's polls, has repeatedly asserted that Haacke's work not only reveals "the dissolution of the functions of the museum (once the spaces of commemoration and historical competence) under the impact of the museum's association with the culture industry" but also fulfills the "traditional function of the museum as an institution of the bourgeois public sphere."<sup>50</sup> Buchloh contends the museum traditionally provided "visitors with historical objects that would allow them to reconstruct aspects of their (cultural) past and (fictitious) identity and to develop models and theories of how history and identity should be constructed and written in the present."<sup>51</sup> Buchloh believes, as I do, that Haacke's work produces a public sphere. But when he designates that sphere "the bourgeois public sphere" and when he says that "Haacke's work investigates the 'structural transformation of the public sphere' of art,"<sup>52</sup> he claims for Haacke a particular conception of public life, turning him into the artistic equivalent of the philosopher Jürgen Habermas, whose 1962 book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* is the archetypal account of the public sphere as a lost democratic ideal.<sup>53</sup> The public sphere, according to Habermas, arose in the eighteenth century with the advent of bourgeois society, which inaugurated a strict division between the private and the political realms. In the safety of the private sphere, the bourgeoisie could pursue financial gain unimpeded by society or the state. But bourgeois society also gave rise to a set of institutions through which the bourgeoisie could exercise control over the actions of the state while renouncing the claim to rule. In the public sphere, which was in principle open and accessible to all, the state was held accountable to citizens.



There, supposedly autonomous individuals emerged from privacy and, casting aside private interests to commit themselves to matters of common concern, constituted themselves into a public by engaging in rational-critical debate. Habermas knows that the idea of the bourgeois sphere was never realized, but he remains committed to the ideal of a singular, unified public sphere in which impartial subjects bracket their status, transcend concrete particularities, and reach a supposedly noncoercive consensus that represents the interests of a coherent social whole. Remaining within the Frankfurt School paradigm of the culture industry, Habermas says that the public sphere declined with the rise of mass media, which, among other developments, eroded the secure border between public and private life.

Yet it is precisely the strict public-private opposition on which Habermas's ideal is based that, in the eyes of other public-sphere theorists, makes the bourgeois public sphere oppressive and is responsible for what Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, two of Habermas's most trenchant critics, call its "inner violence."<sup>54</sup> This violence, say Negt and Kluge, stems from the fact that the main struggle of the bourgeois public sphere is waged against everything that resists its universalizing tendency, an annihilation of particularities that is no more democratic than the commodity form of production, which levels all differences to abstract exchange value.<sup>55</sup> Whereas Habermas clings to the ideal of

the bourgeois public sphere and contrasts it with its supposedly disintegrated mass-media form, for Negt and Kluge the two public spheres are identical mechanisms for excluding particularities.<sup>56</sup>

Buchloh is right to say that Haacke's works urge the museum-goer to develop models for constructing history. They do so, however, in a way that challenges, rather than restores, the traditional relationship of Habermas's public to historical consciousness. For the history of the bourgeois public runs parallel with a tendency not toward history-making but, according to Negt and Kluge, toward "historical impoverishment."<sup>57</sup> To make history, by contrast, is to disrupt the homogenizing historical stories traditionally told in museums, stories that paper over the injustices and conflicts concealed by what Nietzsche called "monumental history"<sup>58</sup>—the history of past greatness, which is seen as universal, eternal, monolithic—or by what Negt and Kluge characterize as "the past on horseback."<sup>59</sup> Beginning with the polls, as we have seen, Haacke cast doubt on the universalizing discourse that circulates in spaces of aesthetic display, challenging it not with an equally de-politicizing pluralism but by withdrawing support from lies through attention to the particular. Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residency Profile, Part 1 suggested that access to the art institution, like access to the bourgeois public sphere, is socially determined and differentially allocated rather than universally granted. And if in the polls the process of participation was, as Buchloh writes, "the consequence of the spectator's privileged educational and professional status," was this not, instead of a failing, precisely one of the facts the works intended to reveal?<sup>60</sup> I, then, want to claim virtually all of Haacke's works since the polls for a 'counter'public sphere of history—counter, that is, to the bourgeois public sphere, which systematically repudiates large areas of historical experience.

After the polls, Haacke's democratic practice grew in a variety of directions. Many works—Manet-PRO-

74



Postcard Edition  
Klaus Staeck, 1981









Décor, 1989

76

JEKT '74 (1974) was the first—contested the forgetting of German fascist history, exposing and warning against the persistence of antidemocratic tendencies in the German cultural climate. Others—like *On Social Grease* (1975) and *Der Pralinenmeister* (The Chocolate Master) (1981)—investigated the antidemocratic dangers of increasing corporate power in the art world. *Décor* (1989), *Calligraphie* (1989), and *Helmsboro Country* (1990) explicitly directed attention to attacks on the spirit of the American Bill of Rights or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Continuing Haacke's tireless examination of authoritarian trends, *State of the Union* (2005) raised questions about the United States government's actions in the aftermath of September 11. *We Believe in the Power of Creative Imagination* (1980), *Voici Alcan* (1983), and *MetroMoblitan* (1985), to name only three, supported specific struggles for equality, such as the fight waged against the gross violation of human rights under South Africa's apartheid

government, and brought to light the role played by culture in legitimating oppressive regimes. In 2000, Haacke installed a work titled *DER BEVÖLKERUNG* (TO THE POPULATION) at the Reichstag in Berlin. In one of the building's interior courtyards, large neon letters spell the words *DER BEVÖLKERUNG* in a typeface matching that of the inscription *DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE* (TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE), which appears on the architrave of the Reichstag's neoclassical facade. *DER BEVÖLKERUNG* testifies to the continuing influence of Brecht, whose essay on writing the truth states: "In our times anyone who says 'population' in place of 'people' or 'race' ... is by that simple act withdrawing his support from a great many lies."<sup>61</sup> Sixty years later, Haacke took Brecht's advice, which remains pertinent in a period of widespread anti-immigrant sentiment and violence. For just as the Nazi regime murdered millions of people in the name of 'das deutsche Volk,' an identity based on the nationalist myth of a unity of race and territory,



We believe in the power of creative imagination, 1980

Voici Alcan, 1983



so today the phrase on the Reichstag suggests that immigrants residing permanently in Germany, and their German-born children, are not part of the German people and therefore not represented by parliament. They are what the French philosopher Jacques Rancière names "the uncounted." For Rancière, democratic politics takes the form of inscribing "the uncounted in a space where they are countable as uncoun-<sup>62</sup>ted." DER BEVÖLKERUNG is such an inscription, one that, setting up a dispute with DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE, confirms the equality of all German residents.

In one sense, then, DER BEVÖLKERUNG stages the right of immigrants to be governed by the democratic state. But the work contains another ele-

ment. Haacke's letters stand in a trough of soil brought by members of parliament from various parts of Germany, including a former concentration camp, a Jewish cemetery, and a place where immigrants were murdered. Foreseeing the growth of weeds, Haacke stipulated that these not be removed. The resulting wild plant reserve, a symbolic microcosm of the country, warns against current attempts to repeat the Nazis' largely successful effort to eliminate those they considered troublesome and undesirable. And it performs another metaphorical operation. Like all of Haacke's works since the polls, it stages a right that is especially urgent in the age of protected democracy: to practice the art of not being governed.





- 1 Claude Lefort, "The Question of Democracy" and "Human Rights and the Welfare State," in *Democracy and Political Theory*, trans. David Macey (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).
- 2 Etienne Balibar, "'Rights of Man' and 'Rights of the Citizen': The Modern Dialectic of Equality and Freedom," in *Masses, Classes, Ideas: Studies on Politics and Philosophy Before and After Marx* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 49.
- 3 Michel Foucault, "What is Critique?" in *The Politics of Truth* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1997), 28.
- 4 Press release for Hans Haacke: State of the Union, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, 5 November-23 December 2005. Haacke's full statement reads: "Experience tells us that one should never leave politics to the politicians. Aside from the trouble this can get us into, such abdication would also be in conflict with generally held notions of democracy. But it would also be dangerous for art. Shutting out the social world would reduce it to a self-consuming 'art for art's sake.'"
- 5 Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke, *Free Exchange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 52.
- 6 Walter Grasskamp, "Kassel New York Cologne Venice," 22-39 and in Hans Haacke: "Obra Social," exh. cat. (Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 1995), 17.
- 7 Judith Butler, "Commemoration and/or Critique? Catherine de Zegher and The Drawing Center," *Texte zur Kunst* (June 2006): 197-200.
- 8 Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- 9 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 3-4.
- 12 Douglas Feiden, "Violated ... again," *Daily News* (New York), 24 June 2005.
- 13 Yates McKee, "Suspicious Packages," *October* 117 (Summer 2006): 100.
- 14 Douglas Feiden and Joe Mahoney, "Zero Tolerance at WTC," *Daily News* (New York), 25 June 2005, 7.
- 15 Hans Haacke "Speaking Freely," transcript, recorded 27 February 2001, New York, First Amendment Center, [www.firstamendmentcenter.org/about.aspx?id=12351](http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/about.aspx?id=12351). For accounts of de Zegher's resignation from the Drawing Center, see Butler, "Commemoration and/or Critique?" and Carol Armstrong, "Back to the Drawing Board," *Artforum* (Summer 2006): 133-34.
- 16 Bourdieu and Haacke, *Free Exchange*, 98.
- 17 T[heodor] W. Adorno, "Politics and Economics in the Interview Material," in Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950), 655.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 To say that Haacke radically changed direction with the polls is not to say that they have no continuity with past works. For an excellent discussion of the continuities, see Walter Grasskamp, "Real Time: The Work of Hans Haacke," in Hans Haacke (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2004), 28-81. Haacke himself partially encouraged the notion of a "natural" progression of his work. For example, in a statement accompanying his Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1 (1969), he failed to differentiate among physical, biological, and social systems. In a 1972 text about the cancellation of his 1971 Guggenheim exhibition, he wrote: "Having stepped from the perceptually oriented and culturally controlled imagery of the visual arts to the presentation or interference in physical and/or biological systems in real time, the need arose to complete the areas of my activities with work also in the socio-political field. ..." In the next sentence, however, Haacke counters this description of his development when he attributes the new direction in his work in 1969 to "the general political awakening that followed the years of absolute apathy after World War Two." He goes on to differentiate social from natural systems. See "Provisorische Bemerkungen zur Absage meiner Ausstellung im Guggenheim Museum, New York," in Hans Haacke: *Werkmonographie*, ed. Edward Fry (Cologne: Dumont Schauberg, 1972), 64. (see pp. 257-260)
- 20 Grasskamp, "Real Time: The Work of Hans Haacke," 33.
- 21 Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1999), 365; originally published as *Negative Dialektik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1966).
- 22 It is also possible to think of Recording of Climate in Art Exhibition, from 1969-70, as Haacke's first work of institutional critique. Grasskamp ranks it "among his first explicitly institution-related pieces" ("Real Time: The Work of Hans Haacke, 45). Likewise, the various versions of News (1969-70), in which teletype machines printed out messages transmitted by different news services during the Vietnam War, certainly attempted to open up the art institution to social and political events and could lay claim to the title of Haacke's first institution-critical work. A version of News was installed at the Jewish Museum's 'Software' show. Another version was recently installed at Haacke's exhibition 'State of the Union,' held at Paula Cooper Gallery in New York City in 2005 during the ongoing Iraq War.
- 23 Bourdieu and Haacke, *Free Exchange*, 97.
- 24 Rosalind E. Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), 73.
- 25 For an account of Haacke's Guggenheim exhibition and of his two real-estate pieces, which were also responsible for the cancellation, see my "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum," in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), 159-92.
- 26 Three other exhibitions are closely related to the polls but did not themselves take the form of polls. In 1970, at Galerie Paul Maenz in Cologne, Haacke displayed photographs of 732 building facades in Manhattan. The buildings were those that had been designated as residences by participants in Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1. In 1976 and 1977, at the Frankfurter Kunstverein and the Badischer Kunstverein in Karlsruhe, Haacke exhibited the answers to overlapping questions in the three German polls conducted in Krefeld, Kassel, and Hannover.
- 27 Hans Haacke, "The Constituency," first published as "Les adhérents," in *Art actuel: Skira annuel* (Geneva) 77, no. 3 (1977); English translation, modified, in Hans Haacke: Volume 1, exh. cat. (Oxford: Museum of Contemporary Art; Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1979), 78-81. (see pp. 266-269)
- 28 "The concept 'art as an institution' ... refers to the productive and distributive apparatus and also to ideas about art that prevail at a given time and that determine the reception of works." Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 22.
- 29 Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in Gregory Battcock, ed., *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 116-47.
- 30 Rosalyn Deutsche, "Breaking Ground: Barbara Kruger's Spatial Practice," in Barbara Kruger: *Thinking of You* (Los Angeles and Cambridge, Mass.: The Museum of Contemporary Art and MIT Press, 1999), 78-79.
- 31 See, for instance, Benjamin Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment," in Hans Haacke: "Obra Social," 50.
- 32 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 461; originally published as *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979).
- 33 *Ibid.*, 460.
- 34 For Haacke's conclusions, see "The Constituency."



- **35** Howard S. Becker and John Walton, "Social Science and the Work of Hans Haacke," in Hans Haacke: Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-75 (Halifax and New York: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and New York University Press, 1975), 145.
- **36** *Ibid.*, 151.
- **37** For a discussion of the real-estate pieces, see the reference in note 25.
- **38** Bertolt Brecht, "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," *Twice a Year: A Book of Literature, The Arts, and Civil Liberties*, no. 16/17 (1948), tenth anniversary issue, Art and Action, ed. Dorothy Norman: 122. Haacke cites this essay in "The Constituency," which is pervaded by Brecht's thinking. For instance, in the last line of "The Constituency," Haacke writes that the ability to turn the resources of "the consciousness industry" against the dominant ideology depends on "a cunning involvement" in the industry's contradictions. (see pp. 266-269) Brecht, too, stresses the contradictions that appear in every condition, and cunning is one of his remedies for overcoming difficulties in spreading the truth when it is being suppressed or concealed.
- **39** *Ibid.*
- **40** *Ibid.*, 127.
- **41** Foucault, *The Politics of Truth*, 32.
- **42** Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 67.
- **43** *Ibid.*, 87-89.
- **44** *Ibid.*, 90.
- **45** E-mail correspondence with the author, 16 July 2005.
- **46** Hans Haacke, "The Agent" (1977), p. 272.
- **47** Emily Genauer, "Some Explanations of 'Information,'" *New York Post*, 11 July 1970.
- **48** Haacke, "Provisorische Bemerkungen zur Absage meiner Ausstellung im Guggenheim Museum, New York" (see pp. 257-260).
- **49** Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1975). For an analysis of the report, see Alan Wolfe, "Capitalism Shows Its Face: Giving Up on Democracy," in Holly Sklar, ed., *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management* (Boston: South End Press, 1980), 295-307; first published in *The Nation*, 29 November 1975.
- **50** Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment," 55.
- **51** *Ibid.*, 52.
- **52** *Ibid.*, 55-56.
- **53** Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a*

*Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989); originally published as *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962).

— **54** Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel, and Assenka Oksiloff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 10; originally published as *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972).

— **55** *Ibid.*

— **56** *Ibid.*, 3.

— **57** *Ibid.*, 276.

— **58** Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History* (1874) (New York: Macmillan, Library of Liberal Arts, 1949), 14.

— **59** Kluge and Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience*, 276.

— **60** Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment," 50.

— **61** Brecht, "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," 127.

— **62** Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 38-39.

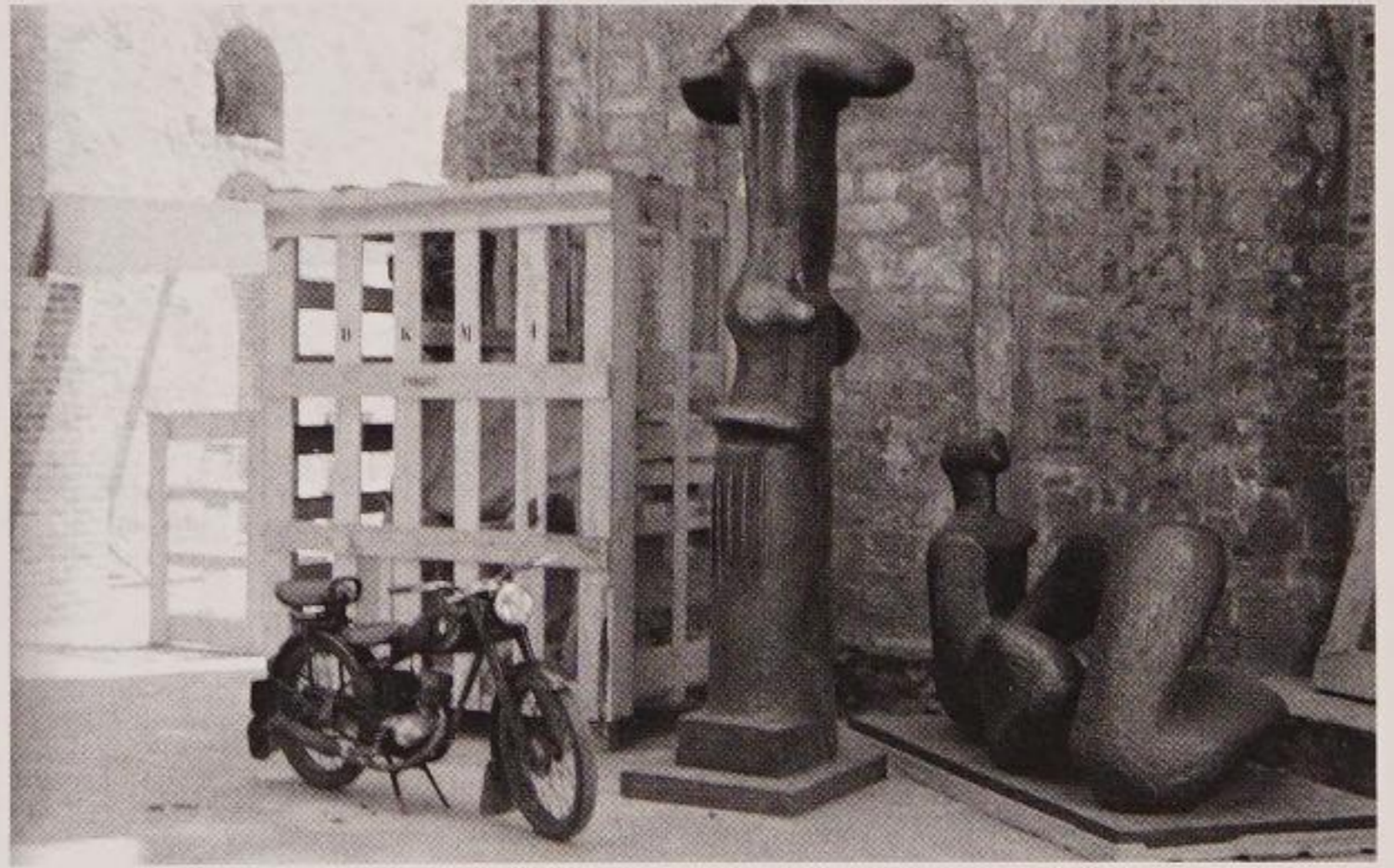
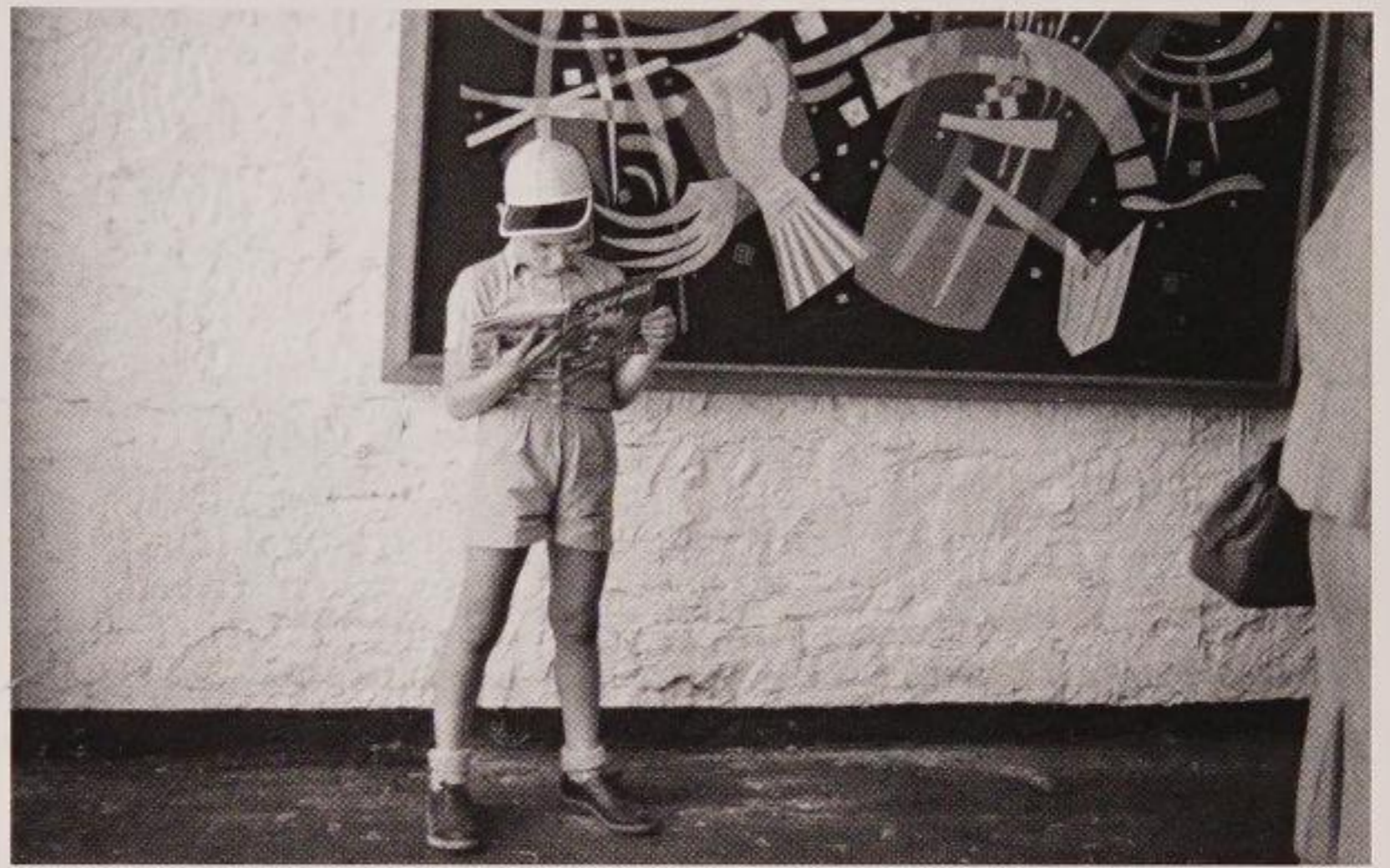


**Hans Haacke**

**for real**

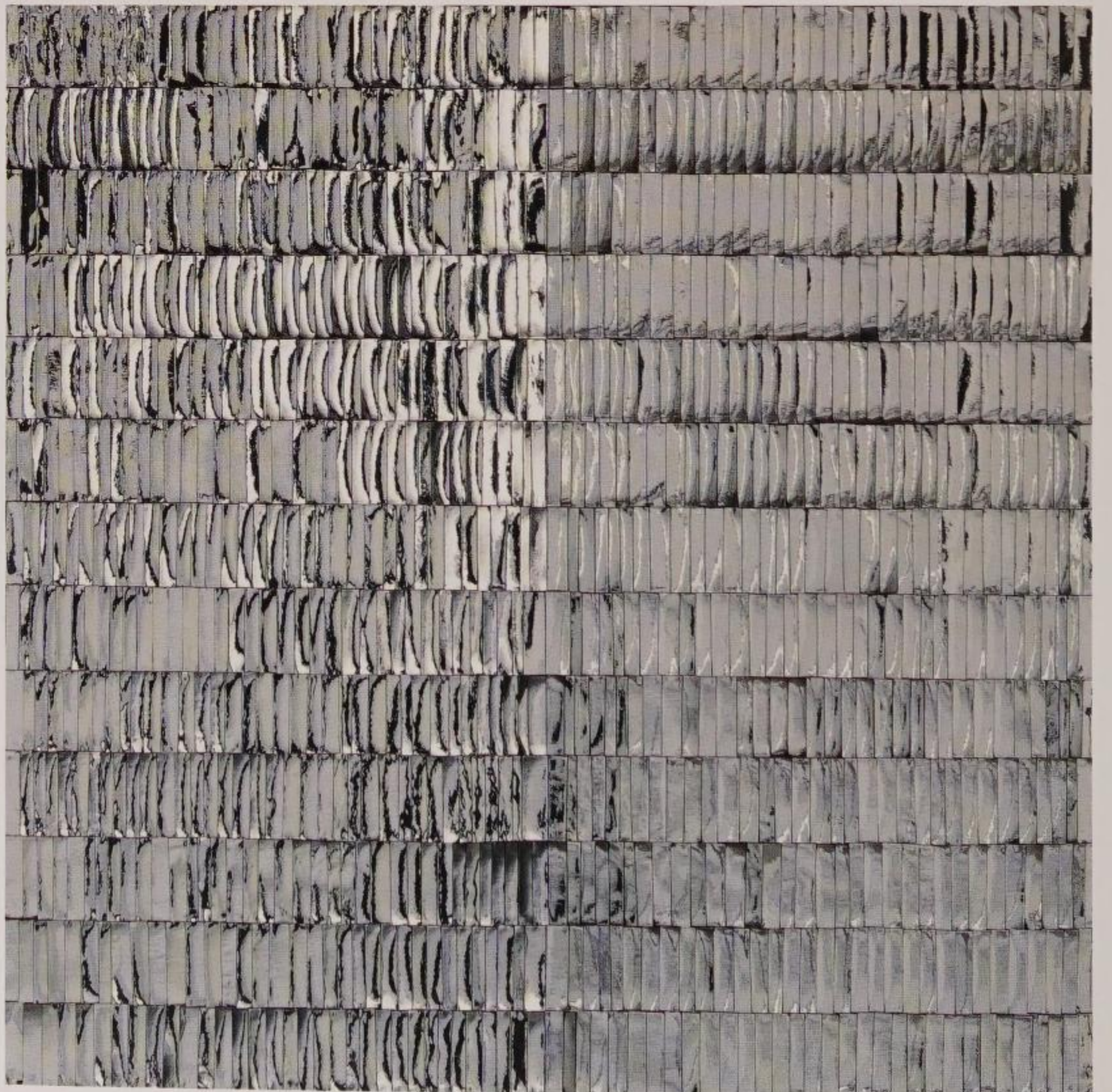
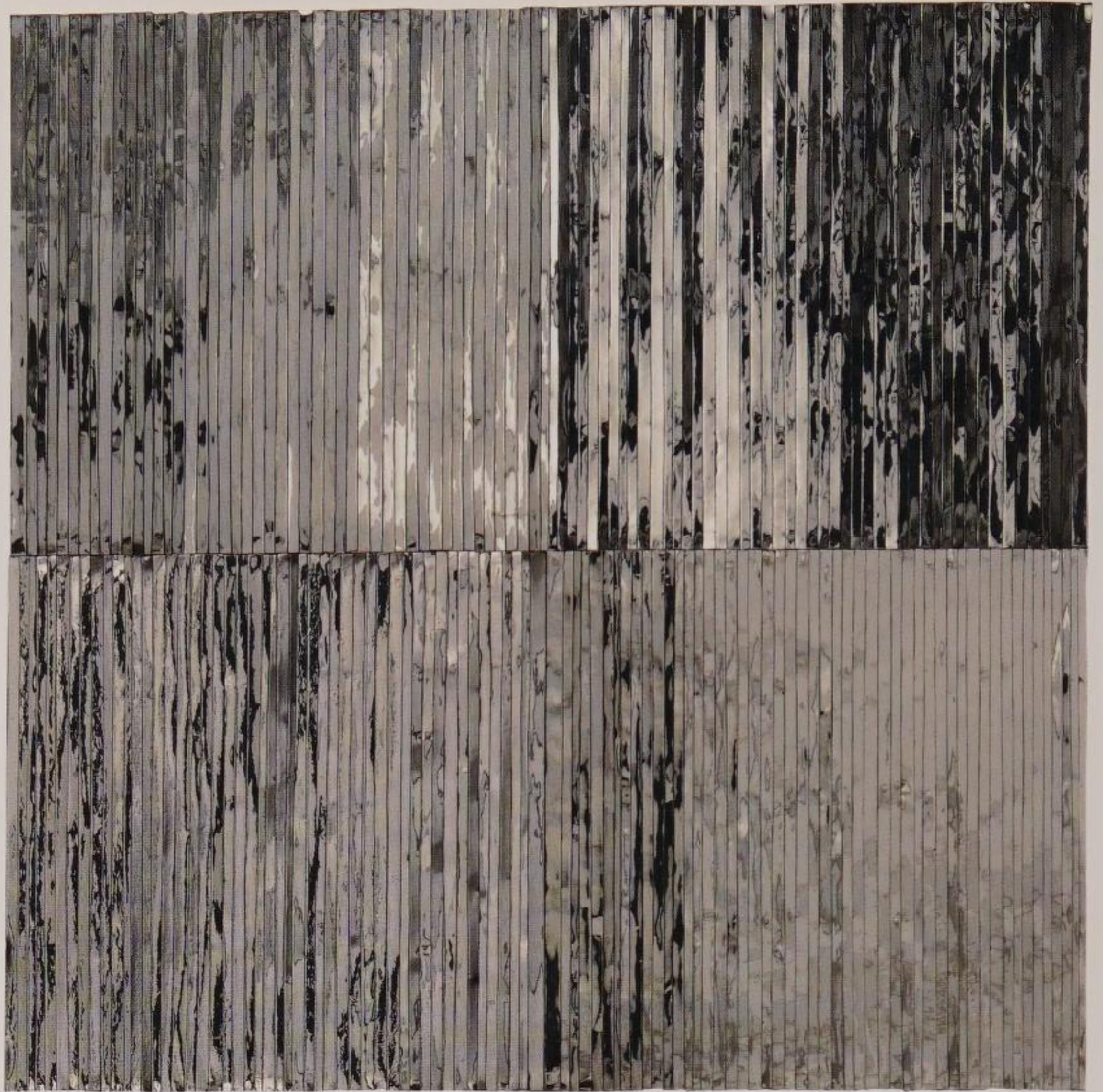
**Works 1959-2006**







Observing my mirror objects made of polished stainless steel, I note:  
There is neither a correct nor an incorrect point of view from which to look at them.  
Their environments—including the spectator—form an integral part of them. The environment is constantly participating in their creation. They are not fixed; their appearances are infinite.  
They are exceeding their material boundaries and are limited, respectively, by the boundaries of sight in the space in which they happen to be, the workshop, the exhibition room, and the stars.  
They show different kinds of spaces inseparably linked together.  
I define as volume the space they occupy materially, i.e., as air-displacing objects that offer resistance. It is static, measurable, limited.  
I define as vibration the space that seems to move toward the spectator, away from him, and parallel to the horizon, when nearly homogeneous elements are seen, arranged in a nearly regular pattern, and when the distance between the elements is too wide to see them simultaneously with precision. This dynamic space is non-material. It is moving within immeasurable limits and can be perceived only optically. These qualities are the same for both reflected and materially existing elements.  
Reflection is creating unreal space, changing or static depending on the immobility or mobility of the sur-





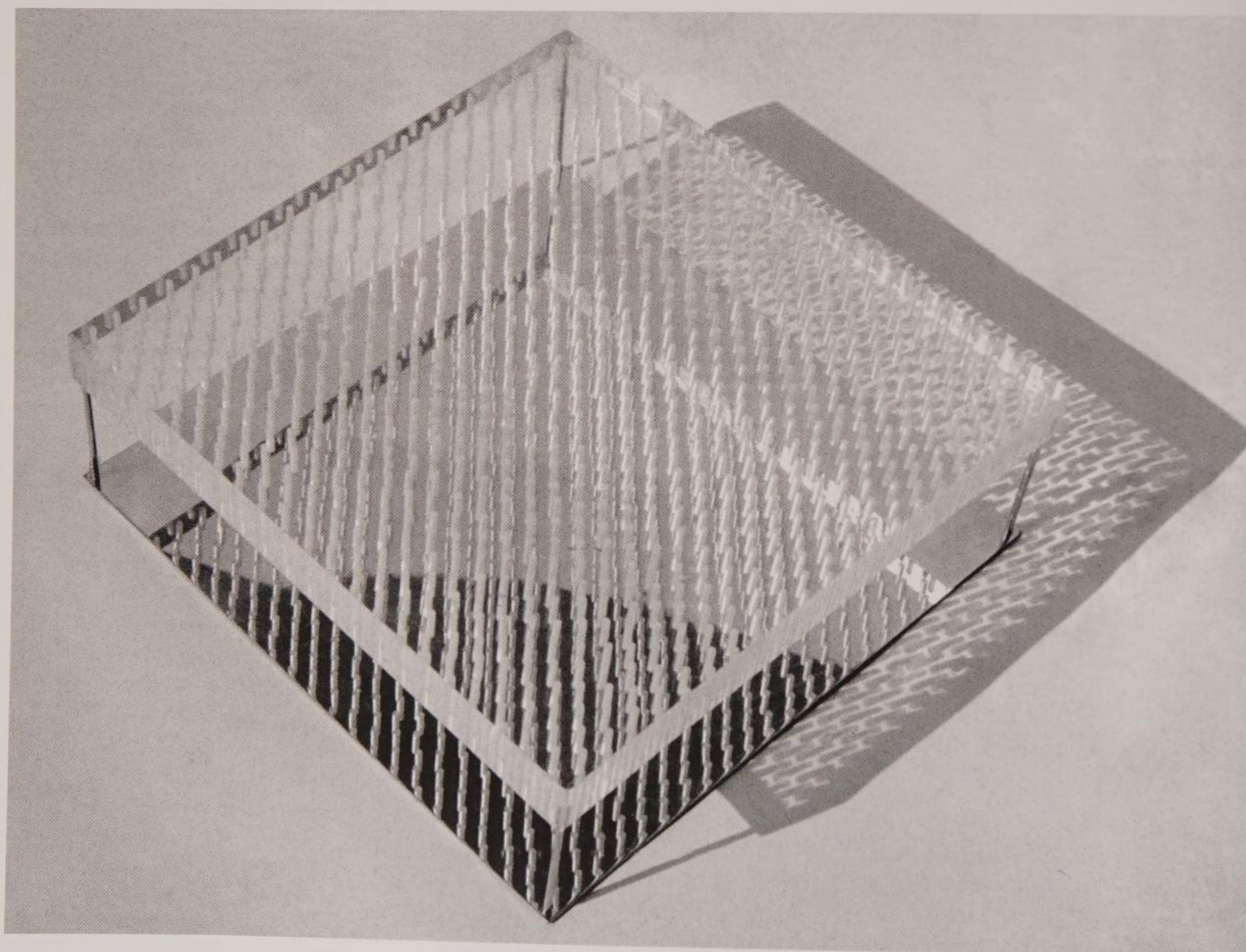
roundings, which are reduced to their visual qualities. Although it can be perceived only optically, it can be measured. It is non-material, limited respectively by the boundaries of sight and created exclusively by light rays. The incessant communication—to see and be seen—of the mirror-objects with the world and the spectator, their insoluble connection of real and unreal, static and dynamic, material and non-material space, their indetermination, all fascinates me.

I think they are for ...

Philadelphia, 7 January 1962

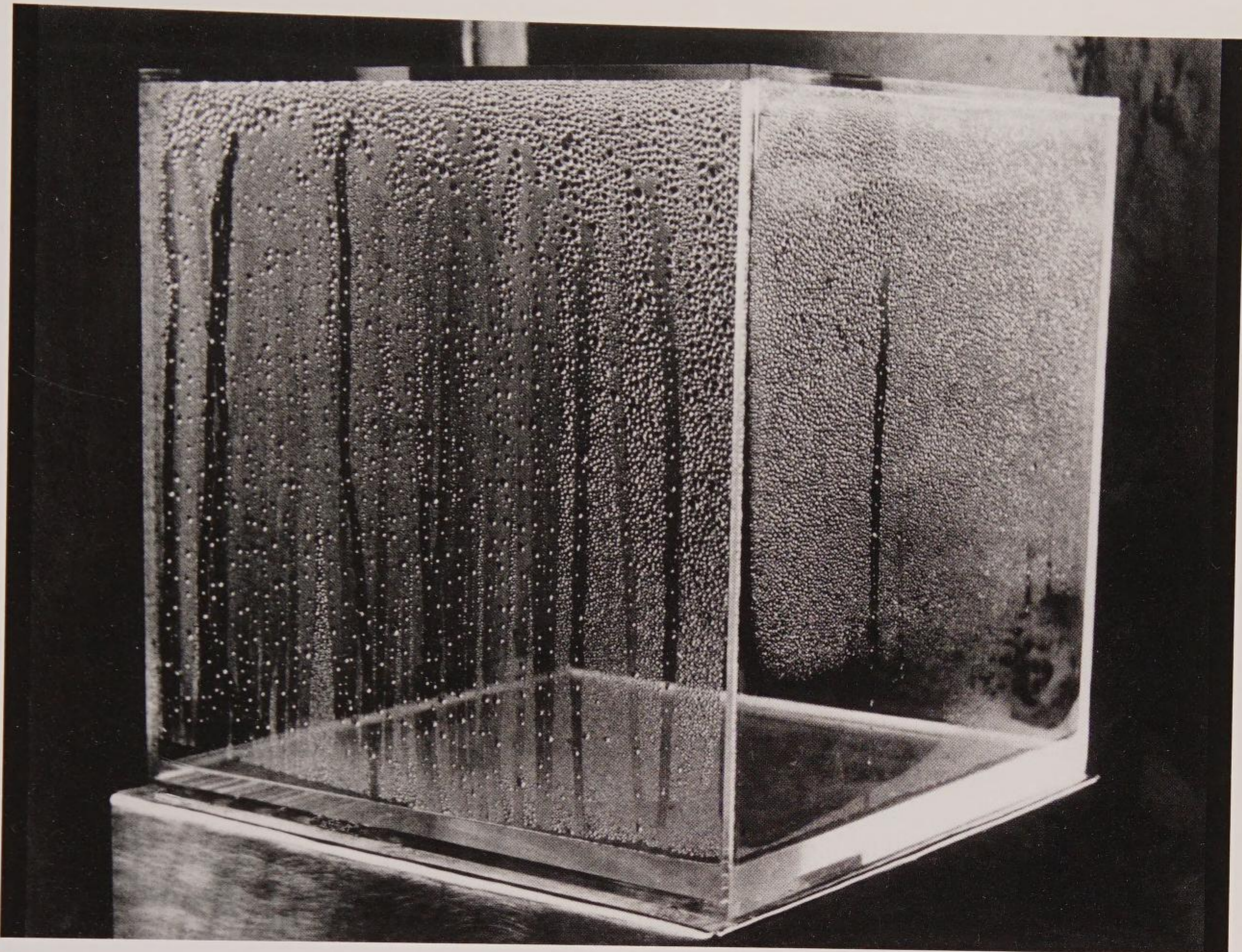






First exhibition: 1963, 'New Experiments in Art,' De Cordova Museum, Lincoln, MA





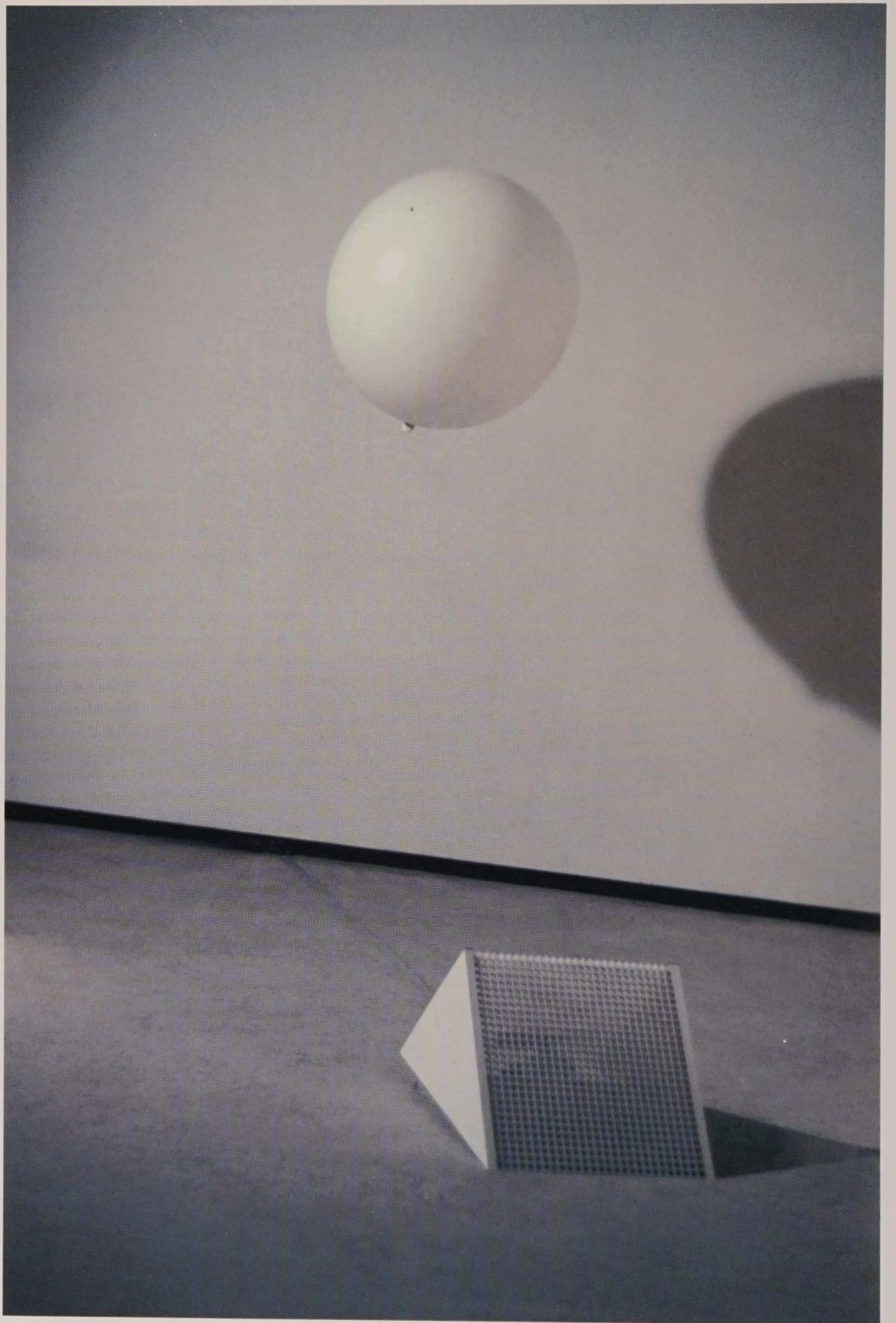
I have partially filled Plexiglas containers of a simple stereometric form with water and have sealed them. The intrusion of light warms the inside of the boxes. Since the inside temperature is always higher than the surrounding temperature, the water enclosed condenses: a delicate veil of drops begins to develop on the inside walls. At first, they are so small that one can distinguish single drops from only a very close distance. The drops grow—hour by hour—small ones combining with larger ones. The speed of growth depends on the intensity and the angle of

the intruding light. After a day, a dense cover of clearly defined drops has developed and they all reflect light. With continuing condensation, some drops reach such a size that their weight overcomes the forces of adhesion and they run down along the walls, leaving a trace. This trace starts to grow together again. Weeks after, manifold traces, running side by side, have developed. According to their respective age, they have drops of varying sizes. The process of condensation does not end. The box has a constantly but slowly changing appearance,

which never repeats itself. The conditions are comparable to a living organism that reacts in a flexible manner to its surroundings. The image of condensation cannot be precisely predicted. It is changing freely, bound only by statistical limits. I like this freedom.

New York, October 1965

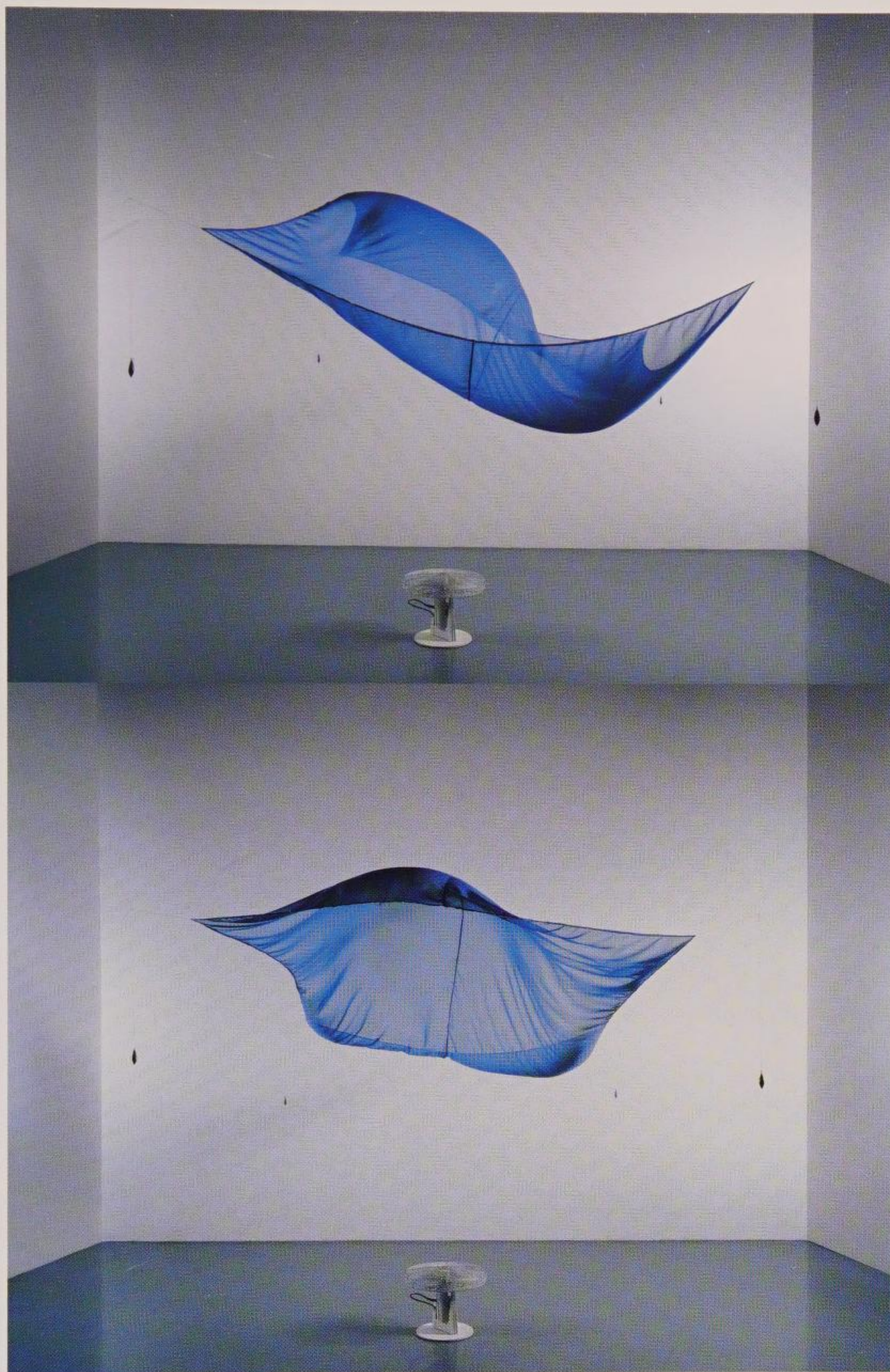




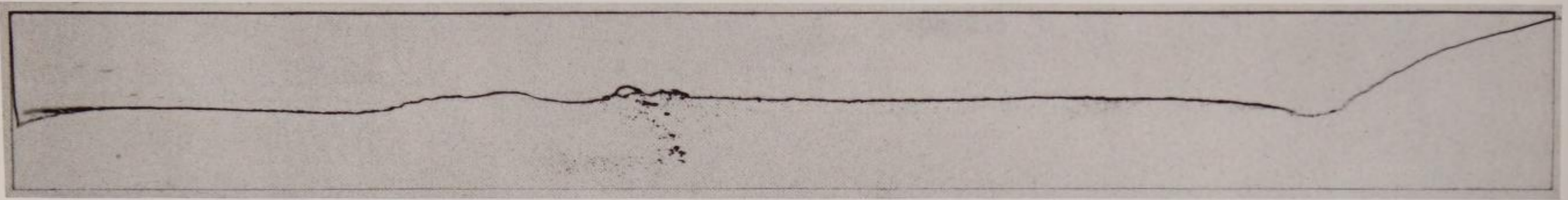
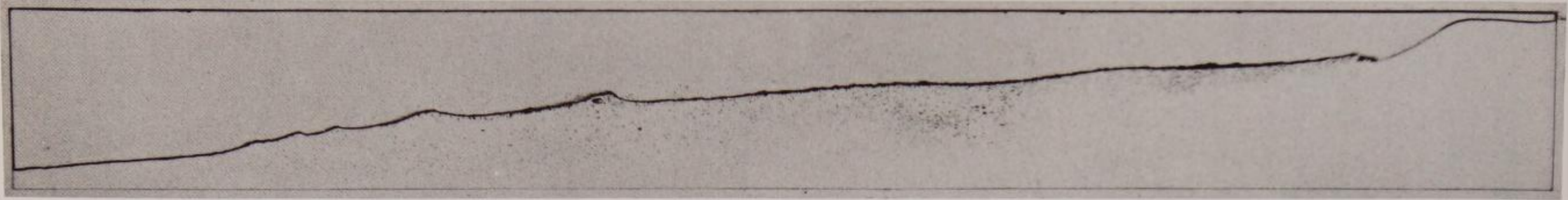
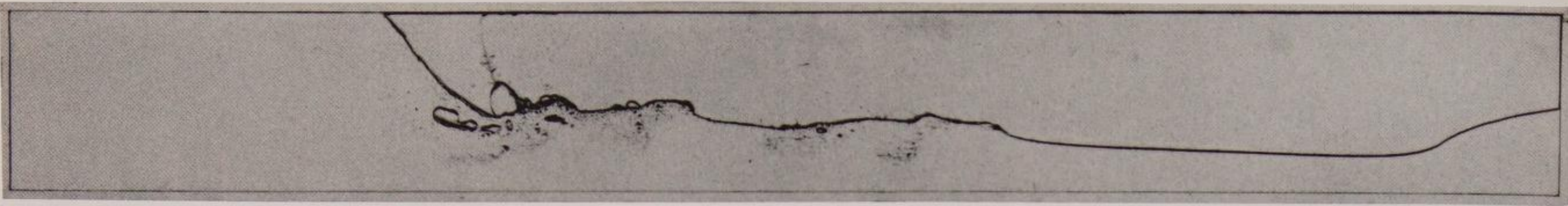


If wind blows into a light piece of material, it flutters like a flag or it swells like a sail, depending on the way in which it is suspended. The direction of the stream of air as well as its intensity also determines the movements. None of these movements is without an echo from all the others. A common pulse goes through the membrane. The swelling on one side makes the other side recede; tensions arise and decrease. The sensitive fabric reacts to the slightest changes of air conditions. A gentle draft makes it swing lightly; a strong air current makes it swell almost to the bursting point or pulls so that it furiously twists itself about. Since many factors are involved, no movement can be precisely predicted. The wind-driven fabric behaves like a living organism, all parts of which are constantly influencing each other. The unfolding of the organism in a harmonious manner depends on the intuitiveness and skill of the "wind player." His means to reach the essential character of the material are manipulations of the wind sources and the shape and method of suspending the fabric. His materials are wind and flexible fabric; his tools are the laws of nature. The sensitivity of the wind player determines whether the fabric is given life and breathes.

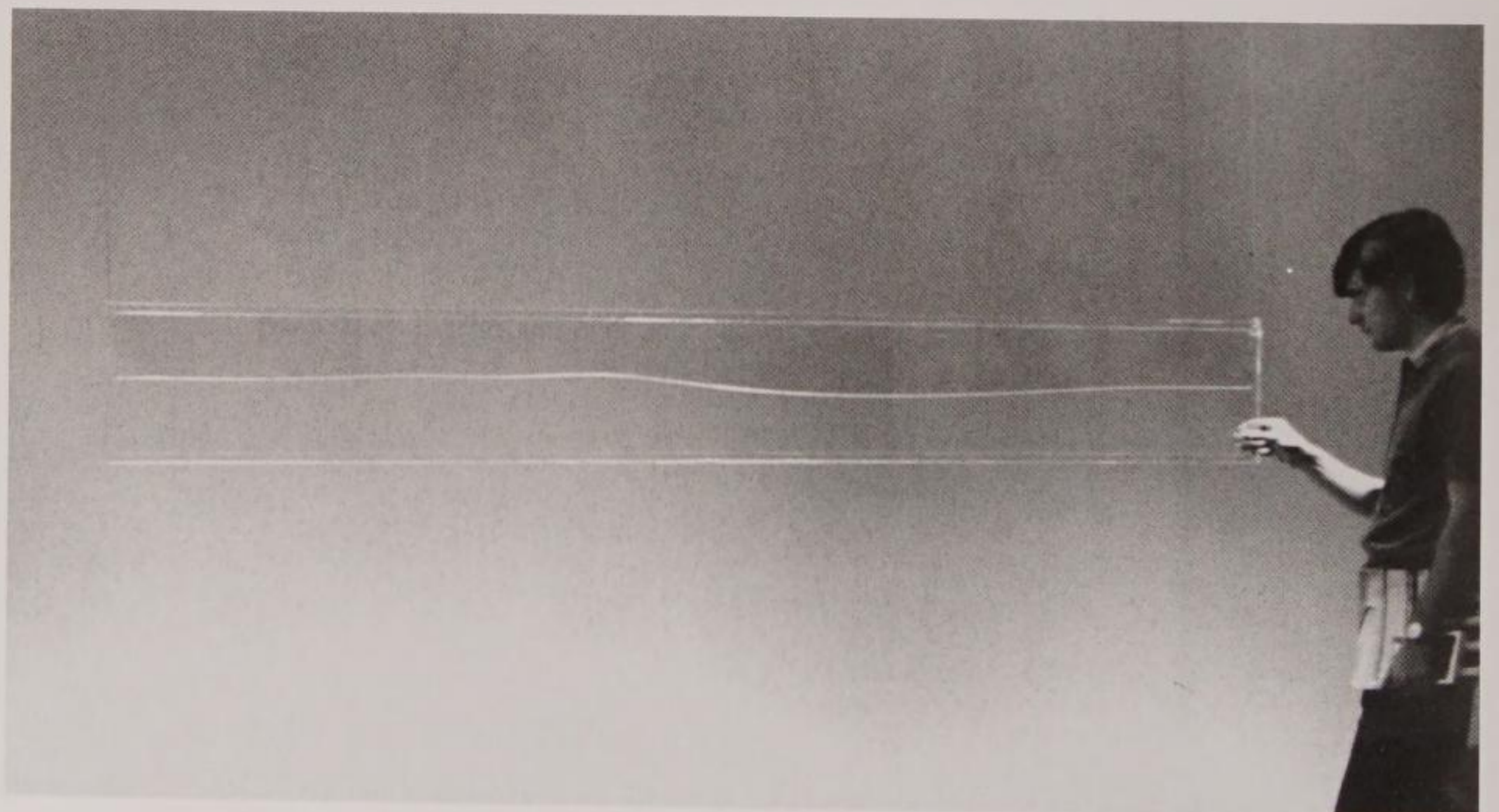
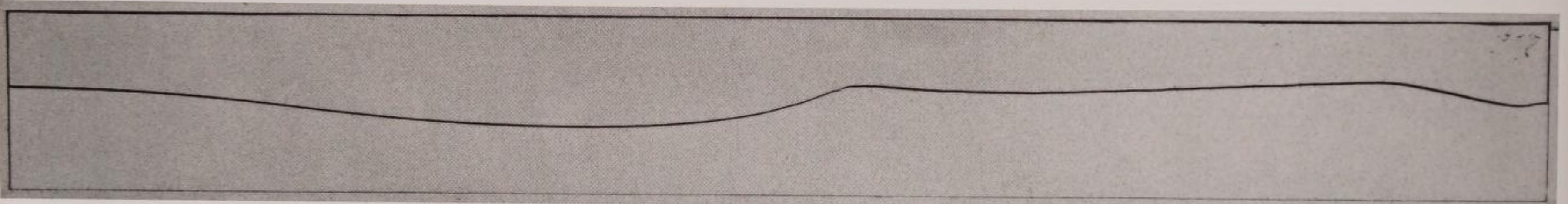
Cologne, August 1965





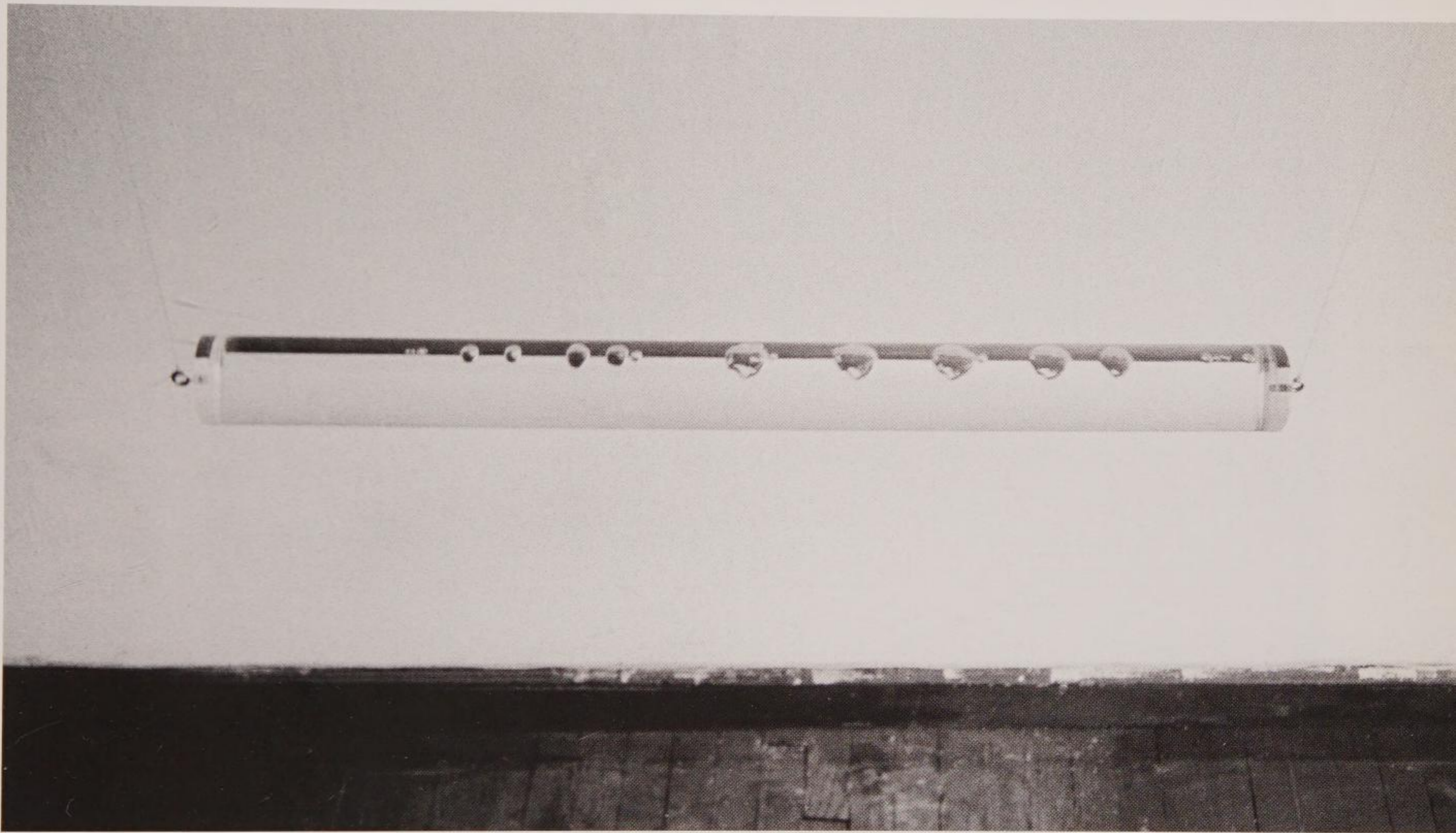


88





Große Wasserwaage 1964

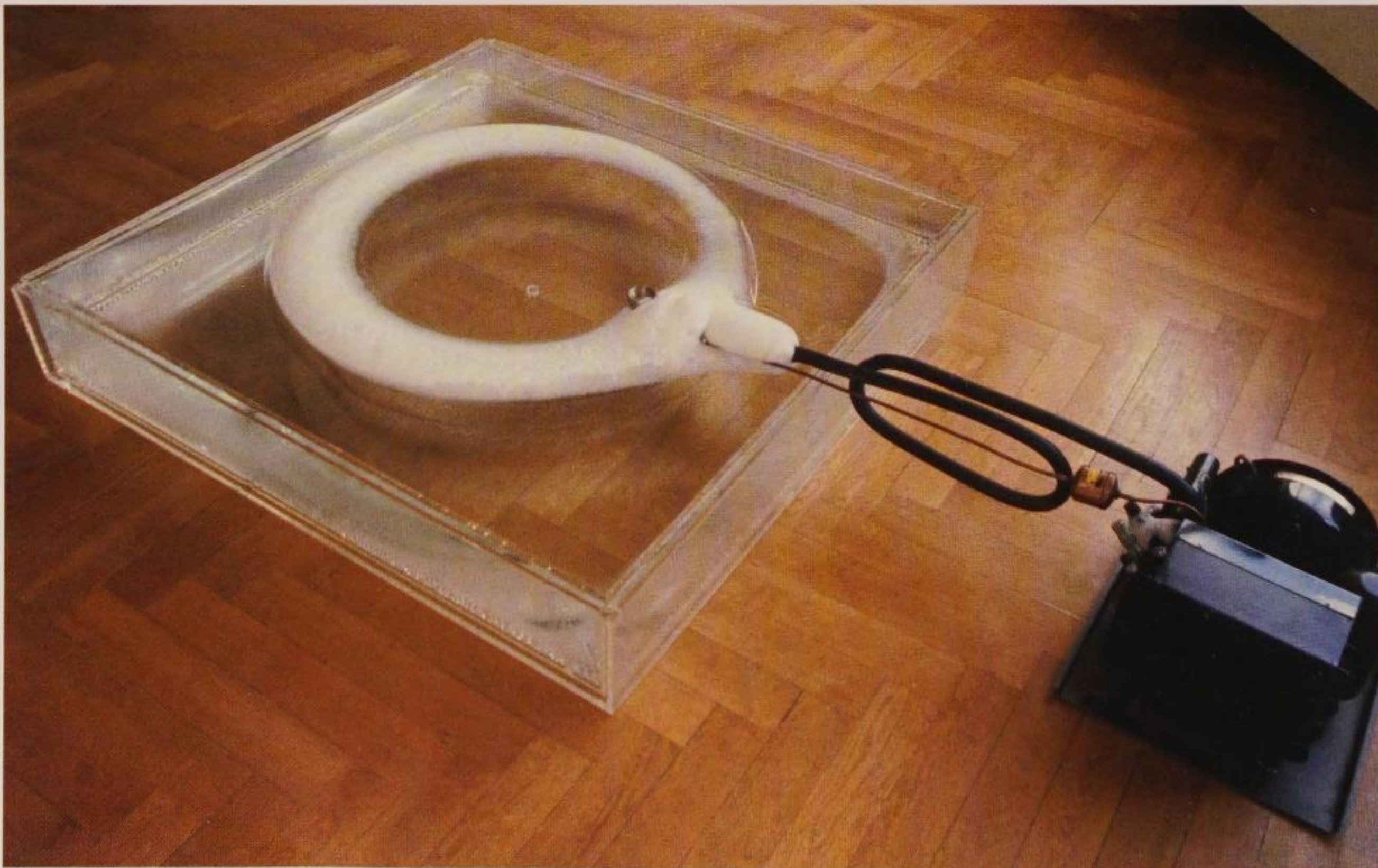
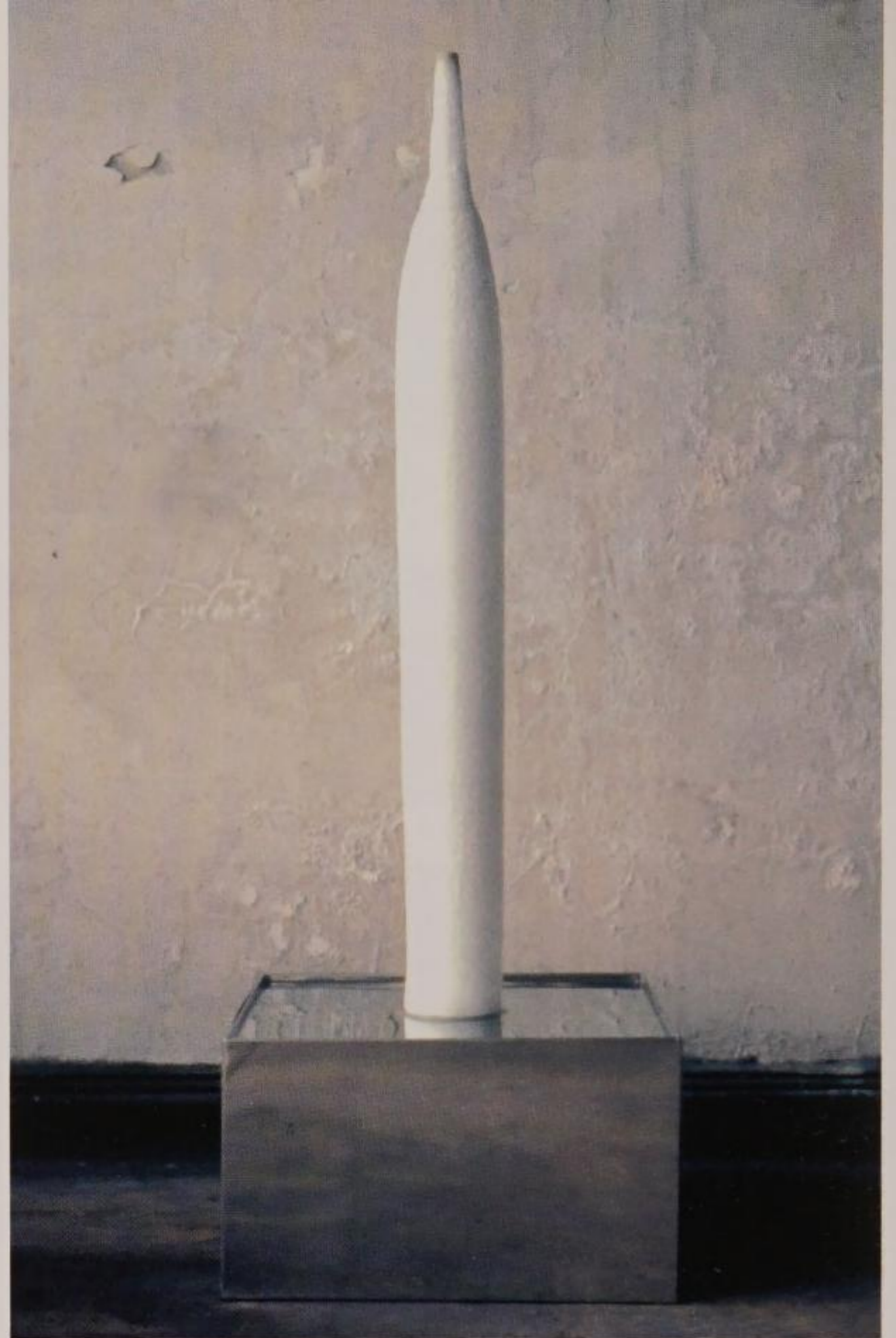




Ice Stick 1966 Schwimmender Eisring 1970

A "sculpture" that physically reacts to its environment is no longer to be regarded as an object. The range of outside factors affecting it, as well as its own radius of action, reaches beyond the space it materially occupies. It thus merges with the environment in a relationship that is better understood as a "system" of interdependent processes. These processes evolve without the viewer's empathy. He becomes a witness. A system is not imagined; it is real.

New York, 1967







First exhibition: 1967, Hayden Gallery, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge, MA



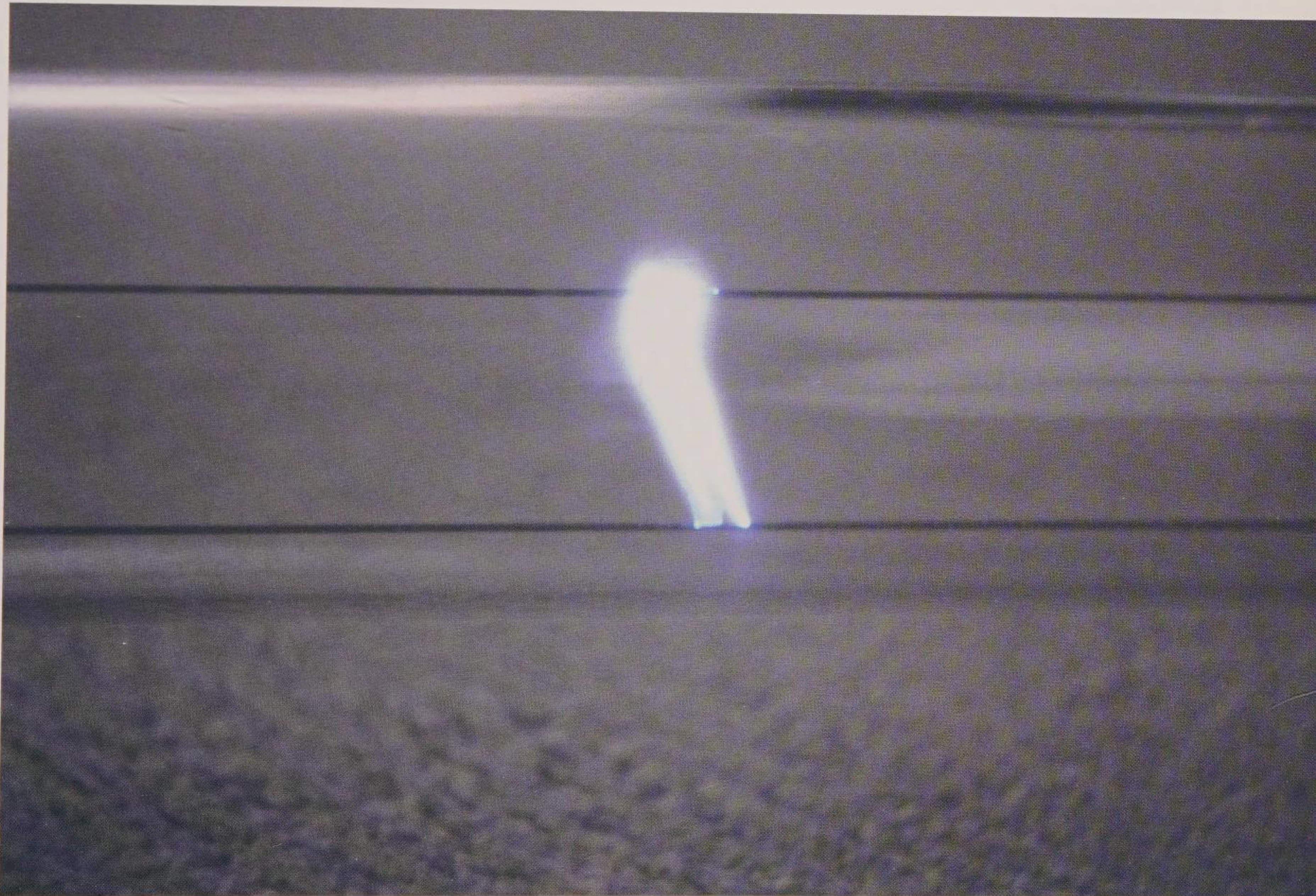
Wide White Flow 1967



First exhibition: 1967, Hayden Gallery, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge, MA



High Voltage Discharge Travelling 1968



First exhibition: 1968, Howard Wise Gallery, New York





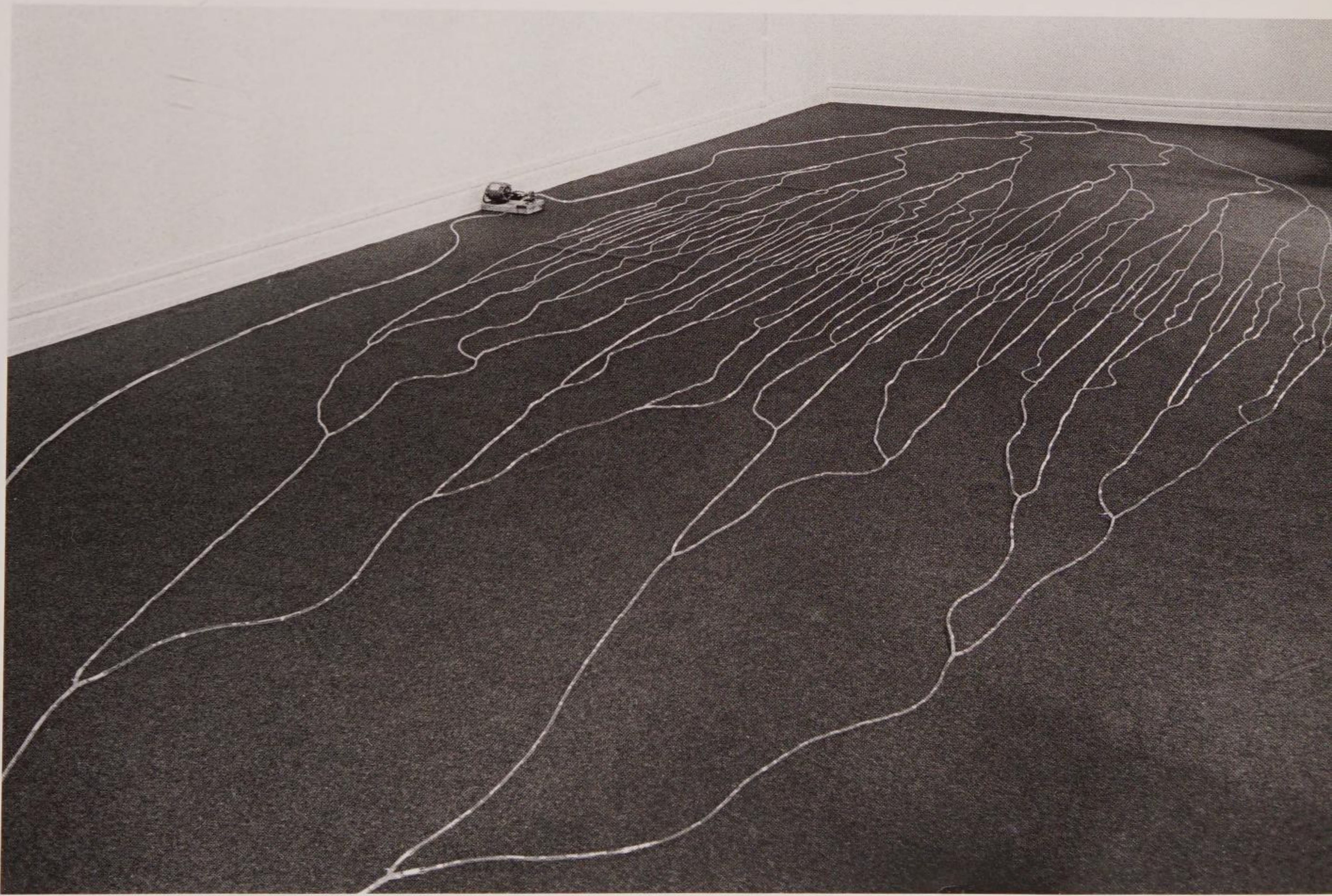
94



First exhibition: 1968, Howard Wise Gallery, New York



Circulation 1969





Grass Grows 1969



First exhibition: 1969, 'Earth Art,' Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY (Installation view)













Roof, 95 East Houston Street, New York















Ten Turtles Set Free 1970





Bowery Seeds 1970



Roof, 95 East Houston Street, New York



Monument to Beach Pollution 1970





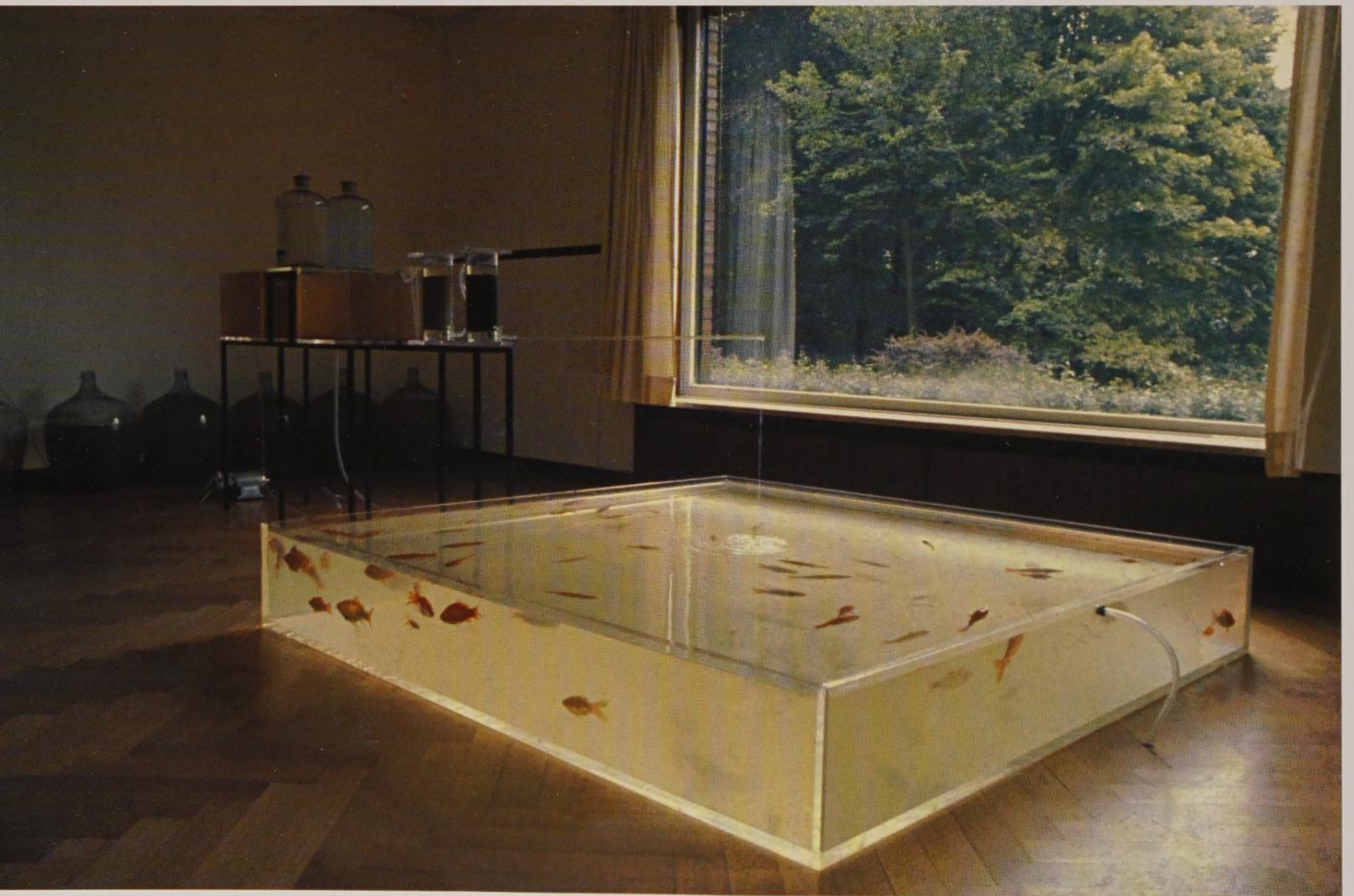








Rheinwasseraufbereitungsanlage 1972



First exhibition: 1972, Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld (installation view)





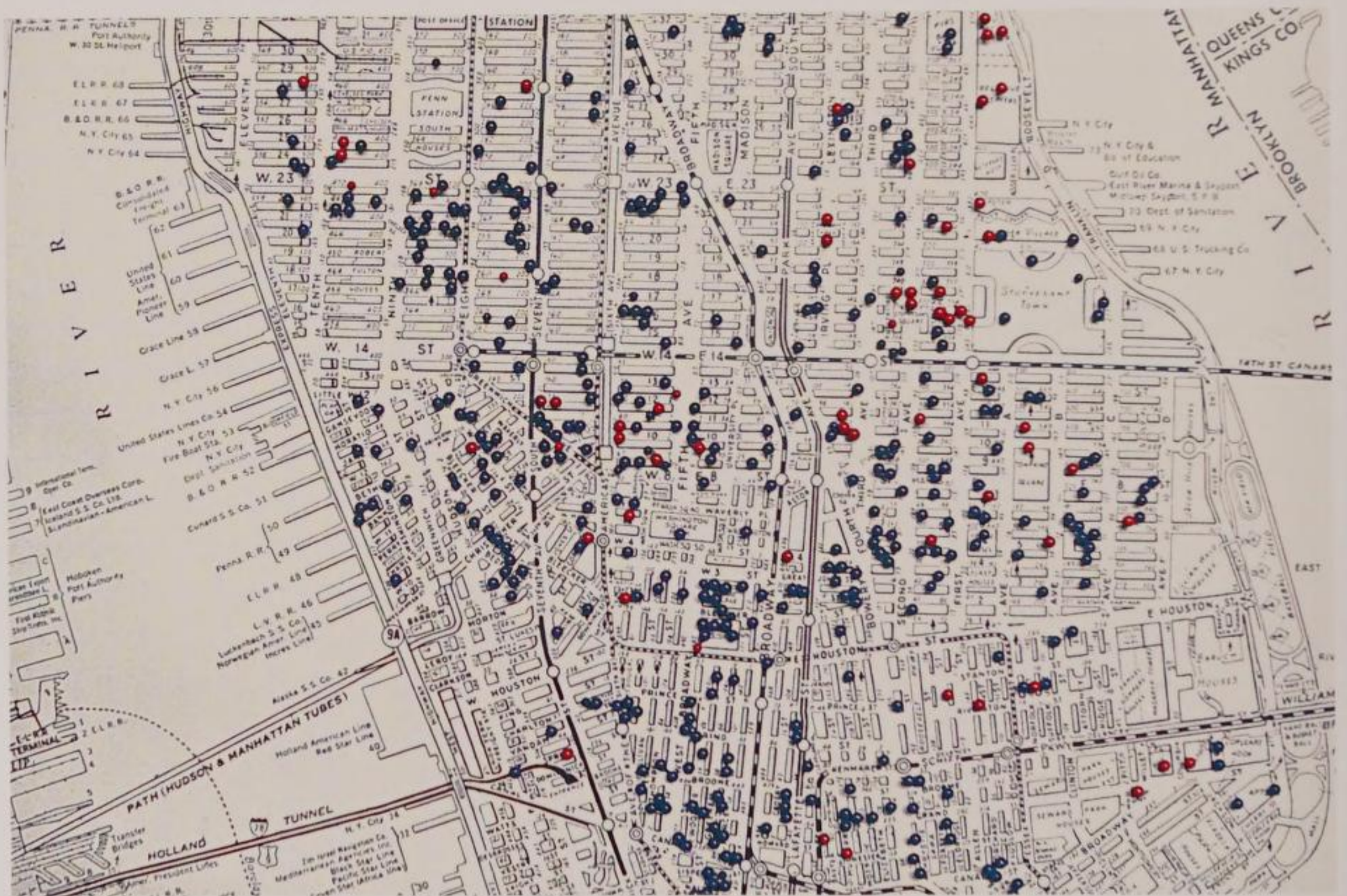




**INDICATE YOUR BIRTHPLACE WITH RED PIN,**



**PERMANENT RESIDENCE WITH BLUE PIN**



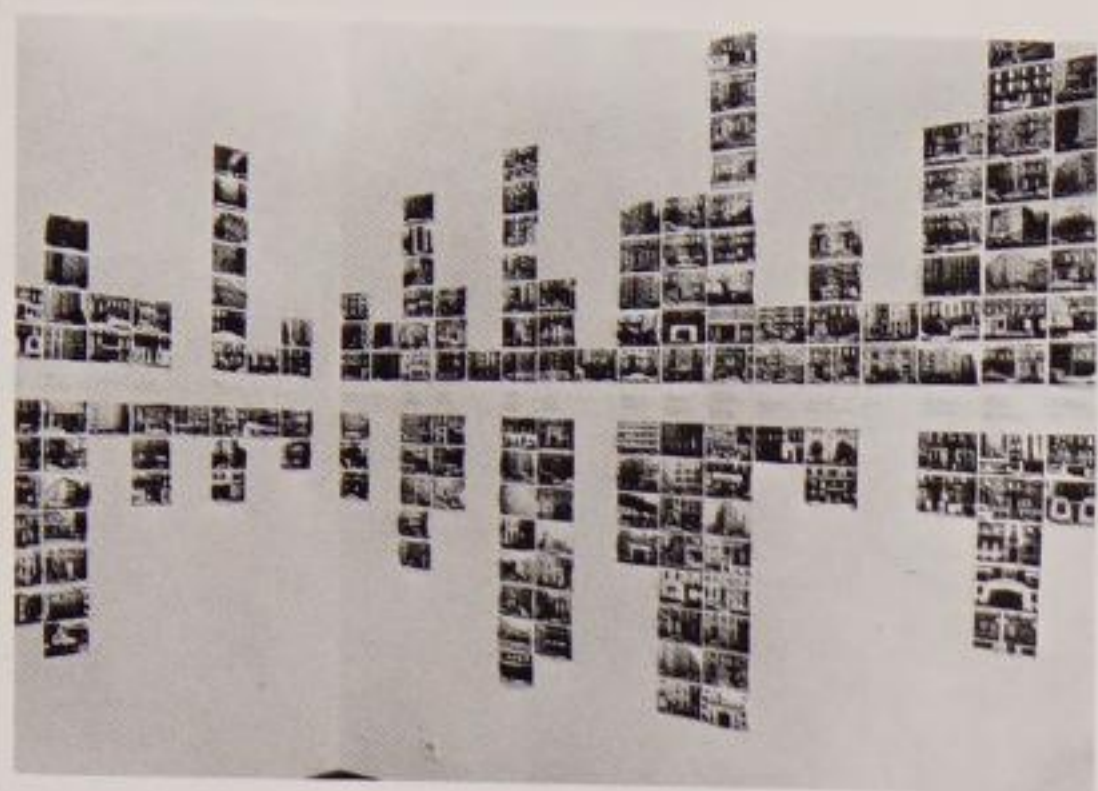
During a solo exhibition at the Howard Wise Gallery, visitors were asked to mark their birthplace with a red pin and their current residence with a blue pin on maps of Manhattan, the five boroughs of

New York, the New York metropolitan area, the United States, and the world. By the end of the exhibition (held November 1-30, 1969), 2,312 locations were marked as birthplaces and 2,018 as residences. In

the 1960s, the Howard Wise Gallery, on New York's 57th Street (between Fifth and Sixth Avenues), was one of the important galleries for what was considered to be the avant-garde art of the time.

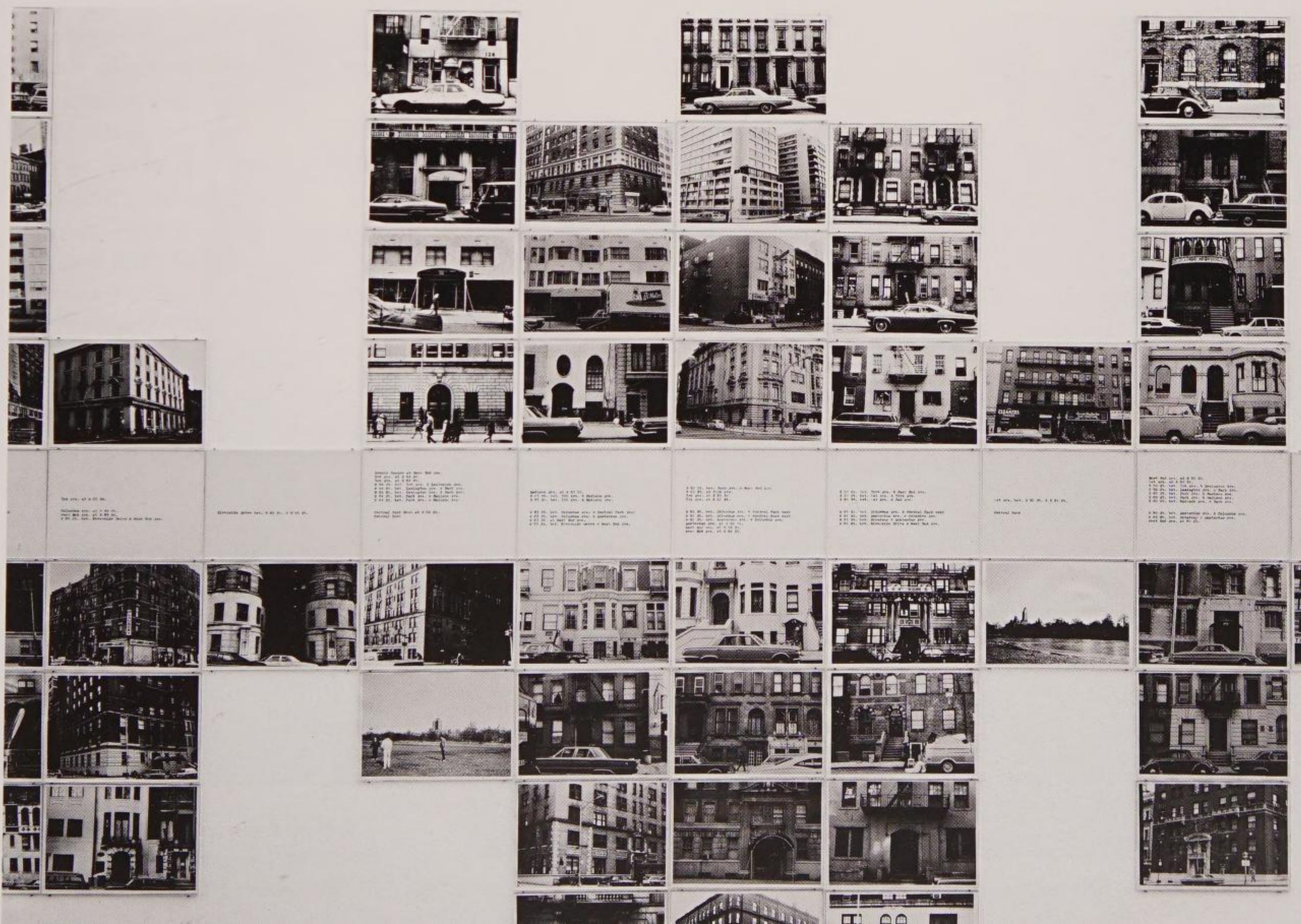


# Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile, Part 2 1970



The installation followed schematically the layout of Manhattan, with Fifth Avenue as a horizontal axis on the wall: for addresses east of Fifth Avenue, photographs extended up toward the ceiling; for addresses west of Fifth Avenue, photographs extended down toward the floor. North was to the left, south to the right. Each vertical row of photographs represented a street. The street blocks in question were listed on typewritten cards positioned on the horizontal axis.

Where?	Birthplace	Residence
Manhattan	257	732
Brooklyn	91	78
Queens	42	81
Bronx	62	43
Staten Island	5	6
<b>New York City</b>	<b>457</b>	<b>940</b>
New York State (excl. New York City)	184	265
New Jersey	162	164
Connecticut	66	52
<b>Tri-State area</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>1421</b>
United States (excl. NY, NJ, CT)	920	402
<b>United States</b>	<b>1789</b>	<b>1823</b>
Canada	52	43
South and Central America	50	22
Europe	213	63
Asia	105	27
Africa	22	15
Australia	9	6
Isolated Islands, oceans, map edge	72	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>2312</b>	<b>2018</b>







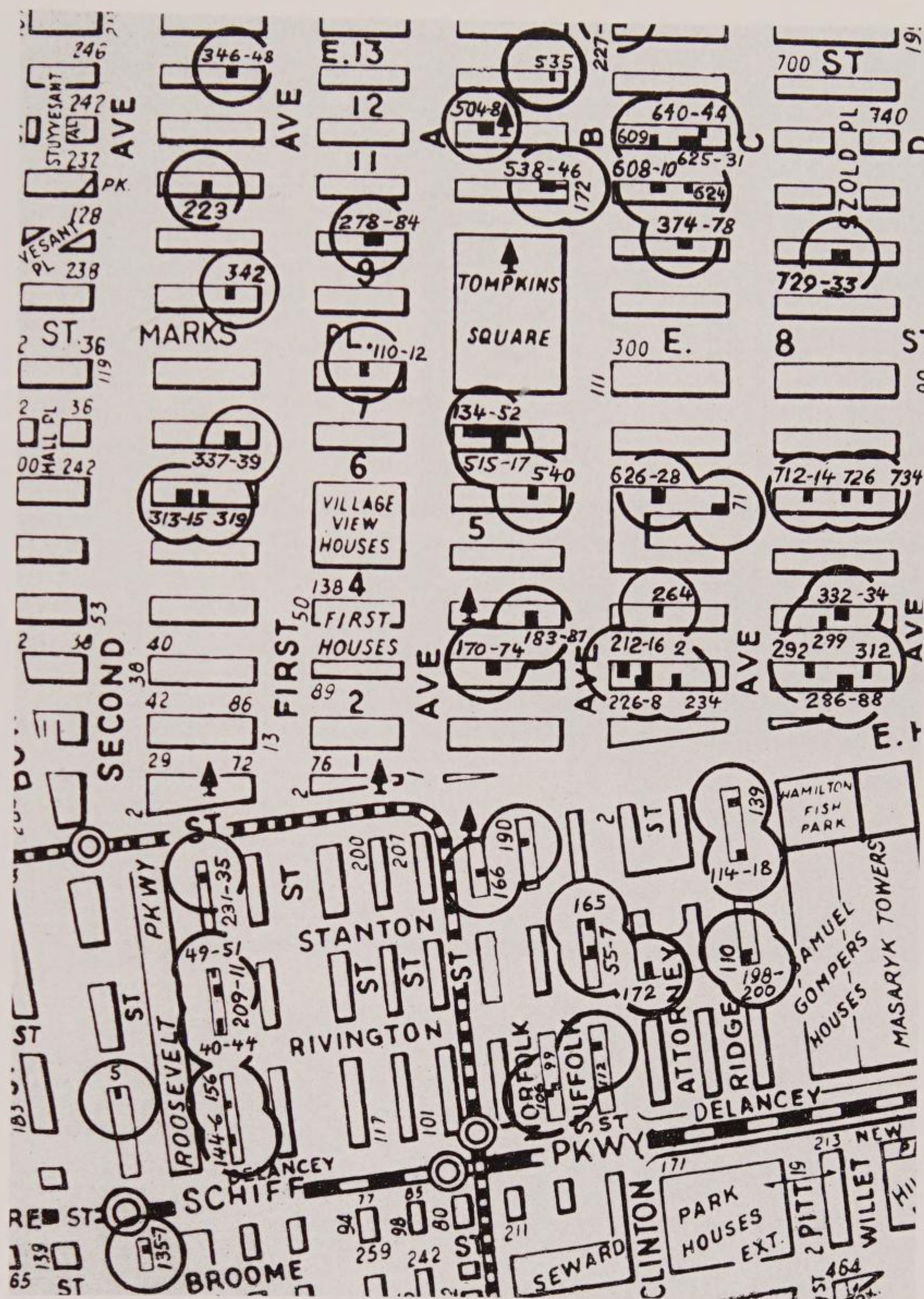
First exhibition: 1969, 'Prospect 69,' Kunsthalle Düsseldorf; Howard Wise Gallery, New York  
(Installation view: 1970, 'Software,' Jewish Museum, New York)



**Shapolsky et al. Manhattan  
Real-Estate Holdings,  
a Real-Time Social System,  
as of May 1, 1971 1971**

In 1971 the Shapolsky real-estate group, headed by Harry Shapolsky and nominally owned by about seventy different corporations, frequently bought, sold, and mortgaged properties within the group. What amounted to self-dealing had tax advantages (mortgage payments are tax-deductible) and obscured the actual ownership of the properties. The boards of these seventy-odd corporations included at least one member of the Shapolsky family or someone with close ties. The 142 known properties were located predominantly on the Lower East Side and in Harlem—in 1971 both slum areas of New York City—where they constituted the largest concentration of real estate under the control of a single group. The information for the work was culled from public records at the New York County Clerk's Office.

Thomas Messer, then the director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, rejected this work and two other works that had been made for a solo exhibition at the museum. He canceled the exhibition six weeks before the opening when the artist refused to withdraw the disputed works. Messer called them "inappropriate" for exhibition at the museum and stated he had to "fend off an alien substance that had entered the art museum organism." Edward F. Fry, the curator of the exhibition, was fired when he defended the works. Artists held a protest demon-



First exhibition: 1972, 'Art Without Limit,'  
Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester,  
Rochester, NY (Installation view: 1978,  
Biennale Venice)



stration in the museum. More than one hundred pledged not to exhibit at the Guggenheim "until the policy of art censorship and its advocates are changed." Many commentators assumed that the trustees of the Guggenheim Museum had links to the Shapolsky real-estate group. There is no evidence to support such suspicions.



214 E 3 St.  
Block 385 Lot 11  
5 story walk-up old law tenement

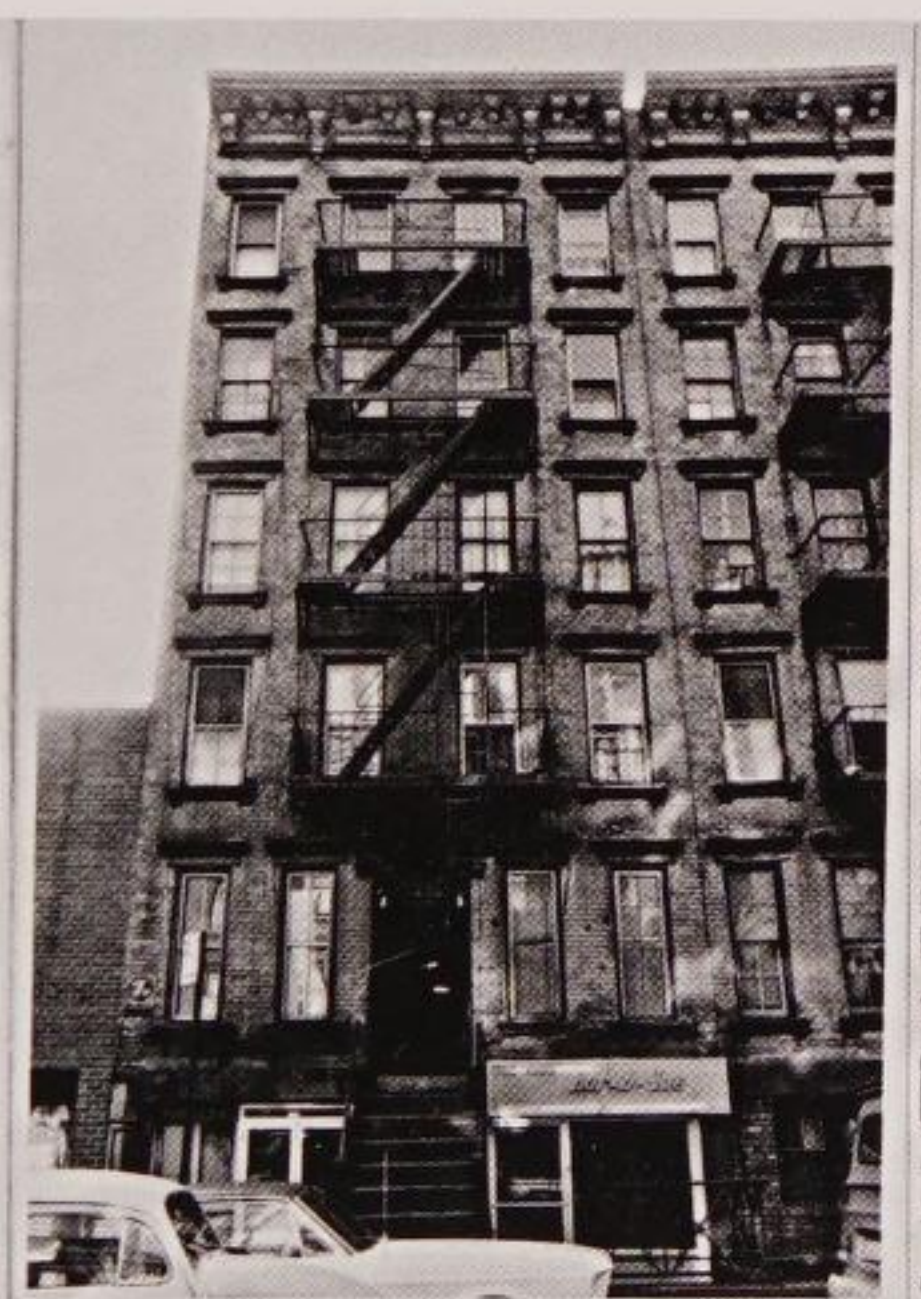
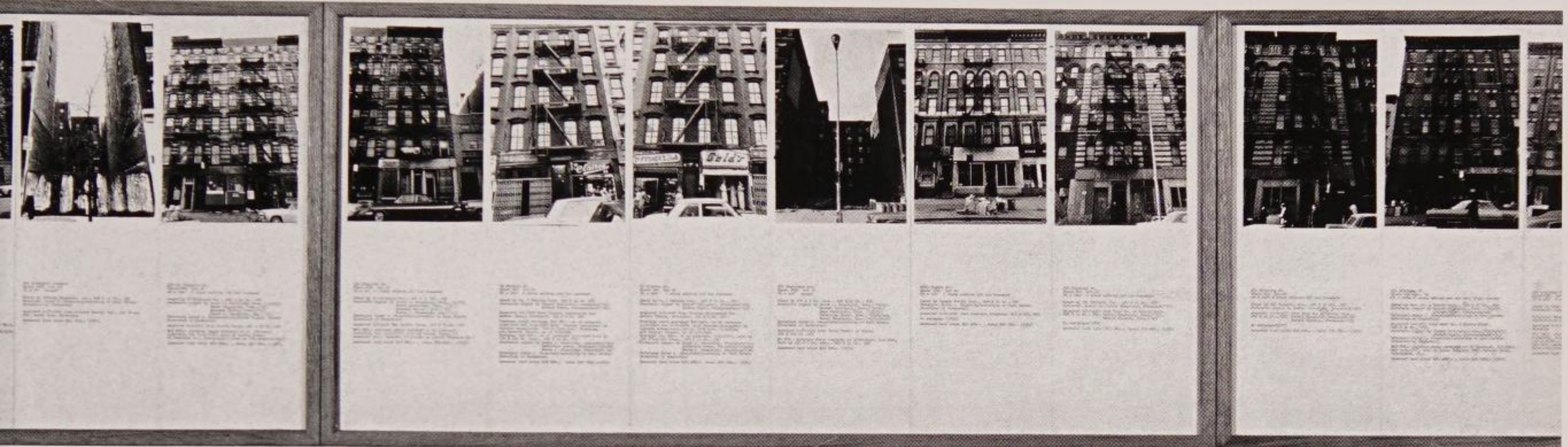
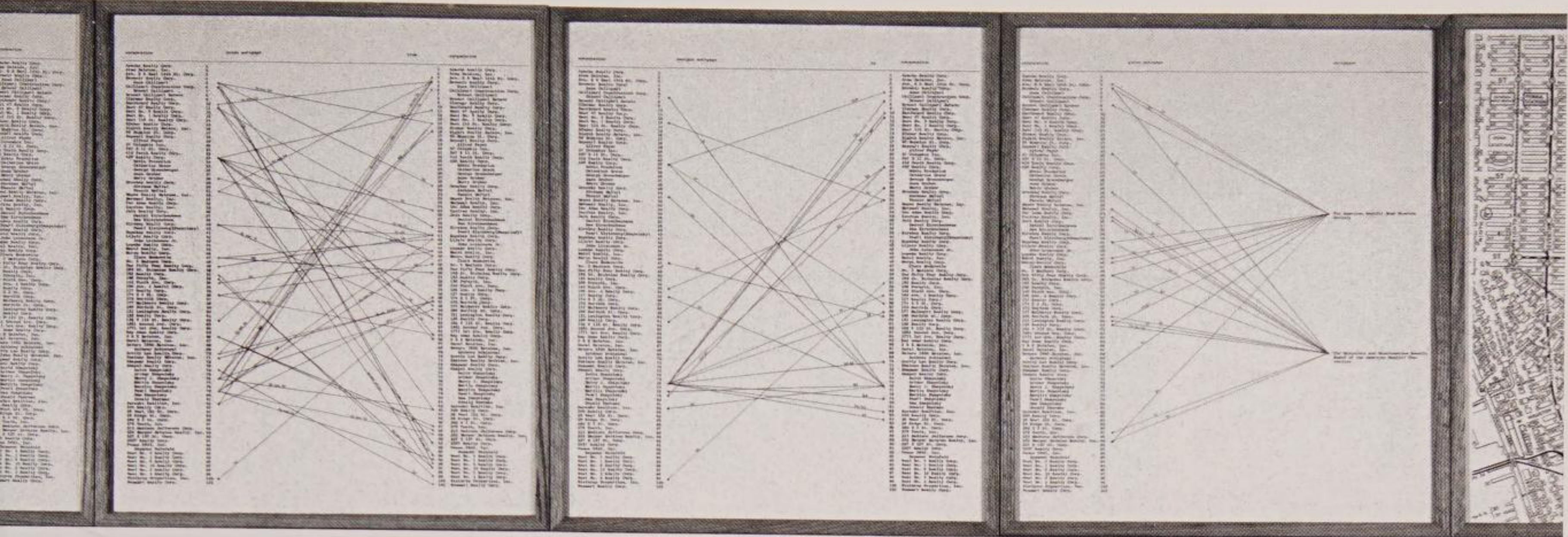
Owned by Harpmel Realty Inc., 608 E 11 St., NYC  
Contracts signed by Harry J. Shapolsky, President('63)  
Martin Shapolsky, President('64)  
Principal Harry J. Shapolsky(according to Real Estate  
Directory of Manhattan)

Acquired 8-21-1963 from John the Baptist Foundation,  
c/o The Bank of New York, 48 Wall St., NYC,  
for \$237 600.- (also 7 other bldgs.)

\$150 000.- mortgage at 6% interest, 8-19-1963, due  
8-19-1968, held by The Ministers and Missionaries  
Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention,  
475 Riverside Drive, NYC (also on 7 other bldgs.)

Assessed land value \$25 000.- , total \$75 000.- (includ-  
ing 212 and 216 E 3 St.) (1971)





214 E 3 St.  
Block 385 Lot 11  
5 story walk-up old law tenement

Owned by Harpel Realty Inc., 608 E 11 St., NYC  
Contracts signed by Harry J. Shapolsky, President ('63)  
Martin Shapolsky, President ('64)  
Principal Harry J. Shapolsky (according to Real Estate  
Directory of Manhattan)

Acquired 8-21-1963 from John the Baptist Foundation,  
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Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention,  
475 Riverside Drive, NYC (also on 7 other bldgs.)

Assessed land value \$25 000.-, total \$75 000.- (includ-  
ing 212 and 216 E 3 St.) (1971)

216 E 3 St.  
Block 385 Lot 11  
5 story walk-up old law tenement

Owned by Harpel Realty Inc., 608 E 11 St., NYC  
Contracts signed by Harry J. Shapolsky, President ('63)  
Martin Shapolsky, President ('64)  
Principal Harry J. Shapolsky (according to Real Estate  
Directory of Manhattan)

Acquired 8-21-1963 from John the Baptist Foundation,  
c/o The Bank of New York, 48 Wall St., NYC  
for \$237 000.- (also 7 other bldgs.)

\$150 000.- mortgage at 6% interest, 8-19-1963, due  
8-19-1968, held by The Ministers and Missionaries  
Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention,  
475 Riverside Drive, NYC (also on 7 other bldgs.)

Assessed land value \$25 000.-, total \$75 000.- (includ-  
ing 212-14 E 3 St.) (1971)

228 E 3 St.  
Block 385 Lot 19  
24 x 105' 5 story walk-up old law tenement

Owned by Harpel Realty Inc., 608 E 11 St., NYC  
Contracts signed by Harry J. Shapolsky, President ('63)  
Martin Shapolsky, President ('64)

Acquired from John the Baptist Foundation  
c/o The Bank of New York, 48 Wall St., NYC  
for \$237 000.- (also 5 other properties), 8-21-1963

\$150 000.- mortgage (also on 5 other properties) at 6%  
interest as of 8-19-1963 due 8-19-1968  
held by The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of  
The American Baptist Convention, 475 Riverside Dr., NYC

Assessed land value \$8 000.- total \$28 000.- (1971)

292 E 3 St.  
Block 372 Lot  
22 x 105' 5 s

Owned by Brown  
Contracts signed

Principal Harry  
Directory of

Acquired 10-21-63  
475 Riverside

\$55 000.- held  
The Ministers  
American Bapt  
(also on 312)

Assessed land

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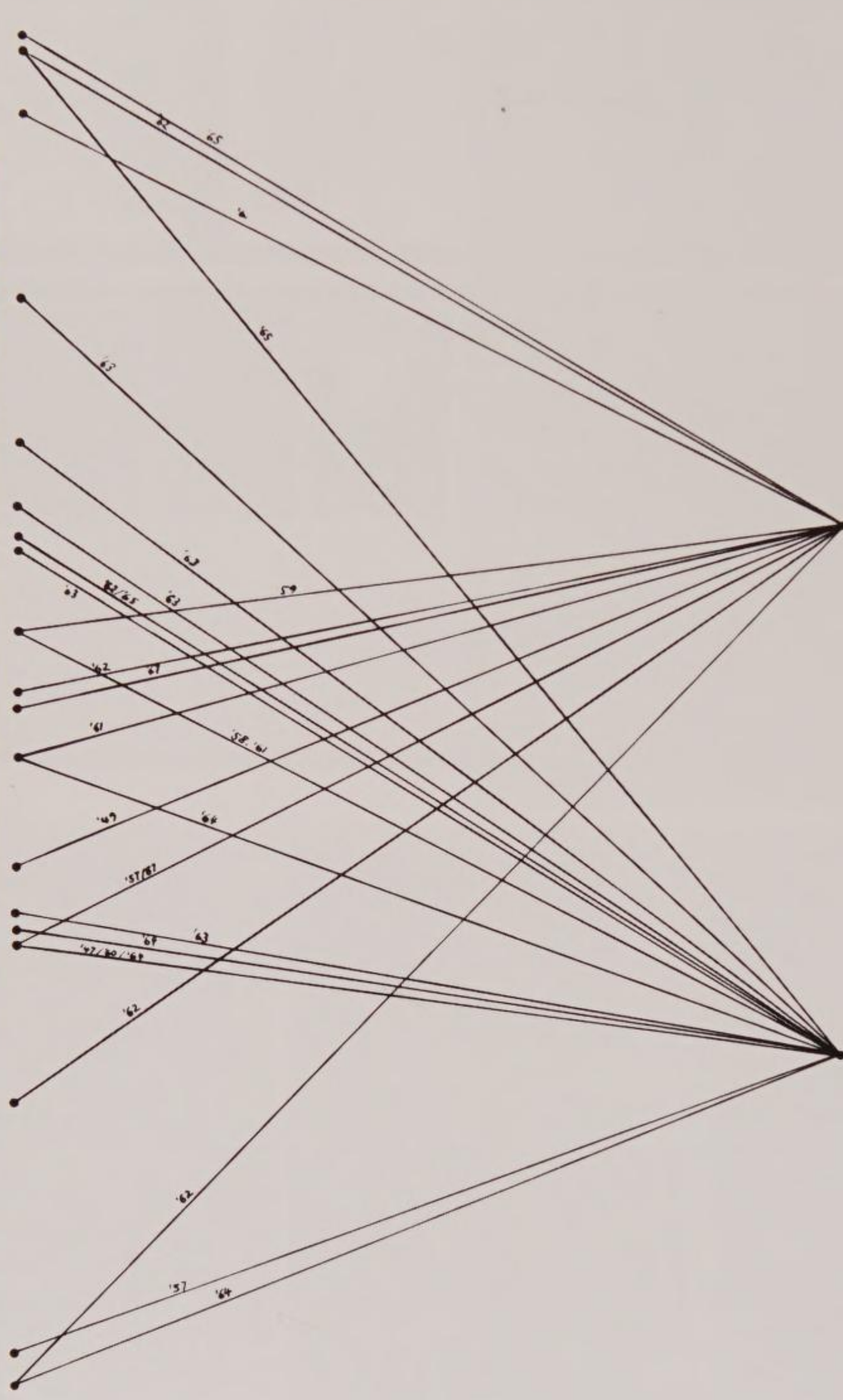
to

mortgagee

- Apache Realty Corp. 1
- Aram Estates, Inc. 2
- Ave. B & East 14th St. Corp. 3
- Brower Realty Corp. 4
- Anna Callipari 5
- Callipari Construction Corp. 6
- Ernest Callipari 7
- Ernest Callipari Estate 8
- Clarnar Realty Corp. 9
- Eastboard Realty Corp. 10
- East 47 Realty Corp. 11
- East No. 8 Realty Corp. 12
- East No. 1 Realty Corp. 13
- East 115 St. Realty Corp. 14
- Efsber Realty Corp. 15
- Eighth Realty Estate, Inc. 16
- 88 Hopkins St. Corp. 17
- Esperri Realty Corp. 18
- Alfred Payer 19
- 57 Columbia Inc. 20
- 507 E 11 St. Corp. 21
- 419 Tenth Realty Corp. 22
- 428 Realty Corp. 23
- Edwin Frederick 24
- Catherine Greco 25
- George Greenberger 26
- Anna Gruber 27
- Harry Gruber 28
- Grushap Realty Corp. 29
- Abraham Haftel 30
- Fannie Haftel 31
- Hopea Realty Estates, Inc. 32
- Harpuel Realty, Inc. 33
- Ian Adam Realty Corp. 34
- Incfran Realty, Inc. 35
- Jath Realty Corp. 36
- Daniel Kirshenbaum 37
- Sam Kirshenbaum 38
- Kirshop Realty Corp. 39
- Pearl Kleinberg(Shapolsky) 40
- Kupshap Realty Corp. 41
- Lijuto Realty Corp. 42
- John Loiaconon Jr. 43
- Lopabs Realty Corp. 44
- Marol Realty, Inc. 45
- Maryn Realty Corp. 46
- Clara Moskowitz 47
- No. 3 Madison Corp. 48
- One Fifty Four Realty Corp. 49
- 189 St. Nicholas Realty Corp. 50
- 183 Realty Corp. 51
- 156 Forsyth, Inc. 52
- 142 Ninth Ave. Corp. 53
- 194 Ave. A Realty Corp. 54
- 117 Realty Corp. 55
- 174 E 3 St. Corp. 56
- 170 Norfolk Corp. 57
- 177 Mulberry Realty Corp. 58
- 166 Norfolk St. Corp. 59
- 131 Lexington Realty Corp. 60
- 128 Realty Corp. 61
- 102 W 115 St. Realty Corp. 62
- 1951 Second Ave. Corp. 63
- 1771 1st Ave. Realty Corp. 64
- Ray Dome Realty Corp. 65
- S & K Estates, Inc. 66
- Saral Estates, Inc. 67
- Satura 1850 Estates, Inc. 68
- Anthony Schimizzi 69
- Scotty Lee Realty Corp. 70
- Shalane Realty Estates, Inc. 71
- Shapmar Realty Corp. 72
- Shapol Realty Corp. 73
- Anita Shapolsky 74
- Arthur Shapolsky 75
- Harry J. Shapolsky 76
- Martin Shapolsky 77
- Marilyn Shapolsky 78
- Pearl Shapolsky 79
- Sam Shapolsky 80
- Donald Sberman 81
- Surenko Realities, Inc. 82
- 300 Realty Corp. 83
- 28 West 132 St. Corp. 84
- 29 Ridge St. Corp. 85
- 292 E 3 St. Corp. 86
- 278 Tenth, Inc. 87
- 213 Madison Jefferson Corp. 88
- 232 Harper Estates Realty, Inc. 89
- 227 E 127 St. Corp. 90
- 2357 Realty Corp. 91
- Venus 3843, Inc. 92
- Seymour Weinfeld 93
- West No. 4 Realty Corp. 94
- West No. 1 Realty Corp. 95
- West No. 6 Realty Corp. 96
- West No. 10 Realty Corp. 97
- West No. 3 Realty Corp. 98
- West No. 2 Realty Corp. 99
- Winthrop Properties, Inc. 100
- Wonnart Realty Corp. 101

The American Baptist Home Mission Society

The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention



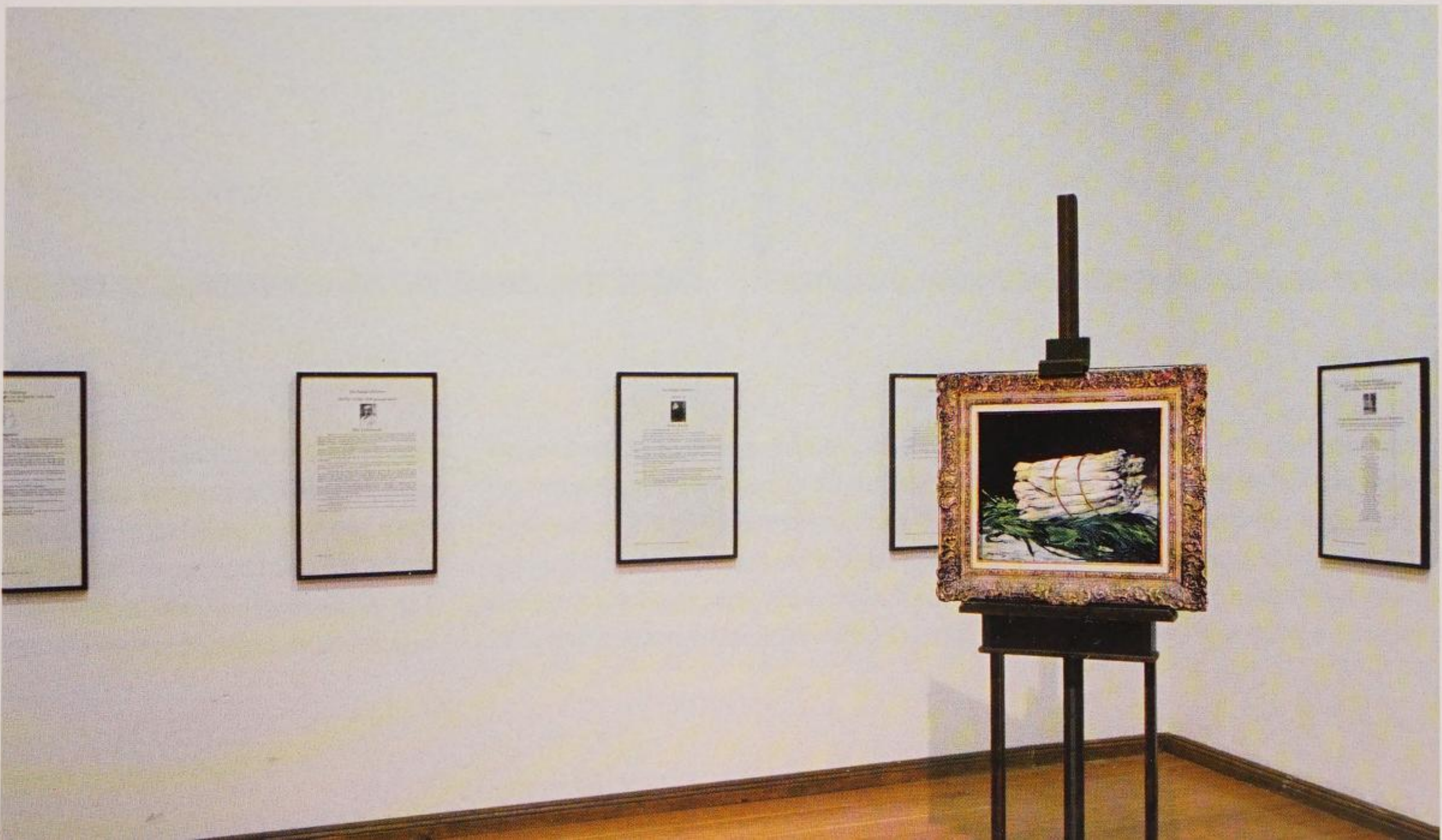




First exhibition: 1974, Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne

Edouard Manet, Bunch of Asparagus, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Installation view: 1997, 'Deutschlandbilder,' Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin





## Das Spargel-Stilleben

1880 gemalt von



Edouard Manet

Lebt von 1832 bis 1883 in Paris. – Entstammt einer katholischen Familie des franz. Großbürgertums. Vater Auguste Manet Jurist, Personalchef im Justizministerium, später Richter (magistrat) am Cour d'appel de Paris (Berufungsgericht). Republikaner. Ritter der Ehrenlegion. – Großvater Clément Manet Bürgermeister von Gennevilliers an der Seine, vor Paris. Familie besitzt dort ein 54 Hektar großes Landgut. – Mutter Eugénie Désirée Fournier, Tochter eines franz. Diplomaten, der die Wahl Marschall Bernadottes zum schwedischen König betrieb. Karl XIV. von Schweden ihr Pate. – Ihr Bruder Clément Fournier Artillerieoberst. Demissioniert während der Revolution 1848. – Zwei Brüder Manets im Staatsdienst.

Manet besucht renommiertes Collège Rollin (Mitschüler Antonin Proust, späterer Politiker und Schriftsteller). Entgegen dem väterlichen Wunsch nach einem Jurastudium fährt er für kurze Zeit zur See. Fällt bei der Aufnahmeprüfung zur Seekadettenanstalt durch.

1850–56 Kunststudium im Privatatelier von Thomas Couture, einem erfolgreichen Salonmaler. Studienreisen nach Italien, Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz, Belgien, Holland, Spanien.

Finanziell unabhängig. Nicht auf den Verkauf seiner Bilder angewiesen. Wohnt in großen standesgemäß eingerichteten Häusern in Paris, mit Dienerschaft.

Stellt ab 1861 mit wechselndem Erfolg im Salon und in Kunsthandlungen aus. 1863 Beteiligung am „Salon des Refusés“ (Salon der Zurückgewiesenen). Bilder werden wegen Verstößen gegen die Konvention von der offiziellen Kritik bekämpft. Kritische Unterstützung durch Zola, Mallarmé, Rimbaud.

Heiratet 1863 nach dem Tod seines Vaters Suzanne Leenhoff, seine ehemalige Klavierlehrerin, die Tochter eines holländischen Musikers. Léon Edouard Koëlla, ihr 1852 geborener Sohn, ist ein illegitimes Kind Manets; wird von ihm adoptiert.

Stellt 1867 aus Protest gegen die konservative Jury 50 Bilder in einer für 18 000 Francs selbstfinanzierten Baracke auf einem Grundstück des Marquis de Pomereu in der Nähe der Weltausstellung in Paris aus. Anhänger unter jüngeren, besonders impressionistischen Künstlern.

Als Nationalgardist 1870 bei der Verteidigung von Paris im Deutsch-Französischen Krieg. Meldegänger im Regimentsstab. Während der Pariser Kommune bei seiner Familie in Südfrankreich. – Antiroyalist. Bewunderer des Republikaners Léon Gambetta, des späteren Ministerpräsidenten.

1871 umfangreiche Bilderkäufe durch den Kunsthändler Durand-Ruel, einem Freund impressionistischer Malerei. Findet Anerkennung in den für künstlerische Neuerungen aufgeschlossenen Kreisen der Pariser Gesellschaft. Zahlreiche Porträtaufträge. 1881 Gewinn der 2. Medaille des Salons. Auf Vorschlag Antonin Prousts Ernennung zum Ritter der Ehrenlegion.

Während seiner tödlichen Krankheit Behandlung durch früheren Leibarzt Napoleon III.

1883 Gedächtnisausstellung in der Ecole des Beaux-Arts Paris. Katalogvorwort von Emile Zola. Verkaufserlös zugunsten der Erben 116 637 Francs.

## Das Spargel-Stilleben

1880 für 800 Francs gekauft durch



Charles Ephrussi

Geboren 1849 in Odessa, gestorben 1905 in Paris. – Entstammt jüdischer Bankiersfamilie mit Bankunternehmen in Odessa, Wien und Paris. Familiäre Beziehungen zur franz. Hochfinanz (Baron de Reinach, Baron de Rothschild).

Studiert in Odessa und Wien. – 1871 Übersiedlung nach Paris.

Eigene Bankgeschäfte. – Kunstschriftstellerische Arbeiten u. a. über Albrecht Dürer, Jacopo de Barbarij und Paul Baudry. 1875 Mitarbeit an der „Gazette des Beaux Arts“, 1885 Mitinhaber, 1894 Herausgeber.

Mitglied zahlreicher kultureller Komitees und Salons der Pariser Gesellschaft. Organisiert mit Gustave Dreyfus, der Comtesse Greffulhes und der Prinzessin Mathilde Kunstausstellungen und Konzerte, u. a. von Werken Richard Wagners. – Zweites Vorbild für Marcel Prousts Swann.

Sammelt Kunst der Renaissance, des 18. Jahrhunderts, Albrecht Dürers, Ostasiatische Kunst und Werke zeitgenössischer Maler.

Zahlt Manet statt der vereinbarten 800 Francs für das „Spargel-Stilleben“ insgesamt 1000 Francs. Aus Dankbarkeit schickt im Manet das Stilleben eines einzelnen Spargels (1880, Öl auf Leinwand, 16,5 x 21,5 cm, Paris Musée de l'Impressionisme) mit der Bemerkung: „Es fehlte noch in Ihrem Bündel“.

Ritter (1882) und Offizier (1903) der Ehrenlegion.

Gravure von M. Patricot „Charles Ephrussi“ aus „La Gazette des Beaux Arts“, Paris 1905

In 1974, to celebrate its 150th anniversary, the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne organized the exhibition 'PROJEKT '74.' The show was to present "aspects of international art at the beginning of the 1970s."

Invited to participate, Haacke submitted an outline for a new work: Manet's Bunch of Asparagus, 1880, in the collection of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, is on a studio easel in an approximately 6 x 8 m (20 x 26 ft.) room of 'PROJEKT '74.'

Panels on the wall present the social and economic positions of the persons who have owned the painting, and the prices paid for it.

The museum's curator of modern art responded that even though this was



### Das Spargel-Stilleben

zwischen 1900 und 1902 gekauft durch



#### Alexandre Rosenberg

Geboren 1850 in Preßburg (Bratislava), Slowakei.- Entstammt jüdischer Familie. Emigration nach Paris im Alter von 9 Jahren.

1870 Gründung einer Kunst- und Antiquitätenhandlung in Paris.

Heiratet 1878 Mathilde Jellineck aus Wien. Sie haben drei Söhne und eine Tochter.

Fortführung der Firma nach seinem Tode 1913 durch den 1881 in Paris geborenen Sohn Paul Rosenberg. Spezialisierung auf die Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts.- Gegenwärtig Paul Rosenberg und Co. in New York, geführt durch den Enkel Alexandre Rosenberg.

Kohlezeichnung von Louis Charlot "Alexandre Rosenberg" (Ausschnitt), 1913

### Das Spargel-Stilleben von unbekanntem Datum an im Besitz von oder in Kommission bei



#### Paul Cassirer

Geboren 1871 in Görlitz, Selbstmord 1926 in Berlin. - Entstammt wohlhabender jüdischer Familie. Vater Louis Cassirer gründet mit 2 Söhnen die Firma Dr. Cassirer & Co., Kabelwerke in Berlin. - Bruder Prof. Richard Cassirer, Berliner Neurologe. - Vetter Prof. Ernst Cassirer bekannter Philosoph. Kunstgeschichtsstudium in München. Mitredakteur des „Simplizissimus“. Eigene literarische Arbeiten.

Gründet mit Vetter Bruno Cassirer 1898 in Berlin Verlags- und Kunsthandlung. 1901 Trennung. Weiterführung als Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer, Victoriastraße 35, in vornehmer Berliner Gegend.

Mit der Künstlervereinigung „Berliner Sezession“ Kampf gegen offizielle Hofkunst. Trotz Unwillen des Kaisers Handel und publizistische Förderung des franz. Impressionismus. Enge Beziehungen zum Pariser Kunsthändler Durand-Ruel. Verhilft den Deutschen Malern Trübner, Liebermann, Corinth und Slevogt zum Erfolg.

1908 Gründung des Verlags Paul Cassirer für Kunstliteratur und Belletristik. Publikationen des literarischen Expressionismus. 1910 Gründung der Halbmonatsschrift „Pan“ und „Pan“-Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Bühnenwerken, u. a. Wedekind.

Aus erster Ehe eine Tochter und ein Sohn (Selbstmord im 1. Weltkrieg). Heiratet 1910 in zweiter Ehe die Schauspielerin Tilla Durieux.

1914 Kriegsfreiwilliger. Erhält Eisernes Kreuz in Ypern. Wird Kriegsgegner.

Zeitweilig in Haft (beschuldigt, unrechtmäßig franz. Bilder verkauft zu haben). Flucht in die Schweiz und Aufenthalt in Bern und Zürich bis Kriegsende. Verhilft Harry Graf Kessler zu franz. Kontakten für Verhandlungen mit Frankreich im Auftrage Ludendorffs. Verlegt mit Max Rascher pazifistische Literatur.

Nach der Revolution 1918 in Berlin Eintritt in die USPD. Verlegt sozialistische Bücher, u. a. von Kautzky und Bernstein.

Grund für Selbstmord 1926 vermutlich Konflikt mit Tilla Durieux.

Weiterführung des Kunstsalons Paul Cassirer in Amsterdam, Zürich und London durch Dr. Walter Feilchenfeldt und Dr. Grete Ring, eine Nichte Max Liebermanns.

Lithographie von Max Oppenheimer, „Bildnis Paul Cassirer“, um 1925.

“one of the best projects submitted,” it could neither be realized in the exhibition nor presented in the catalogue.

The director of the museum, Dr. Keller, objected to the listing of Hermann Abs's nineteen positions on boards of directors

(Abs had been instrumental in acquiring the painting for the museum). Dr. Keller explained: “... a grateful museum and an appreciative city ... must protect initiatives of such an extraordinary nature from any interpretation that might later

throw even the slightest shadow on it ....” And he remarked: “A museum knows nothing about economic power; however, it does, indeed, know something about spiritual power.” On the day of the museum's press opening, the excluded work



Das Spargel-Stilleben  
für 24 300,- RM gekauft durch



Max Liebermann

Maler, lebt von 1847 bis 1935 in Berlin. – Entstammt einer jüdischen Fabrikantenfamilie. Vater Louis Liebermann Textilindustrieller in Berlin. Besitzt ebenfalls Eisengießerei Wilhelmshütte in Sprottau, Schlesien. – Mutter Philippine Haller, Tochter eines Berliner Juweliers (Gründer der Firma Haller & Rathenau). – Bruder Prof. Felix Liebermann, bekannter Historiker. – Vetter Walther Rathenau, Industrieller (AEG), Reichsaußenminister (1922 ermordet).

Liebermann besucht renommiertes Friedrich-Werdersches Gymnasium in Berlin zusammen mit Söhnen Bismarcks. – Kunststudium im Privatatelier Steffek, Berlin, und auf der Kunstakademie Weimar. Längere Arbeitsaufenthalte in Paris, Holland, München. – Freiwilliger Krankenpfleger im Deutsch-Französischen Krieg 1870/71.

Heiratet 1884 Martha Marckwald, zieht nach Berlin zurück. 1885 Geburt der Tochter Käthe Liebermann.

Erbt 1894 väterliches Palais am Pariser Platz 7 (Brandenburger Tor). Baut 1910 Sommersitz am Wannsee, Große Seestraße 27 (seit 1971 Clubhaus des Deutschen Unterwasserclubs e.V.). Finanziell unabhängig. Lebt nicht vom Verkauf seiner Werke.

1897 Gesamtausstellung in der Berliner Akademie der Künste. Große Goldene Medaille. Seine durch Realismus und franz. Impressionismus beeinflussten Bilder werden von Wilhelm II. empört abgelehnt. – Malt Genreszenen, Stadtlandschaften, Strand- und Gartenszenen. Gesellschaftsporträts, Künstler, Wissenschaftler, Politiker. – Ausstellung und Verkauf durch Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Werke in öffentlichen Sammlungen u. a. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln.

Professorentitel 1897. – Präsident der „Berliner Sezession“ (Künstlervereinigung gegen Hofkunst) 1898–1911, Rücktritt wegen Opposition jüngerer Künstler. – 1898 Mitglied, 1912 im Senat, 1920 Präsident der Preußischen Akademie der Künste. Rücktritt 1933. – Ehrendoktor der Universität Berlin. Ehrenbürger der Stadt Berlin. Ritter der franz. Ehrenlegion. Orden von Oranje-Nassau. Ritter des Ordens Pour le mérite und andere Auszeichnungen.

Besitzt Werke von Cézanne, Daumier, Degas, Manet, Monet, Renoir. Deponiert seine Sammlung 1933 im Kunsthaus Zürich.

1933 von Nazis aus allen Ämtern entlassen. Ausstellungsverbot. Entfernung seiner Bilder aus öffentlichen Sammlungen.

Stirbt 1935 in Berlin. Frau Martha Liebermann begeht 1943 Selbstmord, um sich drohender Verhaftung zu entziehen.

Photo um 1930

Das Spargel-Stilleben

vererbt an



Käthe Riezler

Geboren 1885 in Berlin, gestorben 1951 in New York.

Tochter des Malers Max Liebermann und seiner Frau Martha Marckwald.

Heiratet 1915 in Berlin Dr. phil. Kurt Riezler. 1917 Geburt der Tochter Maria Riezler.

Dr. Kurt Riezler, geboren 1882 in München, Sohn eines Kaufmanns. Studium der Klassischen Antike an der Universität München. 1905 Dissertation: „Das zweite Buch der pseudoaristotelischen Ökonomie“.

1906 Eintritt ins Auswärtige Amt in Berlin. Legationsrat, später Gesandter. Arbeitet im Stab des Reichskanzlers von Bethmann-Hollweg. 1919/20 Leiter des Büros des Reichspräsidenten Friedrich Ebert.

1913 unter dem Decknamen J. J. Ruedorffer Veröffentlichung der „Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Politik“, 1914 „Grundzüge der Weltpolitik in der Gegenwart“. – Später Publikationen zur Geschichtsphilosophie, zur politischen Theorie und Ästhetik.

1927 Honorarprofessor, stellvertretender Geschäftsführer und Vorsitzender des Kuratoriums an der Goethe Universität in Frankfurt am Main.

1933 Entlassung durch Nazis.

Umzug der Familie nach Berlin in das Haus Max Liebermanns, Pariser Platz 7. – Erben 1935 seine Kunstsammlung, die Liebermann 1933 dem Kunsthaus Zürich in Obhut gegeben hatte.

1938 Emigration der Familie nach New York. Sammlung folgt dorthin.

1939 erhält Dr. Riezler eine Professur für Philosophie an der New School for Social Research in New York, einer von Emigranten gegründeten Universität. Gastprofessuren an der University of Chicago und der Columbia University in New York.

Käthe Riezler stirbt 1951. Dr. Riezler emeritiert 1952, stirbt in München 1956.

Pastell von Max Liebermann, „Die Tochter des Künstlers“ 1901

went on exhibition at Galerie Paul Maenz in Cologne. Standing in for the original Bunch of Asparagus was a full-size color reproduction.

Daniel Buren incorporated facsimiles of the censored panels into his work in the

museum's anniversary show. The General Director of Cologne Museums, Prof. von der Osten, had them pasted over with paper.

Until his death in 1994, Hermann J. Abs was barred from entering the United

States because of his role at Deutsche Bank, during the Nazi period, in the "Aryanization" of Jewish property. Recently it has become known that Abs was chairman of the board of directors of a firm making tools for Hitler's arms



## Das Spargel-Stilleben

vererbt an



### Maria White

Geboren 1917 in Berlin. – Tochter von Prof. Dr. Kurt Riezler und Käthe Liebermann.  
Emigriert 1938 mit ihren Eltern nach New York.

Heiratet Howard Burton White.

Howard B. White, geboren 1912 in Montclair, N. J., studiert 1934–38 an der New School for Social Research in New York, wo Dr. Kurt Riezler lehrt. 1941 Rockefeller Stipendium. Promoviert 1943 an der New School zum Doctor of Science.

Unterrichtet an der Lehigh University und am Coe College. Gegenwärtig Professor im Graduate Department of Political and Social Science der New School for Social Research. Lehrt Political Philosophy.

Veröffentlichungen u. a. „Peace Among the Willows – The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon“, den Haag 1968. „Copp'd Hills Towards Heaven – Shakespeare and the Classical Polity“, den Haag 1968.

Maria und Howard B. White leben in Northport, N. Y. Sie haben zwei Kinder.

Ölbild von Max Liebermann „Tochter und Enkelin des Künstlers“ (Maria Riezler im Bild rechts), um 1930

## Das Spargel-Stilleben 1968 über Frau Marianne Feilchenfeldt, Zürich für 1 360 000,- DM erworben durch das



### Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratorium und die Stadt Köln

Dem Wallraf-Richartz-Museum von Hermann J. Abs, dem Vorsitzenden des Kuratoriums,  
am 18. April 1968 im Andenken an Konrad Adenauer als Dauerleihgabe übergeben.

Das Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratorium und Förderer-Gesellschaft e. V.

#### Vorstand

Hermann J. Abs  
Prof. Dr. Kurt Hansen  
Dr. Dr. Günter Henle  
Prof. Dr. Ernst Schneider  
Prof. Dr. Otto H. Förster  
Prof. Dr. Gert von der Osten (geschäftsführend)

#### Kuratorium

Prof. Dr. Viktor Achter  
Dr. Max Adenauer  
Fritz Berg  
Dr. Walther Berndorff  
Theo Burauen  
Prof. Dr. Fritz Burgbacher  
Dr. Fritz Butschkau  
Dr. Felix Eckhardt  
Frau Gisela Fitting  
Prof. Dr. Kurt Forberg  
Walter Franz  
Dr. Hans Gerling  
Dr. Herbert Girardet  
Dr. Paul Gülker  
Iwan D. Herstatt  
Raymund Jörg  
Eugen Gottlieb von Langen  
Viktor Langen  
Dr. Peter Ludwig  
Prof. Dr. Heinz Mohnen  
Cai Graf zu Rantzau  
Karl Gustav Rajen  
Dr. Hans Reuter  
Dr. Hans-Günther Sohl  
Dr. Dr. Werner Schulz  
Dr. Nikolaus Graf Strasoldo  
Christoph Vowinckel  
Otto Wolff von Amerongen

Hermann J. Abs bei der Übergabe des Bildes

industry. The company used forced labor and prisoners of war under very harsh working conditions. 144 of those who did not perform to the company's expectations were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.



Das Spargel-Stilleben  
erworben durch die Initiative des  
Vorsitzenden des Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratoriums



Hermann J. Abs

Geboren 1901 in Bonn. - Entstammt wohlhabender katholischer Familie. Vater Dr. Josef Abs, Rechtsanwalt und Justizrat, Mitinhaber der Hubertus Braunkohlen AG, Brüggel, Erft. Mutter Katharina Lückeraht.

Abitur 1919 Realgymnasium Bonn. - Ein Sem. Jurastudium Universität Bonn. - Banklehre im Kölner Bankhaus Delbrück von der Heydt & Co. Erwirbt internationale Bankerfahrung in Amsterdam, London, Paris, USA.

Heiratet 1928 Inez Schnitzler. Ihr Vater mit Georg von Schnitzler vom Vorstand des IG. Farben-Konzerns verwandt. Tante verheiratet mit Baron Alfred Neven du Mont. Schwester verheiratet mit Georg Graf von der Goltz. - Geburt der Kinder Thomas und Marion Abs.

Mitglied der Zentrumsparlei. - 1929 Prokura im Bankhaus Delbrück, Schickler & Co., Berlin. 1935-37 einer der 5 Teilhaber der Bank.

1937 im Vorstand und Aufsichtsrat der Deutschen Bank, Berlin. Leiter der Auslandsabteilung. - 1939 von Reichswirtschaftsminister Funk in den Beirat der Deutschen Reichsbank berufen. - Mitglied in Ausschüssen der Reichsbank, Reichsgruppe Industrie, Reichsgruppe Banken, Reichswirtschaftskammer und einem Arbeitskreis im Reichswirtschaftsministerium. - 1944 in über 50 Aufsichts- und Verwaltungsräten großer Unternehmen. Mitgliedschaft in Gesellschaften zur Wahrnehmung deutscher Wirtschaftsinteressen im Ausland.

1946 für 6 Wochen in britischer Haft. - Von der Alliierten Entnazifizierungsbehörde als entlastet (5) eingestuft.

1948 bei der Gründung der Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau. Maßgeblich an der Wirtschaftsplanung der Bundesregierung beteiligt. Wirtschaftsberater Konrad Adenauers. - Leiter der deutschen Delegation bei der Londoner Schuldenkonferenz 1951-53. Berater bei den Wiedergutmachungsverhandlungen mit Israel in Den Haag. 1954 Mitglied der CDU.

1952 im Aufsichtsrat der Süddeutschen Bank AG. - 1957-67 Vorstandssprecher der Deutschen Bank AG. Seit 1967 Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats.

Ehrenvorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats:

Deutsche Überseeische Bank, Hamburg - Pittler Maschinenfabrik AG, Langen (Hessen)

Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats:

Dahlbusch Verwaltungs-AG, Gelsenkirchen - Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart-Untertürkheim - Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt - Deutsche Lufthansa AG, Köln - Philipp Holzmann AG, Frankfurt - Phoenix Gummiwerke AG, Hamburg-Harburg - RWE Elektrizitätswerk AG, Essen - Vereinigte Glanzstoff AG, Wuppertal-Elberfeld - Zellstoff-Fabrik Waldhof AG, Mannheim

Ehrenvorsitzender:

Salamander AG, Kornwestheim - Gebr. Stumm GmbH, Brambauer (Westf.) - Süddeutsche Zucker-AG, Mannheim

Stellvertr. Vors. des Aufsichtsrats:

Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik AG, Ludwigshafen - Siemens AG, Berlin-München

Mitglied des Aufsichtsrats:

Metallgesellschaft AG, Frankfurt

Präsident des Verwaltungsrats:

Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau - Deutsche Bundesbahn

Großes Bundesverdienstkreuz mit Stern, Päpstl. Stern zum Komturkreuz, Großkreuz Isabella die Katholische von Spanien, Cruzeiro do Sul von Brasilien. - Ritter des Ordens vom Heiligen Grabe. - Dr. h.c. der Univ. Göttingen, Sofia, Tokio und der Wirtschaftshochschule Mannheim.

Lebt in Kronberg (Taunus) und auf dem Bentgerhof bei Remagen.

Photo aus Current Biography Yearbook 1970 New York

Das Spargel-Stilleben  
erworben mit Stiftungen von

Hermann J. Abs, Frankfurt  
 Viktor Achter, Mönchengladbach  
 Agrippina Rückversicherungs AG., Köln  
 Allianz Versicherung AG., Köln  
 Heinrich Auer Mühlenwerke, Köln  
 Bankhaus Heinz Ansmann, Köln  
 Bankhaus Delbrück von der Heydt & Co., Köln  
 Bankhaus Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie., Köln  
 Bankhaus C. G. Trinkaus, Düsseldorf  
 Dr. Walter Berndorf, Köln  
 Firma Felix Böttcher, Köln  
 Robert Bosch GmbH, Köln  
 Central Krankenversicherungs AG., Köln  
 Colonia Versicherungs-Gruppe, Köln  
 Commerzbank AG., Düsseldorf  
 Concordia Lebensversicherungs AG., Köln  
 Daimler Benz AG., Stuttgart-Untertürkheim  
 Demag AG., Duisburg  
 Deutsch-Atlantische Telegraphenges., Köln  
 Deutsche Bank AG., Frankfurt  
 Deutsche Centralbodenkredit AG., Köln  
 Deutsche Continental-Gas-Ges., Düsseldorf  
 Deutsche Krankenversicherungs AG., Köln  
 Deutsche Libby-Owens-Ges. AG., Gelsenkirchen  
 Deutsche Solvay-Werke GmbH, Solingen-Ohligs  
 Dortmunder Union-Brauerei, Dortmund  
 Dresdner Bank AG., Düsseldorf  
 Farbenfabriken Bayer AG., Leverkusen  
 Gisela Fitting, Köln  
 Autohaus Jacob Fleischhauer K. G., Köln  
 Glanzstoff AG., Wuppertal  
 Graf Rüdiger von der Goltz, Düsseldorf  
 Dr. Paul Gülker, Köln  
 Gottfried Hagen AG., Köln  
 Hein. Lehmann & Co. AG., Düsseldorf  
 Hilgers AG., Rheinbrohl  
 Hoesch AG., Dortmund  
 Helmut Horten GmbH, Düsseldorf  
 Hubertus Brauerei GmbH, Köln  
 Karstadt-Peters GmbH, Köln  
 Kaufhalle GmbH, Köln  
 Kaufhof AG., Köln  
 Kleinwanzlebener Saatzucht AG., Einbeck  
 Klöckner Werke AG., Duisburg  
 Kölnische Lebens- und Sachvers. AG., Köln  
 Viktor Langen, Düsseldorf-Meerbusch  
 Margarine Union AG., Hamburg  
 Mauser-Werke GmbH, Köln  
 Josef Mayr K. G., Hagen  
 Michel Brennstoffhandel GmbH, Düsseldorf  
 Gert von der Osten, Köln  
 Kurt Pauli, Lövenich  
 Pfeifer & Langen, Köln  
 Preussag AG., Hannover  
 William Prym Werke AG., Stolberg  
 Karl-Gustav Rajen, Königstein (Taunus)  
 Dr. Hans Reuter, Duisburg  
 Rheinisch-Westf. Bodenkreditbank, Köln  
 Rhein.-Westf. Isolatorenwerke GmbH, Siegburg  
 Rhein.-Westf. Kalkwerke AG., Dornap  
 Sachtleben AG., Köln  
 Servais-Werke AG., Witterschlick  
 Siemag Siegener Maschinenbau GmbH, Dahlbruch  
 Dr. F. E. Shinnar, Tel-Ganim (Israel)  
 Sparkasse der Stadt Köln, Köln  
 Schlesische Feuerwerks-Ges., Köln  
 Ewald Schneider, Köln  
 Schoellersche Kammgarnspinnerei AG., Eitorf  
 Stahlwerke Bochum AG., Bochum  
 Dr. Josef Steegmann, Köln-Zürich  
 Strabag Bau AG., Köln  
 Dr. Nikolaus Graf Strasoldo, Burg Gudenua  
 Cornelius Stüssgen AG., Köln  
 August Thyssen-Hütte AG., Düsseldorf  
 Union Rhein. Braunkohlen AG., Wesseling  
 Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke AG., Bonn  
 Vereinigte Glaswerke, Aachen  
 Volkshilfe Lebensversicherungs AG., Köln  
 Jos. Voss GmbH & Co. KG., Brühl  
 Walther & Cie. AG., Köln  
 Wessel-Werk GmbH, Bonn  
 Westdeutsche Bodenkreditanstalt, Köln  
 Westd. Landesbank Girozentrale, Düsseldorf  
 Westfalenbank AG., Bochum  
 Rud. Siedersleben'sche O. Wolff-Stiftg., Köln





# Kunst bleibt Politik.

LA DIRECTION DES MUSÉES DE COLOGNE A EXERCÉ SA CENSURE, DANS LA NUIT DU 5 AU 6 JUILLET 1974. CECI RÉVÈLE, ENTRE AUTRES, LA FARCE DE LA LIBERTÉ ACCORDÉE AUX ARTISTES EXPOSANT. LE SYSTÈME MORIBOND, ACCULÉ DANS SES CONTRADICTIONS, CONFIRME AINSI ET OBEÏT À CE QUI ÉTAIT ICI MÊME ANNONCÉ AVANT LA CENSURE.

DANIEL BUREN  
COLOGNE LE 6 JUILLET 74

DIE DIREKTION DER KÖLNER MUSEEN HAT IN DER NACHT VOM 5. ZUM 6. JULI 1974 ZENSUR GEÜBT. DAS ZEIGT UNTER ANDEREM, DASS DIE DEN AUSSTELLENDEN KÜNSTLERN ZUGESTANDENE FREIHEIT EINE FARCE IST.

DAS TODKRANKE SYSTEM, DURCH SEINE WIDERSPRÜCHE IN DIE ENGE GETRIEBEN, BESTÄTIGT UND BEFOLGT DAMIT, WAS AN DIESEM ORT VOR DER ZENSUR ANGEKÜNDIGT WURDE.

DANIEL BUREN  
KÖLN, 5. JULI 74

...Art whatever it may be is exclusively political. What is called for is the analysis of formal and cultural limits (and not one or the other) within which art exists and struggles.

These limits are many and of different intensities. Although the prevailing ideology and the associated artists try in every way to camouflage them, and although it is too early—the conditions are not met—to blow them up, the time has come to unveil them.

Jede Kunst ist politisch. Wir müssen deshalb sowohl den formalen als auch den kulturellen Rahmen (und nicht den einen oder den anderen) untersuchen, denn in diesen Rahmen existiert und entwickelt sich die Kunst.

Die Rahmen sind vielgestaltig und von unterschiedlicher Wirkungskraft. Die herrschende Ideologie und die ihr verbundenen Künstler versuchen mit allen Mitteln, sie zu verschleiern. Es ist auch zu früh, sie alle zusammen zu sprengen. Dafür ist die Zeit noch nicht reif. Dennoch ist der Zeitpunkt gekommen, sie bewusst zu machen."

Daniel Buren  
Oktober 1970  
Auszug aus 'Limites - Critiques'

THE DIRECTORS OF THE COLOGNE MUSEUMS EXERCISED CENSORSHIP ON THE NIGHT OF JULY THE FIFTH 1974.

THIS REVEALS AMONGST OTHER THINGS THAT THE ALLEGED FREEDOM TO THE EXHIBITING ARTISTS IS A FARCE.

THIS TOTALLY MORIBUND SYSTEM, TRAPPED WITHIN ITS OWN CONTRADICTIONS, THUS CONFIRMS AND CONFORMS TO THE WRITTEN TEXT WHICH I HAD PLACED HERE PRIOR TO CENSORSHIP.

DANIEL BUREN  
KÖLN JULY 6, 1974

LA DIREZIONE DEI MUSEI DI COLOGNA HA ESERCITATO LA SUA CENSURA, NELLA NOTTE DAL 5 AL 6 LUGLIO 1974.

QUESTO RIVELA, TRA L'ALTRO, LA FARSA DI LIBERTÀ PERMESSA AGLI ARTISTI ESPOSITORI.

IL SISTEMA MORIBONDO INFOSCATO NELLE SUE CONTRADDIZIONI, CONFERMA COSÌ - ED UBBIDISCE A QUELLO CHE ERA STATO ANNUNCIATO QUI, PRIMA DELLA CENSURA.

DANIEL BUREN  
COLOGNA 6 LUGLIO 1974

PROJEKT '74  
Kölnischer Kunst  
Kunsthalle Köln



**SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM**

**BOARD OF TRUSTEES**

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, President  
Born 1927 • Mining Co. Executive • Lives Princeton, N.J.

H. HARVARD ARNASON  
Born 1909 • Art Historian • Lives New York City and Roxbury, Conn.

JOSEPH W. DONNER  
Born 1927 • Stockbroker • Lives New York City

ELEANOR COUNTESS CASTLE STEWART  
Born 1896 • Lives in England

MASON WELCH GROSS  
Born 1911 • President Harry F. Guggenheim Foundation • Lives Rumson, N.J.

FRANK R. MILLIKEN  
Born 1914 • Mining Engineer • Lives Darien, Conn.

HENRY ALLEN MOE  
Born 1894 • Retired Foundation Executive • Lives Fieldston, N.Y. and Sherman, Conn.

A. CHAUNCEY NEWLIN  
Born 1905 • Lawyer • Lives Scarsdale, N.Y.

MRS. HENRY OBRE  
Clubwoman • Lives Monkton, Md.

DANIEL CATTON RICH  
Born 1904 • Museum Director Emeritus • Lives New York City

ALBERT E. THIELE  
Born 1892 • Business Executive • Lives Scarsdale, N.Y.

MICHAEL F. WETTACH  
Born 1931 • Sportsman, raising thoroughbreds • Lives Hydes, Md.

CARL ZIGROSSER  
Born 1891 • Museum Curator Emeritus • Lives Philadelphia and Montagnola, Switzerland

**SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM**

**GUGGENHEIM FAMILY MEMBERS AMONG TRUSTEES**

ELEANOR COUNTESS CASTLE STEWART  
Born Eleanor Guggenheim, Daughter of Solomon R. and Irene (Rothschild) G.

MRS. HENRY OBRE  
Born Barbers Guggenheim, Daughter of Solomon R. and Irene (Rothschild) G.

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON  
Son of Barbers Guggenheim's first marriage to John R. Lawson-Johnston

MICHAEL F. WETTACH  
Son of Barbers Guggenheim's second marriage to Fred Wettach Jr.



## SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

### CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

#### PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON

Anglo Co. Ltd., Chairman & Member Board of Directors  
Elgerbar Corp., Vice President & Member Board of Directors  
Feldspar Corp., Chairman & Member Board of Directors  
Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc., Member Board of Directors  
Guggenheim Brothers, Partner  
Kennecott Copper Corp., Member Board of Directors  
Minarec Corp., Member Board of Directors  
Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp., Vice Chairman & Member Board of Directors  
Printex, Inc., Member Board of Directors

#### JOSEPH W. DONNER

Cyrus J. Lawrence & Sons, Brokers, Partner

#### FRANK R. MILLIKEN

Chase Brass & Copper Co., Member Board of Directors  
Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Member Board of Directors  
Kennecott Copper Corp., President, Chief Exec. Officer & Member Board of Directors  
Peabody Coal Co., Member Board of Directors  
Proctor & Gamble Co., Member Board of Directors  
Quebec Iron & Titanium Corp., Member Board of Directors

#### A. CHAUNCEY NEWLIN

White & Case, Lawyers, Partner  
Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp., past Member Board of Directors

#### MRS. HENRY OBRE

Elgerbar Corp., Member Board of Directors

#### ELEANOR COUNTESS CASTLE STEWART

Elgerbar Corp., Husband Earl Castle Stewart, Member Board of Directors

#### ALBERT E. THIELE

Anglo Co. Ltd., Member Board of Directors  
Anglo Ventures, Member Board of Directors  
Barber Oil Corp., Member Board of Directors  
Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, Member Board of Directors  
Elgerbar Corp., President & Member Board of Directors  
Guggenheim Brothers, Partner  
Kennecott Copper Corp., past Member Board of Directors  
Minarec Corp., Vice President & Member Board of Directors  
Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp., Member Board of Directors

#### MICHAEL F. WETTACH

Elgerbar Corp., Member Board of Directors

## SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

### CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

#### Kennecott Copper Corporation

FRANK R. MILLIKEN, President, Chief Exec. Officer & Member Board of Directors

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Member Board of Directors

ALBERT E. THIELE, past Member Board of Directors

Multinational company mining, smelting, refining copper, molybdenum, gold, zinc and coal. Copper based mill products.

Operates in the U.S., Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, England, Indonesia, Italy, Netherlands Antilles, Nigeria, Peru, South Africa.

El Teniente, Kennecott's Chilean copper mine, was nationalized July, 1971 through Constitutional Reform Law, passed unanimously by Chilean Congress. Chilean Comptroller General ruled profits over 12% a year since 1955 to be considered excess and deducted from compensation. His figures, disputed by Kennecott, in effect, eliminated any payments.

Kennecott tried to have Chilean copper shipments confiscated or customers' payments attached. Although without ultimate success in European courts, legal harassment threatened Chilean economy (copper 70% of export).

President Salvador Allende addressed United Nations December 4, 1972. The New York Times reported:

The Chilean President had still harsher words for two U.S. companies, the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. and the Kennecott Corp., which he said, had "dug their claws into my country", and which proposed "to manage our political life."

Dr. Allende said that from 1955 to 1970 the Kennecott Copper Corp. had made an average profit of 52.8% on its investments.

He said that huge "transnational" corporations were waging war against sovereign states and that they were "not accountable to or representing the collective interest."

In a statement issued in reply to Dr. Allende's charges, Frank R. Milliken, president of Kennecott, referred to legal actions now being taken by his company in courts overseas to prevent the Chilean Government from selling copper from the nationalized mines.

"No amount of rhetoric can alter the fact that Kennecott has been a responsible corporate citizen of Chile for more than 50 years and has made substantial contributions to both the economic and social well-being of the Chilean people.

"Chile's expropriation of Kennecott's property without compensation violates established principles of international law. We will continue to pursue any legal remedies that may protect our shareholders' equity."

President Allende died in a military coup Sept. 11, 1973. The Junta committed itself to compensate Kennecott for nationalized property.

1973 Net sales : \$1,425,613,531 Net after taxes : \$159,363,059 Earn. per com. share : \$4.81

29,100 employees

Office: 161 E. 42 St., New York, N.Y.



## SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

### CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

Anglo Company Ltd.  
Formerly Anglo-Lautaro Nitrate Co.

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Chairman & Member Board of Directors

ALBERT E. THIELE, Member Board of Directors

(Albert van de Maele, President & Member Board of Directors, John A. Peoples and Oscar S. Straus II, Members Board of Directors of Anglo Co. Ltd., are partners of P.O. Lawson-Johnston and A.E. Thiele in Guggenheim Brothers firm)

Directors and related trusts, incl. Guggenheim interests held 49% of total voting power, Feb. 13, 1973

Business: General Finance  
Nitrate industry of former Anglo-Lautaro Nitrate Co. Ltd., in Chile, was nationalized 1971  
24.9% interest in Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc., investment banking firm, Jan. 1973  
53% interest in Nabors Drilling Ltd., Canada. Acquired 1974 for \$3,100,000 cash. Oil and gas well drilling in Western Canada and the Arctic. Sales approx. \$10-million  
Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Anglo Ventures Corporation  
Subsidiary of Anglo Co. Ltd.

ALBERT E. THIELE, Member Board of Directors  
Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Minerac Corporation  
Subsidiary of Anglo Co. Ltd.

ALBERT E. THIELE, Vice President & Member Board of Directors

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Member Board of Directors

(Albert van de Maele, Chairman & Member Board of Directors, and John A. Peoples, Member Board of Directors of Minerac Corp., are partners of A.E. Thiele and Peter O. Lawson-Johnston in Guggenheim Brothers firm)

Products: Chemical flotation reagents  
Sales \$1-2 million, 30 employees  
Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc.

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Member Board of Directors

(Albert van de Maele, also Member Board of Directors of Garrett & Sons, Inc., is partner of P.O. Lawson-Johnston in Guggenheim Brothers firm)

Investment banking firm  
Anglo Co. Ltd. has 24.9% interest, Jan. 1973. Merger with Anglo Co. Ltd. proposed  
Office: 100 Wall St., New York, N.Y.

## SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

### CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

Pacific Tin Consolidated Corporation

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Vice Chairman & Member Board of Directors

ALBERT E. THIELE, Member Board of Directors

A. CHAUNCEY NEWLIN, past Member Board of Directors

(F. Stuart Miller, Chairman & Member Board of Directors of Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp. is a partner of P.O. Lawson-Johnston and A.E. Thiele in Guggenheim Brothers firm)

Mining and processing tin, feldspar, diamonds

Operations in the United States, Malaysia, Brazil

Investment in Companhia de Diamantes de Angola

Sales range \$9-12 million, 800 employees

Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Feldspar Corporation  
Subsidiary of Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp.

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Chairman & Member Board of Directors

(F. Stuart Miller, Member Board of Directors of Feldspar Corp., is a partner of P.O. Lawson-Johnston in Guggenheim Brothers firm)

Products: Feldspar, mica, silica sand

Sales range \$3-6 million, 280 employees

Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Companhia de Diamantes de Angola

ALBERT E. THIELE, Member Board of Directors

Diamond mining with investment of Pacific Tin Consolidated Corp.



## SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

### Guggenheim Brothers Partnership

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Partner

ALBERT E. THIELE, Partner

Ownership and management of Guggenheim family interests

Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

### Elgerbar Corporation

ALBERT E. THIELE, President & Member Board of Directors

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Vice President & Member Board of Directors

MRS. HENRY OBRE, Member Board of Directors

EARL CASTLE STEWART, Member Board of Directors

MICHAEL F. WETTACH, Member Board of Directors

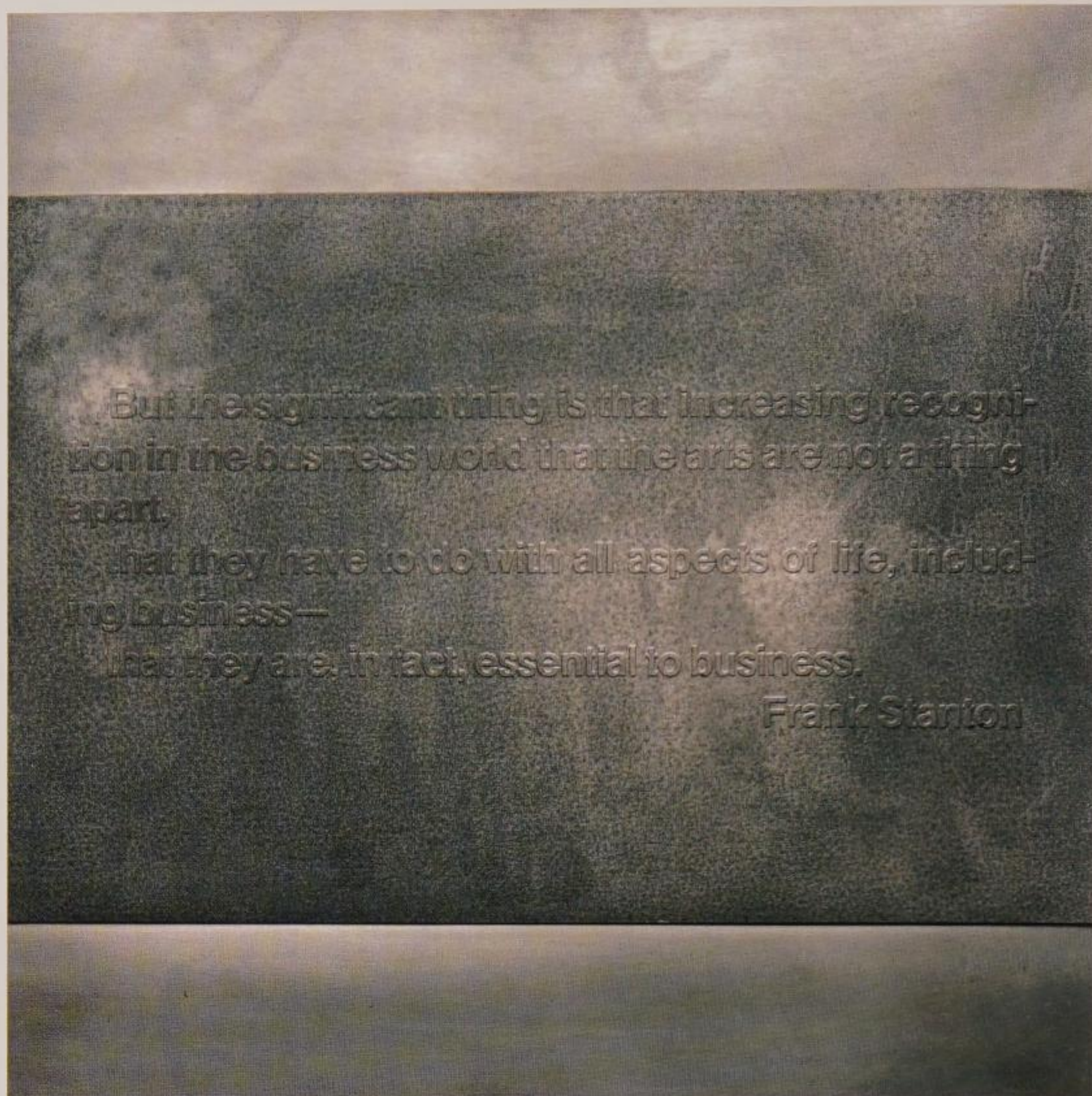
Ownership and management of Guggenheim real estate and securities

Office: 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.



Authors and sources of quotes:

Frank Stanton. Media executive. CBS Inc., president and CEO 1946-71, vice-chairman 1971-73, director 1948-78; Business Committee for the Arts, director 1967-77, chairman 1972-74; Lincoln Center, chairman; New York State Council on the Arts, member 1965-70. – Quoted from speech "The Arts—A Challenge to Business," 25th Anniversary Public Relations Conference of the American and Canadian Public Relations Society, Detroit, November 12, 1972.



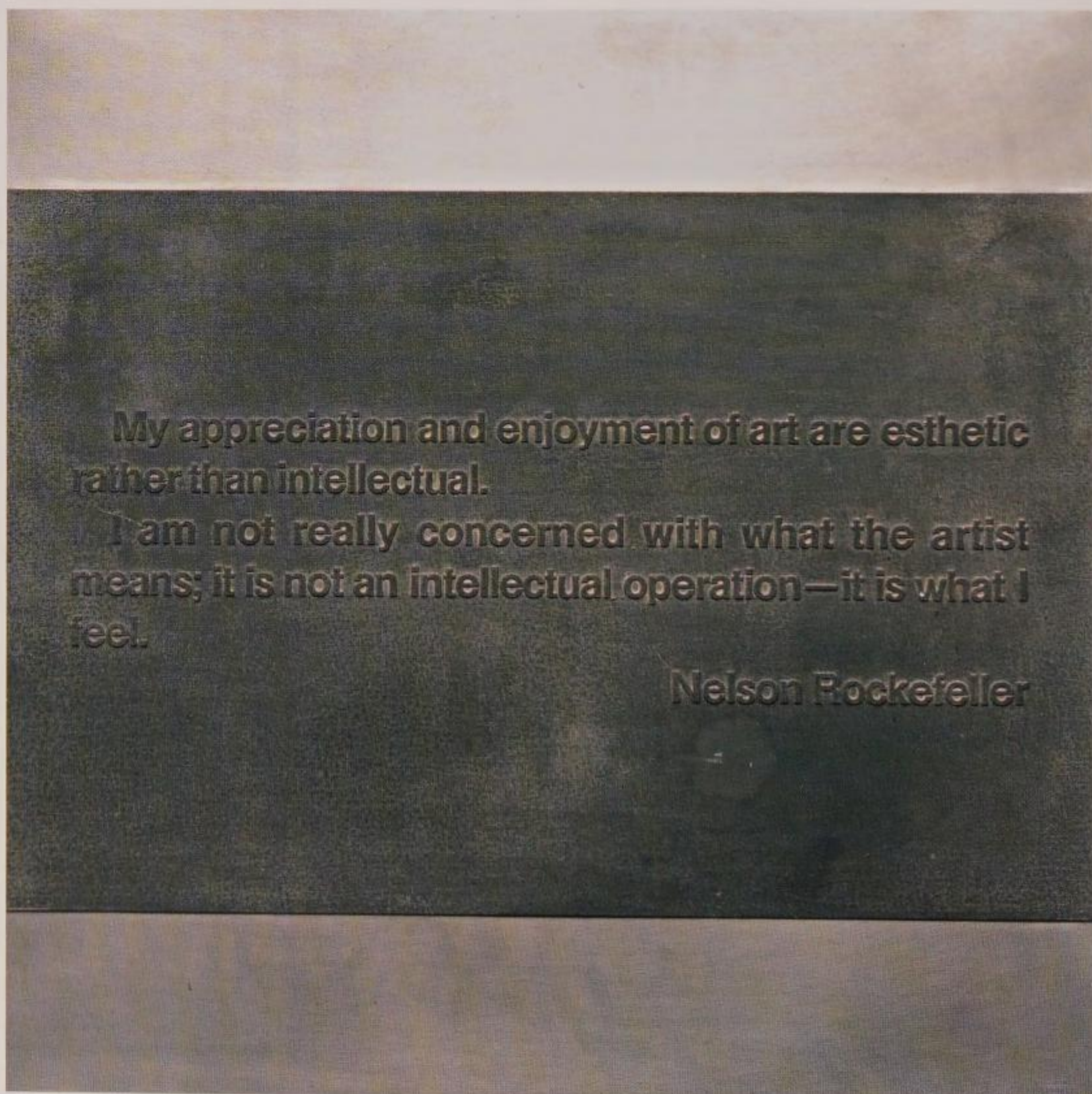
But the significant thing is that increasing recognition in the business world that the arts are not a thing apart,

but that they have to do with all aspects of life, including business—

is that they are, in fact, essential to business.

Frank Stanton

Nelson Rockefeller. Governor of New York State 1958-73; Vice President of the United States, 1974-77; Museum of Modern Art, trustee 1932-79, president 1939-41, chairman 1957-58. – Quote from report by Grace Glueck, New York Times, May 1, 1969. Died 1979.



My appreciation and enjoyment of art are esthetic rather than intellectual.

I am not really concerned with what the artist means; it is not an intellectual operation—it is what I feel.

Nelson Rockefeller



David Rockefeller. Banker. Chase Manhattan Bank Corp., chairman 1969-81; Trilateral Commission, co-founder 1973; Council on Foreign Relations, vice president 1950-70, chairman 1970-85; Museum of Modern Art, trustee since 1948, chairman 1962-1972 and 1987-93; Business Committee for the Arts, co-founder and director. – Quote from speech "Culture and the Corporation's Support of the Arts," National Conference Board, September 20, 1966.

Richard M. Nixon. President of the United States, 1968-74. Resigned under pressure from Congress. – Quote from address to Congress, Wall Street Journal, January 2, 1970. Died 1994.

From an economic standpoint, such involvement in the arts can mean direct and tangible benefits.

It can provide a company with extensive publicity and advertising, a brighter public reputation, and an improved corporate image.

It can build better customer relations, a readier acceptance of company products, and a superior appraisal of their quality.

Promotion of the arts can improve the morale of employees and help attract qualified personnel.

David Rockefeller

The excellence of the American product in the arts has won worldwide recognition.

The arts have the rare capacity to help heal divisions among our people and to vault some of the barriers that divide the world.

Richard M. Nixon



C. Douglas Dillon. Investment banker. Dillon, Read & Co., chairman 1946-53, chairman executive committee 1971-81; U.S. & Foreign Securities Corp., chairman 1969-84; Metropolitan Museum of Art, president 1970-78, chairman 1978-93; Business Committee for the Arts, co-founder, first chairman. -Quote from C. Douglas Dillon, "Cross-Cultural Communication Through the Arts," Columbia Journal of World Business (September-October 1971). Died 2003.

Perhaps the most important single reason for the increased interest of international corporations in the arts is the almost limitless diversity of projects which are possible.

These projects can be tailored to a company's specific business goals and can return dividends far out of proportion to the actual investment required.

C. Douglas Dillon

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Robert Kingsley. Manager of Urban Affairs, Department of Public Affairs, Exxon Corp., New York 1969-77; Arts and Business Council, New York, founder, chairman. - Quote in Marilyn Bender, "Business Aids the Arts ... and Itself," New York Times, October 20, 1974. Died 1980.

EXXON'S support of the arts serves the arts as a social lubricant.

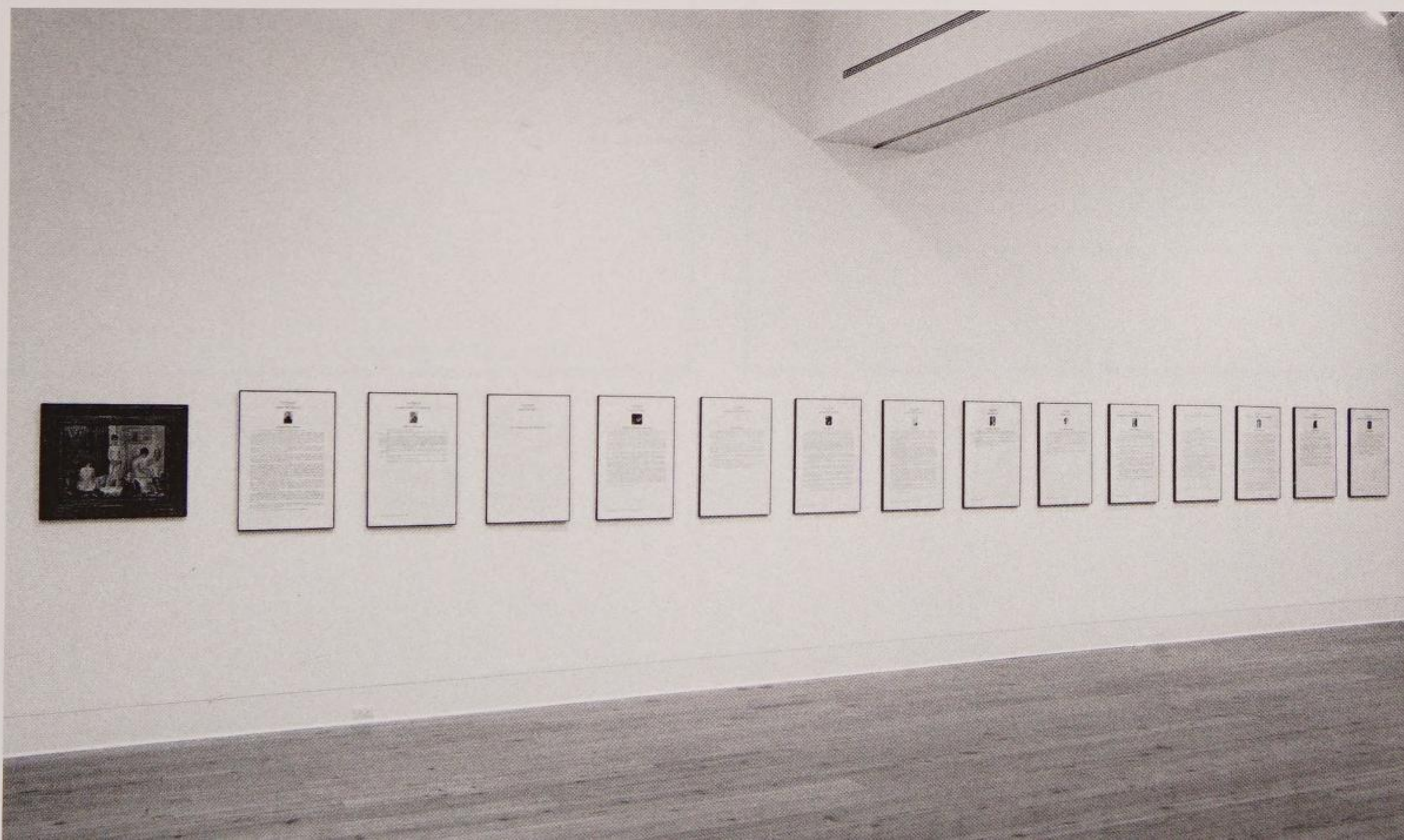
And if business is to continue in big cities, it needs a more lubricated environment.

Robert Kingsley





First exhibition: 1975, John Weber Gallery, New York (Installation view: 1978, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford)





**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
painted 1888, Paris, by



**Georges Pierre Seurat**

Born 1859, in Paris, 60 rue de Boudy, near the Porte Saint Martin.

His father, Chrysotome-Antoine Seurat, son of a farmer of the Champagne region, belongs to rich Parisian middle class. Retired at age 41 as a minor court official (huissier) of the Tribunal of the Département Seine at La Villette, then an independent commune north of Paris. Maintains house in le Raincy, near Paris. His mother, Ernestine Faivre, 13 years younger than her husband, is the daughter of a Parisian jeweller. Paul Haumonté-Faivre, his uncle, owns "Au Père de Fouille," prosperous fancy goods store at 48, avenue des Ternes. His brother Émile, a playwright of comedies, with minor success. His sister Marie-Berthe marries Léon Appert, an engineer and glass-maker.

Soon after his birth, family moves to large apartment in newly built neighborhood of 10th arrondissement at 110, boulevard Magenta. 1871, during Paris Commune, escape to Fontainebleau. Attends Lycée until 1876. At age 15, starts taking drawing classes at vocational École Municipale de Dessin with Justin Lequien, an academic sculptor.

1877 student at the École des Beaux-Arts, under Henri Lehmann, a pupil of Ingres. 1879-80 one year of military service in an infantry regiment at Brest, a port in Brittany. Shortens normal 3-5 year service by paying 1,500 francs. Family supports him financially. Does not live from sales of his work. On return to Paris, 1880, takes small studio at 19, rue de Chabrol in Montmartre; later moves to newly constructed building, 128 bis, Boulevard de Clichy.

1883 exhibition of a drawing in the official Salon. 1884 the Salon's jury refuses his first major painting, "La Baignade à Asnières." Together with other rejected artists, he exhibits in the "Salon des Artistes Indépendents," a newly founded artists' collective with exhibition space in the Pavillon de la Ville de Paris on the Champs Élysées. He is a member of its executive committee and exhibits regularly with the group until his death. His friends and followers, Signac, Dubois-Pillet, Angrand, and Luce also belong to the Société des Artistes Indépendents. Camille Pissarro successfully lobbies for his invitation to the 8th impressionist exhibition 1886, against vigorous opposition of Renoir, Monet, Cézanne, and Sisley. Same year, dealer Durand-Ruel exhibits one of his paintings in New York. 1887, 1889 and 1891 exhibitions with Brussels avant-garde group "Les XX."

Draws and paints everyday life scenes, work, leisure, and entertainment of the lower and middle class, landscapes, and seascapes. Frequent painting excursions to industrial suburban Paris and the Atlantic coast. Based on the scientific theories for the optical mixtures of colors and simultaneous contrasts by Blanc, Sutter, Chevreul, Maxwell, Rood, Helmholtz and the writings on the associative expressiveness of lines by Charles Henry, he tries to methodically construct harmony in geometrized compositions according to scientific laws.

These so-called "neo-impressionist," "pointillist," or "divisionist" paintings, composed of myriads of small dots of pure pigment, meet hostility and derision. Few are sold, at low prices. Many are given to his friends as presents. His work is defended and admired by the critic Félix Fénéon and his circle of symbolist writers and poets, including Gustave Kahn, Émile Verhaeren, Paul Adam, Jean Ajalbert, Paul Alexis, and his biographer, Jules Christophe. He shares their sympathies with anarchist communism.

1890 birth of his son, Pierre Georges, from his mistress, Madeleine Knobloch, a 20 year old model. Acknowledges his paternity. Moves with mother and child to 39, passage de l'Élysée-des-Beaux-Arts, now rue André-Antoine, in Montmartre.

Dies, at age 32, probably of meningitis, 1891. His son dies 2 weeks later.

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
acquired, probably as a present, by



**Jules F. Christophe**

Born 1840 in Paris. Son of a merchant.

Writer and government official. 1889 appointed Deputy Chief of Staff in the French Ministry of War.

Author of theater plays and fiction. 1887 co-author with Anatole Cerfberr of "Repertoire de la Comédie humaine," a biographical dictionary for Balzac readers. Contributor of theater and art criticism, essays and biographical articles to numerous literary magazines associated with symbolism and anarchist communism. Publishes 1890 one of the early extensive articles on Seurat and his theories ever written, in "Les Hommes d'Aujourd'hui," a symbolist weekly. In the same magazine appear his articles on the painters Dubois-Pillet and Maximilian Luce. He himself is the subject of a biographical sketch by Félix Fénéon in "Les Hommes d'Aujourd'hui."

Closely related to circle of symbolist/anarchist writers and neo-impressionist painters, including Fénéon, Gustave Kahn, Charles Henry, Paul Adam, Jean Ajalbert, Jules Laforgue, Seurat, Signac, Pissarro.

Has strong sympathies with anarchist communism. Contributes to fund for the destitute children of imprisoned anarchists.

Author of Seurat's obituary in "La Plume," 1891.

Reportedly gives his son "Les Poseuses" during his own life time. Date of death unknown.

Detail of Drawing by Dubois-Pillet, 1888



**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
acquired after 1892 by

**B.A. Edynski and Max Hochschiller**

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
purchased 1909 by



**Josse and Gaston Bernheim-Jeune**

Twin brothers born 1870 in Brussels. Father, Alexandre Bernheim, paint manufacturer and merchant in art supplies from Besançon. 1854 moves to Paris to continue business there at 8, rue Lafitte, near the Rothschild family mansion; expands to dealing with contemporary art, helped by the protection of Princess Mathilde and the Duc d'Aumale, son of King Louis Philippe.

Brothers attend Lycée Condorcet, Paris; join their father's business. Their cousins, Jos Hessel and Georges Bernheim, also art dealers. Their sister, Gabrielle, married to painter Félix Vallotton.

Move to larger gallery quarters at 25, boulevard de la Madeleine and 15, rue Richepance. Participate in organization of Centennial Exhibition 1900 in Paris and many exhibitions abroad. Assist in building private collections, among them those of the wealthy importer Sergei I. Shchukin and of Morosoff in Moscow; form the collection of the Museum of Tananarive, Madagascar. Charged with sale of important collections. Accredited experts with Appellate Court in Paris. Officers of Legion of Honor.

Artists exhibited and represented are predominantly impressionist, neo-impressionist, and fauvist. Félix Fénéon artistic director for 25 years. Numerous publications by gallery.

1925 gala opening of large new gallery quarters by Gaston Doumergue, the President of France, on corner rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré and avenue Matignon, in the immediate neighborhood of the palaces of the French President and Prime Minister.

The family mansion at 107, avenue Henri Martin, has grand salon with 25 foot ceiling, decorated by 80 Renoirs; the walls of the dining room are covered by 30 Cézannes, 20 Toulouse-Lautrecs, an El Greco, and a large Corot. Family also owns a château in the provinces, and maintains several large automobiles and a dirigible balloon.

Gaston has apartment avenue du Maréchal Maunoury, decorated by Raoul Dufy. He, himself, paints landscapes, still lifes, and nudes, under the name Gaston de Villers. His paintings exhibited at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the Salon d'Automne, and Société des Artistes français. He is co-founder and treasurer and exhibits with the Société coloniale des Artistes français. 1927 retrospective exhibition at Galerie Bernheim-Jeune. Works in French provincial museums.

Brothers actively participate in defense of Alfred Dreyfus, the French officer falsely condemned for treason in an anti-semitic conspiracy. During World War I, gallery's paintings are evacuated to Bordeaux, where French Government also takes refuge. 1940 move to Lyons. Josse Bernheim dies there in 1941. Gaston Bernheim flees German invasion of Lyons. Eventually lives in Monte Carlo. Dies 1953.

Reopening of gallery in Paris 1947.

Painting by Édouard Vuillard, "Gaston and Josse Bernheim," 1912



**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
purchased 1910 for 4,000 ffrs. by

**Alphonse Kann**

Descendant of family of financial advisors to the courts and aristocracy of Europe. His father, Louis Kann, married to a cousin of Lord Burnham. Her family associated with the English business world. His uncles, Rudolphe and Maurice Kann, build famous art collections in Paris, on the income from gold mines in Transvaal, South Africa. (Rembrandt's "Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer," in Rudolphe Kann collection, now at Metropolitan Museum, New York. Art dealers Gimpel and the brothers Duveen buy the collection 1907, for 17-million ffrs.).

Grows up in Paris. Spends time in London working in business of his mother's family there.

Becomes closely associated with literary and art circles in Paris. Frequently sees Roussel, Cocteau, Éluard, Breton, Picasso, Braque, and is part of Gertrude Stein's "salon."

Owns large eclectic collection, ranging from Egyptian sculpture through archaic, Greek, Roman, Persian, and Chinese art, Pre-Columbian, African and Pacific objects, Romanesque and Gothic sculpture, enamels, ivories, illuminated manuscripts, Coptic works, paintings by Cimabue, Pollaiuolo, Tintoretto, Brueghel the Elder, Fabrizius, Rubens, Fragonard, Turner, to period furniture, impressionist works and modern art of the École de Paris.

Often buys and sells on his own, acting as amateur dealer. Recognized by many as arbiter of taste. Advises the banker David-Weill, Arturo Lopez, Charles de Noailles. Assists contemporary art dealer Paul Guillaume.

1920 major auction of part of his collection at Galerie Petit, Paris. 1927 large sale of works at American Art Association in New York, for a total of \$282,222.

Inhabits 17th century mansion in St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris. A convent he owns on Capri is sold to his friend, Princess Margherita of Savoy. Buys castle at Cintra, Portugal.

Escapes to England from German invasion of France. Dies there around 1950.

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
purchased 1913 or after by



**Marius de Zayas**

Born 1880 at Vera Cruz, Mexico. Descendant of well-to-do family of Spanish nobility. Father Professor of law and history, judge, publisher of major daily newspaper in Vera Cruz, poet laureate of Mexico and painter; personal friend of Mexican President Porfirio Diaz until his articles, critical of Diaz's increasingly dictatorial regime, lead to break and force family to emigrate to the U.S.

No formal education. Contributes illustrations to *El Diario*, Mexico City newspaper. 1905 first visit to U.S. Settles in New York 1907. Caricaturist for the *New York World*, a daily newspaper.

Joins the circle of Alfred Stieglitz, photographer and promoter of new art. Exhibits 1909 caricatures of New York society figures, theatre, and art personalities, at his Photo-Secession Gallery. Contributes numerous articles on avant-garde art, photography and African art to *Camera Work*, a Stieglitz publication. Frequent visits to Paris 1910-14; meets many avant-garde figures there. With photographer Edward Steichen scouting for new art to be shown at "291" Fifth Avenue, the new Stieglitz gallery. Selects Picasso exhibition there 1911, Braque paintings for 1914 show. 1913 exhibition of his own cubist influenced "abstract" caricatures. Exhibition of African sculpture mainly from his own collection, in 1914-15.

Co-author 1913, of "A Study of the Modern Evolution of Plastic Expression," with his friend Paul B. Haviland, the American representative of Haviland & Co., china manufacturers of Limoges, France. Under Stieglitz's auspices, 1915-16, co-editor with Haviland of the proto-dadaist magazine "291," with contributions from Picabia, Man Ray, Duchamp, and others.

1915 establishment of Modern Gallery at 500 Fifth Avenue. His partners are Picabia, Haviland and Agnes Ernst Meyer, wife of Eugene Meyer, a financier and high government official. He collaborates with her on dadaist poems.

1918 establishment of his own gallery at 549 Fifth Avenue. Deals in modern European, African and Mexican art and builds sizable collection. Closes in early 1920's. Continues as private dealer, collaborates on exhibitions and serves as agent for Paris dealers Durand-Ruel, Paul Rosenberg, and Paul Guillaume.

First marriage ends in divorce, 2 daughters. Second marriage 1925 to Virginia Randolph Harrison, a woman 21 years his junior. Her father, a lawyer, ex-Congressman (D.) and U.S. Governor General of Philippine Islands (1913-21). Her mother Mary Crocker, daughter of Charles Crocker, the builder of the Central Pacific Railroad.

Move to Austrian mountain resort St. Anton. Gives up art dealing. 1928 purchase of 14th century château at Monestier de Clermont near Grenoble, France. Derives income from sales of his collection and his wife's fortune.

In the early thirties filmmaking in Spain, documentaries on flamenco music and bullfight. During war years with wife, daughter (born 1927) and son Rodrigo (born 1939) at French château pursuing studies in cryptology and musicology.

1947 move to U.S. Buys house in Greenwich, Conn. Resumes documentary filmmaking.

Dies 1961 of coronary thrombosis in Hartford, Conn.

Photo by Alfred Stieglitz



**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
purchased 1922 for \$5,500 by



**John Quinn**

Born 1870 Tiffin, Ohio. Son of Irish immigrants. Father James William Quinn, prosperous baker in Fostoria, Ohio. Mother Mary Quinlan, orphan. Sister Julia married to William V. Anderson, successful pharmacist of Fostoria. Sister Clara nun of Ursuline Convent, Tiffin.

Graduate of Fostoria High School. 1888 at University of Michigan. 1890-93 in Washington, D.C. as private secretary of Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster (friend of Quinn family), under President Benjamin Harrison. Graduates from Georgetown University Law School 1893. Harvard University Law School 1895.

1893 clerkship in New York law firm of General Benjamin F. Tracy. 1900 junior partner with Alexander & Colby. 1906 own law practice specializing in financial and corporate law. Offices at 31 Nassau Street in Wall Street district.

Chief Counsel to National Bank of Commerce, second largest bank in U.S. Instrumental in acquisition of Equitable Life Assurance Society by Thomas Ryan, financier with extensive interests in coal, tobacco, Congolese and Angolan diamond mining. His chief counsel as of 1906. Negotiates merger of Bowling Green Trust and Madison Trust with Equitable Trust, 1908-1909. New York Stock Exchange counsel on tax law, 1913. Special counsel to N.Y. State Comptroller in inheritance tax proceedings against estate of John Jacob Astor, 1914. Represents munitions makers in Federal Tax case, 1917. Submits brief in Congress for adoption of Alien Property Act, same year. Represents U.S. Alien Property Custodian and private American interests in suit over seizure of German properties. Wins 1920 in U.S. Supreme Court establishing the law's constitutionality (legal fee \$174,000).

Tammany Hall Democrat. Delegate to National Convention 1908 and 1912. Campaigns for candidacy of Oscar W. Underwood against Woodrow Wilson. Theodore Roosevelt a personal friend.

Staunch supporter of Irish causes. Contemptuous of American cultural life, francophile, anti-semitic, anti-German; proposes to French President Poincare take-over of German Ruhr industries by Allies, 1923.

Collects 19th and 20th century French and English painting and sculpture, including Cézanne, van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat, Derain, Matisse, Picasso, Duchamp-Villon, Brancusi, Epstein. Investment in art estimated at \$500,000. Has personal contact with artists in Paris and London. Helps with organization and promotion of Armory Show, 1913. Conducts successful campaign in Congress for the exemption of modern art from customs duty. Wins in Congress tax exemption of art sales by living artists, 1918.

Sponsors U.S. tours of Irish writers and theater productions. Assists in the publication of works by W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, Joseph Conrad, T. S. Eliot, James Joyce. Extensive correspondence with writers. Buys literary manuscripts, including all of Joseph Conrad's. Sells most in auction 1923 (Conrad for \$110,000 and Joyce's "Ulysses" for \$2,000). Defends "Ulysses" against obscenity charges in New York Court.

Lives, as of 1911, in top floor apartment at 58 Central Park West. Frequent travels to Ireland, England, and France. Remains bachelor, though has several romances.

Member of numerous exclusive clubs, of Contemporary Art Society, and Société de Cent Bibliophiles. 1915 appointed Honorary Fellow of Metropolitan Museum, 1918 Chevalier of Legion of Honor.

Dies of cancer in New York, 1924.

Photo around 1921. From "The Man from New York," by B. L. Reid

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
inherited 1924 by



**Julia Quinn Anderson**

Born 1880 in Fostoria, Ohio. Daughter of Irish immigrants. Her father William Quinn, prosperous baker in Fostoria. Her mother, Mary Quinlan, orphan. Her sister, Clara, nun at Ursuline Convent, Tiffin, Ohio. Her brother, John Quinn, well-known New York lawyer and collector of books and modern art.

Marries William Vincent Anderson 1903, a prosperous pharmacist of Fostoria. 1907 birth of daughter Mary, only child.

Beginning 1914 frequent and extended visits to New York, often acting as hostess for her bachelor brother, John Quinn. Daughter attends school in the city. Around 1919 permanent move of the family to New York, after sale of Fostoria business.

Major beneficiary of John Quinn's estate on his death 1924.

Dies of cancer 1934.

Photo courtesy Dr. James F. Conroy



**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
inherited 1934 by



**Mary Anderson Conroy**

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, 1907. Her father, William Vincent Anderson, prosperous pharmacist in Fostoria, Ohio. Her mother, Julia Quinn, daughter of a prosperous baker in Fostoria, sister of John Quinn, a well-known New York Lawyer and collector of books and modern art.

Frequent visits to John Quinn in New York. Family eventually settles in the City, at 37 West 93 Street, after sale of business in Fostoria.

Attends school at the Convent of the Sacred Heart in New York 1914, and Maplehurst High School in Upper Manhattan.

Extensive travels abroad with her mother or friends. Engaged in volunteer charity work. Unpaid assistant of Mrs. Cornelius Sullivan, a co-founder of the Museum of Modern Art and a private art dealer.

At her mother's death, 1934, principal beneficiary of inheritance, including numerous works from the collection of the late John Quinn.

1941 marriage to Thomas F. Conroy, M.D., a urological surgeon of New York. Volunteer paramedical work. After World War II move to San Mateo, California. 1946 birth of only child, Thomas Anthony Conroy.

Dies of cancer, 1970.

Photo around 1950, courtesy Dr. Thomas F. Conroy

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)  
purchased 1936 through Mrs. Cornelius Sullivan for \$40,000 by



**Henry P. McIlhenny**

Born 1910 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Descendant of wealthy Irish family of Philadelphia society.

His father John D. McIlhenny, member of boards of directors of several large gas companies; partner of Helme & McIlhenny, manufacturers of gas meters in Philadelphia; member of the board of managers of Savings Fund Society of Germantown, Pa. Collector of European decorative arts, oriental rugs and paintings. President of Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (now Philadelphia Museum of Art) and Director of Philadelphia Art Alliance.

His mother Frances Galbraith Plumer. Collector of 19th and early 20th century art. Trustee of Philadelphia Museum.

His uncle Francis S. McIlhenny, lawyer; vice president of Sun Oil Company; member of Board of Directors of numerous large corporations; member of Pennsylvania Senate (1907-15); director and officer of YMCA.

His sister Mrs. John (Bernice) Wintersteen married to lawyer. Collector of 19th and early 20th century art. Trustee and President (1964-68) of Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Studied at Episcopal Academy and Milton Academy, elite prep schools near Philadelphia and Boston. Bachelor of Arts 1933, Harvard; graduate studies in art history, 1933-34, Harvard, under Prof. Paul J. Sachs.

Curator of Decorative Arts at Philadelphia Museum of Art 1935-64. Since 1964 trustee and 1968 vice president of the Museum. Member Smithsonian Art Commission, Washington. 1949-62 director of Philadelphia Orchestra Association and Metropolitan Opera Association, New York.

Served to Lieutenant Commander in U.S. Naval Reserve. During World War II on active duty.

Major part of his collection purchased with his mother's financial backing during depression: silver, period furniture, and predominantly 19th century French painting and sculpture, including Cézanne, Chardin, Daumier, David, Degas, Delacroix, van Gogh, Ingres, Matisse, Renoir, Rouault, Toulouse-Lautrec, Vuillard.

Bachelor, frequent society host in his mansion, 2 adjoining mid-19th century town houses, with ballroom, on Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia. Employs 8 servants there. Spends part of year at Victorian Glenveagh Castle, his property in County Donegal, Ireland; maintained by 30 servants.

Member of Philadelphia Club and Rittenhouse Club, in Philadelphia, Century Association and Grolier Club in New York.

Together with Seurat's "Les Poseuses" buys Picasso's "L'Arlequin" from Mrs. Mary Anderson Conroy, for a total of \$52,500. Her friend, Mrs. Cornelius Sullivan, co-founder of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and a private art dealer, receives a commission of 10%.

Photo by Richard Noble, New York



**"Les Poseuses"**

(small version)

\$1,033,200 auction bid at Christie's, 1970, half share held by

**Artemis S.A.**

Incorporated April 2, 1970 in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg; private holding company of subsidiaries incorporated in the United Kingdom (David Carritt, Ltd., London) and other countries. Invests and trades in works of the fine and decorative arts of all periods and cultures.

Inventory included old masters, impressionists, classical modern art, contemporary art; antique, African, Asian sculpture; decorative silver.

Collaborating art dealers include E.V. Thaw & Co., New York; Fourcade, Droll, Inc., New York; R.M. Light & Co., Boston; Heinz Berggruen & Cie., Paris; Heinz Herzer & Co., Munich; P. & D. Colnaghi, London; Heim, London; Lefevre, London; Fischer Fine Art, London.

Works sold among others to National Gallery, Washington; Cleveland Museum; Norton Simon Foundation; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

**Board of Directors**

*Baron Léon Lambert*, Chairman since 1970. Chairman of Compagnie Bruxelles Lambert.

*Eugene Victor Thaw*, managing director since 1974. Head of E.V. Thaw & Co. Private dealer. 1970-72 President of Art Dealers Association of America, Inc.

*David Carritt*, since 1970. Head of David Carritt Ltd., Artemis subsidiary in London. Old Master expert, formerly with Christie's, London.

*Count Christian zu Salm-Reifferscheidt*, 1970-73. Art historian, expert in antique art. Former curator of Bavarian State Museum, Munich. Deceased.

*Philippe R. Stoclet*, since 1970. Former representative of Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York. Chief executive officer of Brussels financing company. Descendant of Alphonse Stoclet, international railroad builder and collector, who commissioned architect Josef Hoffmann of "Wiener Werkstätten" to build Palais Stoclet, Brussels.

*Count Artur Strachwitz*, since 1970. Born 1905. Brother-in-law of Prince of Liechtenstein. Former cultural attaché at Brussels Embassy of German Federal Republic.

*Baron Alexis de Rédeé*, since 1970. Financial consultant, collector. Among major beneficiaries of inheritance of his late friend, Arturo Lopez, South American financier. Lives in 17th century Hôtel Lambert, Paris, rue St. Louis en Ile, now owned by Baron Guy de Rothschild, a friend.

*Walter Bareiss*, since 1973. Born Tübingen, Germany. Chairman of family business Schachenmeyer, Mann & Cie. GmbH, Salach, Germany, yarn factory. Chairman of Cobar Industries, Inc. Served in U.S. Army in World War II. Married to Molly Stimson, cousin of Henry L. Stimson, late US Secretary of War. Collector. Member collection committee 20th century art, chairman Gallery Association Bavarian State Museum, Munich. Trustee Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1964-73, acting director 1969-70, member committee on drawings and prints. Lives Munich and Greenwich, Conn.

*Heinz Berggruen*, since 1974. Head of Paris art gallery, Heinz Berggruen & Cie..

**Art Advisory Board**

Baron and Baroness Élie de Rothschild, 1970-73; Prof. Abraham Hammacher, 1970-73; Douglas Cooper, 1971-73; Roderic Thesiger, 1971-73; Heinz Herzer, since 1971; Count Cesare Cicogna Mozzoni, 1972-73; Valentine Abdy, since 1974.

Year	Holding Company and Subsidiaries		
	consolidated profit	total assets	assets works of art at cost
1970-71	\$ 43,042	\$ 5,431,299	\$2,207,680
1971-72	641,992	5,703,195	3,676,507
1972-73	778,448	8,010,350	5,787,507
1973-74	733,397	10,256,991	7,864,400

Authorized capital: 1,000,000 shares of \$10 nominal value per share. Issued capital: 413,025 shares of \$10 each: \$4,130,250 (Oct. 1974).

**"Les Poseuses"**

(small version)

half share held by Artemis S.A. under chairmanship of



**Baron Léon Lambert**

Born Etterbeek—Brussels, 1928.

His grandfather, Léon Lambert, official agent of Paris Rothschild Bank in Belgium. Banker of King Léopold II, who gives him title of Baron, in recognition of his services as financier of Belgian colonization of Central Africa. Married to Lucie de Rothschild-Anspach, daughter of Baron Gustave de Rothschild. Their daughter marries Rudolf de Goldschmidt-Rothschild of Naples.

His father, Baron Henri Lambert, head of Banque Lambert, Brussels; correspondent of Rothschild banks in Paris and London, with extensive interests in the Belgian Congo, radio, and airline. His mother, Baroness Hansi von Reininghaus, of Austrian nobility. After her husband's death, 1933, titular head of bank while leaving affairs in hands of trusted bankers (bank survives German occupation of Belgium in WW II intact). Collector; sponsor of cultural events. Dies 1960.

During World War II, with his mother, brother Philippe, and sister, in England and the U.S. Studies at Yale, Oxford, Geneva. Licencié ès science politique, University of Geneva.

1949 assumes role in Banque Lambert, S.C.S., Brussels, a limited partnership. 1950 senior partner and chairman. 1953 absorption of Banque de reports et de dépôts. Rapid expansion of financial interests. 1966 vice-Chairman, 1971 chairman of holding Compagnie Lambert pour l'industrie et la finance; through merger with De Launoit family's interests 1972, holding becomes Belgium's second largest. Under the new name Compagnie Bruxelles Lambert, extensive international interests in banks, insurance companies, real estate, retailing, public utilities, oil, steel, and metallurgy. 1974 merger with Banque Bruxelles makes Banque Bruxelles Lambert Belgium's second largest commercial bank. Retains extensive business and family ties with Rothschild banking group.

Chairman of: Banque Lambert, S.C.S., Brussels; Compagnie Bruxelles Lambert pour la finance et l'industrie, Brussels; SOGES, Brussels; Compagnie de constructions civiles, Brussels; La Concorde S.A., Brussels; The Lambert Brussels Corporation, New York; Artemis S.A., Luxembourg; Manufacture Belge de Lampes et de Matériel Électronique (M.B.L.E.), Brussels.

Vice Chairman of: Select Risk Investments S.S., Luxembourg; Electrobél S.A., Brussels; Lambert Milanese S.p.A.

Member of Board of Directors of: Magnum Fund Ltd., Toronto; Petrofina S.A., Brussels; Berliner Handelsgesellschaft, Frankfurt-Main; Five Arrows Securities Co. Ltd., Toronto; Banca d'America e d'Italia, Milan; New Court Securities Corporation, New York; INNO-B.M.S.A., Brussels; ELEC-TROGAZ S.A., Brussels; ITALUNION, Luxembourg; General Fund International Management Co., Luxembourg; General Fund International S.A., Luxembourg; General Fund International Holding Co., Luxembourg; United Overseas Bank, Geneva; Compagnie Auxilière Internationale des Chemins de Fer.

Member Advisory Board of: Société Financière pour les Pays d'Outre-Mer (SFOM), Geneva.

1964 move into new bank building at 24, avenue Marnix, designed by Gordon Bunshaft of architecture firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, New York. Large Henry Moore sculpture on street level plaza.

Bachelor. Lives in penthouse apartment above bank. Apartment and banking floors house large collection of classical modern art, partially inherited from his mother, non-western and contemporary European and American art. Board member of Société Philharmonique de Bruxelles, Musée du Cinéma, Cinémathèque Royale de Belgique, Jeune Peinture Belge.

Decorations: Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold (Belgium), Commandeur de l'Ordre à la Valeur (Cameroon), Grande Ufficiale al Merito della Repubblica Italiana (Italy).

According to his wishes, Seurat's "Les Poseuses" exhibited at Bavarian State Museum, Munich.

Photo from "Banque Lambert," Brussels, 1964



**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)

bid at Christie's auction and half share held by



**Richard L. Feigen**

Born 1930, Chicago, Ill. His father, Arthur P. Feigen, a lawyer. His mother Shirley Bierman.

Graduates with B.A. from Yale University 1952, M.B.A. of Harvard Business School, 1954. Begins to collect art.

1955-56 work in business of a relative. Becomes treasurer and member of Investment Committee of Beneficial Standard Life Insurance Company, Los Angeles, and Fidelity Interstate Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia. Member of Board of Directors and Finance Committee, Union Casualty and Life Insurance Company, Mount Vernon, New York.

1956 buys seat on New York Stock Exchange. Sells it 1957.

1957 opens art gallery in Chicago, Richard L. Feigen & Co., Inc., of which he is President and Director. Frequently exhibits contemporary artists. 1963 opening of New York gallery, dealing with old masters and exhibiting contemporary art. Stages "Richard J. Daley" show, 1968, at Chicago gallery, in protest against Chicago police conduct in confrontations with demonstrators during Democratic Convention. Chicago gallery closes 1972. Gives up showroom in New York, 1973; continues as private dealer of predominantly old masters and classical modern art. Since 1965 member and 1974, on Board of Directors of Art Dealers Association of America.

1966 Faculty member, University for Presidents, Young Presidents Organization, Phoenix, Arizona. Lectures on "Art for Your Business" and "Art for the Private Collector." Founder of Art for Business, Inc., now an inactive corporate shell.

1963 Member of the Advisory Board of Independent Voters of Illinois. 1964 on Honorary Steering Committee, Young Citizens for Johnson. 1972 unsuccessful bid to be elected alternate delegate to Democratic Convention supporting McGovern's Presidential candidacy. Member American Civil Liberties Union.

1966 marriage to Sandra Elizabeth Canning Walker. Has two children and three step-children.

In his auction bid for Seurat's "Les Poseuses," represents his own interests and the interests of ARTEMIS S.A., a Luxembourg-based art investment holding company. Armand Hammer, Chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corp., puts in one bid, then gives up.

Photo courtesy Richard L. Feigen

**"Les Poseuses"**  
(small version)

purchased 1971 for unknown amount (part in art works) by



**Heinz Berggruen**

Born 1914 in Berlin, Germany.

Studies art history in Berlin and Toulouse, France, graduating there with equivalent of Master of Fine Art degree. In late 1930's moves to California. Postgraduate studies in art history at Berkeley. Assistant Curator of San Francisco Museum of Art. Writes art criticism for *San Francisco Chronicle*. Works at 1939 World Exposition on Treasure Island, San Francisco.

Marries Lilian Zellerbach of prominent San Francisco paper manufacturing family. Birth of son John Berggruen 1943 (now art dealer in San Francisco). Birth of daughter Helen, 1945.

After World War II, service in US Army. Stationed in England and Germany. Works for German language US Army publication in Munich.

Around 1947 move to Paris via Zurich. Employed by cultural division of UNESCO. In late 1940's, starts dealing in art books and prints. Becomes art dealer. Berggruen & Cie, now at 70, rue de l'Université, develops into one of major Parisian art dealers in modern art, particularly Ecole de Paris.

Lives Ile St. Louis, Paris, and on château near Pontoise. Owns large collection.

1974 elected member of the Board of Directors of Artemis S.A., a Luxembourg-based art investment holding company. Chevalier of Legion of Honor.

His purchase of Seurat's *Les Poseuses* at "impressive profit" to Artemis S.A. (annual report). Painting now on anonymous loan in Bavarian State Museum, Munich.

Photo from "Art in America," 1963



Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie  
 des Gewährbietens, dargestellt am  
 Beispiel des Ausbildungsverbots der  
 Christine Fischer-Defoy 1976

Der Regierungspräsident  
 in Kassel  
 Kassel, den 11. Juli 1975  
 II/1a - Pö. Fischer-Defoy, Christine -

**Anbörungsprotokoll**

**Betr.:** Übernahme in das Beamtenverhältnis auf Widerruf von  
 Frau Christine Fischer-Defoy

**Gegenwärtig:** Regierungsdekanter Wagner  
 Frau Christine Fischer-Defoy  
 Rechtsrat Jürgen Heyner

**Anwesende:** Schlegel  
 als Protokollführerin.

Die Bewerberin für den Lehrstuhl an Haupt- und Realschulen, Frau  
 Fischer-Defoy, erschien mit ihrem Anwalt zu der am 11.7.1975 anbe-  
 raumten Anhörung. Frau Fischer-Defoy wurde zunächst davon in  
 Kenntnis gesetzt, daß wegen ihrer Kandidatur auf der Liste des  
 MSB Spartakus an der Gesamthochschule Kassel in den Monaten Mai,  
 Juni und Dezember erhebliche Zweifel bestünden, ob sie  
 jederzeit für die Aufnahme in den öffentlichen Dienst in Sinne  
 des Grundgesetzes und der Hessischen Verfassung eintreten werde.

Frau Fischer-Defoy wurde daraufhin gefragt, ob sie Mitglied des  
 MSB Spartakus gewesen sei oder nicht. Gleichzeitig wurde sie darauf  
 hingewiesen, daß es zu ihren Lasten gehe, wenn sie die Fragen nach  
 ihrer Mitgliedschaft in der vorgenannten Organisation nicht beant-  
 werte. Frau Fischer-Defoy erklärte daraufhin, sie sei seinerzeit  
 als Studentin Mitglied des MSB Spartakus gewesen, diese Mitgliedschaft  
 sei erloschen, als sie ihr Staatsexamen abgelegt habe. Auf die weiter  
 Frage, ob sie Mitglied der DEF war oder noch sei, erklärte sie  
 Bewerberin, sie werde dazu keine Stellung nehmen, da sie diese Frage

- 2 -

Alle Deutschen haben das Recht, Vereine und Gesellschaften zu bilden.  
 Grundgesetz, Art. 9, Abs. 1

- 2 -

nicht als Gegenstand der Anhörung betrachte. Ihre Eignung für den  
 öffentlichen Dienst habe sie durch die Ablegung eines Staatsexamens  
 nachgewiesen. Diese könnte nicht davon abhängig gemacht werden,  
 daß sie eine Frage beantworte, ob sie Mitglied einer nicht für  
 verfassungswidrig erklärten Partei sei. Die verfassungsmäßig garan-  
 tierte "negative Bekennnisfreiheit" verbiete es, eine solche Frage  
 zu stellen. Frau Fischer-Defoy wurde auch in diesem Fall darauf  
 hingewiesen, daß die Nichtbeantwortung der ihr gestellten Frage  
 zu ihren Lasten gehe.

Auf die Frage, ob die Bewerberin sich zur freiheitlich-demokratischen  
 Grundordnung im Sinne des Grundgesetzes und der Hessischen Verfassung  
 bekenne und in Falle ihrer Einstellung in den hessischen Landesdienst  
 dafür eintreten werde, erklärte sie, daß ihr die Kriterien bekannt  
 seien, die das Bundesverfassungsgericht in verschiedenen Urteilen  
 bei der Definition der freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung  
 aufgestellt habe. Sie sei bereit, jederzeit, wenn es notwendig sei,  
 dafür aktiv einzutreten. Ihre Tätigkeit in der studentischen Selbst-  
 verwaltung sei ein Ausdruck dessen, daß sie sich für die demokratischen  
 Rechte und Pflichten ihrer Kommissionen eingesetzt und dafür auch  
 ihre freie Zeit geopfert habe. Ihre Tätigkeit im Studentenparlament  
 zeige deutlich, daß sie für die demokratischen Spielregeln nicht nur  
 dort, sondern in ihrem weiteren politischen Engagement eintrete.  
 Ihre Mitgliedschaft im Spartakus erkläre sich daraus, daß dieser  
 Verband am aktivsten die sozialen Belange der Studenten  
 eingesetzt habe und konstruktive Vorschläge für die Verwirklichung  
 der Hochschulreform gemacht habe. Weiterhin erklärte die Bewerberin,  
 daß sie vor allem in der Zeit der Mitgliedschaft im Spartakus  
 weil dort die am stärksten ausgeprägten waren. Sie selbst sei in diesem Sinn im Elternhaus erzogen  
 worden und, bedingt durch eine schwere Kriegsverletzung ihres Vaters,  
 trete sie gegen jede Gewaltanwendung ein, wie sie häufig von links-  
 radikalen Studentengruppen (z.B. ESV) vertreten werden. Jede Form  
 der Gewaltanwendung auf politischem Gebiet werde ihr, wie sie es  
 schon in der Vergangenheit getan habe, mit demokratischen Mitteln  
 bekämpfen.

- 3 -

Parteien, die nach ihren Zielen oder nach dem Verhalten ihrer Anhänger darauf ausgehen,  
 die freiheitliche demokratische Grundordnung zu beeinträchtigen oder zu beseitigen oder den  
 Bestand der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu gefährden, sind verfassungswidrig. Über die Frage  
 der Verfassungswidrigkeit entscheidet das Bundesverfassungsgericht.  
 Grundgesetz, Art. 21, Abs. 2

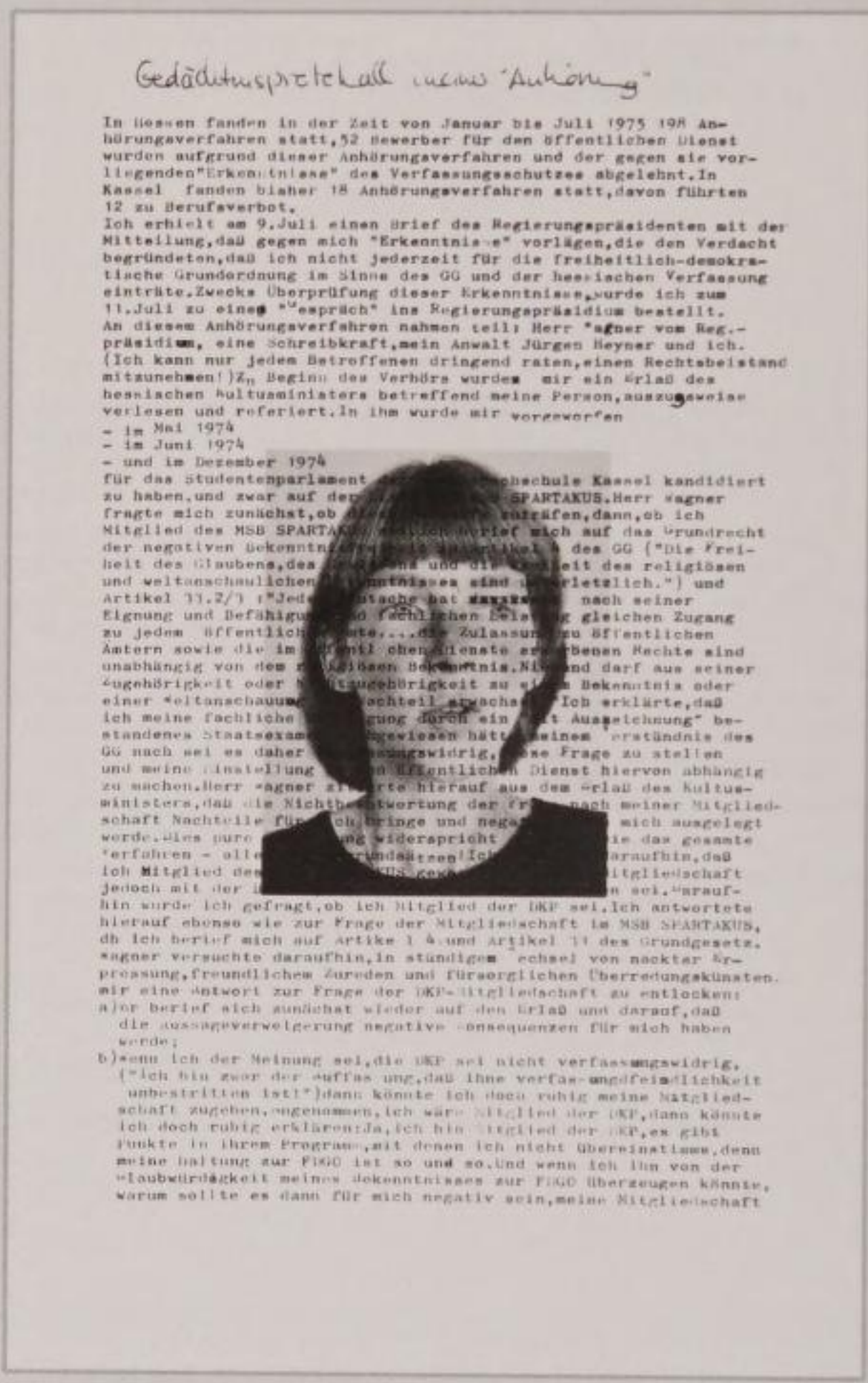
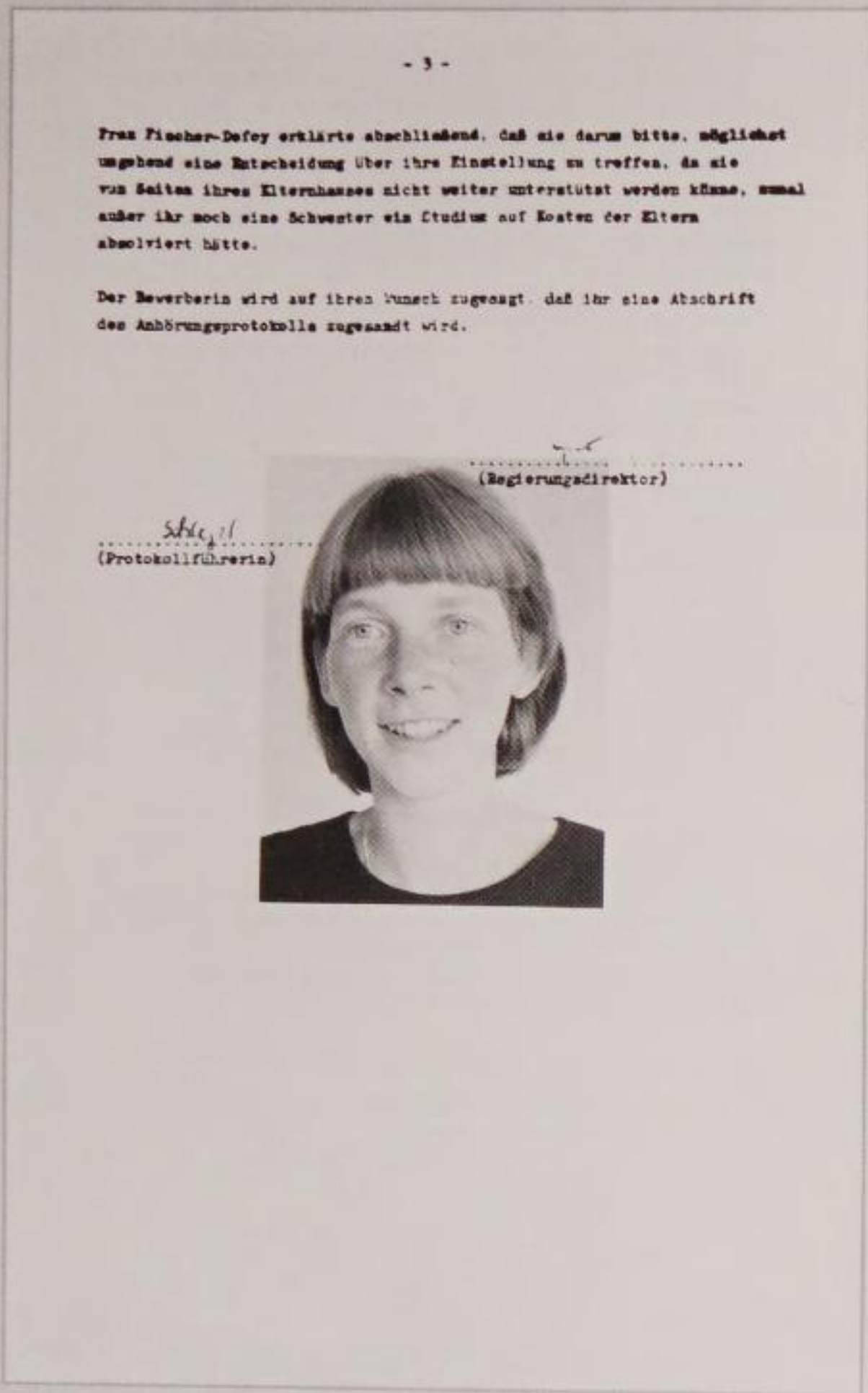
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In 1972 Chancellor Willy Brandt and the  
 state governors of the Federal Republic  
 of Germany issued a joint Anti-Radical  
 Decree ('Radikalenerlaß') prohibiting per-  
 sons who "leave room for doubt that they  
 would at all times stand up for the free,

democratic order" from being admitted  
 to the civil service. The 'Verfassungs-  
 schutz' (state and federal security servic-  
 es) screened gravediggers, train engi-  
 neers, postal clerks, teachers, and all  
 other candidates for civil service. Several

million individuals were checked, and  
 about 10,000 were barred.  
 Politically supported by a backlash  
 against the student rebellion of the six-  
 ties and the violence of the Baader-  
 Meinhof group and their followers, this





policy of 'Berufsverbot' (ban on practicing one's profession) was aimed almost exclusively at persons of leftist orientation. No illegal acts on the part of the candidate needed to be proved in a court of law in order to block the individual

from civil service. The mere presumption by the authorities, often based on untested and sketchy information from security services, that they were 'Verfassungsfeinde' (enemies of the constitution) sufficed.

The level of enforcement varied from state to state and often depended on the political climate of the day. It had a chilling effect on all forms of protest against governmental actions and policy.



susugeben?????

c) In einer Partei sei man doch nicht Mitglied, nur um Beiträge zu bezahlen, sondern weil man sich zu ihren Zielen bekennt und mit ihr politisch wirken will. Wenn er in der SPD sei, so würde er sich zu seiner Mitgliedschaft jederzeit öffentlich bekennen und sagen: "Ja, ich bin Mitglied der SPD!" Deshalb sollte ich das, wenn ich der Meinung sei, die DKP sei keine verfassungswidrige Partei ("Bei SPD und CDU ist das ja unbestritten!") mich ruhig zur Mitgliedschaft bekennen!!!

Wir versuchten, ihn zu erklären, daß er das in SPD-Hessen gut be- kennen kann, diese Mitgliedschaft jedoch bereits in Bayern zu sei- nem Berufsverbot führen könnte. Daraufhin berief er sich auf die höheren Mächte, den "riß des Kultusministers, und daß er ja nix zu verantworten hätte, sondern nur auf Anweisung von oben dieses Gespräch durchführe. Ich wurde daraufhin die "Prinzipien der FDGO abgefragt (für alle, die, wie ich, zwar draufstehen, sie aber nicht immer im Kopf haben: Menschenrechte, Volkssouveränität, Gewaltenteilung, Mehrparteienprinzip, Recht auf Opposition, Gesetzmäßigkeit der Verwaltung, Verantwortlichkeit der Regierung und Unabhängigkeit der Gerichte). Wagner: "Nun berufen sie sich doch auf die Theorien von Marx, Engels und Lenin, die sie das den überhaupt mit ihrem Bekenntnis zur FDGO... sind sie doch, z.B. dafür, daß die Arbeiterklasse, die die Macht ausüben soll?" Ich leitete daraufhin meine eigene Politik ab, daß politische Theorien immer gemäß den Umständen und unter Berücksichtigung der konkreten jeweiligen politischen, sozialen und politischen Ge- gebenheiten einer Gesellschaft angewandt werden müssen, und daß zu diesen Bedingungen auch die SPD die Zielsetzungen des Grund- gesetzes gehörten, das eine Verwirklichung der Theorien von Marx Engels und Lenin unter diesen Bedingungen heißt: die volle Ausschöpfung der Art. 14, 16 des GG und Art. 41 der hessischen Landesverfassung, die die Vergesellschaftung der wichtigen Prä- duktionsmittel, der politisch-konsequenten Großindustrie und des Großgrundbesitzes (erschwerend) für meine Mit- gliedschaft und Mitgliedschaft in MSB SPARTAKUS sei nicht lediglich das Bekenntnis zu den Theorien des Marxismus gewesen, sondern die konkrete praktische Umsetzung dieser Theorien in den Aktionen für die unmittelbar brennendsten Tagesprobleme der Kommilitonen am Fachbereich und in der gesamten Hochschule. Hier sei der MSB SPAR- TAKUS die einzige und richtungweisende Hochschulgruppe gewesen, die sich konkrete Schritte zur Verwirklichung der Hochschulreform für die sozialen Anliegen der Studenten erarbeitet hat. Deshalb habe ich mich auf der Liste des MSB SPARTAKUS eingetragen, und ich sehe gerade darin einen Beweis meines demokratischen Engagements und einen Ausdruck dafür, daß ich unserer politischen Ziele mit demokratischen Mitteln auf legalem Wege erreichen wolle. Ins- besondere die antimilitaristische und pazifistische Haltung des MSB SPARTAKUS hätten zu meinem Beitritt geführt, da ich in diesem Sinne, bedingt durch eine schwere Kriegsverletzung meines Vaters, erzogen worden bin, und Gewaltanwendung als Mittel im politischen Kampf ablehne. Der MSB SPARTAKUS sei die einzige Studentenorgani- sation, die sich in diesem Sinne für Abrüstung und Friedens- sicherung einsetzt.

Daraufhin hatte Herr Wagner keine weiteren Fragen mehr (= was auch immer das heißen mag: hätte ich schon gebügelte meine Verfassungsver- feindlichkeit bewiesen?) Er formulierte das Protokoll, wobei ich gelegentlich einige Passagen selbst formulieren durfte, etwa be- züglich meines Engagements im Studentenparlament und meine ver- fassungsrechtlich begründete Ablehnung der Beantwortung der Frage nach der DKP-Mitgliedschaft. Mir wurde abschließend das Protokoll verlesen und zugesagt, daß ich gelegentlich über meinen Anwalt weiteres hören würde, zunächst ginge meine Akte mit den "Erkennt- nissen" (unter denen ich zwischendurch einige Fotokopien der "Konsequenz" erklären konnte) und dem Protokoll der Anhörung zurück an das Innen- und Kultusministerium. Dies bedeutet wahr-

Alle Menschen sind vor dem Gesetz gleich.  
Niemand darf wegen seines Geschlechts, seiner Abstammung, seiner Rasse, seiner Sprache,  
seiner Heimat und Herkunft, seines Glaubens, seiner Religion oder politischer Anschauungen  
benachteiligt oder bevorzugt werden.  
Grundgesetz, Art. 3 Abs. 1 Satz 1

scheinlich, daß ich zum 1. August noch nicht eingestellt werde, ob- wohl mir bereits eine Stelle am Landkreis Kassel zugewiesen worden war. Damit wird mein Recht auf die Beendigung meiner Ausbildung mit FUBen getreten und für eine weitere Klasse in Kassel wird der Unterricht ausfallen!



Jeder hat das Recht, seine Meinung in Wort, Schrift und Bild frei zu äußern und zu verbreiten  
und sich aus allgemein zugänglichen Quellen ungehindert zu unterrichten. Die Pressefreiheit und  
die Freiheit der Berichterstattung durch Rundfunk und Film werden gewährleistet.  
Eine Zensur findet nicht statt.  
Grundgesetz, Art. 5 Abs. 1



Der Regierungspräsident  
in Kassel

11/1 b - FA Fischer-Defoy, Christine  
Die Besetzung des Amtes ist Sache des Landesparlamentes

Der Regierungspräsident in Kassel, 3100 Kassel 1, Postfach 65082

Frau  
Christine Fischer-Defoy

55 K a s s e l  
Berlebschstr. 2

Kassel 14, August 1975  
Stetsweg 6  
Telefon: (0561) 106-1 (Verwaltung)  
Durchwahl: 106

Mit Postzustellungsurkunde!

Betrifft: Einstellung in den Vorbereitungsdienst des Landes Hessen

Sehr geehrte Frau Fischer-Defoy!

Hiermit lehne ich Ihren Antrag vom 31. Januar 1975 auf Übernahme in den Vorbereitungsdienst des Landes Hessen als Lehramtsreferendarin im Beamtenverhältnis mit Widerruf ab, da Sie nicht die Voraussetzung des § 7 Abs. 1 Nr. 2 HBO erfüllen.

G r ü n d e

Mit Schreiben vom 11. 7. 1975 beantragen Sie Ihre Einstellung als Leamtsreferendarin am 1. August 1975. Die Erste Staatsprüfung für das Lehramt an Haupt- und Realschulen bestanden Sie im Juni 1975 in den Fächern Kunst, Musik und Gesellschaftslehre.

Da erhebliche Bedenken bestehen, daß Sie für die freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung im Sinne des Grundgesetzes und der Hessischen Verfassung eintreten werden, ist Ihnen Gelegenheit gegeben worden, im Rahmen eines persönlichen Gespräches mit Ihrem möglichen Dienstherrn die Bedenken an Ihrer Verfassungstreue auszuräumen.

Bei dieser Anhörung in meinem Hause am 11. 7. 1975 haben Sie bestätigt, daß Sie als Studentin Mitglied des MSB-Spartakus gewesen sind. Diese Mitgliedschaft sei erloschen, als Sie Ihr Staatsexamen abgelegt haben. Die weitere Frage, ob Sie Mitglied der DKP waren oder sind, haben Sie nicht beantwortet. Sie hielten diese Frage für unzulässig, da Sie Ihre Eignung für den öffentlichen Dienst durch die Ablegung eines Staatsexamens nachgewiesen hätten.

- 2 -

GLEICHZEITIG ARBEITSZEIT ZU EMPFANGEN! (FREIHEITSPHIL) 1975 VOM 9.00 - 12.00 UND 14.00 - 15.30 UHR

Alle Deutschen haben das Recht, Beruf, Arbeitsplatz und Ausbildungsstätte frei zu wählen.  
Die Berufsausübung kann durch Gesetz oder auf Grund eines Gesetzes geregelt werden.  
Grundgesetz, Art. 12, Abs. 1

- 2 -

Die von Ihnen bei Ihrer Anhörung gemachte Aussage ist nicht geeignet, die bestehenden berechtigten Zweifel an Ihrer Verfassungstreue auszuräumen. Zwar kann Ihre Einlassung nicht widerlegt werden, daß Sie mit Ablegung des Staatsexamens aus dem MSB-Spartakus ausgeschlossen sind und damit nicht mehr dieser Studentenvereinigung, die als Nebenorganisation der DKP auch verfassungseindliche Ziele verfolgt, angehören. Sie vertreten jedoch zu Unrecht die Ansicht, daß Sie nicht verpflichtet seien, Auskunft über eine etwaige Parteizugehörigkeit zu geben. Nach der höchst-richterlichen Rechtsprechung, die nunmehr auch vom Bundesverfassungsgericht bestätigt worden ist, schließt das Merkmal der Eignung für den öffentlichen Dienst die Verpflichtung der öffentlichen Bediensteten ein, sich jederseit durch ihr gesamtes Verhalten zur freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung im Sinne des Grundgesetzes zu bekennen. Um diese Feststellung seitens der Bundesbehörde treffen zu können, war es erforderlich, die an Sie gestellte Frage zu stellen. Grundsätzlich ist zwar der Dienstherr nicht berechtigt, einen Bewerber für den öffentlichen Dienst oder einen Angehörigen des öffentlichen Dienstes nach seiner Mitgliedschaft in einer bestimmten Partei zu fragen; dies gilt jedoch nur, wenn es sich um eine Partei handelt, die auf dem Boden des Grundgesetzes steht. Liegt jedoch über Verdacht der Mitgliedschaft in einer Partei mit totalitärer Zielsetzung vor, so ist der Dienstherr zum Schutze des Staates verpflichtet, diese Frage zu stellen. Der Angehörige des öffentlichen Dienstes ist diese Frage zu beantworten. Weigert sich der Bewerber, diese Frage zu beantworten, so zeigt er sich bereits durch diese Weigerung vor seiner Einstellung als ungeeignet im Sinne der Verfassung für eine öffentliche Stelle.

Abgesehen von der Verpflichtung, diese Frage nach einer Mitgliedschaft in einer Organisation oder Partei mit totalitärer Zielsetzung zu beantworten, erwächst die Pflicht zur Beantwortung durch die beabsichtigte Begründung eines Beamtenverhältnisses. Das Beamtenverhältnis ist ein gegenseitiges Dienst- und Treuverhältnis. Hieraus ergeben sich für den Beamten gegenüber dem Dienstherrn u. a. bestimmte Mitwirkungspflichten, deren Nichtbeachtung im Einzelfall eine Dienstpflichtverletzung darstellen kann. Zwar dürfen sich solche Mitwirkungspflichten grundsätzlich nur auf das eigentliche Beamtenverhältnis beschränken; ähnlich wie bei der Anbahnung eines Vertragsverhältnisses bestehen jedoch auch im Vorfeld der Begründung des Beamtenverhältnisses schon ge-

gegenseitige

Jeder Deutsche hat nach seiner Eignung, Befähigung und fachlichen Leistung gleichen Zugang zu jedem öffentlichen Amte.  
Der Genuß bürgerlicher und staatsbürgerlicher Rechte, die Zulassung zu öffentlichen Ämtern sowie die im öffentlichen Dienste erwerbten Rechte sind unabhängig von dem religiösen Bekenntnis. Niemandem darf aus seiner Zugehörigkeit oder Nichtzugehörigkeit zu einer Bekennnis- oder einer Wählerschicht ein Nachteil erwachsen.  
Grundgesetz, Art. 33, Abs. 2 und 3



- 3 -

gegenseitige Pflichten und Obliegenheiten. Bei der Nichtbeachtung solcher Verpflichtungen und Obliegenheiten durch den künftigen Beamten kann im Einzelfall auf Seiten des künftigen Dienstherrn der Schluss gerechtfertigt sein, daß ernsthafte Zweifel an der Eignung des Bewerbers bestehen. Dies ist bei Ihnen der Fall, da Sie aufgrund Ihrer Einstellung und Ihrer früheren Aktivitäten bei dem MSB-Spartakus die bestehenden Zweifel an Ihrer Verfassungstreue nicht ausgeräumt haben.

Rechtsmittelbelehrung:

Gegen diesen Bescheid können Sie innerhalb eines Monats nach Zustellung schriftlich oder zur Niederschrift bei meiner Behörde, Kassel, Steinweg 6, Widerspruch einlegen.



In keinem Falle darf ein Grundrecht in seinem Wesensgehalt antastet werden.  
Grundgesetz, Art. 19 Abs. 2



**Land-Rover**  
**South Africa**



Photo: S. Coetzer, Sygma

No other vehicle ever produced can claim the international admiration and fame that surround the Land-Rover; overseas military authorities, in particular, continue to rely on this famous cross-country vehicle despite ever-increasing competition from motor manufacturers worldwide.

British Leyland, Press Release, Aldershot 1976



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan

In 1978, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, sponsored a poster made from the first panel of A Breed Apart. Land Rover and Jaguar, in 1978 part of British government-held British Leyland (BL), are now owned by the Ford Motor Company.

First exhibition: 1978, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford



**Jaguar  
abreed apart**



Photo: Leyland

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An employee may have an incentive to remain with his employer, no matter how he is treated, in order to qualify for urban residence; and it has been argued that contract workers' rights to work in urban areas are so tenuous that, regardless of how uncongenial their employment or how poor their pay, they are forced to stay in their job for fear of being endorsed out of their area and back to the homelands.

UK Parliamentary Select Committee on African Wages, 1973



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan



**Land-Rover  
South Africa**

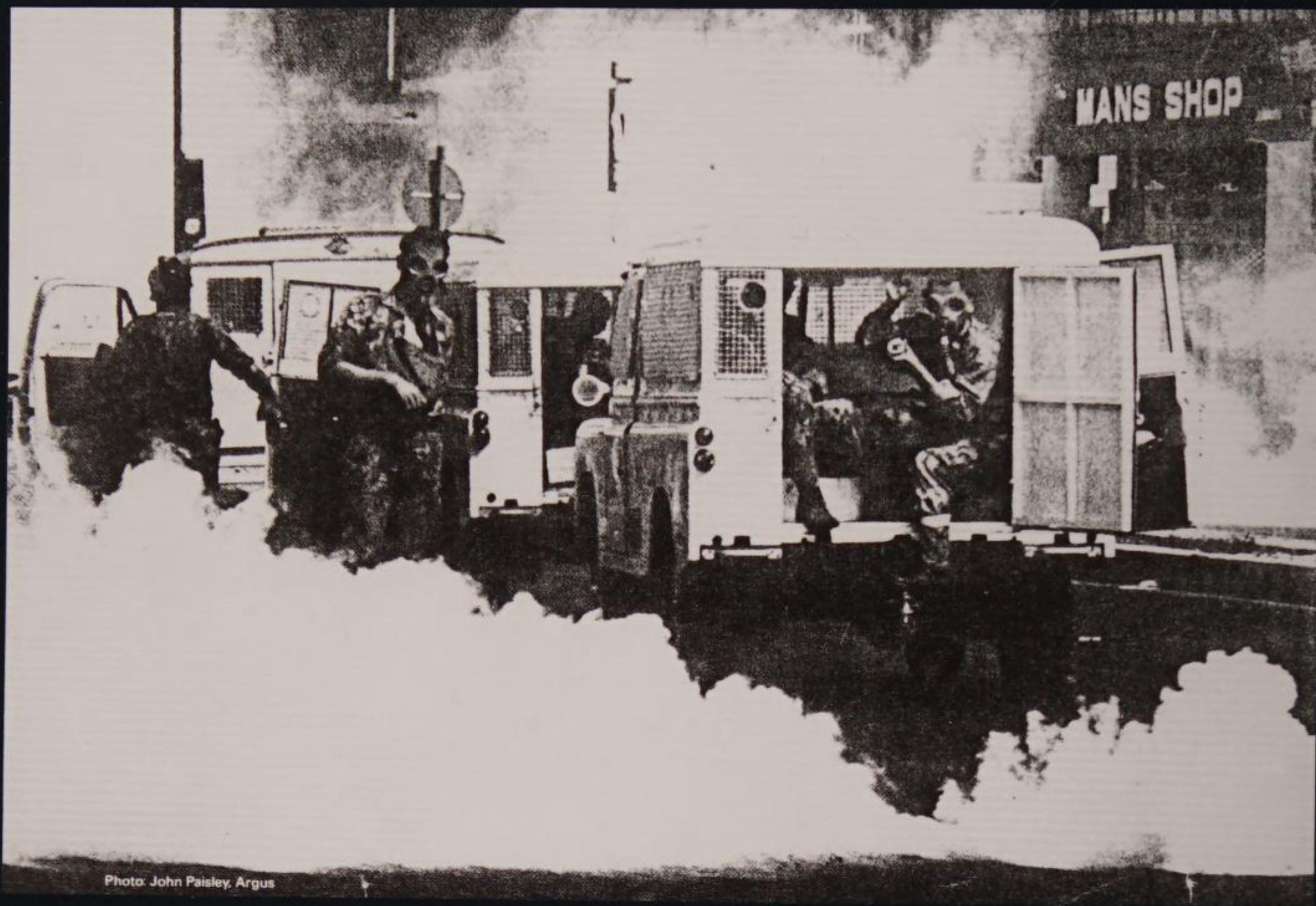


Photo: John Paisley, Argus

The Security Council decides that all States shall cease forthwith any provision to South Africa of arms and related matériel of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment, and spare parts of the aforementioned, and shall cease as well the provision of all types of equipment and supplies, and grants of licensing arrangements, for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 418, 1977



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan



**Jaguar**  
**abreed apart**

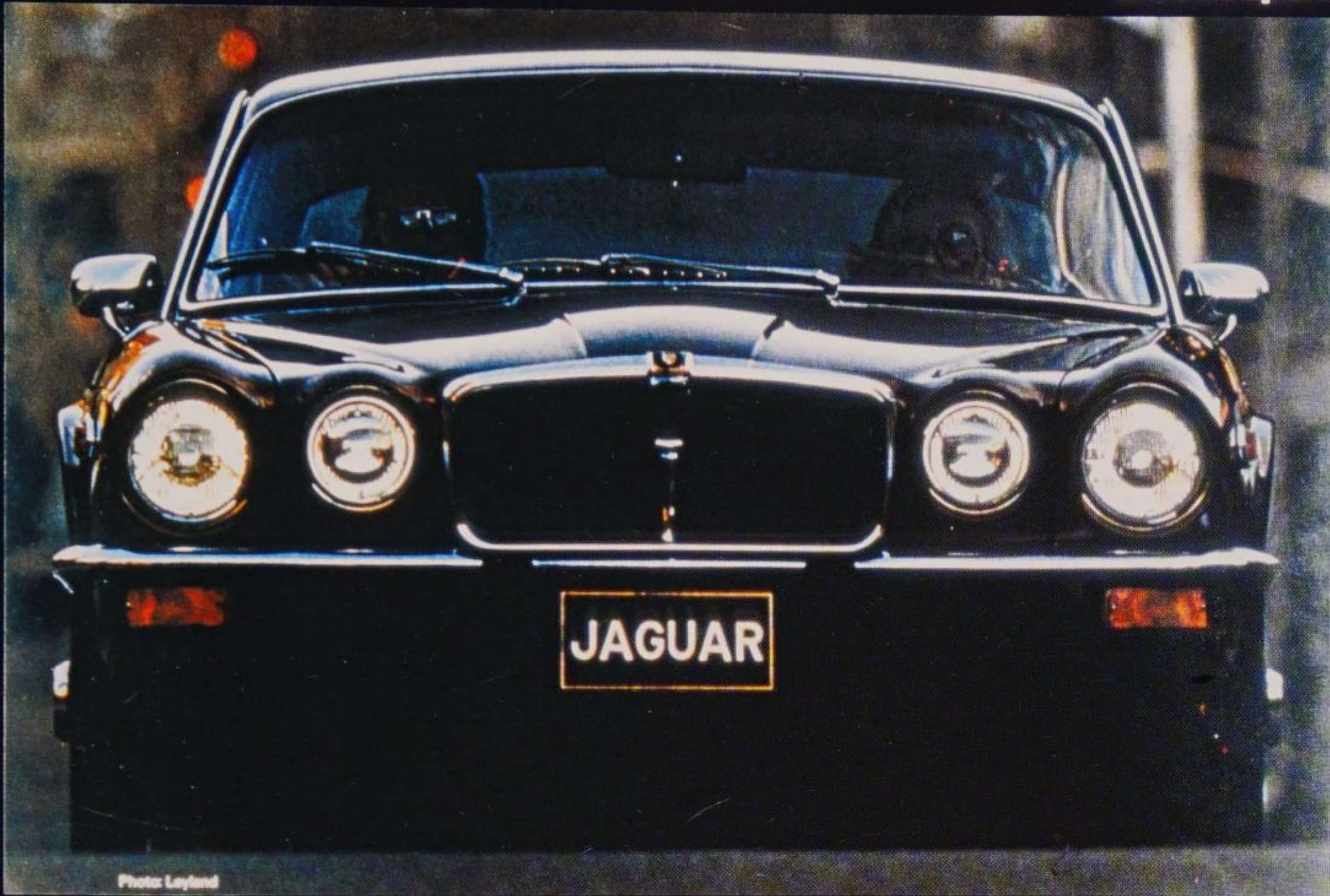


Photo: Leyland

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**Jaguar, a breed apart. The new-generation Jaguar Executive has been born. And it has opened the door to a new world... a world that, because of its sophistication and sheer class, only a select few will enter.**

**It is a world that has been created for the leader, not the pack. For those who have made it and stand apart from the masses. For those whose success demands, and deserves, a quality of life that spells luxury, elegance, perfection.**

Leyland South Africa



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan



**Land-Rover**  
**South Africa**



Photo: Peter Stanford, Argus

No British Leyland military display could be complete without the world-famous Land-Rover. In 28 years of production the Land-Rover has become one of the United Kingdom's greatest export winners, opening up areas of the world previously inaccessible to ordinary vehicles and playing a major role in the development of many overseas territories.

British Leyland. Press Release. Aldershot 1976



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan



**Jaguar  
abreed apart**



Photo: Leyland

It is only with great reluctance that we have concluded that Leyland South Africa cannot at this point in time reasonably recognize an African trade union for bargaining purposes—outside of a more general move towards recognition by progressive South African employers—without setting our business and employment at risk.

J. P. Lowry, Director of Personnel, British Leyland, 1976



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan



**Land-Rover**  
**South Africa**



Photo: Alon Reininger, Contact Press Images

The Protection of Business Act of 1978 is a piece of legislation specifically enacted to restrict this company and other organizations in South Africa from divulging information concerning their activities to overseas entities.

A. E. Pitlo, Leyland South Africa, 1978



**Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.**

Leyland advertising slogan





Under apartheid, Philips had a work force in South Africa of 3,321 (1982). Among these were 1,870 mostly low or unskilled non-white workers. At the request of the South African government, Philips had established lamp-manufacturing facilities in Rosslyn, at the border of a "bantustan." Under apartheid, blacks were forcibly resettled in these so-called homelands—areas without resources and jobs, where even subsistence farming was precarious. A limited number of low-wage laborers were issued passbooks, which allowed them to work in areas reserved for whites. When a strike erupted in a Philips cable factory in 1981, many of the strikers were fired. Philips refused to recog-

nize black trade unions. Government agencies were major clients of Philips, including the police, the military, and the Security Division, which received fingerprinting kits, mobile radios, and other surveillance equipment from Philips. The company advertised in the official organ of the South African armed forces, PARATUS.

In spite of a UN weapons embargo against South Africa, the fighter planes and helicopters of the South African air force were guided by Philips radio altimeters and radar. Philips also supplied missile guidance systems for South African Exocet missiles.

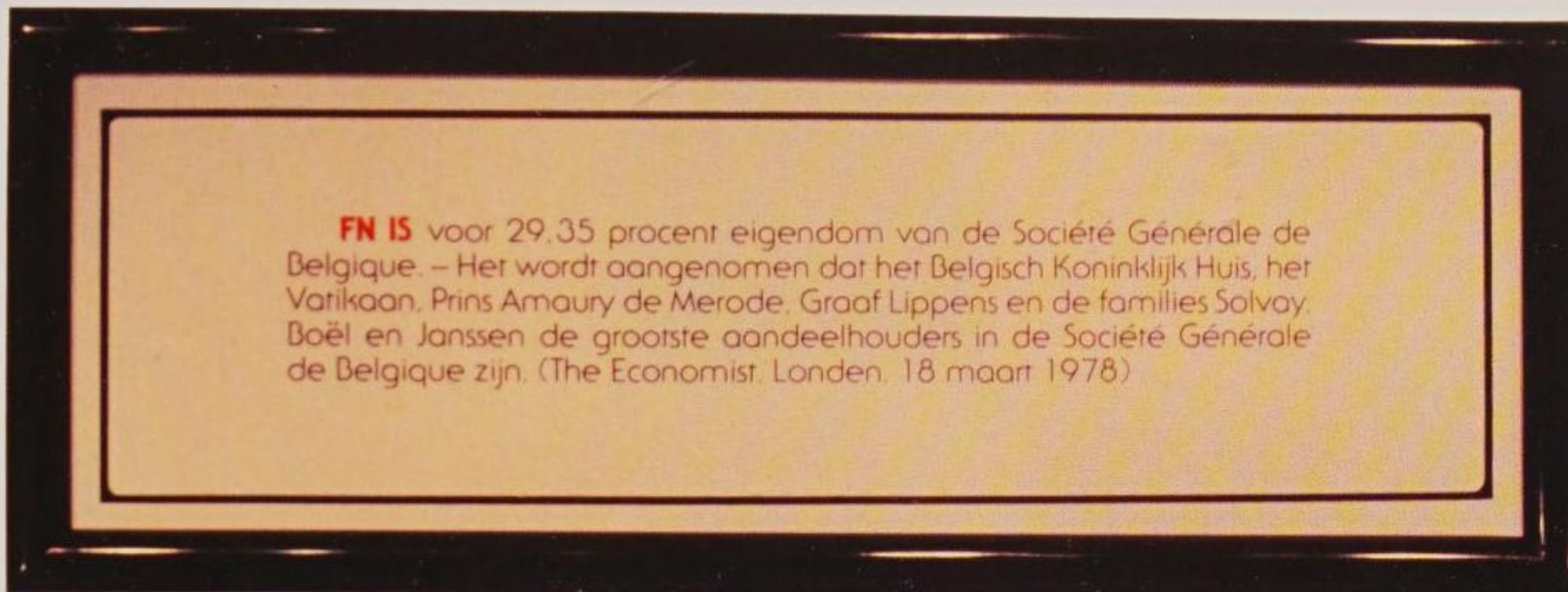




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First exhibition: 1980, 'Kunst in Europa na '68,' Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent (Installation view: 1984, Tate Gallery, London)



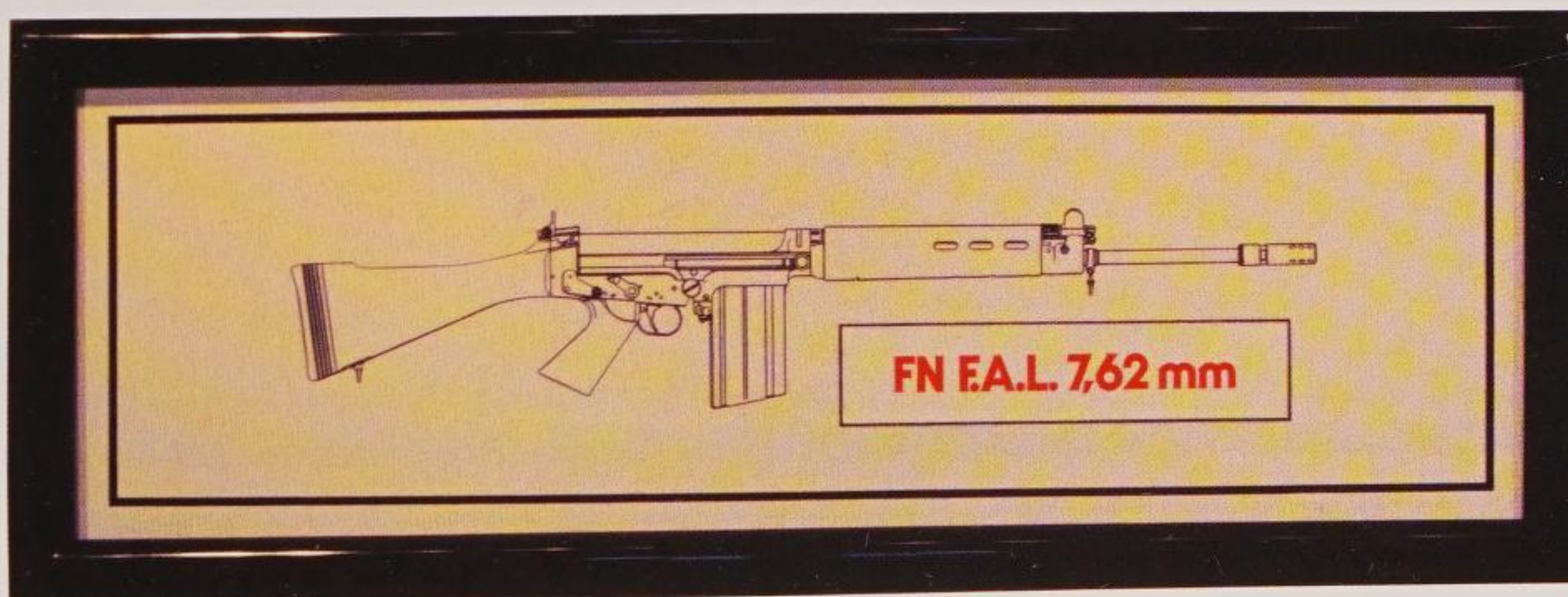


**FN IS** voor 29.35 procent eigendom van de Société Générale de Belgique. – Het wordt aangenomen dat het Belgisch Koninklijk Huis, het Vatikaan, Prins Amaury de Merode, Graaf Lippens en de families Solvay, Boël en Janssen de grootste aandeelhouders in de Société Générale de Belgique zijn. (The Economist, Londen, 18 maart 1978)

Fabrique Nationale Herstal S.A. (FN), with headquarters in Herstal, near Liège, Belgium, is one of the major manufacturers of fire arms and ammunition in the world. According to *Armies and Weapons* (no. 5, 1974), an international military journal, FN's light automatic rifle F.A.L. 7.62 mm (fusil automatique léger) "has been used on a large scale in all the more

recent wars and guerilla actions (the last Arab-Israeli conflict, the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, the Congo, Northern Ireland, South America, and so on)." The F.A.L. was produced under license from FN in about a dozen countries, among them Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Great Britain, Israel, and South Africa. The South African army under apartheid was

equipped with the FN automatic rifle. A facsimile of a portion of the FN poster announcing the competition for the "FN-Browning Prize for Creativity" is reproduced under the photos of the FN assault rifle in use against black South Africans.



**FN F.A.L. 7,62 mm**





Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der  
Leonard Monheim AG

## Kunstbesitz in Dauerleihgaben ist vermögenssteuerfrei

Peter Ludwig wurde 1925 in Koblenz als Sohn des Industriellen Fritz Ludwig (Kalkwerke Ludwig) und Frau Helene Ludwig, geb. Klöckner, geboren.

Nach dem Wehrdienst (1943-45) studierte er Jura und Kunstgeschichte; Promotion 1950 über *„Das Menschenbild Picassos als Ausdruck eines generationenmäßig bedingten Lebensgefühl“*. Die Dissertation stützt sich auf Bezüge zwischen zeitgenössischer Literatur und dem Werk Picassos. Historische Ereignisse werden kaum berücksichtigt.

1951 heiratete Peter Ludwig Irene Monheim, eine Müntzstudentin, und trat in die *Leonard Monheim KG*, Aachen, seines Schwiegervaters ein. 1952 wurde er geschäftsführender Gesellschafter, 1969 Vorsitzender der Geschäftsleitung und 1978 Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats der *Leonard Monheim AG*, Aachen.

Peter Ludwig ist Aufsichtsratsmitglied der *Agrippina Versicherungs-Gesellschaft* und der *Wagenfabrik Uerdinger*, er ist Vorsitzender des Bezirksverbandes der *Deutschen Bank AG*, Köln-Aachen-Siegen.

Seit Anfang der 50er Jahre sammeln Peter und Irene Ludwig Kunst, zunächst alte Kunst. Seit 1966 konzentrieren sie sich auf moderne Kunst: Pop Art, Photorealismus, Pattern Painting, Kunst aus der DDR und die *„neuen Wilden“*. Seit 1972 hält Peter Ludwig als Honorarprofessor der Kölner Universität kunsthistorische Seminare im *Museum Ludwig* ab.

Dauerleihgaben moderner Kunst befinden sich im *Museum Ludwig*, Köln, der *Neuen Galerie-Sammlung Ludwig* und dem *Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum* in Aachen, den *Nationalgalerien* in West- und Ostberlin, dem *Kunstmuseum Basel*, dem *Centre Pompidou* Paris, und den Landesmuseen in Saarbrücken und Mainz. Im Kölner *Schütgen-Museum*, im Aachener *Conzen-Museum* und im bayrischen *Nationalmuseum* befinden sich mittelalterliche Werke. Das Kölner *Raumertrach-Jost-Museum* beherbergt Objekte aus dem präkolumbianischen Amerika, aus Afrika und Ozeanien.

Das Kölner *Wälfel-Richartz-Museum* erhielt 1976 als Schenkung eine Pop Art-Sammlung (jetzt *Museum Ludwig*), das *Suermondt-Museum* in Aachen 1977 mittelalterliche Kunst (jetzt *Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum*). Dem *Antikemuseum Basel* (jetzt *Antikenmuseum Basel und Museum Ludwig*) wurde 1981 eine Kollektion griechisch-römischer Kunst geschenkt, die Dauerleihgaben aus Kassel, Aachen und Würzburg einschließt. In eine *Österreichische Stiftung Ludwig für Kunst und Wissenschaft* wurde 1981 eine Sammlung moderner Kunst eingebracht.

Peter Ludwig sitzt in der *Ankaufskommission der Landgalerie Düsseldorf*, im *International Council des Museum of Modern Art*, New York, und im *Advisory Council des Museum of Contemporary Art*, Los Angeles.



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The German chocolate manufacturer and art collector Peter Ludwig once said: "The market for Pop Art has been determined by the activities of Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig." Through donations of art works, promised

gifts, and loans, he also tried to determine the programming and professional appointments in public museums. His contract with the City of Cologne provided: "Appointments for the position of director as well as the professional staff of the Museum





Arbeiterinnen in einem Werk der Leonard Monheim AG.



Die Monheim-Gruppe vertreibt Tafelschokolade und Pralinen der Marke Regent zu Niedrigpreisen vor allem über Aldi und Automaten.

Die Fertigung erfolgt in Aachen, wo das Unternehmen mit rund 2500 Arbeitern und Angestellten in 2 Werken die größten Produktionsstätten und seine Hauptverwaltung betreibt. Die Zahl der Arbeiter im Werk Saarlouis beträgt ca. 1300, in Quackborn ca. 400 und in West-Berlin ca. 800.

Insgesamt hat Monheim in Deutschland 1981 wie vor 10 Jahren rund 7000 Beschäftigte – bei vervenfachtem Umsatz. Davon sind 5000 Frauen. Die Zahl der gewerblich Beschäftigten beträgt 5400. Darunter sind zwei Drittel ungelernete Arbeitskräfte. Zusätzlich werden ca. 900 meist ungelernete Saisonarbeiter eingestellt.

Der von der Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten ausgehandelte Tariflohn bewegt sich zwischen DM 6,02 (Tarifgruppe E – Fließbandarbeit unter 18 Jahre) und DM 12,30 (Tarifgruppe S – qualifizierte Facharbeiter). Das niedrigste Gehalt, gemäß Tarifvertrag, beträgt DM 1097,-, das der höchsten Gehaltsstufe mindestens DM 3214,-.

Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der 2500 ausländischen Arbeitskräfte sind Frauen. Sie stammen vornehmlich aus der Türkei und Jugoslawien. Aber auch Gastarbeiterinnen aus Marokko, Tunesien, Spanien und Griechenland sind angeworben worden («Kopffpreis» 1973: DM 1000,-). Ausländische Arbeiterinnen kommen auch täglich aus dem

belgischen und holländischen Grenzgebiet.

Das Unternehmen unterhält in Aachen auf seinem umzäunten Betriebsgelände und an anderen Orten Wohnheime, in denen Gastarbeiterinnen zu dritt oder viert in einem Zimmer untergebracht sind (der Bau von Unterkünften für ausländische Arbeitskräfte wird von der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit subventioniert). Die Monatsmiete wird vom Lohn einbehalten.

Besuche werden von der Betriebsleitung kontrolliert und zum Teil abgewiesen. Das bischöfliche Presseamt und der Caritasverband in Aachen beurteilen die Wohnverhältnisse folgendermaßen: «Da die meisten dieser Frauen und Mädchen lediglich am Arbeitsplatz und innerhalb der Wohnheime menschliche Kontakte knüpfen können, leben sie praktisch in einem Ghetto.»

Da Monheim keine Kindertagesstätte habe, müssten Gastarbeiterinnen, die ein Kind bekommen, das Heim verlassen oder für ihr Kind eine für sie kaum erschwingliche Familienpflegestelle suchen, oder aber sie müssten das Kind zur Adoption anbieten.

«Es dürfte für eine große Firma, bei der so viele Mädchen und Frauen beschäftigt sind, ohne weiteres möglich sein, eine Kindertagesstätte zu errichten.»

Die Personalabteilung antwortete darauf, Monheim sei «eine Schokoladenfabrik und kein Kindergarten». Für eine Kindertagesstätte könne kein Personal beschafft werden. Die Firma sei kein Sozialamt.



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Ludwig are made in consultation with Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig or the surviving spouse. Prof. Dr. Ludwig and his wife are fully apprised of the museum's ongoing work (e.g., exhibitions, acquisitions, publications).” The construction of the museum, a condi-

tion for Ludwig's contributions, cost the city DM 273 million. Busts of the collector and his wife, sculpted by Arno Breker, were unveiled at the museum's opening in 1986. Yearly maintenance was estimated at DM 40 million. In 1983, Peter Ludwig sold





Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsvorstand der  
Leonard Moebeus AG

## Wir arbeiten nicht mit Drohungen Peter Ludwig

Peter und Irene Ludwig übergaben dem Kölner Wallraf-Richartz-Museum 1968 als Dauerleihgabe eine Sammlung moderner Kunst, in der vornehmlich Werke der Pop Art vertreten waren.

1976 ist diese Sammlung der Stadt Köln mit der Auflage geschenkt worden, daß die Stadt Köln ein Museum für die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts errichtet, das den Namen *Museum Ludwig* erhält:

*„Die Eheleute Ludwig bzw. der Überlebende von ihnen sind berechtigt, von diesem Vertrag zurückzutreten und die Herausgabe aller laut Vertrag geschenkten Kunstgegenstände zu verlangen, wenn die Gesamtfertigstellung und Eröffnung des Museums Ludwig nicht bis zum 9. Juli 1985 gewährleistet ist.“* Der 9. Juli 1985 ist der 60. Geburtstag von Peter Ludwig.

Mit dem Museumsbau ist zwischen Dortmund und Rhein begonnen worden. Die Bauleitung veranschlagte die Kosten 1980 auf DM 219 Millionen. Die mit dem Bau notwendige Neugestaltung der Umgebung erhöhte die Kosten insgesamt voraussichtlich auf weit über DM 300 Millionen. Die Unterhalts- und Personalkosten des Museums werden auf rund DM 10 Millionen geschätzt.

Unabhängig vom Bauvorhaben waren unverzüglich alle Werke ab 1900 – einschließlich sämtlicher Schenkungen Kölner Sammler – aus dem Wallraf-Richartz-Museum auszugliedern und organisatorisch

in das neugegründete *Museum Ludwig* aufzunehmen, das vorläufig in den Räumen des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums untergebracht ist. Ebenfalls sollen alle Neuerwerbungen zeitgenössischer Kunst dem *Museum Ludwig* zugeführt werden.

Im Schenkungsvertrag wurde ferner vereinbart: *„Die Berufung dieses Direktors (des Museums Ludwig) sowie der wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter des Museums Ludwig erfolgt nach Anhörung der Eheleute Ludwig bzw. des überlebenden Ehegatten. Herr Professor Dr. Ludwig und seine Ehefrau werden über die laufende Arbeit dieses Museums (z. B. Ausstellungsorten, Ankäufe, Publikationen) voll informiert.“*

Mit den Eheleuten Ludwig ist zweimal jährlich eine *Grundsatzbesprechung* zu führen, in der *über die Arbeit des Museums Ludwig umfassend und detailliert gesprochen wird.*

Zum Wert der Schenkung erklärte Peter Ludwig: *„Daß die Sammlung heute 45 Millionen wert ist, ist vor allem dem Umstand zu danken, daß sie jahrelang in einem so prominenten Haus wie dem Wallraf-Richartz-Museum gezeigt wurde. Ich habe für die Bilder und Objekte zusammen nicht mehr als 5 Millionen ausgegeben.“*

Die Stadt Köln machte Peter Ludwig zum Ehrenbürger.



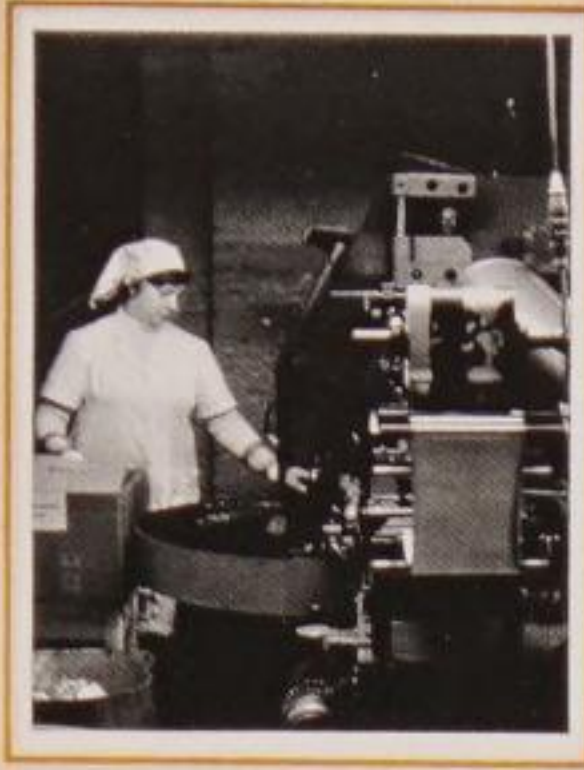
From Wall F. Design

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144 illuminated manuscripts to the Getty Museum (since 1977, the City of Cologne had paid two curators for research on the manuscripts and the publication of a four-volume catalogue). The Ludwig Foundation for Art was endowed with DM 30 million

from the sale. It invested its capital in Ludwig's ailing chocolate enterprise. Nevertheless, licensing agreements and factories eventually had to be sold or closed. After the Getty sale, the collector was charged with nonpayment of





Arbeiten in einem Werk  
der Leonard Monheim AG.

COMET CONFECTIONARY LTD



LA CONFISERIE COMÈTE LTÉE

Die Monheim-Gruppe erwarb 1959 in St. Hyacinthe bei Montreal die Schokoladefabrik der *Kamby Company*. Zunächst unter dem Namen *Regent Chocolate Ltd.* produzierte die kanadische Tochtergesellschaft Tafelschokolade und Saisonartikel. Nach Erweiterungen in den Jahren 1968 und 1970 nahm das Werk ein Gelände von 9000 qm ein.

1974 traten nach dem Verzehr von *Regent*-Schokoladenhasen, Christbaumkugeln und den für *Woodworth* in Toronto hergestellten Milkschokolade *Crouch Break-ups* Salmonellenvergiftungen auf. Die Gesundheitsbehörden Kanadas und der Vereinigten Staaten untersagten darauf den weiteren Verkauf von *Regent*-Erzeugnissen. Die bereits ausgelieferte Ware mußte zurückgerufen werden. Das Werk wurde zur Entseuchung geschlossen.

Unter einem neuen Namen, *Comet Confectionary Ltd./Confiserie Comète Ltée*, wurde der Betrieb nach einem halben Jahr mit einer Kapitaleinlage von DM 5,3 Millionen wieder aufgenommen. Günstige Darlehen der Quebec Industrial Development Corp. und des Department of Regional Economic Expansion — zum Teil zinslos — in Höhe von can. \$ 4,25 Millionen sowie stille Reserven der Tochtergesellschaft förderten die Wiedereröffnung.

Die Arbeitnehmer, in der Mehrzahl Frauen und ungelern, deren Stundenlohn 1973 nur wenig über dem gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Mindestlohn von can. \$ 1,85 lag, gründeten 1974 während der Stille-

gung des Betriebes eine Gewerkschaft, den *Syndicat des Salariés de la Confiserie Comète St-Hyacinthe (C.S.N.)*.

Vor dem Abschluß des 3. Tarifvertrages von 1979 wurde *Comet* bestreikt. Gemäß diesem auf zwei Jahre befristeten Vertrag betragen der Mindestlohn can. \$ 5,16 und der Höchstlohn \$ 7,15. Saisonbedingt schwankt die Zahl der Arbeiter und Angestellten zwischen 200 und 500.

*Comet* vertreibt ihre Erzeugnisse unter den Marken *Comet*, *van Houten* und den Hausnamen zahlreicher Firmen in Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten für die sie anonym produziert (u. a. *Dalt*, *Orson*, *Sarah Lee*). Über die Hälfte der Fertigung, vor allem Saisonartikel, wird seit Jahren in die Vereinigten Staaten exportiert.

*Comet* besorgt auch den Vertrieb von Erzeugnissen der Marke *van Houten*, die in Europa hergestellt worden sind, für den kanadischen Markt.

Die Monheim-Geschäftsführung beurteilt das Ergebnis von *Comet* anhaltend positiv. Im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 steigerte sich der Umsatz um 31,7 % auf can. \$ 35 Millionen. Der Gewinn stieg um 40,9 % auf \$ 0,8 Millionen. Er wurde nicht ausgeschüttet, sondern in den Betrieb investiert.



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DM 1.5 million in property taxes. Shortly before his death in 1996, Peter Ludwig asked the 1,400 unionized workers in his German factories to agree to an increase of their work week by two hours, a reduction of vacation days by three,

and the elimination of overtime pay—all without wage adjustments. If his demands were not accepted, Ludwig threatened to move his production to Poland and Turkey. Two years after his death his widow sold the company.





Prof. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsvorstand der  
Leonard Monheim AG

## Bei Stiftungen entfallen für Ehegatten bis zu 35 Prozent Erbschaftsteuer

Die *Neue Galerie-Sammlung Ludwig* der Stadt Aachen präsentiert gewöhnlich – oft in programmatischen Ausstellungen – die Neuerwerbungen von Peter Ludwig. Sie ist auch der Ausgangspunkt für Wanderausstellungen und Dauerleihgaben an andere Museen. Ihr Direktor arbeitet eng mit dem Sammler zusammen.

1977 gingen 22 Werke von Aachen als Dauerleihgabe in die *Nationalgalerie* in Ostberlin. Neuerworbene Malerei aus der DDR wurde daraufhin in Aachen gezeigt.

In Aachen wurde 1978 auch eine Ausstellung für das *Museum für moderne Kunst* in Teheran zusammengestellt (bis zum Sturz des Schahs leitete das Museum ein Stiefbruder der Kaiserin). Das *Centre Pompidou* in Paris und andere europäische Institute erhielten ebenfalls namhafte Dauerleihgaben aus Aachen.

Seit 1976 plant die Stadt Aachen deshalb, durch einen Museumsneubau Peter Ludwig dazu zu bewegen, seine Sammlung in Aachen zu belassen. An der Monheim-Allee soll ab 1982 für DM 40 Millionen ein Neubau entstehen. Die Vollendung ist für 1985 zum 60. Geburtstag des Sammlers vorgesehen. Eine Zusage, seine Sammlung in Aachen zu lassen, hat er nicht gegeben.

Als die Stadt 1976 ihre niedrige Gewerbesteuer anhub, drohte Peter Ludwig (CDU): „Mit der Verdammnissteuer muß ein Ende sein... Mit Steuererhöhungen will ich aber kein Museum.“

1979 vergab er den bedeutendsten Teil der Aachener Sammlung als Dauerleihgabe an das neugegründete *Museum moderner Kunst* in Wien. Dr. Dieter Rothe, der in Köln den Bau des *Museums Ludwig* überwachte, wurde zum Direktor des Wiener Museums ernannt.

1981 wurde eine Auswahl von 161 Werken im Nennwert von öS 150 Millionen (ca. DM 10 Mio.) in eine neugegründete *Österreichische Stiftung Ludwig für Kunst und Wissenschaft* eingebracht. Die Republik Österreich verpflichtete sich, öS 150 Millionen für Ankäufe, Ausstellungen und andere Stiftungszwecke beizusteuern.

Im Stiftungsrat sitzen Peter und Irene Ludwig mit 2 von ihnen benannten Personen. Österreich stellt seinerseits 4 Mitglieder. Der Vorsitz wechselt in jährlichem Turnus zwischen Peter Ludwig und einem Vertreter Österreichs. Den Eheleuten Ludwig steht für 10 Jahre ein Vetorecht über die Disposition (Ausstellung, Leihgaben etc.) der von ihnen gestifteten Werke zu.

Frau Irene Ludwig wurde in Wien zum Professor ernannt. Peter Ludwig erhielt die Ehrenbürgerschaft.

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John Wink 7/1980

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Arbeiterrinnen in einem Werk der Leonard Monheim AG.

# VAN HOUTEN

Die Monheim-Gruppe erwarb 1971 von der amerikanischen Peter & Paul, Inc. weltweit die Produktions-, Marken- und Vertriebsrechte für ihre *Houten*-Erzeugnisse.

Seither betreiben die *van Houten*-Tochtergesellschaften der Monheim-Gruppe ihr gesamtes Gruppenexportgeschäft über eigene Vertriebsorganisationen in Deutschland, Frankreich (1979/80 Umsatz FF 122,7 Millionen), Großbritannien, Kanada, den Niederlanden und den Vereinigten Staaten.

Darüber hinaus sind Ostasien und die DDR bedeutende Handelspartner. Eine Expansion des Marktes in die Sowjetunion und andere Ostblockländer ist geplant. Kooperationsverhandlungen sind 1980 auch mit österreichischen Unternehmen aufgenommen worden, die den Markt des Alpenlandes für Monheim-Erzeugnisse erschließen sollen.

Rund 34 % (DM 403 Millionen) des Konzernumsatzes wurden im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 außerhalb der Bundesrepublik erzielt.

Neben dem Markenartikelgeschäft betreibt *van Houten* auch die Herstellung von Industrieprodukten wie Kakaobutter, Kakaopulver, Kuvertüre, Kakaomassen und Rohkakao.

Insgesamt investierte Monheim von 1971 bis 1975 allein in West-Berlin für die *van Houten*-Produktion von Kakaopulver und Kakaobutter DM 60 Millionen. Diese Sachanlagen wurden wesentlich durch die

Vergünstigungen des Beförderungsgesetzes getragen (Sonderabschreibungen, Investitionszuschüsse und andere Steuererleichterungen).

Die Monheim-Gruppe schloß 1973 mit *AGROS*, dem staatlichen Außenhandelsunternehmen von Polen, einen Kooperationsvertrag. Daraufhin wurde 1975 in der *Schokoladenfabrik Wawel* in Krakau mit der Lizenzproduktion von *van Houten* Tafelschokolade begonnen. Ein Teil der Erzeugnisse ist für den Export bestimmt.

Mit den staatlichen Außenhandelsfirmen der DDR wurden 1974 ebenfalls Gestattungsverträge zur Herstellung instantisierter Kakaogetränke der Marke *van Houten* unterzeichnet.

Die Schulen der DDR werden seither mit dem Kakaogetränk *Trinkfix* beliefert. Monheim-Produkte sind sonst nur in Intershops und Delikatäden erhältlich. Ein Teil der Produktion wird exportiert, auch in die Bundesrepublik. Für die Fertigung in Polen und der DDR stellt die Monheim-Gruppe nicht nur technisches Wissen bereit, sondern liefert auch hochspezialisierte Anlagen.

An Orten, in denen Erzeugnisse der Monheim-Gruppe gefertigt, vertrieben oder Geschäftsbeziehungen angeknüpft werden sollen, sind häufig Lehrgänge aus dem Kunstbesitz des Aufsichtsratsvorsitzenden Peter Ludwig anzutreffen (*Nationalgalerie* in Ost-Berlin, Polen, Schweiz, Frankreich, Österreich, Saarbrücken, Aachen, geplant in der UdSSR).







Prof. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
 Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der  
 Leonard-Museum AG

## Stiftungen sind jährlich zu 10 Prozent des Einkommens steuerabzugsfähig

Peter Ludwig unterbreitete dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln im Sommer 1980 einen gemeinsam erarbeiteten Entwurf einer Urkunde über die Errichtung der Stiftung Ludwig zur Förderung der bildenden Kunst und verwandter Gebiete mit dem Sitz in Köln nebst einer Satzung. Das Dokument ist das Ergebnis fast einjähriger Gespräche zwischen den drei öffentlichen Partnern der projektierten Stiftung und Peter Ludwig.

Die Stiftungspläne blieben der Öffentlichkeit verborgen, bis der Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger sie dank einer Indiskretion am 6. September publizierte.

Dem Stiftungsentwurf zufolge beabsichtigen die Eheleute Irene und Peter Ludwig, Kunstwerke in die Stiftung einzubringen, die in einer Anlage aufgeführt sein sollen. Über den Inhalt der Anlage ist öffentlich nichts bekannt.

Soweit das Stiftungsgut ausgeliehen ist, würde die Stiftung in die Rechte und Pflichten der Stifter als Verleiher eintreten. Irene und Peter Ludwig beabsichtigen, auch ihren künftigen Künstlerwerb der Stiftung zuzuwenden.

Der Umfang und der Wert des Stiftungsgutes ist bis zur Offenlegung einer Liste nicht einzuschätzen. Es wird spekuliert, es handle sich um die mittelalterlichen Werke, die sich als Dauerleihgabe im Kölner Schnitz-Museum befinden (Schätzwert DM 100 Mio), um präkolum-

bianische, afrikanische und ozeanische Kunst, die im Roemerstrach-Jüdisch-Museum in Köln aufbewahrt werden, und um Werke moderner Kunst, die an zahlreiche europäische Museen ausgeliehen sind.

Für 10 Jahre wird den Eheleuten Ludwig ein Einspruchsrecht zugestanden - in Fragen der Disposition über den vom Ehepaar Ludwig eingebrachten Kunstbesitz.

Dauerleihgaben in Museen ersparen dem Leihgeber die Kosten der sachgerechten Lagerung, Pflege, konservatorischen Betreuung und Sicherung seines Kunstbesitzes. Die wissenschaftliche Erschließung der Werke sowie ihre Ausstellung und Publikation in Katalogen und Besprechungen erhöhen ihren Wert.

Solange Kunstbesitz öffentlich zugänglich gemacht wird, ist er von der Vermögenssteuer (jährlich 0,5 % ihres Wertes) befreit.

Eine Stiftung kann jährlich zu 10 % des insgesamt zu versteuernden Jahreseinkommens abzugsfähig sein. Es ist manchmal möglich, diese Vergünstigungen auf mehrere Jahre zu verteilen.

Kunstbesitz ist erbschaftsteuerpflichtig. Für den überlebenden Ehegatten entfällt bei einer Stiftung von über DM 100 Millionen eine Steuerschuld von 35 % des Wertes: DM 35 Millionen.

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Arbeitsraum in einem Werk  
der Leonard Monheim AG.

## NOVESIA De Beukelaer

Die Monheim-Gruppe übernahm 1978 von der *General Biscuit Co.* 75 % der Anteile der belgischen *General Chocolate N.V./S.A.* für einen Gesamtpreis von bfrs. 350 Millionen. Die restlichen Anteile verblieben im Besitz der deutschen *P. F. Feldhaus-Novesia* in Neuß.

*General Chocolate* stellt in Herentals (Belgien) und in Neuß Schokoladenerzeugnisse her, die unter der Marke *Novesia/De Beukelaer* vornehmlich in den Benelux-Ländern, der Bundesrepublik und Frankreich vertrieben werden. Zur Zeit der Übernahme beschäftigten die beiden Produktionsstätten jeweils 500 Arbeiter und Angestellte. Das Umsatzvolumen betrug rund DM 200 Millionen.

Im Anschluß an den Erwerb der Aktienmehrheit durch die Monheim-Gruppe beschloß das Ministerium für flämische Regionalwirtschaft bei einer Darlehensaufnahme von bfrs. 478 Millionen (knapp DM 32 Millionen) eine direkte Unterstützung in Form von Zinszuschüssen und Kapitalprämien von bfrs. 68 Millionen für die Modernisierung und Rationalisierung der Betriebsanlagen in Herentals zu gewähren.

Außerdem stellte die halbstaatliche Gesellschaft für Kreditgewährung an die Industrie ein vom Staat garantiertes Darlehen von bfrs. 288 Millionen bereit. Das belgische Tochterunternehmen sollte auch für drei Jahre in den Genuß gewisser Steuererleichterungen kommen.

Die Monheim-Gruppe beabsichtigte, aus eigenen Mitteln bfrs. 310

Millionen zu investieren.

1979 wurde die Beteiligung der Monheim-Gruppe an *General Chocolate* auf 100 % aufgestockt. Damit gelangten auch die deutschen Beteiligungsgesellschaften *Novesia-Schokolade GmbH* und *Maurice Schokolade GmbH* in Neuß völlig in den Monheim-Einflußbereich.

Die Konzernleitung beschloß 1980, die *Novesia*-Betriebsstätten in Neuß (Umsatz im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 rund DM 80 Millionen) stillzulegen und ihre Produktion der *Goldnuss*- und *Goldnuss Plättchen* in anderen Monheim-Werken rationeller fortzusetzen. 350 Arbeitnehmer sind davon betroffen.

Im belgischen Herentals werden unter anderem die *Melo Cake*, *Leo*, *Asot*, *Big Nuts*, *BibiP* und *Alu*, vornehmlich gefüllte Schokolade oder mit Schokolade überzogene Waffeln, hergestellt. Der Vertrieb von *Alu* und *Leo* geschieht vor allem durch Automaten.







Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsvorsitzender der  
Leinwand-Museum AG.

## Wehe der (Kunstmarkt-) Koje, an der er vorbeigegangen ist Peter Ludwig über sich selbst

In der Satzung der von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln geplanten *Stiftung Ludwig* heißt es:

*„Für Stiftungszwecke betreibt die Stiftung das Museum Ludwig in Köln, das sie verwaltet und erhält.“*

*„Der Stiftungsrat entscheidet besonders über die Berufung und Abberufung des ... Direktors des Museums Ludwig.“*

*Im Falle der Stifungsaufhebung ... fallen das Grundstück der Stiftungsmuseums und die Gegenstände, die ihrem gewöhnlichen Standpunkt in Köln haben, der Stadt Köln ohne Gegenleistung zu.“*

Daraus folgt, daß die Stadt Köln sich — für die Dauer der Stiftung — ihrer Verfügungsgewalt über ihre Sammlung der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts entledigt. Betroffen wären nicht nur die Pop Art Sammlung, welche die Eheleute Ludwig 1976 geschenkt hatten, sondern auch die dem *Walraf-Richartz-Museum* von Kölner Sammlern geschenkten Werke, die in das *Museum Ludwig* integriert worden sind, sowie die Eigenwerbungen des Museums.

Der Neubau des *Museums Ludwig* (Baukosten DM 219 Millionen) soll anscheinend ebenfalls der *Stiftung Ludwig* übereignet und möglicherweise seine Unterhalts- und Personalkosten von ihr übernommen werden.

In der Satzung ist ferner für die Stiftung *„von der Stadt Köln zur*

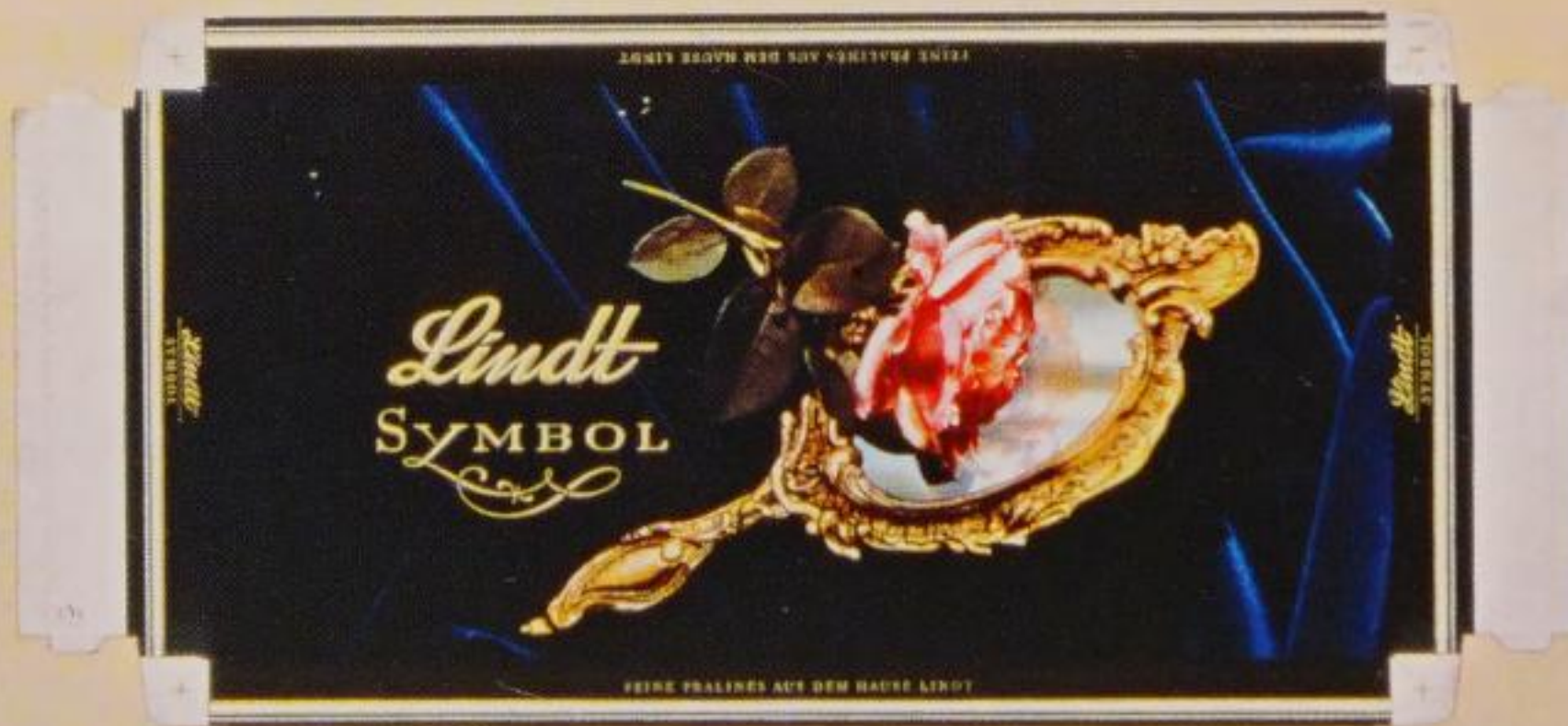
*Verfügung gestellten Baumstumpfenstellen der Stadt“* die Rede.

Die öffentlichen Stiftungspartner sprechen von jährlichen Beitragszahlungen — auch der Stadt Köln —, die zumindest am Anfang mehrere Millionen DM betragen sollen (der Ankaufset der 8 Kölner Museen beläuft sich auf DM 1,1 Mio.).

Die Vertreter der Stadt Köln gehören zu den entschiedensten öffentlichen Vertretern der *Stiftung Ludwig*. Pressekommentaren zufolge befürchten sie, die Eheleute Ludwig zögen ihre umfangreichen Leihgaben — entgegen einem ausdrücklichen früheren Versprechen — ab, wenn die von ihnen projektierte *Stiftung Ludwig* nicht zustande kommt. Peter Ludwig hatte einmal angedeutet: *„Es gibt vielleicht noch andere Regierungen, mit denen man auch sprechen kann und auch spricht.“*

Köln erhofft sich aber auch, daß durch ihre Beteiligung in der Stiftung ein Teil der erheblichen Bau- und Folgekosten des neuen *Museums Ludwig* von Bund und Land mitgetragen werden.

Der Generaldirektor der Kölner Museen, Hugo Borger, spricht auch von einer wünschenswerten künstlerischen *„Oberzentrafunktion“* der Stadt. Einhellig sagen die städtischen Vertreter: *„Ohne Ludwig geht hier nichts mehr.“*



von Wolf P. Dreyer

© 1981 Hans Hocke





Arbeiten in einem Werk  
der Leonard Monheim AG.



Die Zusammenarbeit der Monheim-Gruppe mit der schweizerischen Lindt & Sprüngli geht in die Zeit vor dem 2. Weltkrieg zurück. Monheim hält gegenwärtig jeweils 80 % der Anteile von Lindt & Sprüngli GmbH, Aachen, und Lindt & Sprüngli BV, Niederlande. Die Restanteile verbleiben beim Stammhaus, der Lindt & Sprüngli AG, Küssnacht/Schweiz.

In Lizenz werden von Monheim Lindt-Erzeugnisse, Pralinen, Tafelchokolade und Saisonartikel, für den deutschen und niederländischen Markt produziert (geschätzter Umsatz 1979/80 sfr. 195 Millionen – ein Drittel des Lindt-Weltumsatzes).

Die Monheim-Gruppe hatte auch mit der englischen John Mackintosh and Sons Ltd. und der amerikanischen Peter & Paul, Inc. Lizenzproduktions- und Vertriebsabkommen.

Erzeugnisse der Marke Lindt werden vornehmlich in einem Werk in der Aachener Innenstadt hergestellt, wo sich auch die Monheim-Verwaltungszentrale befindet.

Einem Aachener Gerücht zufolge beabsichtigte Monheim 1977 die Verlagerung eines Teiles seiner Produktion in ein Zweigwerk bei Saarlouis. Damit wären 1000–1800 Arbeitsplätze in Aachen verlorengegangen.

Die Konzernleitung erklärte dagegen zur gleichen Zeit, sie bemühe sich vielmehr darum, die Fertigung nach Aachen-Süsterfeld zu

verlegen und die dort existierende Betriebsstätte zu erweitern:

*»Dazu bedarf es beträchtlicher Mittel. Eine Konzentration der Aachener Betriebsstätten in Süsterfeld möglichst vom Land und von der Stadt bezuschußt werden.«*

Die Stadt Aachen entschloß sich im selben Jahr, das 20 000 qm große Areal in der Innenstadt zum Sanierungsgebiet zu erklären und für den Bau von Einfamilienhäusern mit Gärten zu erwerben.

Für die Aufgabe des Werkes im Stadtzentrum und als Ersatzung der mit der Verlagerung anfallenden Kosten wird Monheim aus öffentlichen Mitteln eine Entschädigung von DM 45,7 Millionen gezahlt. 75 % der Summe werden vom Land Nordrhein-Westfalen getragen.

Monheim beabsichtigte, einen Teil seines für 1980 vorgesehenen Investitionsvolumens von DM 60 Millionen für den Bau des neuen Werkes und eines Verwaltungsgebäudes zu verwenden. Durch höhere Automatisierung soll die Fertigung kostensparend rationalisiert werden. Der Bau in Aachen-Süsterfeld wird voraussichtlich bis Ende 1982 vollendet sein.







Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der  
Leonard-Museen AG

## Auch Mäzene haben ihren Preis Peter Ludwig

Die Satzung der von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln geplanten *Stiftung Ludwig* nennt als Aufgaben der Stiftung:

1. Pflege, Betreuung und Verwaltung des Kunstbesitzes der Stiftung
2. Erweiterung des Kunstbesitzes und Sicherung wertvollen deutschen Kunstgutes im Sinne von Absatz 1 gegen Abwanderung ins Ausland
3. Wissenschaftliche Erschließung des Kunstbesitzes der Stiftung
4. Konzeption und Durchführung von Kunstausstellungen
5. Förderung von regionalen, überregionalen und internationalen Maßnahmen im Bereich der bildenden Kunst einschließlich verwandter Gebiete

Im Stiftungsrat sitzen Peter und Irene Ludwig, zwei von ihnen benannte Personen sowie jeweils vier vom Bund, vom Land und der Stadt Köln benannte Mitglieder. Der Vorsitzende ist Peter Ludwig. Der Stiftungsrat fällt seine Beschlüsse mit einfacher Mehrheit, bei Stimmengleichheit entscheidet der Vorsitzende.

Für 10 Jahre steht Peter und Irene Ludwig «ein Einspruchsrecht gegen Beschlüsse des Stiftungsrates zu, soweit diese Fragen der Dispositionen über den vom Ehepaar Ludwig eingebrachten Kunstbesitz betreffen».

Kritiker der *Stiftung Ludwig* weisen auf die kunstpoltische Macht hin, die dem Privatmann Peter Ludwig durch die tonangebende Position in einer öffentlich finanzierten Stiftung zufallen würde. Der

Sammler sagt selber: «In solchen Gremien muß ja ein Konsensus herbeigeführt werden. Da traue ich mir allerdings zu, daß mein Fach- und Sachverstand ein Gericht haben.»

Man befürchtet, daß die numerische Überlegenheit der öffentlichen Vertreter im Stiftungsrat wegen ihrer widersprüchlichen Interessen und der großen Abhängigkeit der Stadt Köln von Peter Ludwig wenig Gewicht habe. Das Vetorecht des Sammlerehepaars und die doppelte Stimme des Vorsitzenden bei Stimmengleichheit bekräftigen seine dominierende Stellung.

Seinen Einfluß auf den Kunstmarkt beurteilt der Sammler so: «Der Markt für Pop Art ist entscheidend durch die Aktivitäten des Ehepaars Ludwig geprägt worden.»

Die Kombination der Finanzkraft der Stiftung mit seiner eigenen Gabe Peter Ludwig im Ausstellungswesen, bei kunstpoltischen Entscheidungen und auf dem Kunstmarkt eine Machtfülle, mit der er das Kunstgeschehen international noch mehr als bisher entscheidend in seinem Sinne steuern könnte.







Arbeitenden in einem Werk  
der Leonard Monheim AG.

## Der **Trumpf** Pralinenmeister

Die Monheim-Gruppe vertreibt unter ihrer Hausmarke *Trumpf* Tafelchokolade, *Schogetten*, Pralinen, Kakao, Saisonartikel und Kaubonbons. Die Fertigung erfolgt durch Tochtergesellschaften in Aachen, Quickborn bei Hamburg, Saarlouis und der seit 1979 unter neuem Namen selbständig operierenden *Trumpf-Schokoladen- und Kakao-Fabrik Berlin GmbH*.

Die in der Vergangenheit völlig zu Monheim gehörende Berliner Gesellschaft ist 1979 zu 51 % an die neugegründete selbständige *Trumpf Berlin GmbH* veräußert worden, die ihrerseits den Kauf durch Ausgabe atypischer stiller Beteiligungen an Private finanzierte. Auf diese Weise sind Monheim 1979 rund DM 100 Millionen zugeflossen, die das Unternehmen »struktural« (Ludwig) verwandte.

Dazu boten sich Investitionen an (in Berlin für 1980 DM 25 Millionen geplant) sowie die Anlage in steuerbegünstigten Berлиндarlehen (12 % des Darlehens bis zu 50 % der Jahressteuerschuld abzugsfähig). Außerdem wurden Rücklagen gebildet und Abschreibungen auf Rohkakaobestände und -Kontrakte getätigt.

Das Werk in Berlin-Neukölln ist 1953 gegründet und Anfang der 70er Jahre erheblich vergrößert und modernisiert worden. Dabei kamen Monheim die Vergünstigungen der Berlinförderung zugute: die 75%ige Sonderabschreibung von Sachanlagen im 1. Jahr (in der BRD 2-3 %), öffentliche Investitionszuschüsse von 10 % oder mehr der

Anlagekosten, beim Warenverkauf in die Bundesrepublik eine Umsatzsteuerpräferenz von 4,5-6,2 % und andere Steuererleichterungen.

In der DDR werden *Trumpf*-Markenartikel aufgrund von Gestattungsverträgen aus dem Jahre 1974 hergestellt. Die Erzeugnisse sind fast ausschließlich in Intenshops und Delikatläden erhältlich und werden zum Teil auch exportiert.

Monheim übernimmt und vertreibt die Erzeugnisse der *Trumpf Berlin GmbH* (u. a. *Schogetten*). Außer von Kaufhäusern werden *Trumpf*-Waren in sehr großen Posten von Aldi abgenommen.

Bekannte Namen auf dem Markt sind außer den 1966 eingeführten *Schogetten* unter Pralinen *Edle Truffeln in Nougat*, *Gute Gester in Nougat*, *Frische Fruchtstückchen*, *Marrzipanstars*, *Wappenklasse*, *Tradition* und *Klausek*.

Auf dem deutschen Markt hat Monheim mit allen Marken insgesamt bei Tafelchokolade einen Anteil von 18 %, bei Pralinen von 25 % und bei Saisonartikeln ebenfalls 25 %. Der ausgewiesene Kakaogehalt der Produkte bewegt sich zwischen 25 % und 54 %.

Von der Weltweite an Kakaobohnen verarbeitet Monheim 5 % (70 000 Tonnen) bei einer Jahresproduktion von 100 000 Tonnen (1980). Im Geschäftsjahr 1978/79 lagerte das Unternehmen Rohstoffe im Werte von DM 246,6 Millionen.







Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig  
Aufsichtsvorsitzender der  
Leonard-Mothem AG.

## 'Nichts liegt uns ferner als kulturpolitische Macht' Peter Ludwig

Die Satzung der von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln geplanten *Stiftung Ludwig* sieht eine finanzielle Beteiligung der drei öffentlichen Partner am Stiftungsvermögen vor. Über ihre Höhe gibt sie keine Auskunft.

Der Kölner Kulturdezernent Peter Nestler sagte dazu im März 1981: *«Nach dem augenblicklichen Stand wird die Stiftung jährlich ein Finanzvolumen von 14 Millionen haben.»* Dagegen nannte ein Vertreter der Landesregierung als *«Denkzahl»* einen Betrag von 2,7 Millionen, der von jedem der öffentlichen Stiftungspartner im ersten Jahr entrichtet werden solle.

Das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen hat 1981 seine traditionellen Zuschüsse von DM 3 Millionen an die kommunalen Ausstellungsinstitute um ein Drittel gekürzt. Infolgedessen können Ausstellungen nicht mehr wie geplant durchgeführt werden, und Kataloge können nicht erscheinen. Auch der Ankaufset der Landesgalerie Düsseldorf von DM 3 Millionen wurde trotz steigender Kunstpreise um eine Million beschnitten.

Die Leiter der betroffenen Institute hegen den Verdacht, die einschneidenden Kürzungen seien auf die 1982 zu erwartenden Zahlungen an die *Stiftung Ludwig* zurückzuführen. 15 kommunale Museumsdirektoren (Köln und Aachen ausgenommen) wandten sich

deshalb in einem Protestschreiben *«mit großer Entschiedenheit... gegen eine von Bund und Land subventionierte Macht- und Finanzkonzentration»* in Köln. Sie fürchteten, *«die auf lokalen Initiativen gründende Vielgestaltigkeit der Museumslandschaft»* werde *«durch die Stiftung Ludwig schwersten bedroht»*.

Die Beteiligung des Bundes erregt verfassungsmäßige Bedenken. Demnach beeinträchtigt sie die Kulturhoheit der Länder und gäbe dem Bund ein kulturpolitisches Instrument, das ihm die Verfassung nicht zubilligt. Bayern denkt an eine Verfassungsklage.

Dagegen schlug Baden-Württemberg die Gründung einer verfassungsmäßig unbedenklichen *«Kulturstiftung der deutschen Bundesländer»* vor. Diese *«Einkaufsgesellschaft der Bundesländer»* solle die Abwanderung wertvoller Werke der deutschen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte in Fällen verhindern, in denen ein Ankauf die finanziellen Kräfte eines einzelnen Museums übersteigt.

Die Abwanderung von Werken ins Ausland zu verhindern, ist aber auch eine der wesentlichen Aufgaben, denen die *Stiftung Ludwig* dienen soll. Es ist ebenfalls eines der Ziele der bisher nicht funktionstüchtigen Nationalstiftung.







Arbeiten in einem Werk der Leonard Monheim AG.

## # MAUXION

Die Monheim-Gruppe übernahm 1959 die *Schokoladenfabrik Mauxion KG* und stellt seither unter der Marke *Mauxion* Pralinen und Saisonartikel her. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg entwickelte sich das Unternehmen folgendermaßen:

- 1951 Einrichtung eines Zweigwerkes in Quickborn bei Hamburg.
- 1952 Peter Ludwig geschäftsführender Gesellschafter; Eröffnung eines Werkes in Berlin-Neukölln (1979 Umwandlung in selbständige *Trumpf Berlin GmbH* mit 49 % Monheim Anteil).
- 1959 Erwerb einer Schokoladenfabrik in St. Hyacinthe bei Montreal (operiert seit 1974 unter dem Namen *Comet Confectionary Ltd.*).
- 1960 Angliederung der *A. Püsch Schokoladenfabrik GmbH* in Saarlouis.
- 1969 Peter Ludwig Vorsitzender der Geschäftsleitung.
- 1971 Alleinproduktions- und Markenrechte für *van Houten*-Produkte. Übernahme der weltweiten *van Houten*-Vertriebsorganisation.
- 1974 Lizenzproduktion in der DDR und Polen.
- 1979 Übernahme aller Anteile der belgischen *General Chocolate NV/SA* mit Werken in Herentals (Belgien) und Neuß.
- 1980 Beteiligung an der neuerrichteten Kakao-Handelsgesellschaft *Eurobrat BV*, Amsterdam. Kooperationsverhandlungen mit dem österreichischen *Konsum* und dem Lebensmittelkonzern *Julius Meinl AG*, Wien. Erschließung des österreichischen Marktes geplant, möglicherweise gemeinsamer Export in Ostblockländer.

Die Obergesellschaft *Leonard Monheim KG*, Aachen, wurde 1978 in eine Aktiengesellschaft umgewandelt.

Die ehemaligen Komplementäre Prof. Peter Ludwig, Dieter Monheim und Dr. Bernd Monheim aus der 3. Monheim-Generation halten *deutlich mehr als 50 %* des Grundkapitals von DM 41,5 Millionen. Die Aktien lauten auf den Namen und können nur mit Zustimmung der Gesellschaft übertragen werden. Sie verbleiben völlig in Familienbesitz.

Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der *Leonard Monheim AG* ist Prof. Peter Ludwig.

Die Monheim-Gruppe umfaßt 24 inländische und 16 ausländische Beteiligungsgesellschaften. Im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 betrug der Umsatz weltweit DM 1,358 Milliarden (rund 34 % außerhalb der Bundesrepublik).

Die inländischen Gewinne wurden mit insgesamt DM 19,4 Millionen besteuert. Wenn keine Nachzahlungen zu leisten waren, kann die Gewinnhöhe auf rund DM 34 Millionen geschätzt werden.





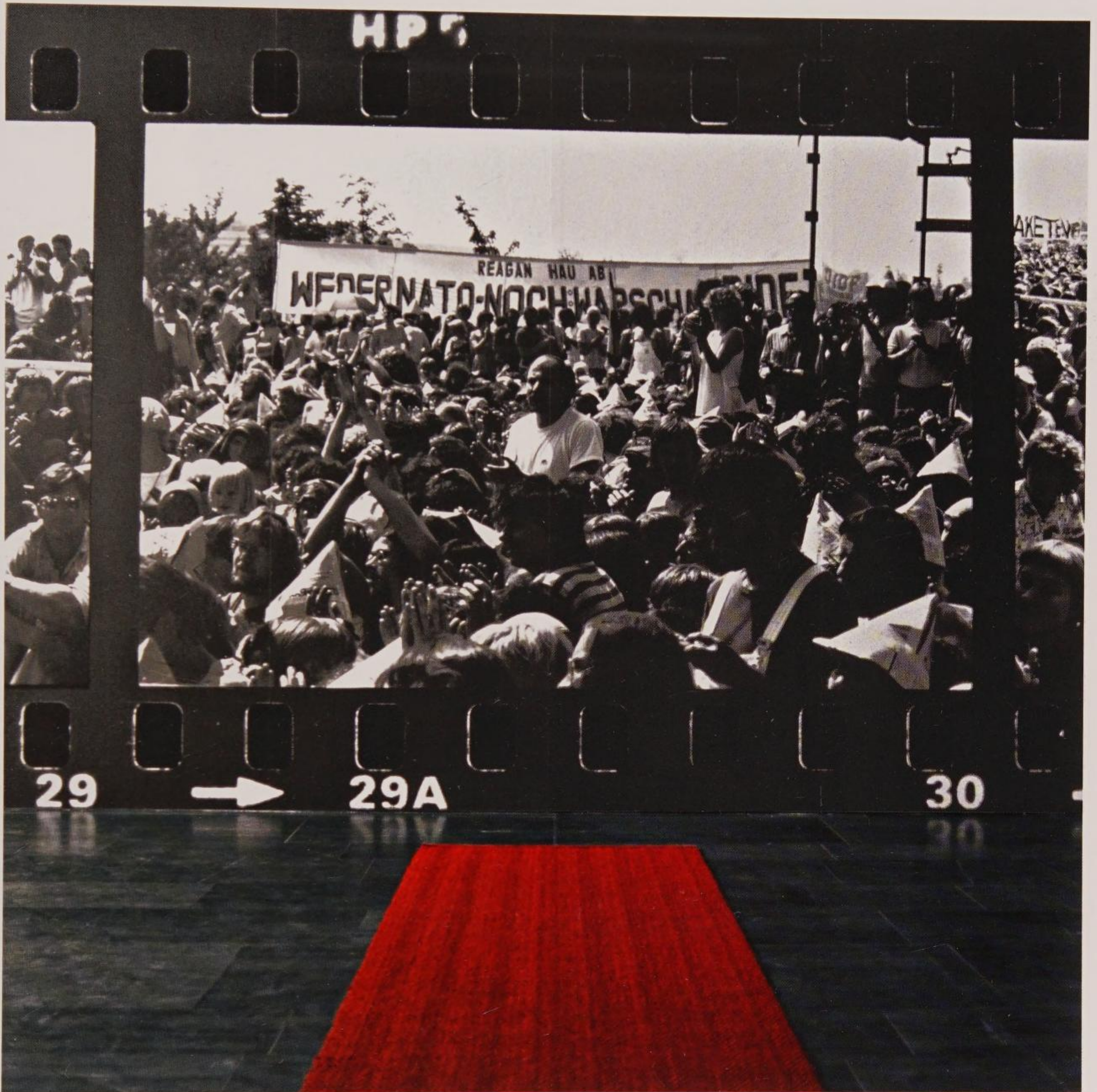


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A week before the opening of Documenta 7, in June 1982, President Reagan attended a NATO summit conference in Bonn and delivered a speech to the Bundestag (Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany) to gain support for the stationing of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Germany. His visit was met

with a huge demonstration against nuclear arms, the largest demonstration in Germany since World War II. Hans Haacke took the photograph of that rally. Two days after the rally in Bonn, a record-breaking anti-nuclear march, attended by more than 500,000 people, wound its way through the streets of New York to





Central Park. As a result of a lessening of tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, a treaty was signed in 1987 eliminating all intermediate-range nuclear missiles the two powers had stationed on European soil.





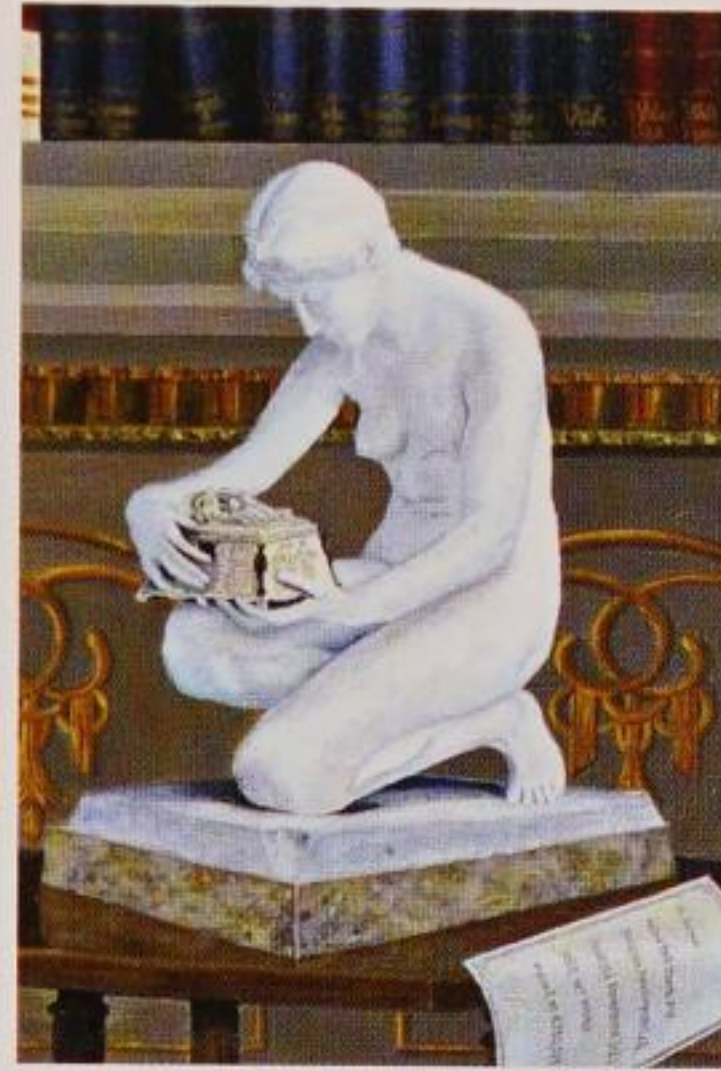
The sculpture of Pandora (1890) is by Harry Bates (Tate Gallery collection). "MS" and "CS," on the broken plates, are the initials of the brothers Maurice and Charles Saatchi. In 1982, when Charles Saatchi was an influential member of the Patrons of New Art of the Tate Gallery, the Tate gave Julian Schnabel a solo exhibition (nine of eleven paintings belonged to Saatchi). Saatchi was also on the board of London's Whitechapel Gallery. After *Taking Stock (unfinished)* was exhibited at the Tate Gallery, he resigned from the Patrons of New Art

Committee and the Whitechapel Gallery. Saatchi began collecting art in the early 1970s. From photorealism and pattern painting, his interests shifted to minimalism, neo-expressionism, and "neo-geo" works. During the 1990s he focused on Young British Art (YBA), and he has recently begun to champion painting. Throughout these years he sold works from his collection and has been a partner in art investment companies, some of them registered in tax havens. 'Sensation,' an exhibition of YBA works from his collection at the Royal Academy and

the Brooklyn Museum, was sponsored by Christie's, the auction house through which he usually sells works from his holdings. (It also was shown at Berlin's Hamburger Bahnhof.)

Charles Saatchi's art purchases were initially financed through Saatchi & Saatchi Company PLC, the advertising agency he and his brother started in 1970 and built into the largest holding company of ad agencies in the world. By 1994 shareholders had ousted both brothers from their positions on the board of the company. Two years later they opened M&C





Saatchi in London. Saatchi & Saatchi ran Margaret Thatcher's election campaigns in 1979, 1983, and 1987. They were awarded the British Airways account as well as accounts of other state-owned entities. Maurice Saatchi credited the Tories: "We owe them everything. ..." He became a life peer in 1996. In 2003 Michael Howard appointed him co-chairman of the Conservative Party. During Howard's candidacy for the Tory leadership, he held a news conference at the museum Charles Saatchi had opened in 2003 at County Hall, on the banks of the Thames (which

closed after three years). Lord Saatchi resigned from the party chairmanship in 2005. He caused an uproar when he submitted a bill of £1.5 million for M&C's work on the Tory election campaign of that year.







Ostensibly, the U.S. invasion of the small Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983 was launched to rescue U.S. students at an offshore American medical school caught in a local power struggle. Declassified Pentagon documents reveal that the students were not in danger and that the military intervention was, in fact, meant to interfere with the Cuban construction of an airport to support the island's tourist industry. 110 members of the Grenadian militia, 71 Cuban construction workers, and 19 American soldiers died during the campaign.

The New York Times reported on November 17, 1983, that U.S. troops detained prisoners in boxlike isolation chambers, measuring approximately 2.5 x 2.5 x 2.5

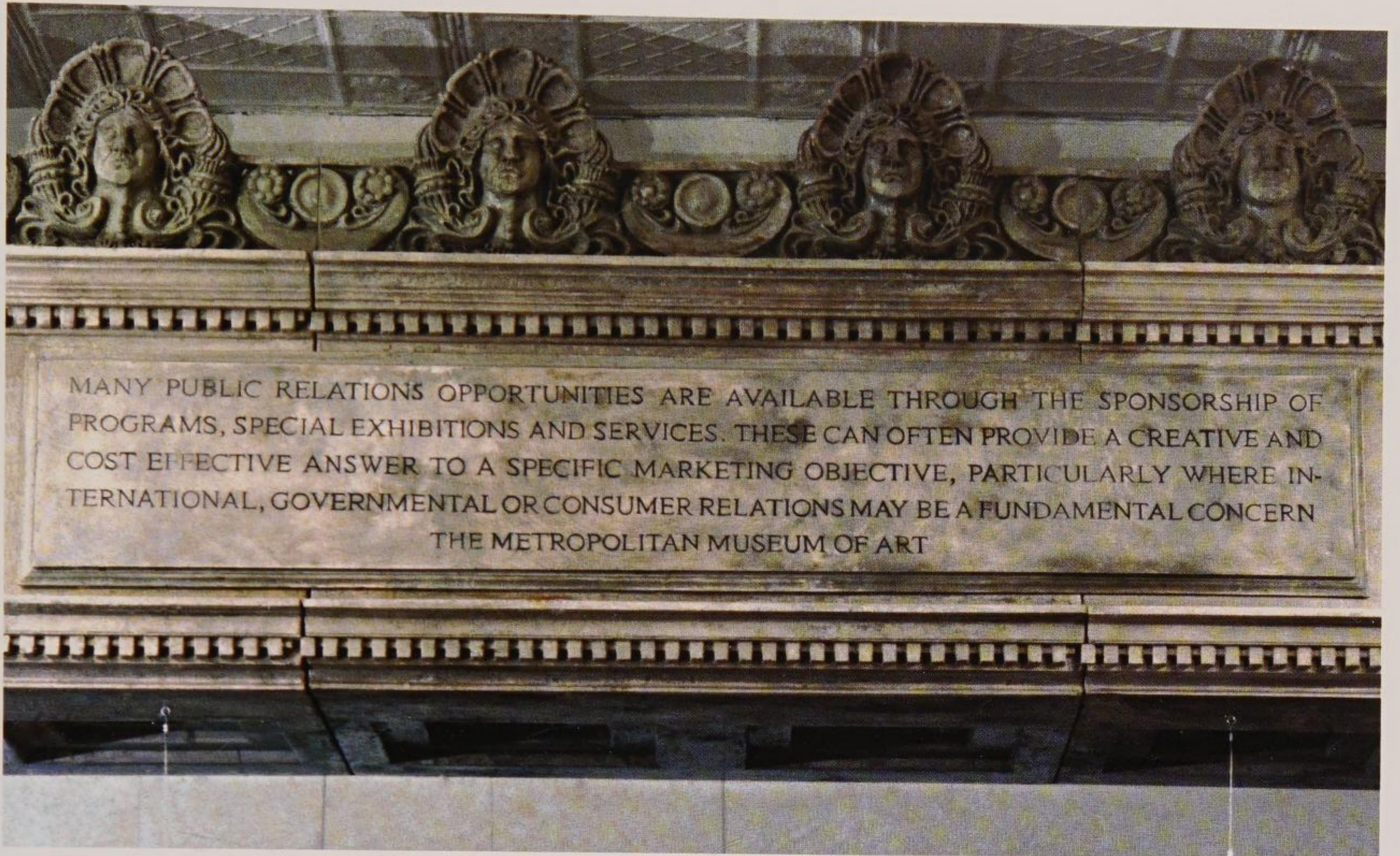
meters (8 x 8 x 8 feet), with four small openings above eye level and ventilation holes 2.5 cm (1 inch) in diameter. Prisoners were forced to enter the boxes by crawling through a hatch close to the ground.

U.S. Isolation Box, Grenada, 1983 was exhibited in the public mall of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York on 42nd Street. It was part of a series of events under the rubric "Artists' Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America," which took place in over twenty cities in the United States and Canada. Claes Oldenburg designed the poster. More than seven hundred artists participated in New York. Well-known galleries such as Leo Castelli, Paula Cooper, and

Barbara Gladstone made their spaces available for the protest.

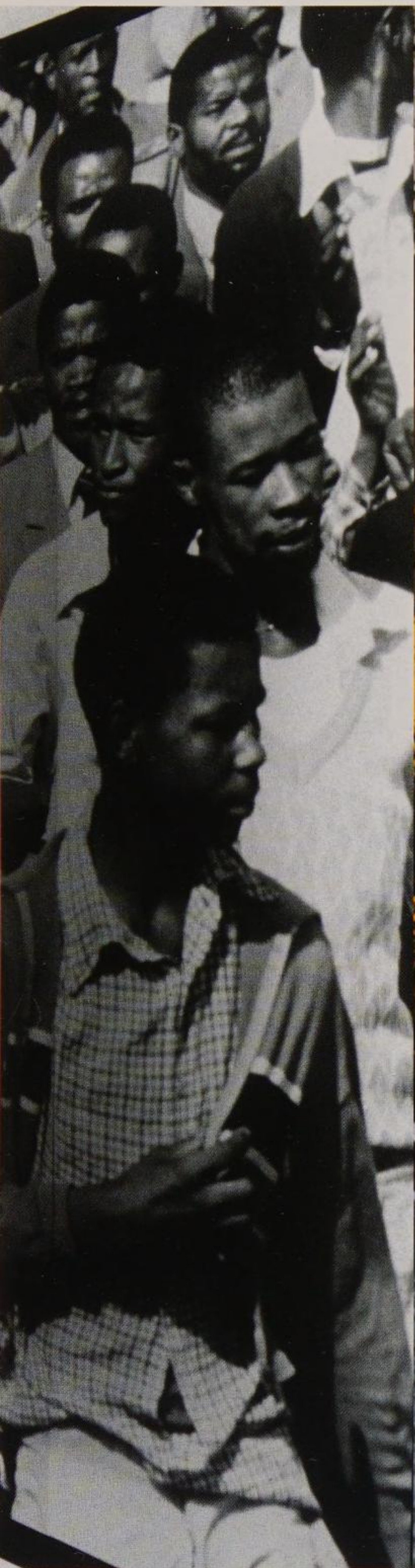
A Wall Street Journal editorial denounced U.S. Isolation Box, Grenada, 1983 as being "in proper company" with "America's greatest collection of obscenity and pornography" around Times Square, a few blocks away from the Graduate Center. The neo-conservative art critic Hilton Kramer declared it "devoid of any discernible artistic quality." He associated the artists in the exhibition with "the Stalinist ethos."





First exhibition: 1985, John Weber Gallery, New York

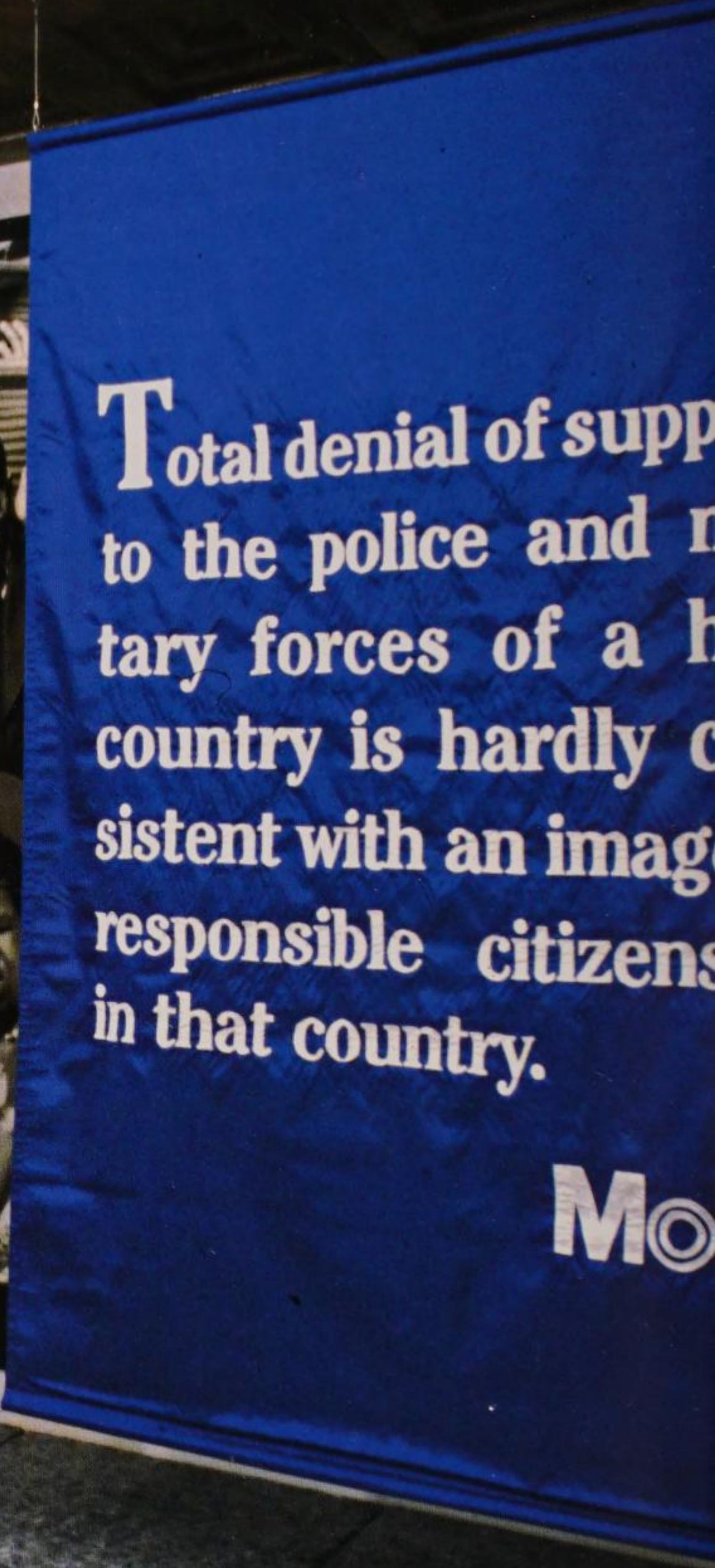




...IES ARE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE  
...SERVICES THESE CAN OFFER IN PROVIDING A CREATI  
...SIC MARKETING OBJECTIVE, PARTICULARLY WHERE IN  
...NS WITH RELATIONS MAY BE A FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN  
...MUSEUM OF ART

TREASURES  
OF ANCIENT  
NIGERIA

ed by a grant from Mobil



**T**otal denial of support  
to the police and m  
itary forces of a h  
country is hardly c  
sistent with an imag  
responsible citizens  
in that country.

Mobil





The text on the entablature states:  
"Many public relations opportunities are available through the sponsorship of programs, special exhibitions and services. These can often provide a creative and cost effective answer to a specific marketing objective, particularly where international, governmental or consumer relations may be a fundamental concern."  
(Excerpted from "The Business Behind Art Knows the Art of Good Business," leaflet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

On the blue banners are excerpts from Mobil's response to a 1981 shareholder resolution presented by church groups that called for the prohibition of sales to the South African police and military during the apartheid regime. With assets of over \$400 million, Mobil was one of the largest U.S. investors in South Africa, holding 20% of the petroleum market, a refinery, and more than 1,200 service stations. It met 20% of the fuel needs of the South African police and military. Pension funds, universities, and other large U.S. institutional investors increas-

ingly divested themselves of Mobil shares in protest against Mobil's collaboration with apartheid; the United States Congress passed sanctions. Mobil eventually withdrew from South Africa in 1989. As a result of international and domestic pressure, apartheid ended in 1994. Free elections were held, and Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as president of South Africa.

Mobil ran an advertisement in the New York Times (October 10, 1985) headlined "Art, for the sake of business." Answering its own question "What's in it for us?" Mobil explained the reasons for sponsoring cultural activities: "Improving—and ensuring—the business climate."

Mobil sponsored numerous exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum, among them, in 1980, a show of ancient Nigerian art. It also contributed \$500,000 to the museum's Islamic galleries. The company has major assets in Nigeria and Saudi Arabia. In 1999 Mobil merged with Exxon (Esso).





Until 1999, Oerlikon-Bührle was the largest arms manufacturer in Switzerland. A diversified holding, it also produced machine tools, aircraft, automotive parts, welding equipment, and textiles as well as shoes and accessories, and was active in real estate and hotel operations. Dr. Dietrich Bührle, for decades the chairman and CEO of the company, was said to be the richest man in Switzerland. Until they took it public in 1973, he and his sister were the company's sole owners. They retained a majority of the shares. In the 1930s, Dietrich Bührle's father built the company, a family business, into a major weapons manufacturer. During World War II, Oerlikon supplied cannons and ammunition to the Axis powers Germany, Italy, and Romania, worth 543.4 million Swiss francs. In 1970 Dietrich Bührle received an eight-

month suspended sentence for illegal arms sales to numerous countries. In spite of a UN arms embargo against South Africa, Oerlikon continued to deliver and grant licenses for the production of military equipment to the apartheid regime: guns and ammunition for ground combat, weaponry for helicopters and naval vessels, anti-aircraft guns, and military aircraft. Bührle was awarded the highest decoration of South Africa in 1978. Swiss authorities maintained friendly contacts with the apartheid regime. In 1984, a delegation of the South African army, in full battle gear, marched in a popular two-day march organized annually by the Swiss Non-commissioned Officers Association. PARATUS, the periodical of the South African Defense Force, celebrated this event as a successful goodwill operation.

In 1977, Oerlikon-Bührle took over Bally, a Swiss manufacturer of shoes and accessories with a world reputation for elegance. It sold its Bally shares, in 1999, to Texas Pacific Group in the United States and its military production facilities to Rheinmetall in Germany. Like his father, Emil Bührle, who had studied art history and was an art collector, Dietrich Bührle collects art and is a prominent donor to the Zurich Kunsthhaus. In 1990 the National Gallery in Washington exhibited the Bührle collection under the title "The Passionate Eye."

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First exhibition:  
1985, Kunsthalle Bern





SUID-AFRIKAANS WEERMAG



SOUTH-AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE

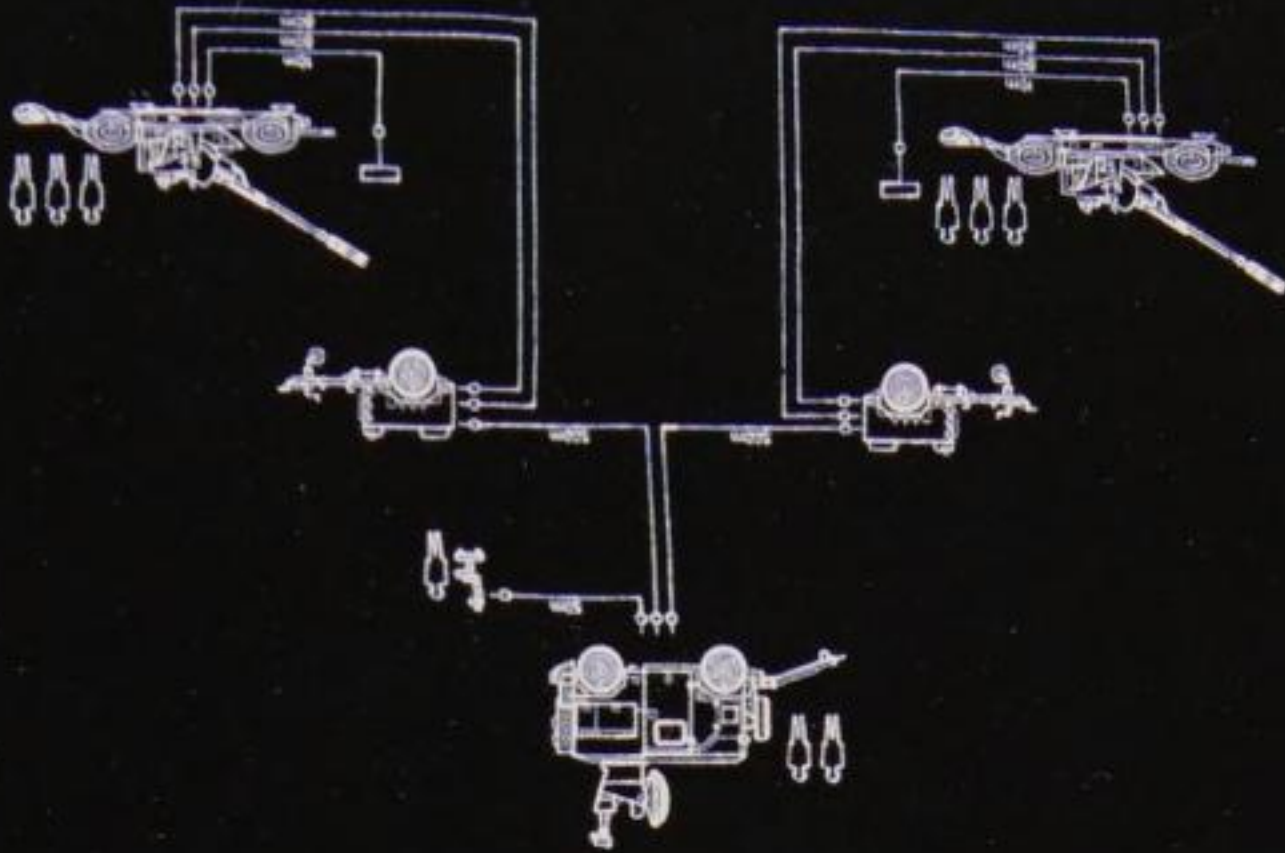


OERLIKON-BÜHRLE BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE

Oerlikon-Bührle Waffen im Einsatz bei der südafrikanischen Wehrmacht.  
20mm GAH-C01 leichtes Fliegerabwehrgeschütz  
20mm KAD Fahrzeugmaschinenkanone  
95mm GDF-002 Zwillinge-Fliegerabwehrgeschütz

Auch gegen Bodenziele verwendbar

Oerlikon-Bührle 35mm GDF-002 Zwillinge-Fliegerabwehrgeschütz mit Feuerleitssystem



BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE

M.&S. SPITZ FOOTWEAR HOLDINGS (BALLY), JOHANNESBURG



OERLIKON

WERKZEUGMASCHINENFABRIK OERLIKON-BÜHRLE, ZÜRICH



BALLY

Aus dem Oerlikon-Bührle Konzern

OERLIKON-BÜHRLE BALLY OERLIKON-BÜHRLE



SOUTH-AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCE



SUID-AFRIKAANS WEERMAG



WERKZEUGMASCHINENFABRIK OERLIKON-BÜHRLE, ZÜRICH

OERLIKON



M.&S. SPITZ FOOTWEAR HOLDINGS (BALLY), JOHANNESBURG





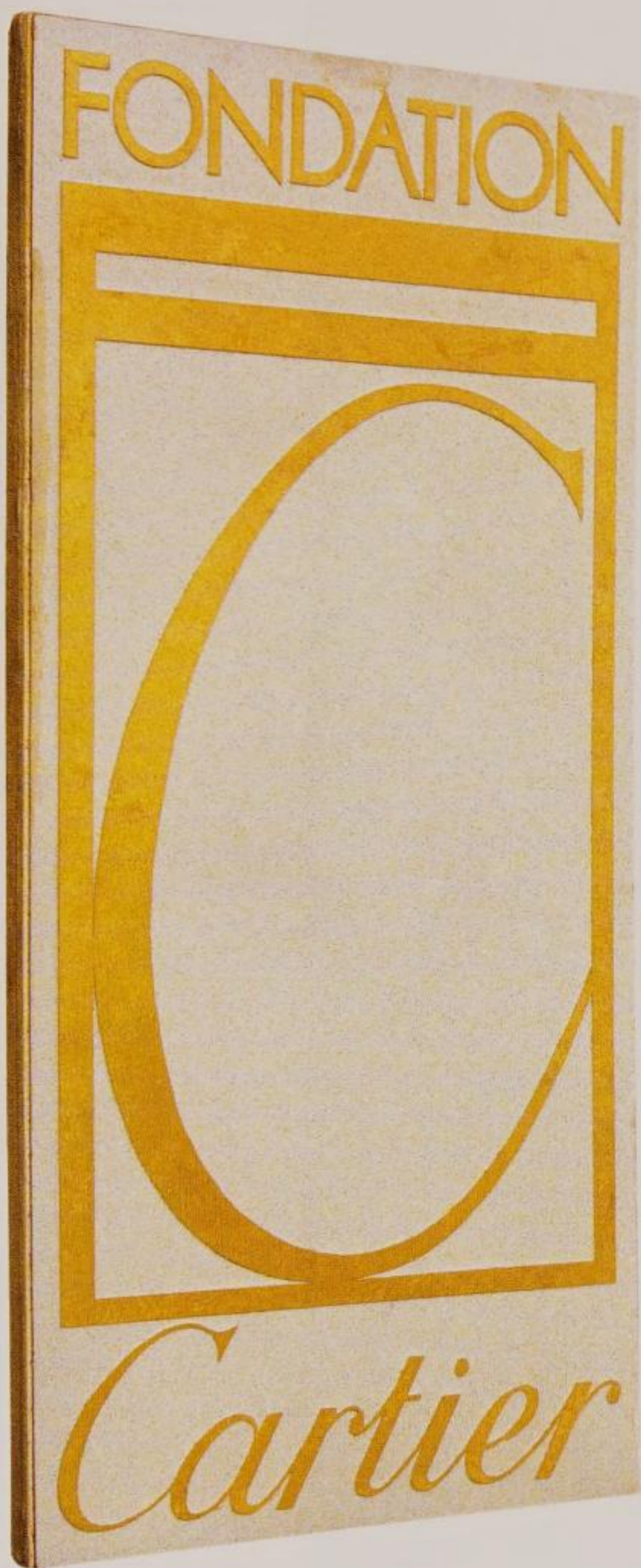
178











Compagnie Financière Richmont, an off-shore holding company of the South Africa-based Rembrandt Group, was formed in 1987 in Switzerland to insulate its parent company from international sanctions against apartheid. Rembrandt's self-portrait serves as the logo of the conglomerate, which was founded in 1940 by Anton Rupert as a vehicle for apartheid interests. The international Rembrandt empire is now managed by his son Johann. The Rupert family is the second wealthiest family in South Africa.

In South Africa, Rembrandt had major interests in engineering, investment banking, insurance, financial services, printing, petrochemical products, tobacco, food, and alcohol, as well as mining (17.3 percent of Gold Fields, 25 percent of GENCOR). Because of its violent suppressions of strikes by black miners, GENCOR was called an "enemy company" by Cyril Ramaphosa (then president of the National Union of Mineworkers).

Under apartheid, Total South Africa was the largest French business enterprise in South Africa. It met a vital part of South Africa's petroleum needs. Rembrandt held over 30 percent of Total's shares.

Through its Vendôme subsidiary, Rembrandt/

Richmont has become the world's second largest luxury goods company (in revenues), controlling the jewelers Cartier and Van Cleef & Arpels, Montblanc pens, Dunhill luggage, and the Swiss watchmakers Piaget, Baume & Mercier, and Vacheron Constantin. It also has interests in high fashion. In 1999 it divested from Rothmans (tobacco) and in 2000 from European pay-television.

In 1984, Alain-Dominique Perrin, until 2003 president of Cartier, established the Cartier Foundation for Contemporary Art in Paris. He explained that corporate sponsorship of culture "is a tool for the seduction of public opinion." It promotes a company's "image," helps in "developing new markets," and serves "to neutralize criticism from consumer and ecological groups." He emphasized: "It is important to abandon the idea that sponsoring culture is a disinterested investment."





The work contains a number of allusions to Marcel Duchamp's ready-mades. Translation of the text on the wall: "Art and silver [money] on all floors."



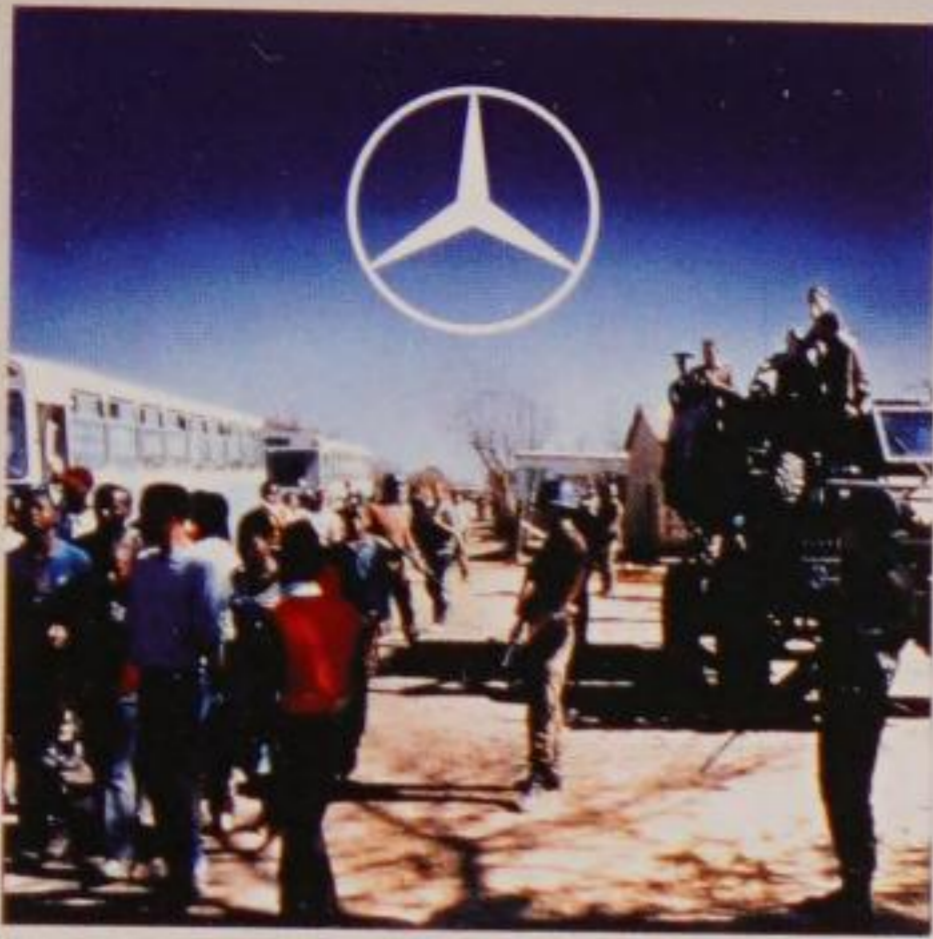


Deutsche Bank, the largest German bank, holds a major stake in DaimlerChrysler. In 1986 it installed a monumental granite sculpture of a double Möbius strip by Max Bill, titled *Continuity*, in front of its headquarters in Frankfurt. The hallways and rooms of the bank's twin towers are decorated with works by contemporary German artists. Each of the fifty-five floors is devoted to one artist, whose name is listed in the elevator, identifying the floor. In 1997 the bank opened the Deutsche Guggenheim museum in the center of Berlin. It is a joint venture with the Guggenheim Museum in New York. In the 1980s, Deutsche Bank led a consortium for an issue of bonds by the apartheid government of South Africa, while Mercedes-Benz supplied that regime's military and police with vehicles and produced heavy diesel engines in a joint venture with a government company. At the time, Jürgen E. Schrempp was head of the subsidiary. In 1987 it faced a

bitter nine-week walkout of its black workers. 2,800 strikers were fired. Schrempp, a proponent of "shareholder value," became president of Daimler-Benz in 1995 and, in 1998, also of DaimlerChrysler. He resigned from his seat on the board of the New York Stock Exchange in 2003 over a compensation scandal and, in 2005, also as president of the corporation. The stock price of DaimlerChrysler soared after his departure. The corporation maintains an art exhibition space at Potsdamer Platz in Berlin. Walter Dahn, one of the artists in the bank's Frankfurt collection, denounced the company for supporting the South African apartheid regime in an open letter in 1987: "I will no longer provide a cover of cultural liberalism with my work to an enterprise that continues to support that ruthless butcher Botha and his corrupt regime." Hilmar Kopper, from 1989 to 1997 presi-

dent of Deutsche Bank, declared in 1995: "When culture is the instrument with which to distinguish oneself, it has to be held in respect, and it has to be kept under control." He has been chairman of the Supervisory Board of DaimlerChrysler since 1998. Deutsche Bank provided credit to companies that built the Auschwitz concentration camp and cooperated with the Waffen-SS. The I.G. Farben plant at Auschwitz maintained an account with the bank. The photos of the Deutsche Bank window displays were taken in 1987 at its main branch in Düsseldorf.





## Mercedes-Benz Ihr guter Stern auf allen Straßen

Die Deutsche Bank besitzt 28,5 % des Kapitals der Daimler-Benz AG. Hinzu kommt eine 50-prozentige Beteiligung an der Mercedes-Automobil Holding sowie die Ausübung des Depotstimmrechtes über Aktien im Streubesitz. Auf diese Weise hat die Deutsche Bank entscheidenden Einfluss auf mehr als die Hälfte der Stimmen des Konzerns. Der Vorstandssprecher der Deutschen Bank ist traditionell auch Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrates der Daimler-Benz AG. Ihm stehen zwei weitere Vertreter der Bank im Aufsichtsrat zur Seite. Daimler-Benz ist das umsatzstärkste Unternehmen und zugleich der größte Rüstungskonzern der Bundesrepublik.

Die Vereinten Nationen haben 1977 - mit der Stimme der Bundesrepublik - ein umfassendes Waffenembargo gegen Südafrika verhängt. Die UN-Resolution verbietet ausdrücklich die Bereitstellung von „Militärfahrzeugen- und -ausrüstungen, paramilitärischer Polizeiausrüstung... die Bereitstellung aller Art von Ausrüstungen und Materialien als auch die Herstellung und Wartung der vorgenannten Rüstungsgegenstände.“

Die Polizei und das Militär Südafrikas verwenden bei ihren Einsätzen gegen die schwarze Bevölkerung umgerüstete Unimogs der Daimler-Benz AG. Bei Überfällen auf Nachbarländer spielt der Raketenwerfer Falkon, ebenfalls eine Variante des Unimog, eine strategische Rolle.

Der Daimler Konzern hat bis 1985 mehr als 6000 Unimogs an Südafrika geliefert. 6 südafrikanische Raketenbeschleuniger und zwei Minenkampfböden sind mit Spezialmotoren der Maschinen- und Turbinen Union (MTU), einem Daimler-Tochterunternehmen, ausgerüstet worden. Die gleichfalls zum Daimler-Konzern gehörende AEG hat

für die südafrikanischen Streitkräfte elektronische Ausrüstungen produziert.

Daimler-Benz ist in Südafrika mit 12,45 % an dem von Daimler mitaufgebauten staatlichen Unternehmen Atlantis Diesel Engines (Pty.) Ltd. beteiligt. 1978 hat Daimler Lizenzen zur Herstellung schwerer und schwerster Dieselmotoren (45-556 PS) vergeben.

Die amerikanische Cummins Engines Corporation schied aus der Herstellung solcher Motoren in Südafrika aus, weil die US-Regierung Lieferungen an das Militär und die Polizei des Landes untersagte.

Alle Nutzfahrzeuge südafrikanischer Produzenten müssen seit Produktionsaufnahme von Atlantis Diesel Engines mit Motoren dieses Unternehmens ausgerüstet werden. Wesentlich für seine Gründung waren die Bestrebungen der südafrikanischen Regierung, sich von Lieferungen aus dem Ausland unabhängig zu machen.

Daimler-Benz unterhält in Südafrika die einzige Pkw-Produktionsstätte außerhalb der Bundesrepublik und hat dort einen ebenso großen Marktanteil wie in Großbritannien und in Italien.

1985 hat der Konzern - gegen die Stimmen der Arbeitnehmervertreter im Aufsichtsrat - zusätzlich Investitionen in sein südafrikanisches Tochterunternehmen in Höhe von 150 Millionen DM beschlossen.

Bei der Hauptversammlung der Aktionäre 1986 verkündete der Vorstandsvorsitzende der Daimler-Benz AG, Prof. Dipl. Ing. Werner Breitschwerdt: „Meine Damen und Herren, das in Südafrika praktizierte System der Apartheid lehnen wir mit aller Entschiedenheit ab.“

Breitschwerdt ist Mitglied des Beirats der Deutschen Bank.

Neuemission  
14. Dezember

## REPUBLIK SÜDAFRIKA



DM 250.000.000,—  
7¾% Deutsche Mark Anleihe von 1984/1992

Wertpapier-Kenn-Nr. 474 500

Verkaufskurs: 100%  
Verzinsung: 7¾% p.a., Jahreskupon 15. Dezember  
Rückzahlung: 15. Dezember 1992 zum Nennbetrag  
Börseneinführung: Frankfurt am Main

<b>Deutsche Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft		
<b>Commerzbank</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Dresdner Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Union Bank of Switzerland</b> (Securities) Limited
<b>Banque Paribas</b>		<b>Bayerische Landesbank</b> Girozentrale
<b>Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank</b>	<b>Nedbank</b> International	<b>Westdeutsche Landesbank</b> Girozentrale
<b>Arnold and S. Bleichroeder, Inc.</b>	<b>Atlantic Capital</b> Corporation	<b>Baden-Württembergische Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft
<b>Julius Baer International</b> Limited	<b>Banca Commerciale Italiana</b>	<b>Banca del Gottardo</b>
<b>Banca Nazionale del Lavoro</b>	<b>Banca della Svizzera Italiana</b>	<b>Bank Gutzwiller, Kurz, Bungenier (Overseas)</b> Limited
<b>Bank Leu International Ltd.</b>	<b>Bank J. Vontobel &amp; Co. AG</b>	<b>Banque Francaise du Commerce Extérieur</b>
<b>Banque Generale du Luxembourg S.A.</b>	<b>Banque Indosuez</b>	<b>Banque Internationale à Luxembourg S.A.</b>
<b>Banque Nationale de Paris</b>	<b>Banque Populaire Suisse S.A. Luxembourg</b>	<b>Banque de l'Union Européenne</b>
<b>Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Bayerische Vereinsbank</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Joh. Berenberg, Gossler &amp; Co.</b>
<b>Berliner Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Bankhaus Gebrüder Bethmann</b>	<b>Cazenove &amp; Co.</b>
<b>Credit Commercial de France</b> Limited	<b>Credit Industriel d'Alsace et de Lorraine</b>	<b>Credit Lyonnais</b>
<b>Credit Suisse First Boston</b> Limited	<b>Creditanstalt-Bankverein</b>	<b>Delbruck &amp; Co.</b>
<b>Deutsche Girozentrale</b> Deutsche Kommunalbank	<b>DG Bank</b> Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank	<b>Dillon, Read Limited</b>
<b>Effektenbank-Warburg</b> Aktiengesellschaft	<b>Euromobiliare S.p.A.</b>	<b>European Banking Company</b> Limited
<b>Gefina International</b> Limited	<b>Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank AG</b> Vienna	<b>Girozentrale und Bank der</b> österreichischen Sparkassen Aktiengesellschaft
<b>Goldman Sachs International Corp.</b>	<b>Hambros Bank</b> Limited	<b>Georg Hauck &amp; Sohn Bankiers</b> Kommanditgesellschaft auf Aktien
<b>Hessische Landesbank</b> Girozentrale	<b>Hill Samuel &amp; Co.</b> Limited	<b>Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino</b>
<b>Kidder, Peabody International</b> Limited	<b>Kleinwort, Benson</b> Limited	<b>Kreditbank N.V.</b>
<b>Kredietbank S.A. Luxembourgeoise</b>	<b>Bankhaus Hermann Lampe</b> Kommanditgesellschaft	<b>Landesbank Rheinland-Pfalz</b> - Girozentrale -
<b>Lazard Frères et Cie</b>	<b>Merck, Finck &amp; Co.</b>	<b>B. Metzler seel. Sohn &amp; Co.</b>
<b>Morgan Stanley International</b>	<b>Norddeutsche Landesbank</b> Girozentrale	<b>Österreichische Länderbank</b> Aktiengesellschaft
<b>Sal. Oppenheim jr. &amp; Cie.</b>	<b>N.M. Rothschild &amp; Sons</b> Limited	<b>J. Henry Schroder Wagg &amp; Co.</b> Limited
<b>Smith Barney, Harris Upham &amp; Co.</b> Incorporated	<b>Societe Generale</b>	<b>Swiss Bank Corporation International</b> Limited
<b>Trinkaus &amp; Burkhart</b>	<b>The Trust Bank of Africa</b> Limited	<b>Vereins- und Westbank</b> Aktiengesellschaft
<b>Voitkas International</b> Limited	<b>M.M. Warburg-Brinckmann, Wirtz &amp; Co.</b>	<b>Westfälische Bank</b> Aktiengesellschaft

Wir sind nicht willens und nicht in der Lage, politische Forderungen zu stellen, weil, wenn wir diese gegenüber Südafrika stellen würden, wir sie gegenüber vielen, vielen anderen Ländern und Geschäftspartnern auch stellen müssten. Und das kann und darf nicht unsere Aufgabe sein.

Werner Blessing, Vorstandsmitglied

We are not willing and not in a position to make political demands, because if we were to do so in the case of South Africa, we would have to do so with many, many other countries and business partners as well. This cannot and must not be our job.

Werner Blessing,  
Member Managing Board of Directors

Deutsche Bank



# INDIVIDUALITÄT

Individualität

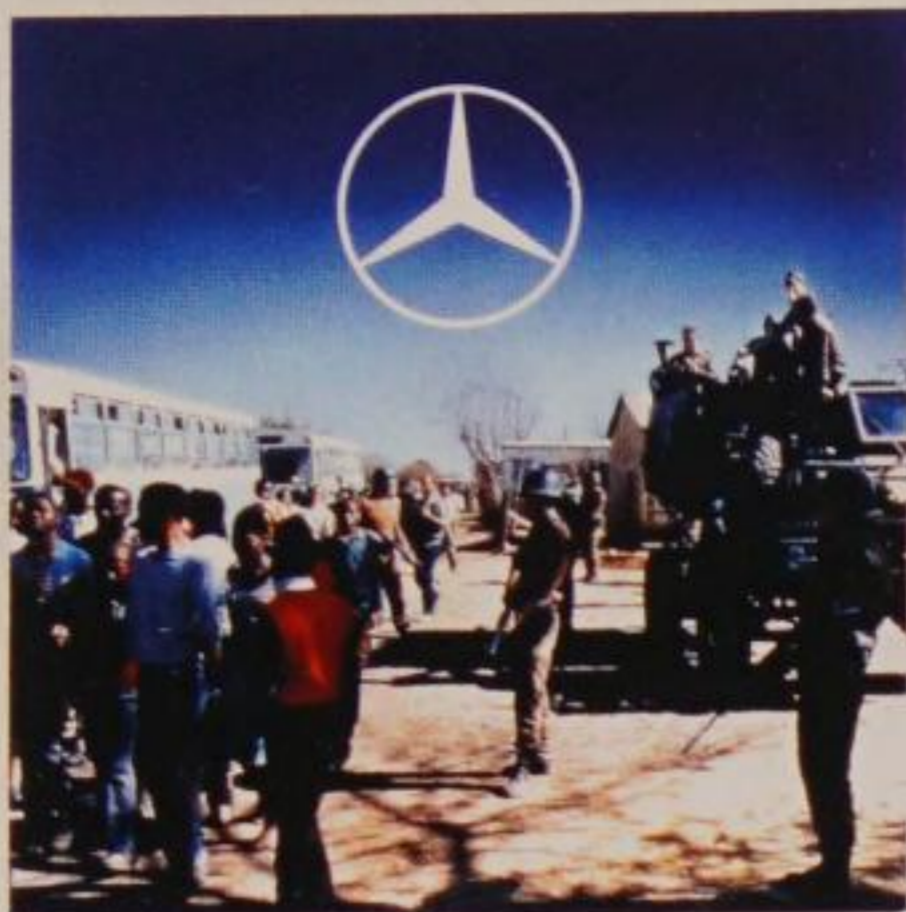
Es gibt Kunden,  
die erwarten  
von einer Bank  
mehr als nur  
ein freundliches  
Lächeln.



Deutsche Bank







**Mercedes-Benz**  
Your good star on every road

Deutsche Bank has a 28.5 percent stake in Daimler-Benz AG. In addition, it holds a 50 percent interest in Mercedes-Automobil Holding and votes the shares it administers for individual shareholders. It thus has a decisive influence on more than half of the corporation's voting stock.

The president of Deutsche Bank's managing board is, traditionally, also chairman of the supervisory board of Daimler-Benz AG. He is assisted on the board by two other representatives of the Bank.

Daimler-Benz is, in terms of sales, the largest corporation of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also the largest defense contractor.

In 1977, the United Nations imposed a comprehensive weapons embargo on South Africa, with the vote of the Federal Republic.

The UN-resolution expressly prohibits the provision of "military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment... the provision of all types of equipment and supplies and grants of licensing arrangements, for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned."

The police and military of South Africa use modified UNIMOG armored vehicles from Daimler-Benz against the black population. In the course of invasions into neighboring countries, a strategic role is played by the *Valkari* rocket-launcher, another variety of the UNIMOG vehicle.

By 1985 Daimler had delivered more than 6000 UNIMOGs to South Africa.

Maschinen- und Turbinen Union (MTU), a Daimler subsidiary, supplied special engines for six rocket-equipped patrolboats and two minesweepers. AEG, another subsidiary of Daimler, produced

electronic equipment for the South African Armad Forces.

Daimler-Benz AG holds a 12.45 percent stake in the South African Government controlled Atlantis Diesel Engines (Pty.) Ltd., the factory of which it helped to build. In 1978, Daimler granted licenses for the production of heavy diesel engines (up to 607 hp).

Cummins Engines, a U. S. manufacturer, dropped out of the production of such engines in South Africa, because of a U. S. Government prohibition of sales to the South African military and police.

Since the start of production, all commercial vehicles made in South Africa must be equipped with motors from Atlantis Diesel Engines. Decisive for the establishment of the company was the goal of the South African Government to make the country independent of deliveries from abroad.

Daimler-Benz maintains in South Africa the only production facility for passenger cars outside of West Germany. It holds a share of the South African market equal to the one it has in the United Kingdom and in Italy.

In 1985, the corporation decided to invest an additional 150 million Deutsche marks in its South African subsidiary, against the votes of the worker representatives on its board.

During the 1986 annual shareholders meeting, Prof. Dipl. Ing. Werner Breitschwerdt, the president of the managing board of Daimler-Benz AG, announced: "Ladies and gentlemen, we unequivocally reject the system of apartheid practiced in South Africa."

Mr. Breitschwerdt is a member of the advisory board of Deutsche Bank.

New Issue  
December 21, 1983

This advertisement appears  
as a matter of record only

**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**



**DM 200,000,000**  
**8 1/2 % Deutsche Mark Bonds of 1983/1991**

Offering price: 99 1/4 %  
Interest: 8 1/2 % payable annually on December 15  
Repayment: December 15, 1991 at par  
Listing: Frankfurt am Main

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Deutsche Bank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft                    |  |
| <b>Dresdner Bank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft                    | <b>Union Bank of Switzerland (Securities)</b><br>Limited                                   |
| <b>Banque Paribas</b>   | <b>Bayerische Vereinsbank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft  |
| <b>Berliner Handels-und Frankfurter Bank</b>                  | <b>Commerzbank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft   |
| <b>Nedbank</b>  |  |
| <b>Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder, Inc.</b><br>Corporation       | <b>Atlantic Capital</b><br>Corporation   |
| <b>Julius Baer International</b><br>Limited                   | <b>Banca Commerciale Italiana</b>  |
| <b>Bank Gutzwiller, Kurz, Bungenier (Overseas)</b><br>Limited | <b>Bank Leu International Ltd.</b>   |
| <b>Banque Générale du Luxembourg S. A.</b>                    | <b>Banque Indosuez</b>   |
| <b>Banque Nationale de Paris</b>                              | <b>Banque Populaire Suisse S. A. Luxembourg</b>  |
| <b>Banque de l'Union Européenne</b>                           | <b>Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft                       |
| <b>Joh. Berenberg, Gossler &amp; Co.</b>                      | <b>Berliner Bank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft   |
| <b>Cazenove &amp; Co.</b>                                     | <b>Credit Commercial de France</b><br>Limited  |
| <b>Credit Lyonnais</b>  | <b>Credit Suisse First Boston</b><br>Limited   |
| <b>Richard Daus &amp; Co. Bankiers</b>                        | <b>Delbrück &amp; Co.</b>  |
| <b>DG Bank</b><br>Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank                | <b>Dillon, Read Overseas Corporation</b>   |
| <b>Effectenbank-Warburg</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft             | <b>Euro Mobilare S. p. A.</b>  |
| <b>Gefina International</b><br>Limited                        | <b>Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank AG</b><br>Vienna  |
| <b>Goldman Sachs International Corp.</b><br>Limited           | <b>Hambros Bank</b><br>Limited   |
| <b>Hessische Landesbank</b><br>- Girozentrale -               | <b>Hill Samuel &amp; Co.</b><br>Limited  |
| <b>Kidder, Peabody International</b><br>Limited               | <b>Kleinwort, Benson</b><br>Limited  |
| <b>Kreditbank S. A. Luxembourggeise</b>                       | <b>Bankhaus Hermann Lampe</b><br>Kommanditgesellschaft                                     |
| <b>Lazard Frères et Cie</b>                                   | <b>Merck, Finck &amp; Co.</b>  |
| <b>Morgan Stanley International</b>                           | <b>Norddeutsche Landesbank</b><br>Girozentrale   |
| <b>Sal. Oppenheim Jr. &amp; Cie.</b>                          | <b>N. M. Rothschild &amp; Sons</b><br>Limited  |
| <b>Schröder, Münchmeyer, Hengst &amp; Co.</b>                 | <b>Smith Barney, Harris Upham &amp; Co.</b><br>Incorporated                                |
| <b>Standard Chartered Merchant Bank</b>                       | <b>Swiss Bank Corporation International</b><br>Limited                                     |
| <b>Vereins- und Westbank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft            | <b>Volkskas International</b><br>Limited   |
| <b>M. M. Warburg-Brinckmann, Wirtz &amp; Co.</b>              | <b>Westdeutsche Landesbank</b><br>Girozentrale   |
|   | <b>Baden-Württembergische Bank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft                                   |
|   | <b>Banca del Gottardo</b>  |
|   | <b>Banque Française du Commerce Extérieur</b>  |
|   | <b>Banque Internationale à Luxembourg S. A.</b>  |
|   | <b>Banque Privée de Gestion Financière-B.P.G.F.</b>  |
|   | <b>Bayerische Landesbank</b><br>Girozentrale   |
|   | <b>Bankhaus Gebrüder Bethmann</b>  |
|   | <b>Credit Industriel d'Alsace et de Lorraine</b><br>Creditanstalt-Bankverein               |
|   | <b>Deutsche Girozentrale</b><br>Deutsche Kommunalbank -                                    |
|   | <b>Dominion Securities Ames</b><br>Limited   |
|   | <b>European Banking Company</b><br>Limited   |
|   | <b>Girozentrale und Bank der</b><br>österreichischen Sparkassen<br>Aktiengesellschaft      |
|   | <b>Georg Hauck &amp; Sohn Bankiers</b><br>Kommanditgesellschaft auf Aktien                 |
|   | <b>Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino</b>   |
|   | <b>Kreditbank N.V.</b>   |
|   | <b>Landesbank Rheinland-Pfalz</b><br>- Girozentrale -                                      |
|   | <b>B. Metzler soel, Sohn &amp; Co.</b><br>Österreichische Länderbank<br>Aktiengesellschaft |
|   | <b>J. Henry Schroder Wagg &amp; Co.</b><br>Limited   |
|   | <b>Societe Generale</b>  |
|   | <b>Trinkhaus &amp; Burkhart</b>  |
|   | <b>J. Vontobel &amp; Co.</b>   |
|   | <b>Westfalenbank</b><br>Aktiengesellschaft   |

The investigation of Deutsche Bank revealed that it represented an unusual concentration of economic power, and that it participated in carrying out the criminal policies of the Nazi regime, in the economic sector.

Office of Military Government for Germany, United States  
Finance Division, Financial Investigation Section, 1946/47

*Die Untersuchung der Deutschen Bank hat ergeben, daß sie eine ungewöhnliche Konzentration wirtschaftlicher Macht darstellte und an der Durchführung der verbrecherischen Politik des Naziregimes auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet teilgenommen hat.*



Militärregierung der Vereinigten Staaten für Deutschland  
Finanzabteilung, Sektion für finanzielle Nachforschungen  
1946/47

**INDIVIDUALITÄT**



Individualität

Wir helfen Ihnen  
auch  
anspruchsvolle  
Wünsche  
zu verwirklichen.



ZOLA-JANTJIES  
DIED · 18 · 03 · 85  
AGE · 16 YRS  
LALA · NGOXOLO





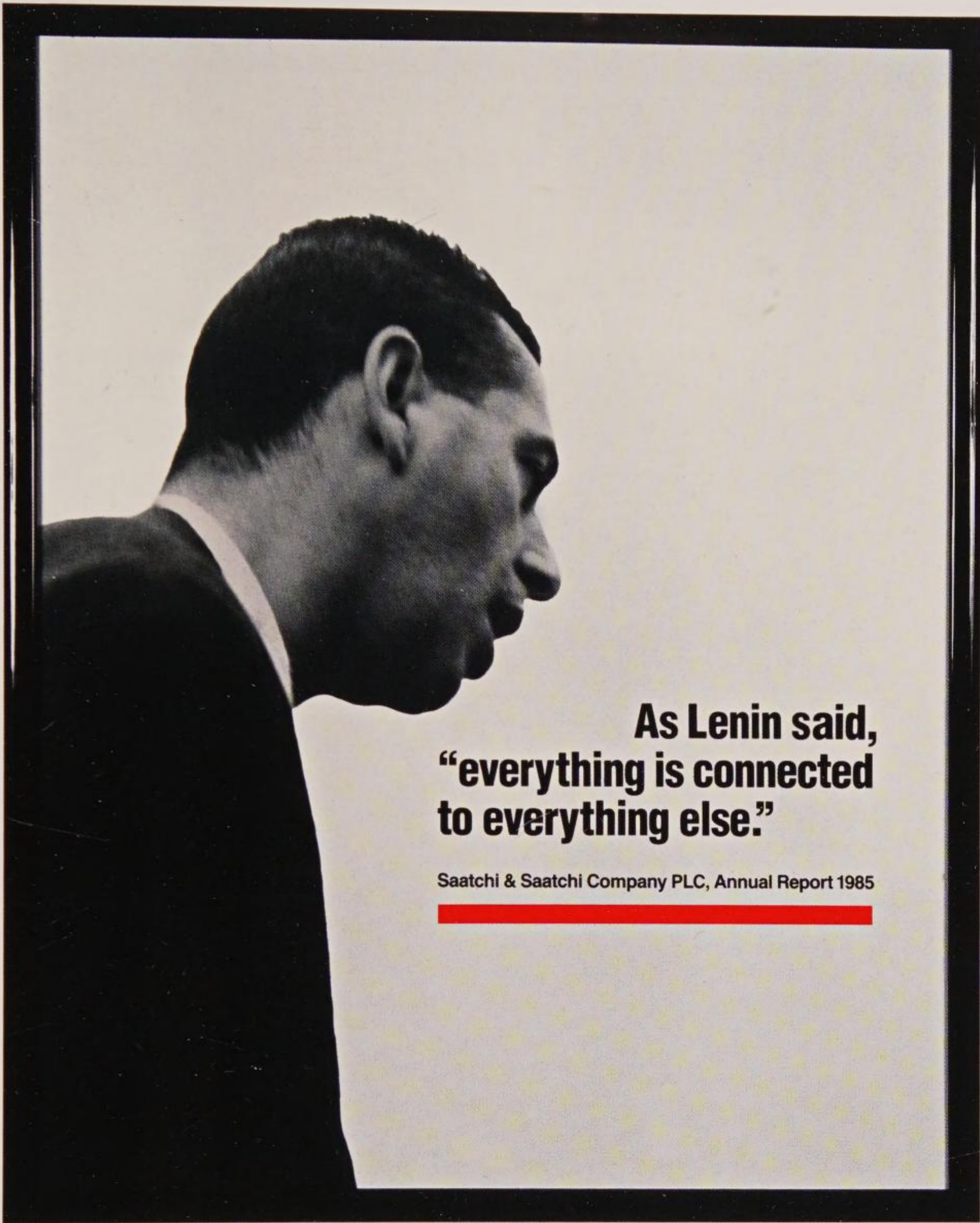


Der Jahresbericht der Saatchi & Saatchi Company PLC von 1985 zitiert Lenin: »Alles hängt mit allem zusammen.« Zu den Kunden von KMP-Compton, einer großen Tochtergesellschaft von Saatchi & Saatchi in Südafrika, zählte das Apartheidregime. Es warb 1983 für die Annahme einer neuen Verfassung, die, wie die Verfassung davor, die Macht der weißen Minderheit (16% der Bevölkerung) gewährleistete, während sie den 21 Millionen schwarzen Südafrikanern (72% der Bevölkerung) die Stimme vorenthielt und sie in sogenannte »Homelands«, wasserarme, weit voneinander entfernte Landstriche, sperrte. Die Schwarzen wurden im eigenen Land wie Ausländer behandelt. 1986 entwarf KMP-Compton im Auftrag der staatlichen südafrikanischen Tourismusagentur SATOUR eine Werbekampagne für die US-amerikanische und die europäische Presse. Die ganzseitigen Anzeigen boten Pauschalreisen mit

»Großwildfieber« an und verhiessen: »Doch das beste ist: Lassen Sie sich angenehm überraschen von dem Unterschied zwischen dem Südafrika in Ihren Abendnachrichten ... und dem echten Südafrika, das lebt, atmet und sich jeden Tag zum besseren verändert.« Als sich Barclays Bank, die größte britische Bank in Südafrika, 1987 von dort zurückzog, entwickelte Siegel & Gale, damals zu 100% ein Tochterunternehmen von Saatchi & Saatchi in New York, das neue Corporate-Identity-Programm für ihre Nachfolgerin, die südafrikanische First National Bank, unter anderem das Logo der Bank - die Silhouette eines Dornenbaums im Gegenlicht der Sonne. Unter dem Titel »NY Art Now: The Saatchi Collection« wurde 1987 in seinem Privatmuseum im Londoner Norden eine Ausstellung von Charles Saatchis jüngsten Großeinkäufen von Werken neun New Yorker Künstler eröffnet. Jean

Baudrillards Traktat Simulationen (1983) soll mehrere dieser Künstler stark beeinflusst haben. Fast zwanzig Jahre später präsentierte die Royal Academy in London im Oktober 2006 Charles Saatchis letzte Ankäufe amerikanischer Kunst unter dem Titel »USA Today«. Im selben Monat verkaufte der Sammler/Kunsthändler seinen gesamten Aktienbesitz an M & C Saatchi, eine Neugründung, nachdem Aktionäre die Saatchi-Brüder 1994 aus dem Aufsichtsrat von Saatchi & Saatchi verdrängt hatten.





**As Lenin said,  
"everything is connected  
to everything else."**

Saatchi & Saatchi Company PLC, Annual Report 1985

**KMP-COMPTON**  
A SAATCHI & SAATCHI COMPANY WORLDWIDE AGENCY

**IF "HIPPOCRACY"  
BORES YOU...**

**COME SEE THE  
REAL SOUTH AFRICA.**

**SOUTH AFRICA.  
YOU'LL COME BACK AGAIN AND AGAIN.**

**KMP-COMPTON**  
A SAATCHI & SAATCHI COMPANY WORLDWIDE AGENCY

**Crunchy on the  
outside...**

**with an international  
filling.**

**KMP-COMPTON**  
A SAATCHI & SAATCHI COMPANY WORLDWIDE AGENCY  
(012) 86-9412

**KMP-COMPTON**  
A SAATCHI & SAATCHI COMPANY WORLDWIDE AGENCY

**Have you been  
thinking of getting  
out of the country?**

**Passport**





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Wasser wird aus dem Löscheimer hoch-  
gepumpt und spritzt aus dem Oberteil  
des Pissoirs in das Loch an seinem  
Boden. Von dort fließt es zurück in den  
Eimer. Zahlreiche Anspielungen auf  
Werke von Marcel Duchamp und auf Jean  
Baudrillard's The Ecstasy of Communication  
(1988).

Erste Ausstellung: 1988, John Weber Gallery, New York





Seit 1968 wird in Graz jährlich der ›Steirische Herbst‹, ein mit öffentlichen Mitteln finanziertes Kulturfestival veranstaltet. Das zwanzigjährige Bestehen des Festivals fiel 1988 mit dem 50. Jahrestag des Anschlusses von Österreich an das Deutsche Reich im Jahre 1938 zusammen. Für den Steirischen Herbst 1988 waren Künstler eingeladen, temporäre Installationen an öffentlichen Orten zu schaffen, die in der Nazizeit eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt hatten. Einer dieser Orte war die Mariensäule im Stadtzentrum, eine mit einer vergoldeten Statue der Madonna bekrönte Säule, die gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts im Gedenken an den österreichischen Sieg über die Türken errichtet wurde. Als Hitler am 25. Juli 1938 der Stadt den Titel ›Stadt der

Volkserhebung‹ verlieh, fand die Feier am Fuß der Mariensäule statt. Zu diesem Anlaß verschwand die Säule unter einem roten, mit den Nazi-Insignien und der Inschrift ›Und Ihr habt doch gesiegt‹ dekorierten Obelisk. Die Behauptung bezog sich auf einen am 25. Juli 1934 in Wien gescheiterten Naziputsch. Graz ist in Österreich schon früh eine Nazihochburg gewesen.

Der Obelisk wurde für den Steirischen Herbst 1988 mit dem Zusatz einer Bestandsaufnahme als Denkmal für die Opfer der Nazis rekonstruiert: »Die Besiegten in der Steiermark. 300 getötete Zigeuner, 2.500 getötete Juden, 8.000 getötete oder in der Haft verstorbene politische Gefangene, 9.000 im Krieg getötete Zivilisten, 12.000 Vermisste,

27.900 getötete Soldaten«. Eine Woche vor dem Ende der Ausstellung fiel das Denkmal einem nächtlichen Brandanschlag zum Opfer, bei dem die Bronzestatue der Jungfrau Maria schwer beschädigt wurde. Innerhalb einer Woche wurden der Täter und der Anstifter des Anschlags, ein bekannter siebenundsechzigjähriger Nazi, festgenommen. In einem Prozeß wurden sie zu einer zweieinhalbjährigen bzw. ein-einhalbjährigen Haftstrafe verurteilt.











A photograph of a red and black flag, likely a historical or political banner. The top portion is red and contains the text 'UND IHR HABT DOCH GESIEGT' in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters. The bottom portion is black and contains white text in a similar font, listing casualties in the Steiermark region. The flag is shown against a light blue sky and a building's edge on the left.

**UND IHR HABT DOCH  
GESIEGT**

**Die Besiegten in der Steiermark:**

**300 getötete Zigeuner, 2.500 getötete Juden, 8.000 getötete  
oder in der Haft verstorbene, politische Gefangene, 9.000 im  
Krieg getötete Zivilisten. 12.000 Vermisste, 27.900 getötete  
Soldaten**







**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**





**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**

**GRAZ**



**Die Stadt der  
Volkserhebung**





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First exhibition: 1989, French National Assembly, Paris (interior) / 1990, John Weber Gallery, New York



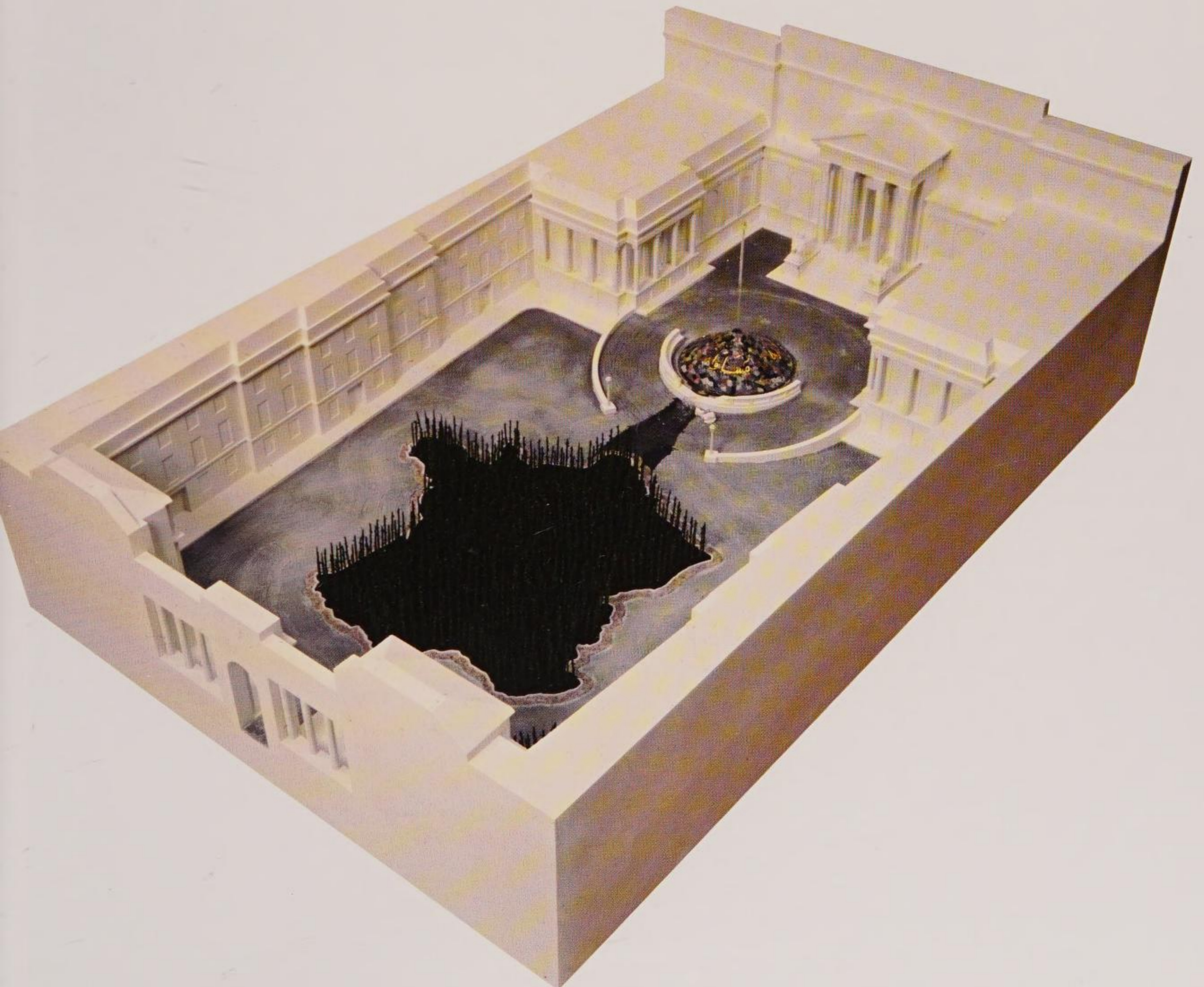
**Competition entry for the French National Assembly, on the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, 1989 (unrealized) /** The site of the proposal is the Cour d'Honneur of the Palais Bourbon (part of the French National Assembly's building complex) in Paris.

Members of the French Parliament are to contribute a rock from their election district. The rocks are fitted together and polished to form a perfect cone in the center of the upper part of the court. Raised gold-leafed calligraphy on its surface spells, in Arabic, the motto of the French Republic: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.



A jet of water shoots up from the top of the cone. The water then flows down its surface and continues down the sloping terrain toward the center of a balustrade. It rushes through a breach, which its

force seems to have broken, onto the main court underneath, which is occupied by a large area in the shape of the map of France. Common French crops are grown there in a four-year cycle, a choice of wheat, corn, rapeseed, cabbage, sunflowers, beans, peas, and potatoes. In the fourth year the field lies fallow. The water is carried around the planted area in a shallow, graded trough toward the gate of the court, where it disappears into an opening in the ground. The entire volume of water is recycled.







In 1961, the GDR (East Germany) built unscalable walls with dog runs and minefields along its border. More than 150 people were killed trying to escape. For this project, the windows of a watchtower in the former "deathstrip" were fitted with tinted glass, reminiscent of the Palasthotel, which served as a residence for important state guests in East Berlin. Like the windows of West German police vans, wire grills protected them against rock throwers. The searchlight on the roof was replaced by a slowly rotating Mercedes star, matching the star on the Europa Center in West Berlin. Two inscriptions on the tower are quotes from a series of ads in which Daimler-Benz cited famous people: "Bereit sein ist alles" (The readiness is all), by Shakespeare, echoing "Be prepared—

always prepared," a motto of the GDR's Young Pioneers; and "Kunst bleibt Kunst" (Art will always remain art), by Goethe. A few months earlier, the City of Berlin (West) had sold Daimler-Benz a large tract of empty land at Potsdamer Platz for a fraction of its market value. Daimler-Benz had vigorously promoted Hitler's rise to power. The majority of German warplanes and military vehicles in World War II were powered by Mercedes engines. The company relied extensively on forced labor. Its only foreign production of passenger cars during the 1980s was in South Africa. In a joint venture with the apartheid government, it also produced heavy diesel engines and, in spite of a UN arms embargo, supplied 6,000 military vehicles. In 1987, it broke a bitter nine-

week strike of its black workers. Daimler-Benz sold Iraq under Saddam Hussein helicopters, military vehicles, missiles, and flatbed trucks, usable as mobile missile launchers. Daimler-Benz (now DaimlerChrysler) is a prominent sponsor of culture. It commissioned Andy Warhol to make paintings of its cars from the beginning to the present. They were posthumously exhibited at the Guggenheim Museum in 1988. At Berlin's Potsdamer Platz, it maintains its own exhibition space.





„Kunst  
bleibt  
Kunst.“







Bereit sein  
ist  
alles.

WARRIORS

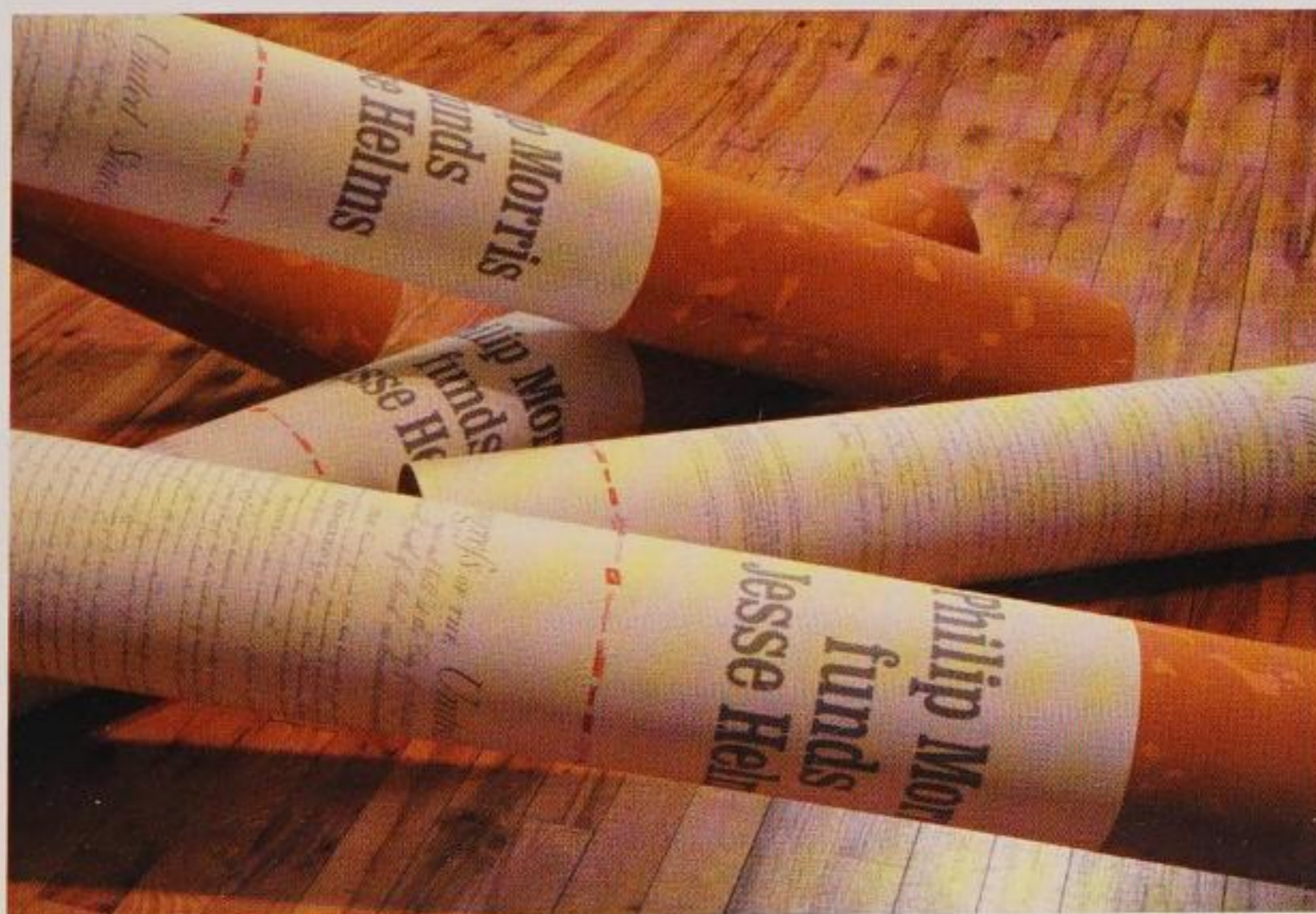




Marlboro slogan before ban on cigarette advertising: "Come to Marlboro Country." Sources of "Warnings" on cigarette packages: Congressional Record, September 28, 1989; Philip Morris and the Arts: Remarks by George Weissman, First Annual Symposium, Mayor's Commission on the Arts and Business Committee for the Arts, Inc., Denver, September 5, 1980. Cigarettes are wrapped in reproductions of the United States Bill of Rights. Philip Morris (renamed Altria in 2003) paid the National Archives \$600,000 for using the Bill of Rights in a \$60 million public-relations campaign in 1989. Free copies were mailed in tubes bearing the Philip Morris logo. The company regularly contributed to the election campaigns of Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina. It sponsored the senator's "American prin-

ciples" at the Jesse Helms Center in Wingate, N.C. Philip Morris stated: "Senator Helms has been extremely supportive ... And he is in a position to be of help to us. ..." Helms (who retired in 2003 after thirty years in the Senate) had campaigned vigorously against the National Endowment for the Arts (the U.S. government agency for the support of artists and art institutions), leading, in 1990, to content restrictions. Helms was also hostile to AIDS victims, homosexuals, the freedom of women to have abortions, and labor unions. He supported Roberto D'Aubuisson (linked to death squads in El Salvador), General Augusto Pinochet of Chile, and apartheid politicians in South Africa. During election campaigns he regularly exploited racist sentiments. In 1990, the John Weber Gallery was

threatened with legal action if it exhibited Helmsboro Country. The gallery did not cancel the show. When it became known that Philip Morris sponsored Senator Helms, the AIDS-crisis activist group ACT UP called for an international boycott of its products. The sales of Miller Beer, one of its subsidiaries, declined that year. In 1994, Philip Morris asked New York arts institutions to help defeat passage of restrictions on smoking in public places. The ban passed. In 2003, the Whitney Museum of American Art celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its exhibition space at Altria's New York headquarters.









GEORGE WEISSMAN  
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PHILIP MORRIS

WARNING:

Let's be clear about one thing. Our fundamental interest in the arts is self-interest. There are immediate and pragmatic benefits to be derived as business entities.

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SENATOR HELMS' WARNING:

Frank Saunders, who was on the staff of Vice President for Cultural Affairs for the Philip Morris Co., told the Senate and the House back in 1981, and I quote him:

Few businesses are adventurous and few are prepared to stick the company money on creative, speculative art forms. But when given the stamp of approval of the National Endowment, such art does have a chance at the board room.

That means that artists can get corporate money if they can get respectability—even if it's undeserved—from the National Endowment for the Arts. And that is what this is all about. It is an issue of soaking the taxpayer to fund the homosexual pornography of Robert Mapplethorpe, who died of AIDS while spending the last years of his life promoting homosexuality.





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The title quotes from the first line of "Horst-Wessel-Lied," a famous Nazi song. On the central flag are the words "Roll Call - German Industry in Iraq," with a photograph of the SS badge. Two long flags list German companies.

Leo von Klenze designed the Königsplatz for King Ludwig I of Bavaria (reign 1825-48) as an ensemble of three neo-classical buildings around a square. Two serve as museums. A road traverses the grass-covered square to the third structure, the Propylaeum, a massive triumphal gate.

Königsplatz became a principal site for Nazi rallies. It was paved over, and two massive buildings, Hitler's Munich office and the headquarters of the Nazi party, were built on the fourth side of the

square, together with two Ehrentempel (Temples of Honor), where the Nazis buried the dead of their unsuccessful 1923 Munich putsch. Every year, on the anniversary of the putsch, they held a commemorative ritual on the Königsplatz. With thousands of troops standing at attention, the names of the dead were called as if it were a roll call.

After the war, the U.S. Army blew up the Ehrentempel. The former Nazi office buildings are now used by the Music School and the Art Historical Institute of University of Munich.

Like corporations in other countries, German companies made major contributions to the Iraqi arsenal, including Saddam Hussein's nuclear and chemical-weapons program. Many also had provided

Hitler with war matériel.

Two days before the end of the exhibition, Ruhrgas AG obtained an injunction against the display of its name on the flags. Eventually, a Munich court ruled that a statement be included in the exhibition catalogue explaining that it was not Ruhrgas but LOI Industrieofenanlagen GmbH which conducted business with Iraq. This wholly owned subsidiary of Ruhrgas did, in fact, supply special furnaces for the production of cannon barrels. Ruhrgas now belongs to the energy company Eon.



**AEG**  
**Bauer-Kompressoren**  
**Buderus**  
**Daimler-Benz**  
**Gildemeister**  
**H + H Metallform**  
**Havert**  
**Hochtief**  
**Karl Kolb GmbH**  
**Klöckner**  
**MAN**  
**Mannesmann**  
**MBB**  
**Pilot Plant**  
**Rhein-Bayern**  
**Rheinmetall**  
**Ruhrgas**  
**Saarstahl**  
**Siemens**  
**Strabag**  
**Thyssen**



Raise the Flag!









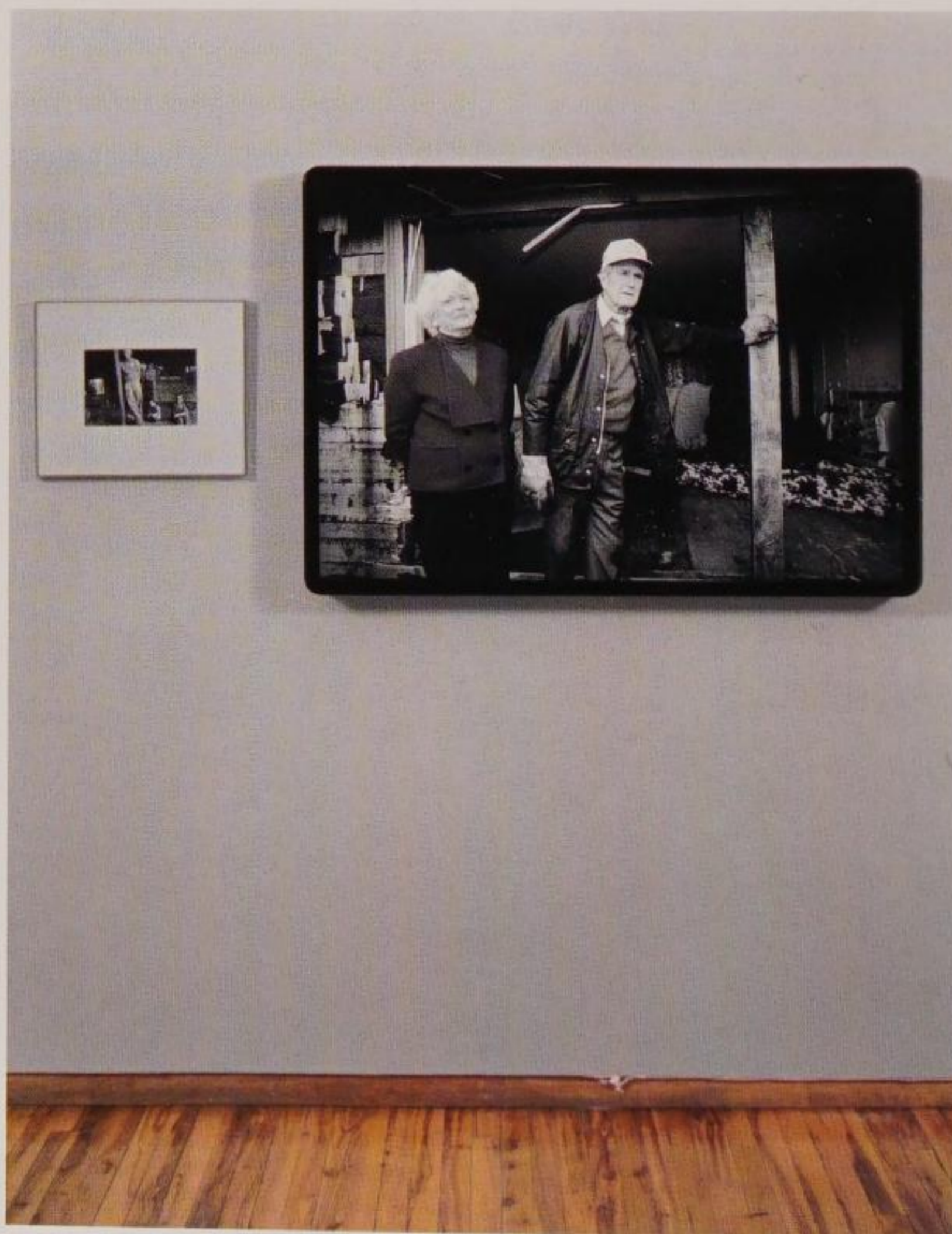


## Photo Opportunity (after the Storm/Walker Evans) 1992

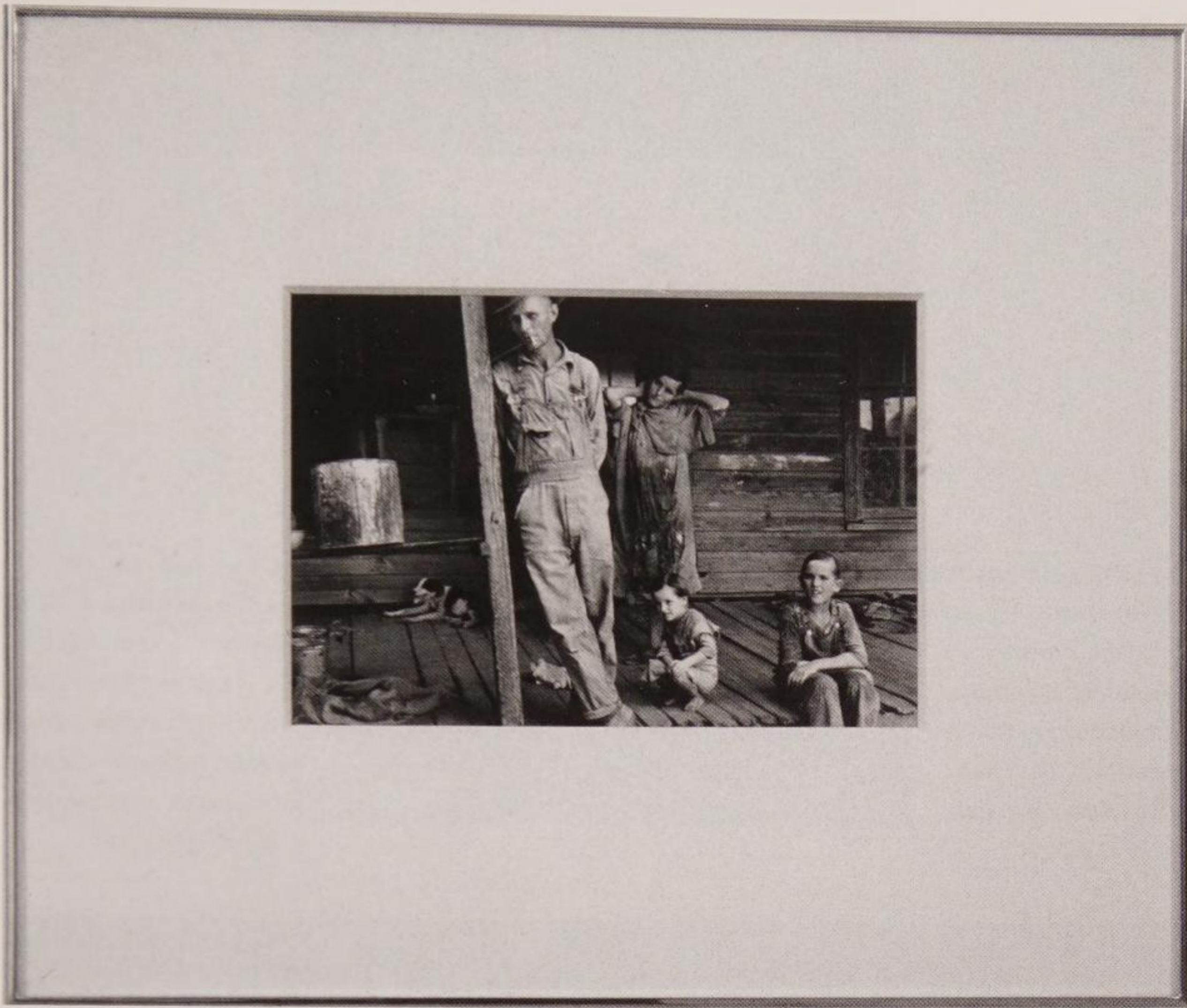
During the Depression in the United States, Walker Evans, on assignment from the U.S. Farm Security Administration in the mid-1930s, photographed impoverished people in the South. His photographs are in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art as well as other institutions.

On November 3, 1991, the Washington Post reported on a storm that had struck the East Coast of the United States the preceding day, describing how it had damaged then President George H. W. Bush's vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine. A photograph illustrated the article.

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After seizing power in 1933, Hitler's first trip abroad was to meet Benito Mussolini in Venice—and to visit the German Pavilion of the Biennale. He ordered a facelift of the building following the martial variant of neoclassicism that had been introduced by the new Haus der

Deutschen Kunst in Munich. The parquet floor of the building was replaced by marble slabs. And on a hook above the entrance, the Nazi version of the German eagle was installed, with a wreath surrounding the swastika.

During the 1993 Biennale, the same hook

held an enlarged replica of a deutsche mark coin with a mint date of 1990, the year of the reunification of East and West Germany and the adoption of the West German currency as common legal tender. From the entrance, the view into the interior was blocked by a red wall



with a black-and-white photograph of Hitler's visit to the pavilion in 1934. Once visitors had passed it to the left or right, they found the entire floor broken up. The word GERMANIA (Italian for Germany) on the pavilion's facade was

quoted in the apse. Germania had been the name Hitler had envisioned for Berlin after his expected victory in World War II and the imperial redesign of the German capital by Albert Speer.

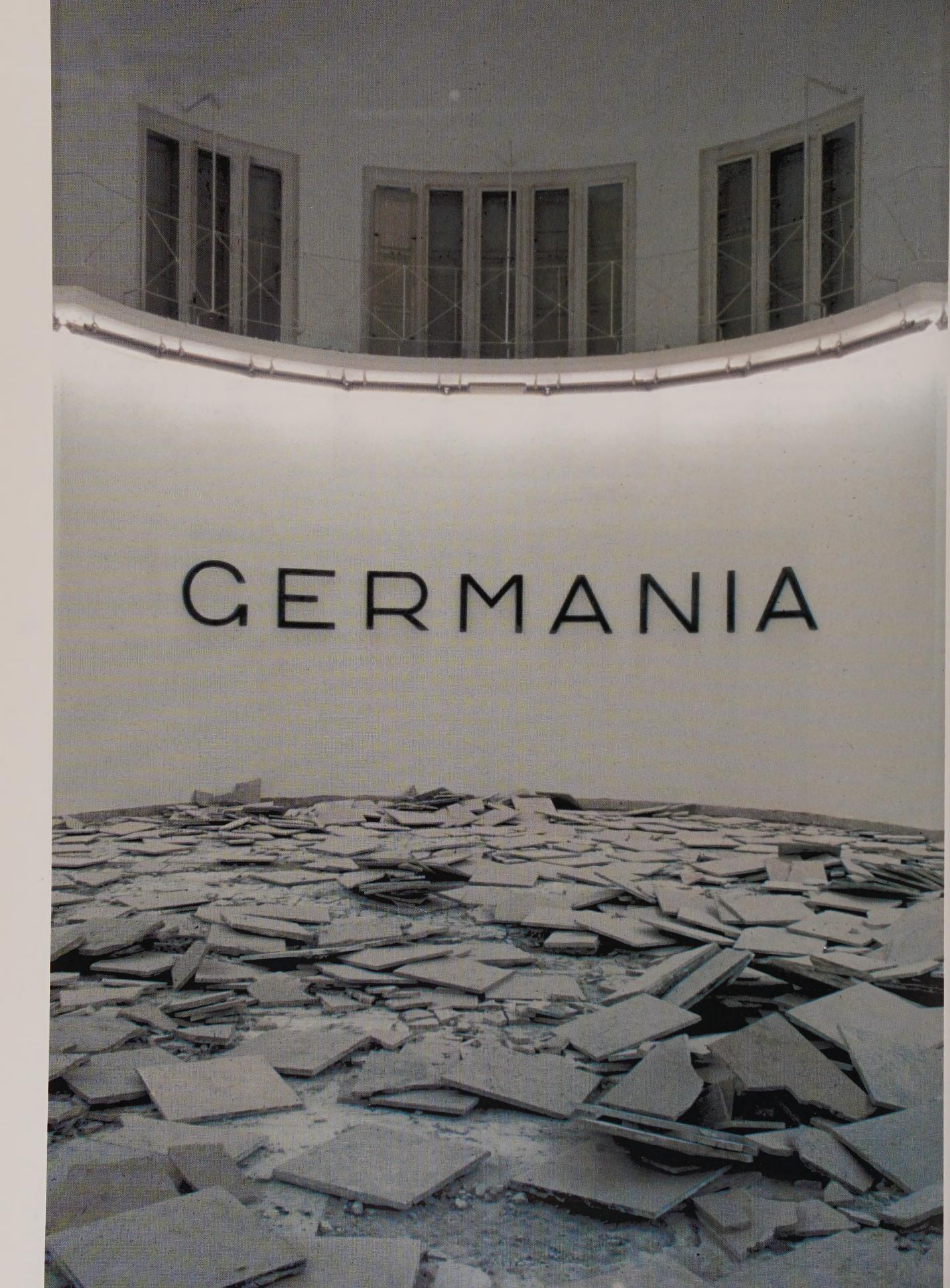




LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA 1934







GERMANIA







Standort Merry-go-round, 1997





In 1909, a memorial was inaugurated with a nationalist celebration at Mauritztor (Mauritzgate), on the promenade in Münster. Bernhard Frydag, a local sculptor, had chiseled into his monument the dedication: 1864 – 1870-71 – 1866 IN MEMORY OF WARS AND VICTORIES, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REICH. The dates refer to the three wars Bismarck waged against neighbors of Prussia. In German history books they are known as the German-Danish War, which led to the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia and Austria; the German War between Prussia and Austria (two years later); and the German-French War. In 1871, after the German victory, the Prussian King Wilhelm I was proclaimed Kaiser of the newly established German Reich in Versailles. In 1815 Münster had become part of the Prussian province of Westphalia.

In Münster, the Memorial at Mauritztor is popularly called Mäsentempel (monument of asses).

During the exhibition 'Sculpture: Projects in Münster 1997,' next to the monument, a cylindrical shack was erected, made of raw construction planks. It matched the monument in diameter and height (6-7 meters). Barbed wire was strung along the top. A children's carousel with lights and music (the German national anthem played at high speed and high pitch) was turning inside, directly behind the planks. It was possible to see the carousel only through gaps between the planks where they did not fit together snugly.





**The Project /** White neon letters beam the words DER BEVÖLKERUNG (To the Population) from the center of the northern courtyard of the Reichstag building upward toward the sky. The letters, 1.2 meters (47 inches) high, lie on the ground along the courtyard's longitudinal axis. Seen from the Assembly Hall they are read from west to east. Visitors to the roof of the building can see the illuminated letters on the floor of the courtyard. The typeface is the same as the typeface of the inscription DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE (To the German People) above the west gate of the Reichstag building.

Members of the Bundestag are invited to bring 50 kilograms (approximately 100 pounds) of soil from their election districts to the courtyard. The soil, coming from 669 different regions of the Federal Republic (the current number of deputies), is to be deposited in a wooden

Panels are to be installed in the Assembly Hall at locations from which the words DER BEVÖLKERUNG can be seen, on the press floor, as well as in areas where the public is admitted on the roof. Listed on these panels are the names of all members of Parliament, together with their party affiliations and the districts and states they represent. The panels also provide concise information on the conceptual references of the lettering, the process of plant growth, and the dates on which members contributed soil. At the beginning of each legislative term, the panels are to be replaced, so that they reflect the changed membership of the Parliament.

In order to assure the highest possible public accessibility—outside the building as well—this information, together with a current photograph of the courtyard, is posted on a Web site established for this purpose. A Web cam overlooking the

**Thoughts about the Project /** I saw the Reichstag building for the first time on a Sunday in 1984, when I took a stroll in the Tiergarten. Children were playing on the wide lawn in front of Wallot's damaged colossus, while the building blocked the view to the Wall in the East. Extended families were relaxing on the grass, and the smell of grilled lamb wafted in the air. It was idyllic.

It crossed my mind that, in 1918, Scheidemann [a prominent Social Democratic member of Parliament] proclaimed the establishment of a German Republic from a window of the Reichstag—and that fifteen years later, in the same building, that very Republic went up in flames. But I was startled by something else. On the architrave of the building's portico I read the inscription DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE (To the German People) in giant bronze letters.

To many of the children playing on the

# DER BEVÖLKERUNG

trough measuring 6.3 x 20.8 x 0.3 meters (248 x 818 x 12 inches), around the neon letters.

Seeds and roots from the places of origin will be naturally embedded in the soil brought to Berlin and will sprout, as will airborne seeds from Berlin. They are to develop freely—without tending. When legislators leave Parliament, a portion of soil commensurate with their contribution is removed. Newly elected members of Parliament, in turn, are invited to contribute to the soil in the courtyard and, in so doing, also to the vegetation.

The process of plant growth and the ongoing addition and removal of soil, corresponding to the rhythm of the parliamentary terms, is to continue as long as democratically elected legislators meet in the Reichstag building.

courtyard from a fixed position is programmed to take a photograph every two hours and to present the image taken at noon to the Web site's visitors. The site is updated daily. Thus a databank develops with a constantly expanding picture archive, which allows the tracking of changes in the courtyard, compressed as if in a time-lapse recording.

A link on the Web site DER BEVÖLKERUNG will provide legislators who have contributed soil to the courtyard an opportunity to present their own texts and images.

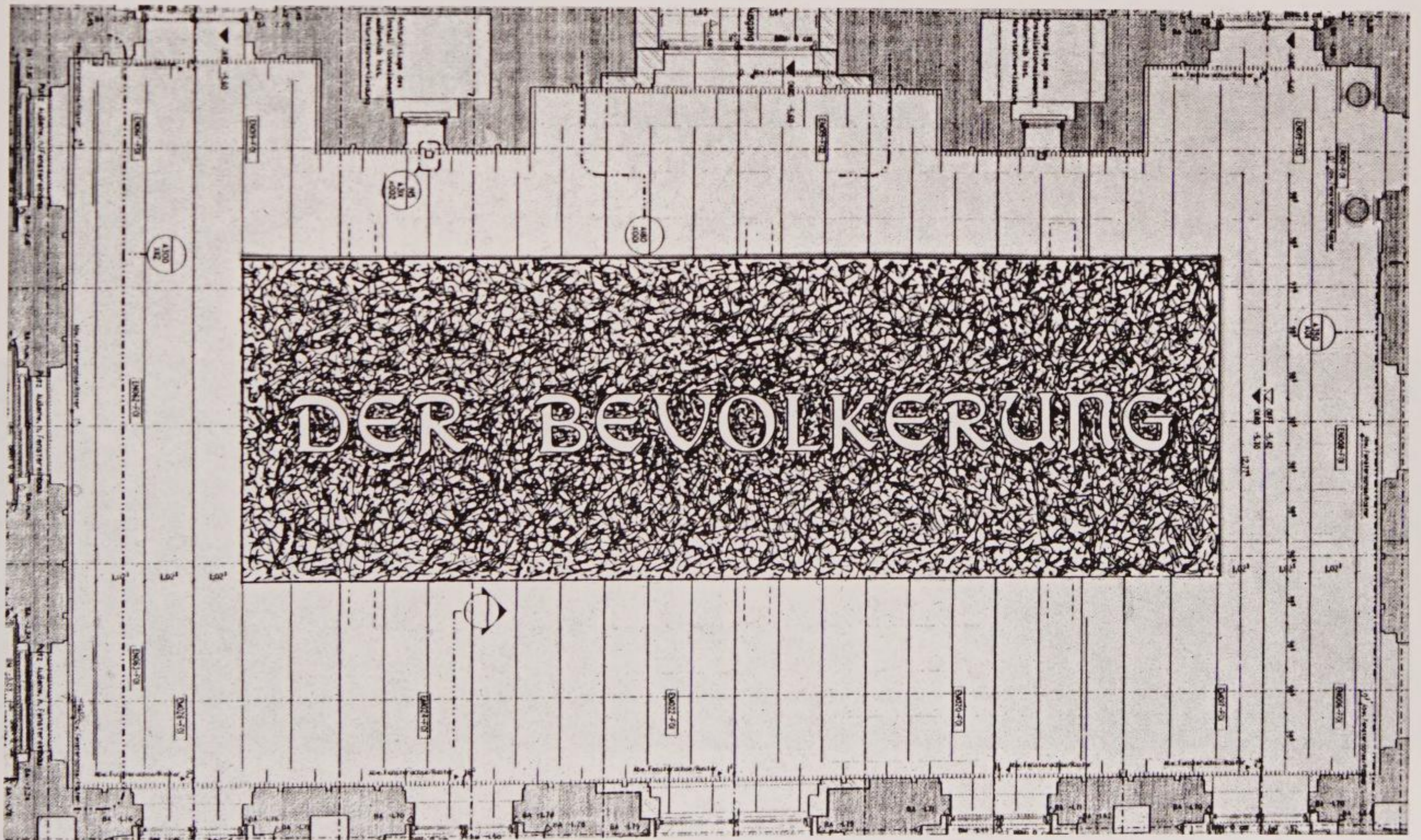
Objects not intrinsic to the project are to be excluded from the courtyard.

October 1999

lawn and to their parents, uncles, and aunts that meant: this place is not for you! You don't belong! You stay out! The inscription sounded to me even more aggressive a few weeks later, when I saw it in the flashing of fireworks in front of the grim scenery of the Reichstag.

In his history of the Reichstag, Michael S. Cullen reports that Wilhelm II considered the architect Paul Wallot's idea to dedicate his Parliament building "To the German People" an affront. Perhaps getting a whiff of the French Revolution from it, the Kaiser knew how to prevent it from being realized. It was only in 1915, twenty-one years later, at a time when the war unexpectedly turned out not to be the string of victories expected, that he gave his consent to the dedication. For the casting of the bronze letters, the Kaiser even approved melting down two cannons that had





Procedural installation: 2000, Berlin, Reichstagsgebäude (conceived 1999)



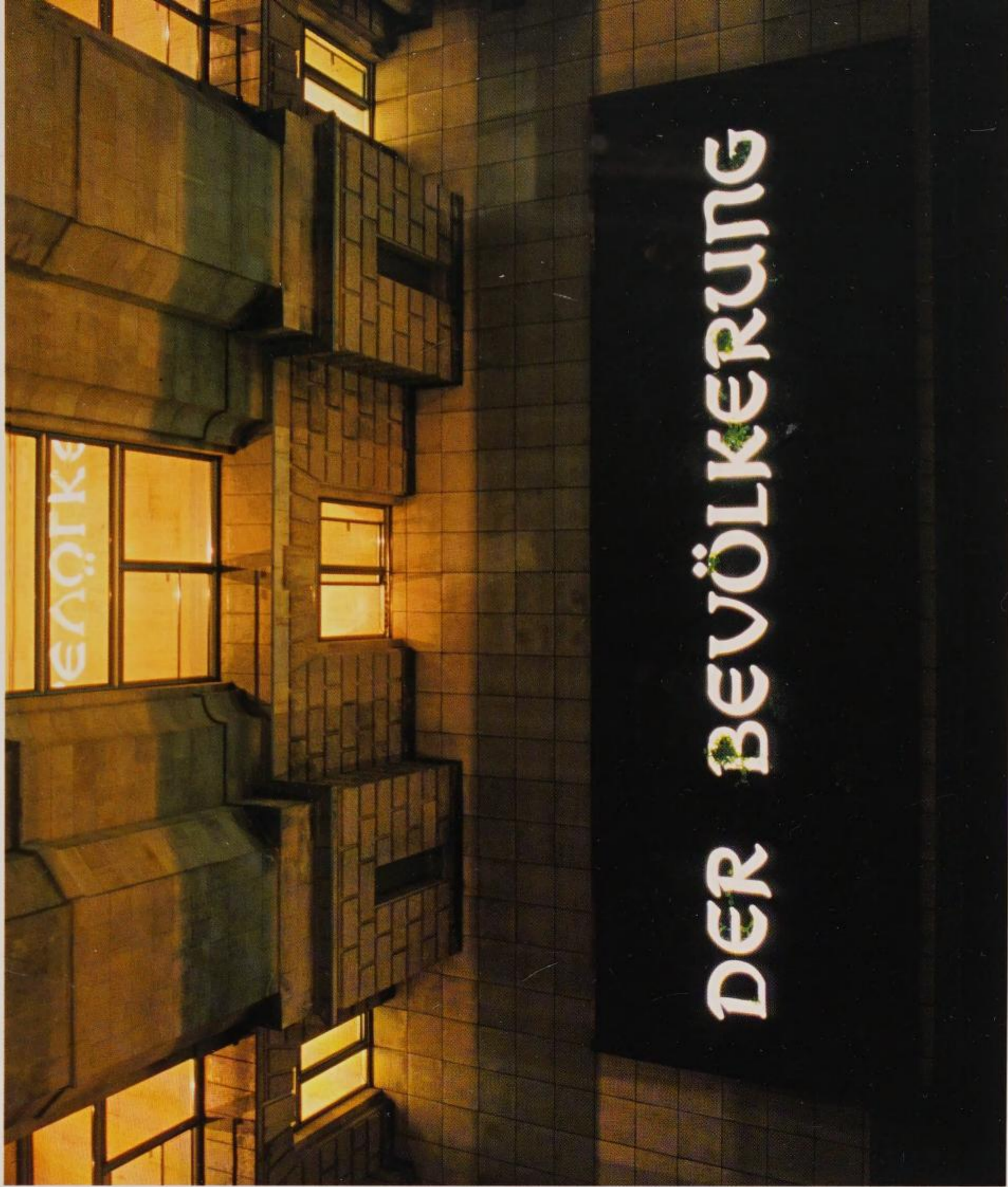


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TO THE POPULATION





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Heinrich Fink PDS



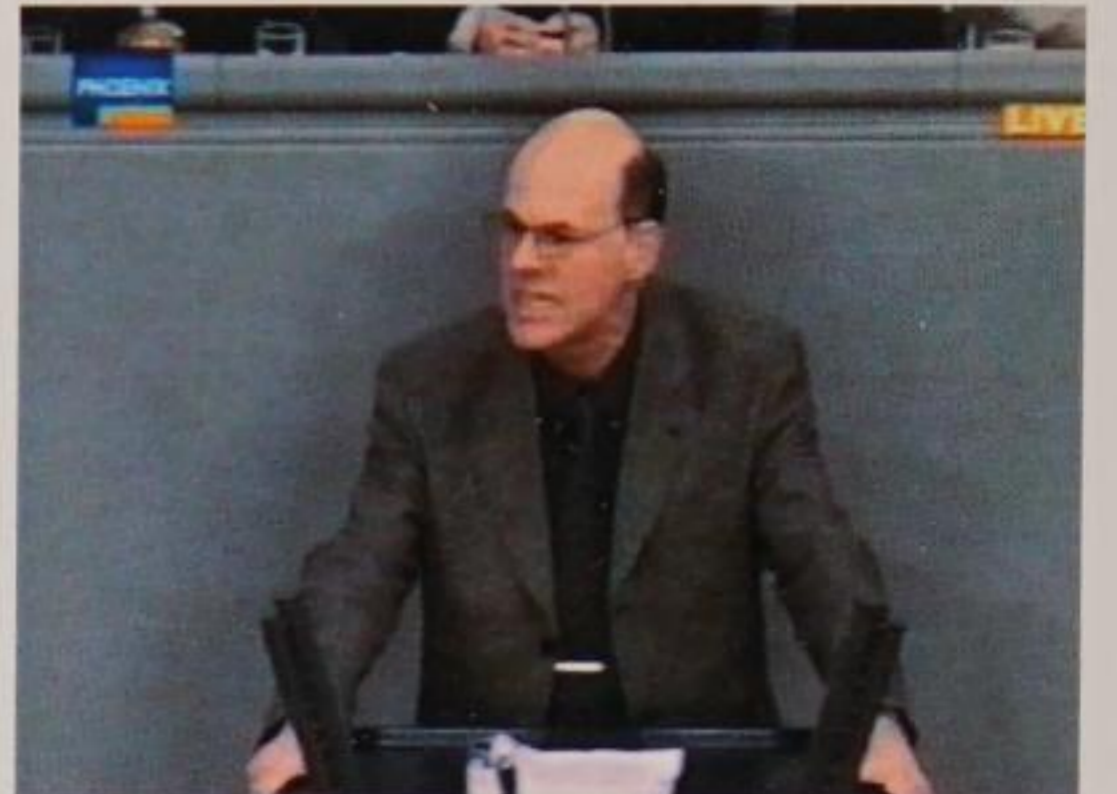
Ulrich Heinrich FDP



Rita Süßmuth CDU



Franziska Eichstädt-Bohlig Bündnis 90/Grüne



Norbert Lammert CDU



Hans-Joachim Otto FDP



Volker Kauder CDU



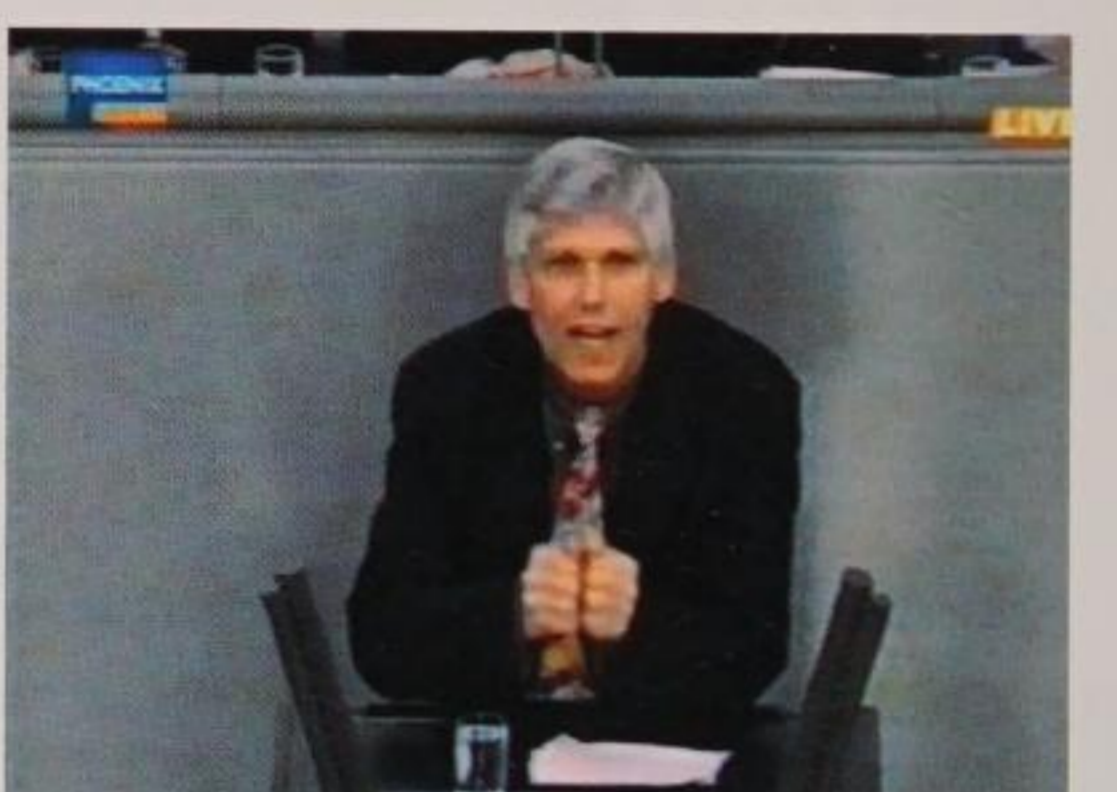
Wolfgang Thierse SPD



Antje Vollmer Bündnis 90/Grüne



Hanna Wolf SPD



Gert Weisskirchen SPD

been captured during the Napoleonic wars. The question of whether the adjective "deutsch" was to be spelled in upper or lower case was sidestepped by using upper case for the entire inscription [in German, adjectives are normally spelled in lower case]. A conflict erupted over the choice of the typeface. Conservatives promoted Fraktur, because they regarded it as

particularly German. Others favored a Roman typeface as more modern, even though it was preferred in England and France and could therefore be associated with the enemy. In the end, the dedication was executed in a hybrid art nouveau typeface designed by Peter Behrens, in which elements of both Fraktur and Roman type were joined. The fact that the Kaiser consented

to the dedication under the pressures of war, the choice of captured cannons as material for the letters, and the struggle over the typeface all indicate that the inscription "To the German People," in fact, right from the beginning, had a nationalist charge (despite the Kaiser's having heard a republican ring in it).

During the twentieth century, the adjec-



tive "German" and the noun "Volk" have played conflict-ridden and often fateful roles in German society.

According to the encyclopedia, the term "Volk" implies a common history and cultural heritage, the sense of a common bond, and a distinct culture, religion, and language.

"Volksgenossen" [Germans as defined by the Nazis] cheered the Führer when he spoke to them about "Deutschtum" [Germanness], about "Volksdeutsche" [ethnic Germans of foreign nationality], and about race-hygienic "Volkstumspolitik" [policy promoting the annexation of territories with ethnic German minorities].

His speeches could be read in the *Völkischer Beobachter* [the daily newspaper of the Nazi Party]. Toward the end of the war, the Führer drafted children and old men into the "Volkssturm" [the local defense force]. The ministry of "Volksaufklärung" [the propaganda ministry] managed the "gesundes Volksempfinden" [healthy sense of the people]. It purged the museums of un-German, degenerate art. Death sentences were meted out by the "Volksgerichtshof" [political court] for "Volksschädlinge" [persons presumed to be undermining the country], who were executed "in the name of the Volk." Whether a person was considered German or not was a matter of life and death. One of the sons of the bronze casters who had produced the letters for the Reichstag dedication "To the German People" died in Auschwitz; the other was executed in the Berlin-Plötzensee prison. Jews and Gypsies were not accepted as Germans. One-hundred and thirteen members of the Reichstag were stripped of their German citizenship. Seventy-five of them did not survive prison. Eight committed suicide. From 1945 to 1989, the notion of "Volk" was interpreted quite differently in the territory that extended eastward immediately behind the Reichstag building. Laws were passed by a "Volkskammer" [the GDR Parliament]. The military was called "Volksarmee." Law and order was main-

tained, accordingly, by the "Volkspolizei." And people worked in "Volkseigenen Betrieben" [state enterprises]. When the workers went on strike on June 17, 1953, and braved the tanks of the rulers, Bertolt Brecht proposed a solution: "Wouldn't it be easier if the government dissolved the people and chose another one?" The government made the mistake of not employing this remedy. As a consequence, in 1989, it got to hear the chant "We are the people!"

For centuries, people emigrated from the territory of what is today the Federal Republic of Germany. They were wooed away—and they were sold by their rulers as mercenaries to fight in the wars of others. Emigration continues today. In the veins of all these people flows "German blood." Are they therefore all part of the "German people?" And the many millions who for centuries—and still today—have been recruited for work in Germany, who have taken refuge, remained during the turmoil of war, or immigrated "normally," all these people whose names are listed in the telephone directory and whose children were born on German soil and went to German schools, are they disqualified from admission to the "German people" because of their "Ahnennpass" [Nazi pass book to prove German ancestry]?

Resolutions of the Bundestag affect all inhabitants of the Federal Republic—whether or not they belong to the "German people" according to the definition of the encyclopedia, or any other definition. A great number of people who are not German citizens and cannot vote in the Federal Republic nevertheless are equally subject to the decisions of the Bundestag. The exclusivity proclaimed on the portico of the Reichstag building is questionable also in view of the widening European unification and the Federal Republic's global alignments.

In his 1937 essay "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," written in exile, Bertolt Brecht maintained: "In these times, he

who says 'Bevölkerung' (population) instead of Volk ... already withdraws support from a great many lies."

August 1999

(submitted to the art advisory committee for its first meeting on September 7, 1999)

**Supplementary Reflections /** Members of the Bundestag do not answer to a mythical Volk but TO THE POPULATION. In contrast to the fiction of a German tribal unity, the territory (Latin 'terra' = earth, soil, land) of the Federal Republic is a reality, recognized and defined by international law. Posts driven into the ground along its borders demarcate its material existence. German citizenship laws are changing from the exclusive "law of blood" (*ius sanguinis*) toward an ecumenically inclusive "law of soil" (*ius soli*). The ground of the Federal Republic is common to all who live within its borders. Earth plays an important role in many myths of creation. The Old Testament opens with the sentence: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." On the third day it continues, as the Biblical God commands: "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth." On the sixth day he forms man "of dust of the ground." For the existence of man "on the earth," as German-language usage indicates, the earth is tantamount to the world. In many cultures the earth is referred to as "mother earth," giving life and periodic renewal. But she also opens herself up as the grave that takes us in, and we become one with the earth. She does not know of power and property. The earth is classless.

In countries with industrialized agriculture, the soil's fertility is no longer enhanced through prayer and sacrifice. Chemical fertilizers or ecological methods have replaced these. But crop failures have lost none of their horrors. They are reflected in the cost-of-living index,



the options market, and in famines—as they did thousands of years ago. In sometimes unexpected ways, attachment to the soil survives in the concrete landscapes of our cities. On weekends, those who can afford it go to the country. For the ones left behind, vegetables homegrown on windowsills or in plots on the side of train tracks serve as surrogates. Recently, the smell of earth also has begun to permeate the interior of office towers. In those open spaces exempt from exploitation, green landscapes extend all the way up to the glass roofs. In New York, the sale of empty city-owned lots, in which neighborhood residents have lovingly planted gardens, can pose incalculable political risks. In the stone deserts of our metropolitan cities, plants and their ecological function enjoy high social value.

In spite of the earth's secularization, the Pope and politicians kiss the ground whenever they want to express their reverence to a country. Some people do it, with no cameras rolling, when they return—after a long absence—to the country with which they have emotional ties. Even though these expressions of respect and love are usually played out at the foot of a landing platform, what is meant is not the tarmac but the earth underneath. If a traveler is asked to bring back soil from that far away place where the person who has made the request was born and where he cannot go himself, it evokes similar symbolism.

The gathering and mixing of soil from all regions of the Federal Republic in the courtyard of the Reichstag building is a symbolic action of anti-separatism. It affirms communality and equality. A quiet gesture, without fanfare, flag-waving, or torchlights, it is matched by the unspectacular sprouting of the seeds and roots in the soil. Their growth is oblivious to photo opportunities. The entire country is represented equally in this ecosystem in the seat of the legislature—visible to the visitors on the roof and to those on

the Web site. Through their contributions, members of the Bundestag express symbolically that they accept their task of serving the interest of the entire (!) population, and that the nationalistic motto of exclusivity on the facade of the Reichstag building needs correction.

The swearing in of new members is an event at which they play a rather passive



role. By contrast, bringing soil from their election districts requires initiative and commitment. It corresponds metaphorically to the commitment to the *res publica* that is expected from all when asked to vote. The invitation to participate actively in the creation and continuous renewal of this art project is also an invitation to the legislators to think about the role artworks are meant to play in their place of work. So-called art in public places is usually rather static. This project, however, relies on participation—as does a living democracy. It is a dynamic and collaborative work. And it is an unending process.

In a building governed by extreme security controls, this ecosystem of seeds finding their way into the Parliament's courtyard constitutes an enclave of unpredictable and free development. It is

an unregulated place, exempt from the planning of anything and everything. It is dedicated TO THE POPULATION.

October 1999

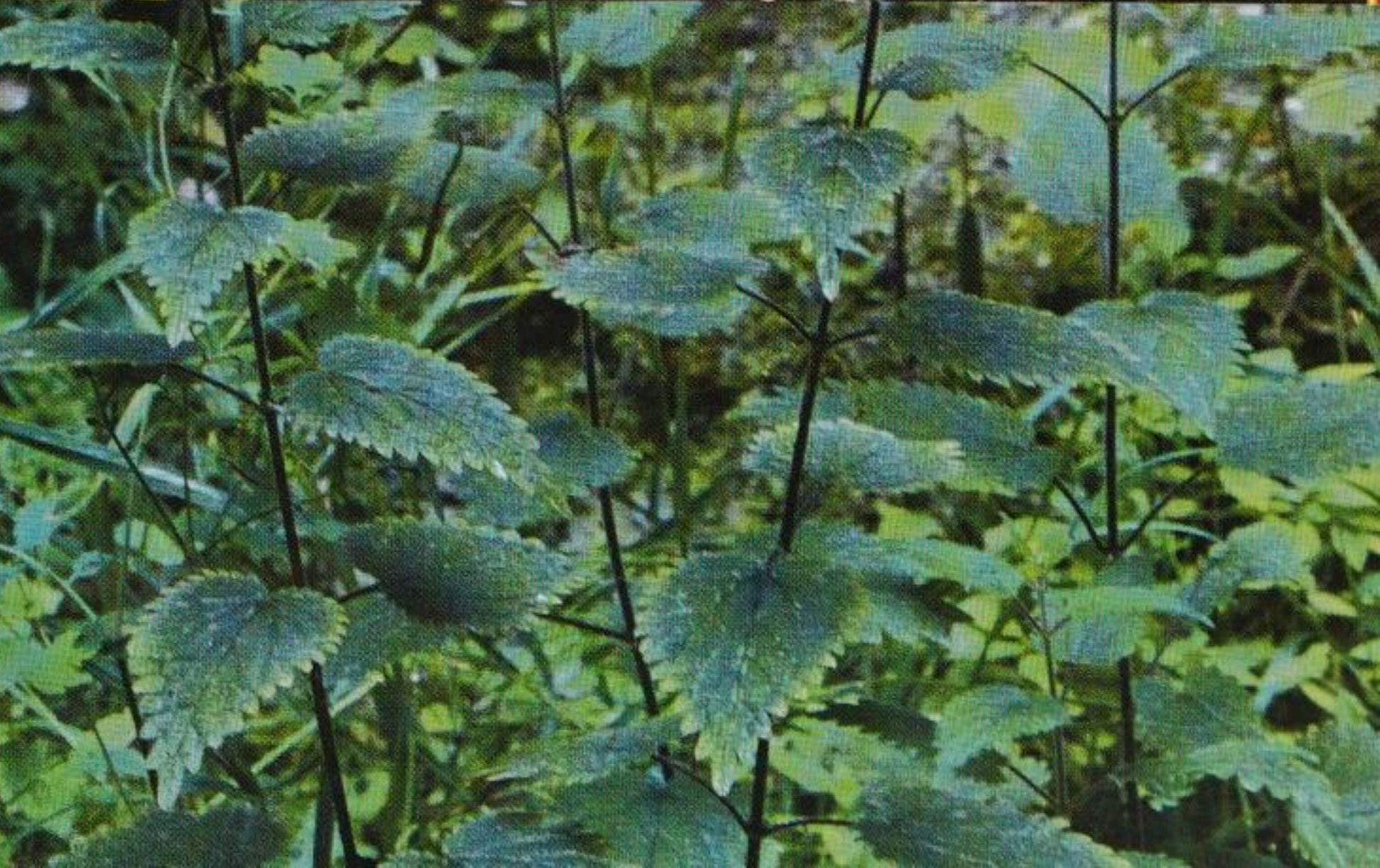
(submitted to the art advisory committee for its second meeting on November 2, 1999)

When the Bundestag (German Parliament) moved from Bonn to the Reichstag in Berlin, a number of artists were asked to make proposals for designated areas of the building. In the fall of 1999, the Kunstbeirat, a parliamentary committee, voted 9 to 1 for the realization of the project DER BEVÖLKERUNG (To the Population).

Volker Kauder, the lone dissenter of the Kunstbeirat and a leading member of the conservative CDU (Christian Democratic Union), waged a determined campaign to prevent the project's realization. The German and international media reported extensively on the ensuing controversy, which eventually led to an hour-long debate in the Bundestag on April 5, 2000. Speakers from each of the major parties spoke both in favor of and in opposition to the project. It was approved by a vote of 260 to 258.

On September 12, 2000, the Speaker of the Bundestag, Wolfgang Thierse, initiated the project's participatory phase by depositing soil from the Jewish cemetery in his Berlin election district. By the end of 2005 about 225 MPs had participated. A camera in the courtyard delivers a daily updated view of the project at [www.derbevoelkerung.de](http://www.derbevoelkerung.de). The Web site includes a chronology, the minutes of the debate, the names of MPs who have contributed soil, and a bibliography.





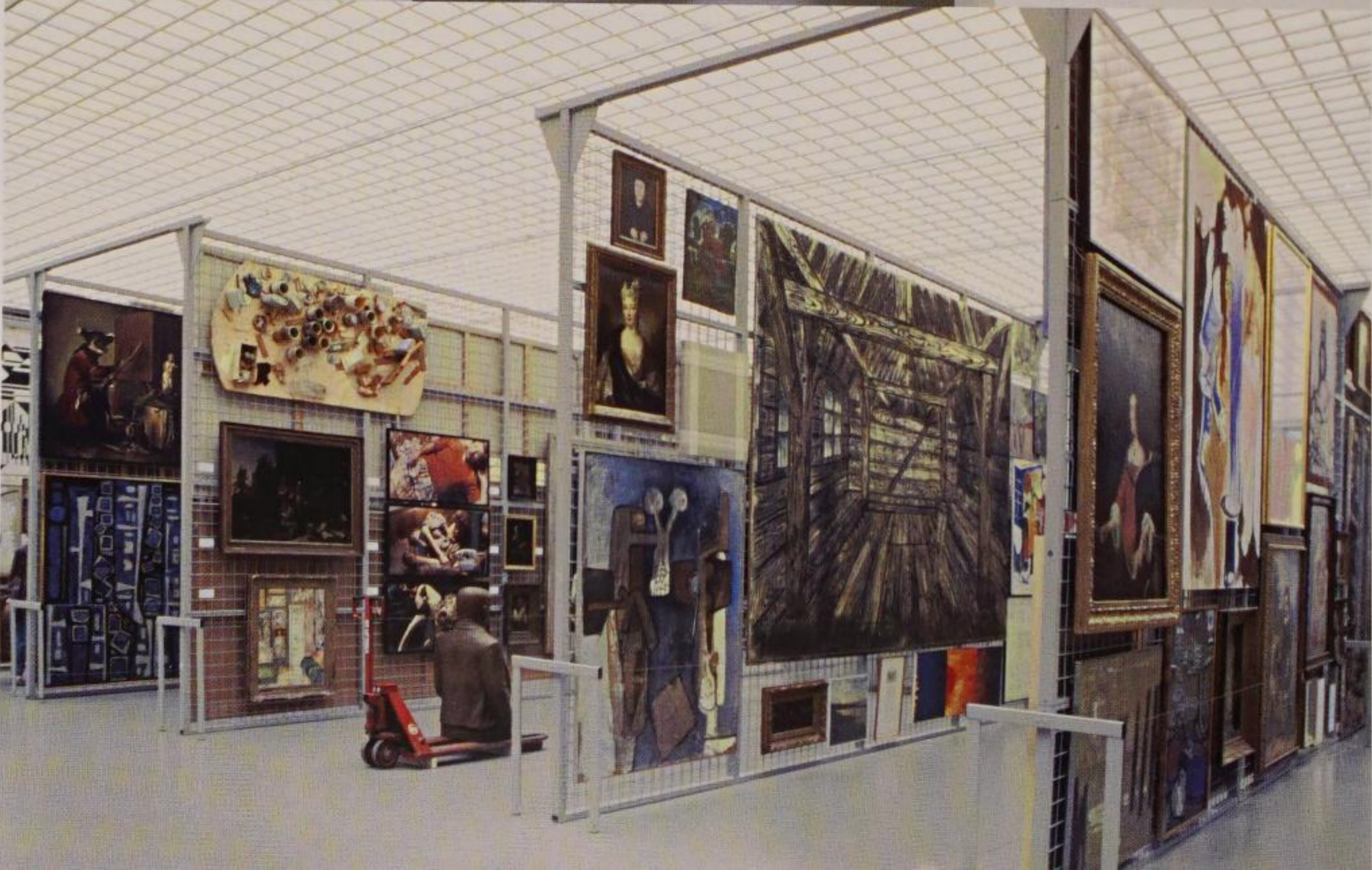
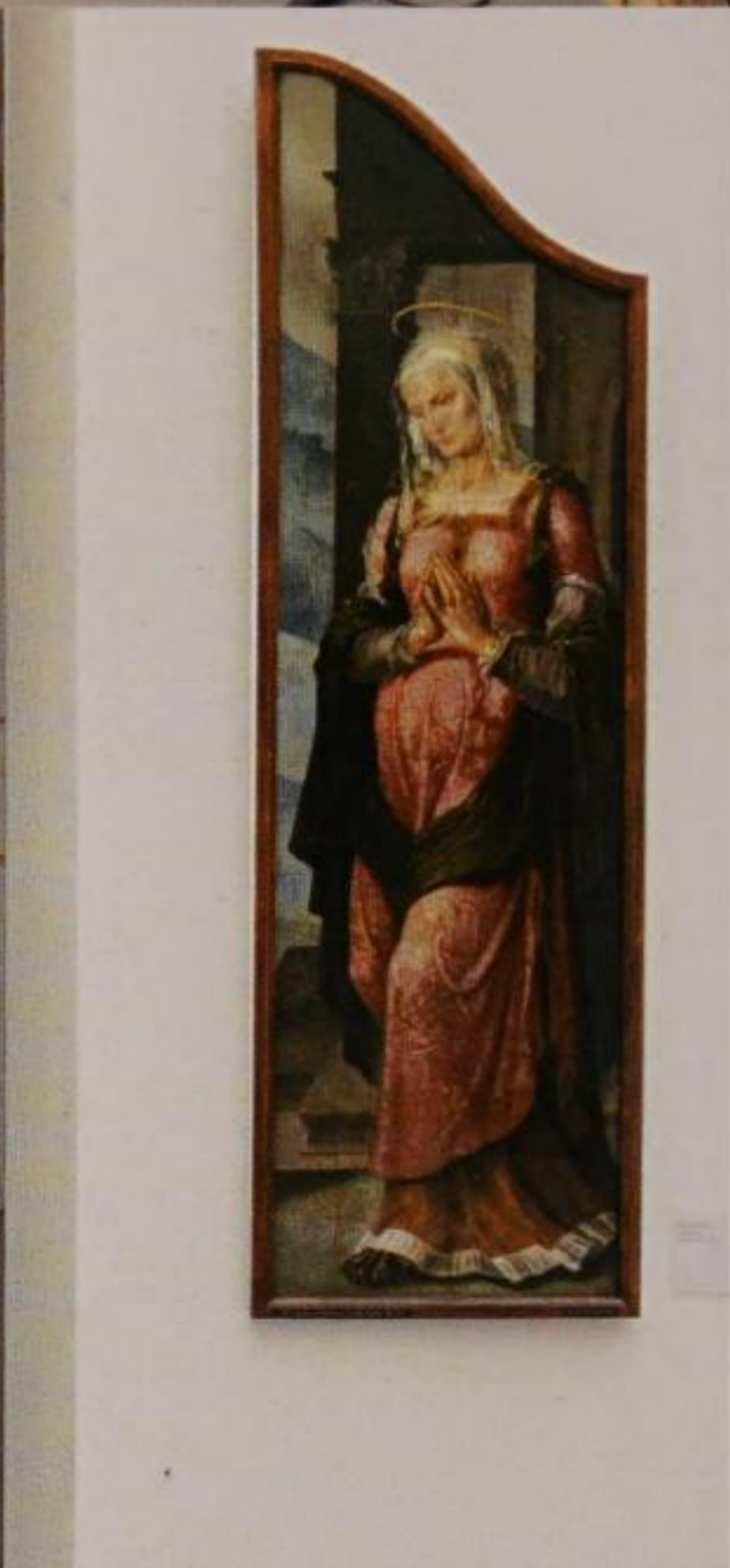
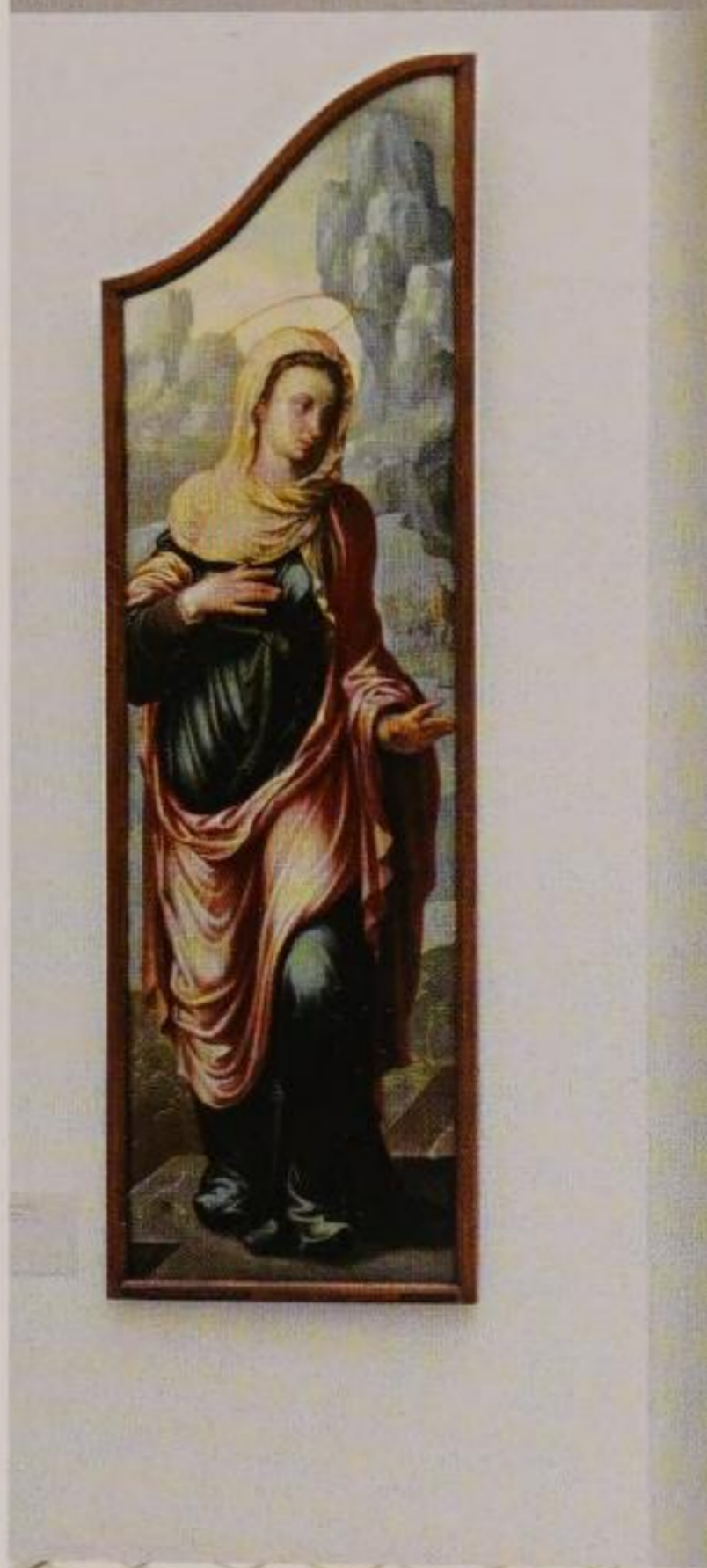




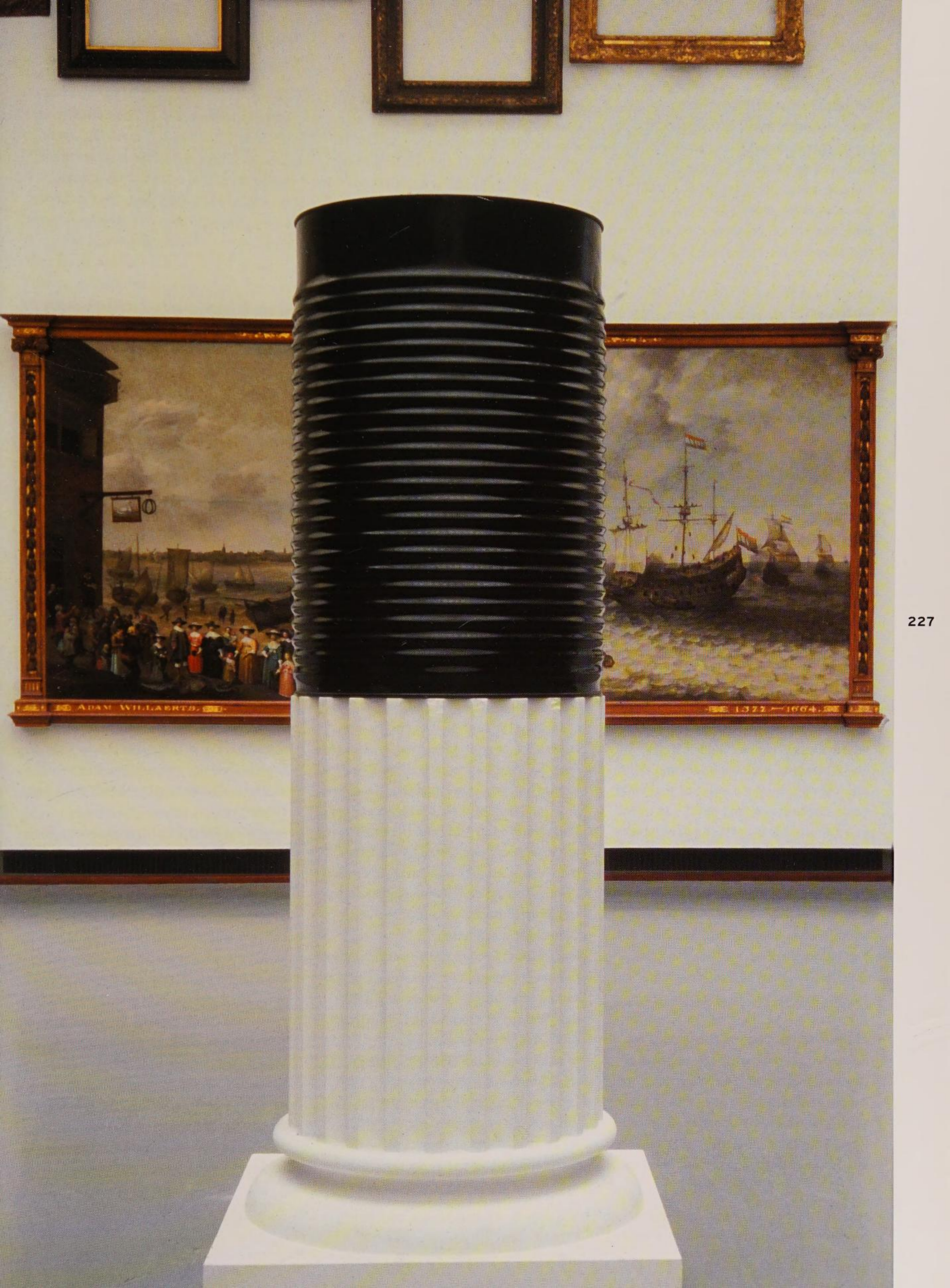














Artifacts in a museum collection are encrusted with layers upon layers of meaning that countless generations have bestowed on them. Acting like archaeologists on a dig, historians try to expose the roles these objects have played over time, how they represented the desires and needs of the individuals who commissioned, produced, and used them, and how they reflected as well as shaped societies.

Almost all objects we encounter in museums were extracted from another context and "museumized" (religious artifacts thereby becoming effectively secularized). These dislocations often occurred under circumstances that, according to present standards, are questionable if not illegal. Inscribed in every collection, like the rings of a tree, is the history of the institution, its relation to donors, and, in the case of the Victoria & Albert Museum, the museum's connection with Buckingham Palace and the British government. Echoes of the British Empire reverberate in its galleries.

The V & A, like other museums of its kind, traditionally admitted to its secularized temple only what it considered to be outstanding examples of the fine and applied arts. The institution's original mission was driven by the spirit of enlightenment, national pride, and also, interestingly, by the pursuit of economic goals. Exposure to "the best" was intended to educate and uplift the general public. And to improve the products of the nation's industry in order to better compete with those of its foreign rivals (the V & A, originally a museum of science and art, is an offshoot of the Great Exhibition of 1851).

"Masterworks," in case of doubt, are objects commissioned and collected by the wealthy and powerful. As a curator of the V & A noted, while museums of applied arts hold excellent examples of Sèvres porcelain in their collections, we cannot see what the dishes looked like on which the workers of the Manufacture Royale ate their meals. In the same vein, due to the V & A's exclusive interest in

high fashion, the dress collection does not have a single example of clothing worn by the British working classes. To find such a garment I had to turn to the Museum of Childhood in Bethnal Green (a branch of the V & A). However, for some time now, other departments have had more inclusive collecting policies.

Every selection from a museum's holdings reveals not only the tastes and ideological biases of the curators and their acquisitions committees, as sanctioned by the museums with which they are affiliated, but also those of the academic institution of art history—not to mention the culture at large. Together with the choice and arrangement of artifacts, curators implicitly exhibit the social environment to which they themselves belong. They frame and (unwittingly) are being framed. Of course, this is also true for the exhibition I have put together.

Among the many institutional constraints affecting the realization of curatorial ideas are those imposed by the departments of conservation and security. Acting in the "interests" of the objects in their custody, their tendency is to lock them away in climate-controlled vaults. In fact, many are not released even when the most stringent conditions are met. Others are allowed to be seen only in the netherworld of glass coffins, on the other side of barriers, and in dim light, deprived of a good deal of their sensuous appeal. Carrying the tag "national heritage," they are effectively embalmed as mummies with high insurance policies. Protective devices increase the homogenization to which all artifacts are subjected when they enter a collection.

More often than not, these multi-faceted contingencies are overlooked by the visitor, and traditional—presumably universal—notions of "The Good," "The True," and "The Beautiful" prevail.

A precursor to the classic European museum was the Wunderkammer, or cabinet of curiosities. Humanist scholars and princes assembled oddities of all kinds as subjects of study and wonderment and trophies of conquest.

Curiosities in the sense of the strange and exotic were met by the curiosity of the inquisitive eye and mind (Sir John Soane's house in London is a late manifestation of this adventurous spirit). Hierarchies of "high" and "low" did not exist in these collections. The knowledge pursued was encyclopedic—and the capacity to marvel paramount. In certain respects, this spirit is antecedent to attitudes behind today's anthropologically inspired study of "material culture." When I began wandering through the galleries of the V & A in preparation for this exhibition, I decided to approach it as if it were such a Wunderkammer. I took photographs of everything that for one reason or another piqued my curiosity. Curators generously drew my attention to works that they suspected, based on my conversations with them, would be of interest to me. During this explorative stage, I found myself returning over and over again to a loosely knit set of themes. I was reminded of a phenomenon I had experienced before: namely, that objects signify one thing when they are seen alone but have a very different meaning when viewed in combination with others. As is the case with all selections and arrangements, this very process inevitably puts a spin on them. Even in isolation, depending on one's ideological makeup, they evoke a host of different meanings.

A striking example of an image with multiple and contradictory semantic layers is a photograph by Jindrich Marco titled *A Souvenir of Warsaw, 1947*. We see a photographer taking a picture of two Polish soldiers with rifles at the ready. They pose in front of a backdrop with a painting of a bucolic landscape. The photo session takes place in the middle of the ruins of Warsaw. Equally poignant is a doll in the Museum of Childhood. It comes with interchangeable heads: a black boy's head and a white girl's head, as well as a choice of black and white limbs. One black arm is considered too fragile for a journey from Bethnal Green to South Kensington.





Taking the Wunderkammer as a model for my exhibition, I opt for hybridization, the discontinuous and nonlinear. Seemingly coherent systems of museum classification are disregarded (in fact, most of them have little to do with the role the objects played in their "native" environments). Instead I embrace ambiguity and contradiction. The inclusion of objects I personally like or view as "masterworks" is matched by the selection of items I find ridiculous or despicable. Such a "frivolous" disruption of the customary order is likely to cause semantic turbulence. It provokes the naïfs—and I count myself among them—to take up the challenge of making sense in different ways, namely, according to our own life's experiences—in today's society.

This creative process, full of the pleasures of free association and discovery, is comparable to a parlor game I played as a child, a game that gained art-historical recognition when it was adopted in the 1920s by the Surrealists: the exquisite corpse. This resurrection of disparate parts as a coherent composite is related

to another Surrealist technique for the production of meanings, a provocative example of which is the Comte de Lautréamont's notorious meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella on an operating table. I act as a "social secretary" who puts together a guest list and a seating order hoping that a sly arrangement of unexpected encounters will bear fruit.

New York, January 2001













Poster project in public space, New York. First exhibition: 2005, 'State of the Union,' Paula Cooper Gallery, New York





MUSIC FOR ME IS PROOF OF IF IT WERE TRULY DENIED YOU



In early October 2001, Creative Time, a New York not-for-profit organization promoting art in public places, invited the submission of proposals for posters to commemorate the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York. The image of a proposed poster was accompanied by the following explanation: "As you see, the silhouette of the WTC towers is cut out and twice interrupts the bottom edge of the poster. Consequently, the relative surface on which it is glued will always be both its frame and the fill-in 'positive' of the two cutouts—an ambiguous relationship between figure and ground. For the purpose of the mock-up I used an advertisement from the New York Times Magazine. The poster consists exclusively of the areas that are white on the mock-up, i.e., an irregular shape." In March 2002, six months after the attack, Creative Time produced this poster. The die-cut papers were pasted over pre-existing posters whose space rental on about 110 Manhattan poster walls had expired.









858958

From the roof of the building where I work, I witnessed the implosion of one of the towers of the World Trade Center. For the rest of the day, like so many others, I watched on television the replay of what, in part, I had witnessed personally. I remember my thoughts about those whose lives had been interrupted on that bright morning. I also remember my rage, a sense of total helplessness, and my despair over what I feared would be the consequences of this attack for years to come. But I also remember a tremendous sense of community among New Yorkers, and an outpouring of sympathy for the stricken city from around the world. I believe it is impossible to do justice to this event in a memorial. However, it would also be unacceptable if nothing were done where so many were murdered.



I propose that the names of the 2,798 people murdered at the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and on February 26, 1993 be engraved on disks of polished black granite, 12 inches in diameter, a separate disk for each victim [1][2][3]. The year and their place of birth and the date of their death in New York are also to be stated. A light, 3/4 inches in diameter (end-lit fiber optics), shines in the center of every granite disk like a candle. It brightens and dims - as if it were breathing. Each light follows its own rhythm independent of the other lights. Concentric circles of gray Belgian blocks surround the black disks like a halo. These individual commemorative sites, each approx. 28 sq.ft., are spread irregularly across the entire memorial site, excluding the footprints of the towers and the bedrock. The circles of Belgian blocks touch each other. The lights stand out most dramatically at night.

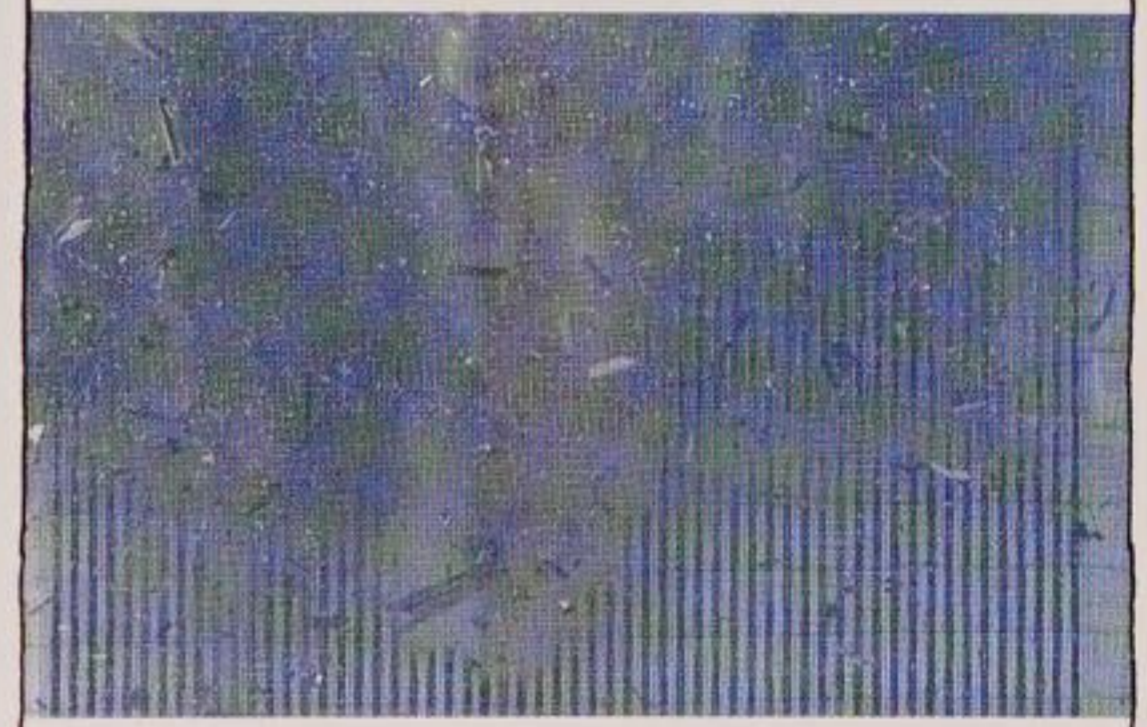
FIRST NAME LAST NAME

The 224 victims who were murdered in Virginia and in Pennsylvania are to be commemorated on heavy steel plates measuring a total of 30 x 35 ft. [1][2][3]. They are mounted in the center of the wall, which reaches from the edge of the narrow deep space of the exposed bedrock to the footprint of the North Tower and extends from the plane of the memorial site up to street level. They have a rusty surface. The names, alphabetically grouped in 5 columns, are welded on the plates in 5" high stainless steel letters.

The 343 firefighters and paramedics, 23 officers of the New York Police Department and 37 Port Authority Police officers, who lost their lives working to save others, are to be honored by name on a wall of steel plates of the same quality [1][2][3]. This set of plates with 10 columns of names, 30 ft. high and 70 ft. long, is to be placed in the center of the Liberty wall.

A cylindrical space, 80 ft. in diameter, is to be the final resting-place of the unidentified remains [4]. It is to be located centrally in the area bounded by the September 11 Place in the north, the east wing of the cultural building, and the footprint of the South Tower. Original parts of the World Trade Center are to be used as materials for the resting-place. Several inquiries with the LMDC did not result in an opportunity to see what has been preserved. It is therefore not possible to provide more specific information on this space at this stage.

In the 40 ft.- deep canyon, where the exposed slurry wall and the bedrock foundation can be seen, visitors are to be confronted with the horror of what happened on September 11, 2001. An LED light-board at the south end of the claustrophobic space, 40 feet high and 15 feet wide, is to present continuously, as a digitally manipulated seamless loop, the implosion of the top of the South Tower [2].

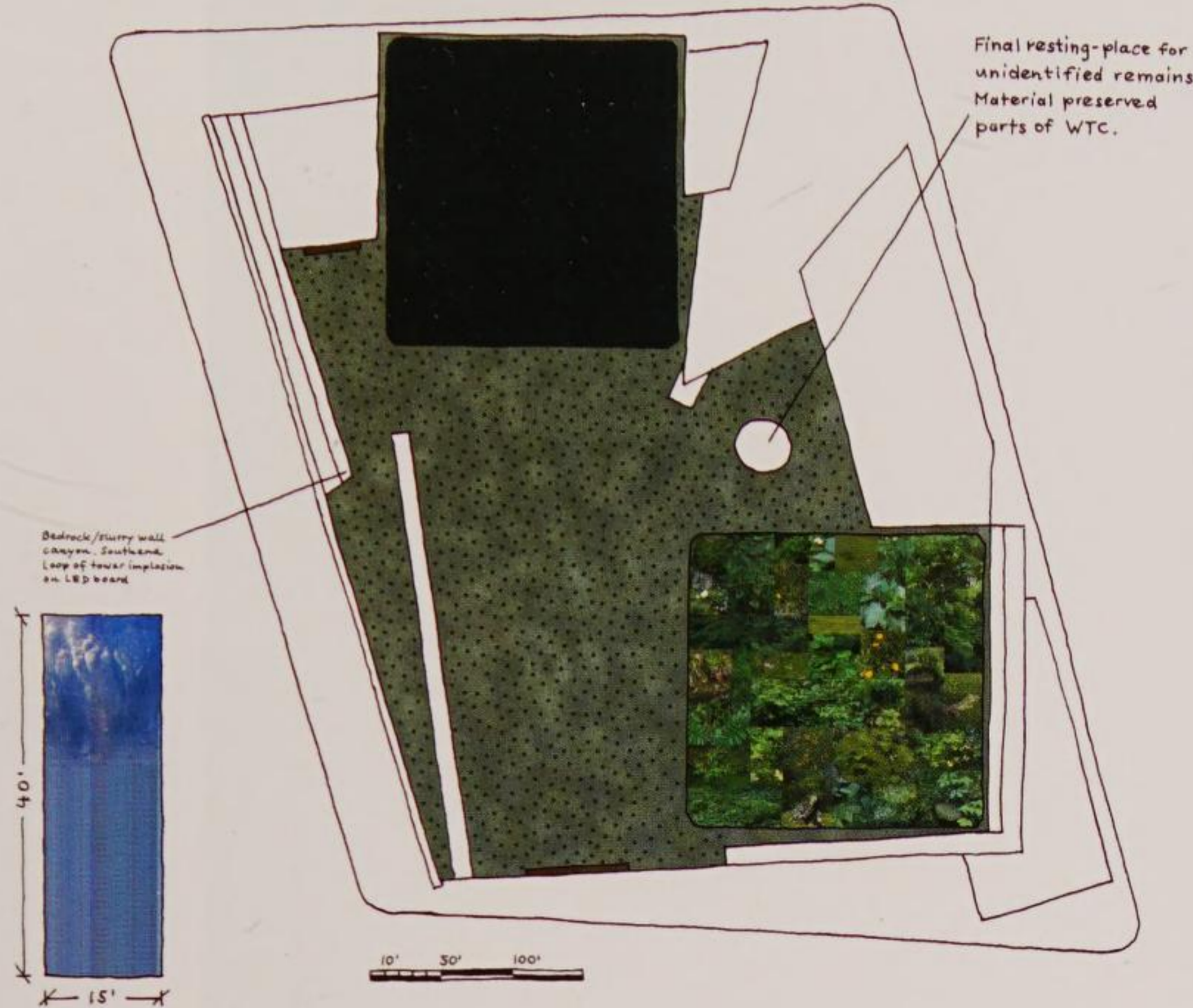


The footprints of the towers are to be the site for the communal expression of grief and the celebration of life and change. The entire area of the North Tower footprint [5] is to be defined by black granite, matching the black granite of the 2,798 disks. Its polished surface is to be level with the gray pavement of Belgian blocks that surround the disks. Visitors are invited, as their personal tribute to the dead, to leave a pebble on the footprint [2]. Eventually, the entire surface will be covered with pebbles.

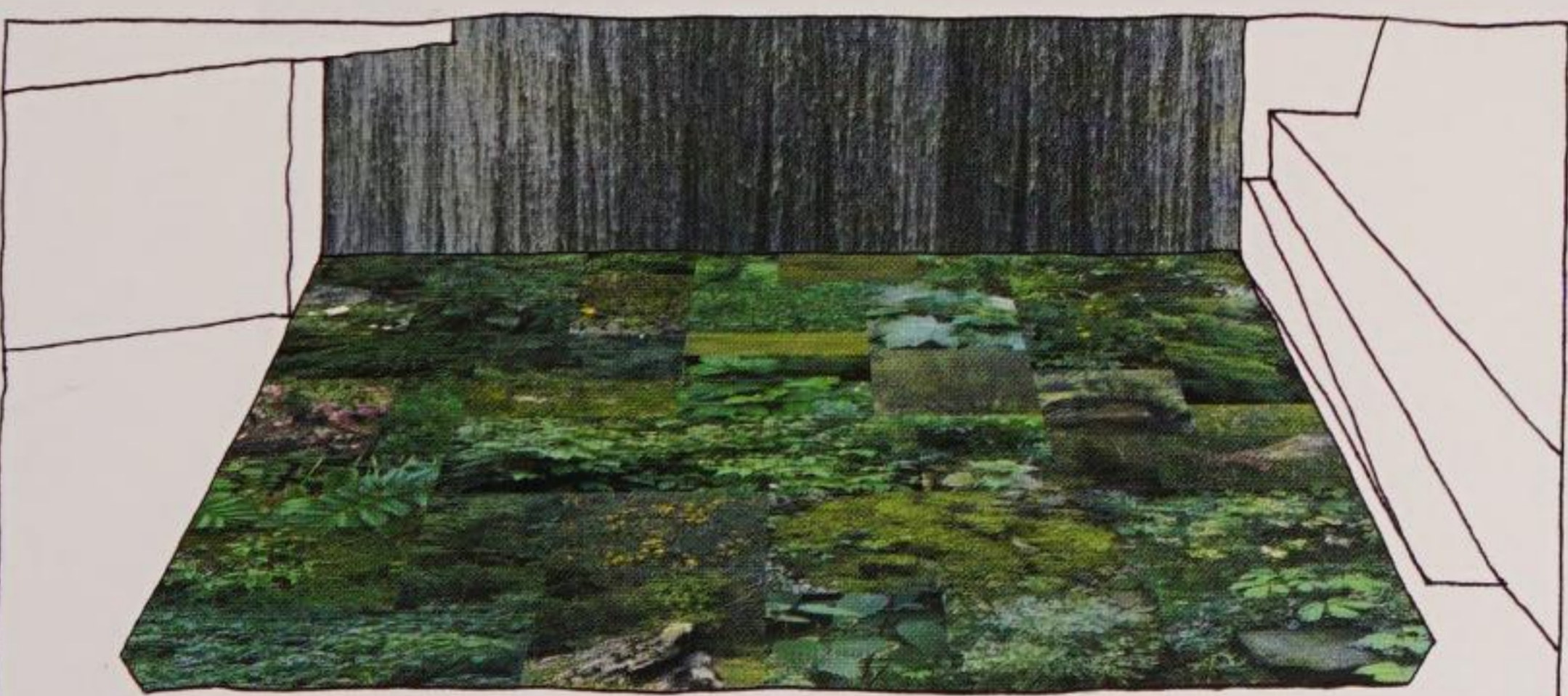


The glazed wall behind the northern footprint is to serve as a projection screen, 30 ft. high and 212 ft. wide. Through a veil of small dots sandblasted into the glass, it also offers a view from the adjacent pedestrian concourse towards the memorial site. The screen is divided horizontally into five equal sections, each 30 ft. high and 42 ft. wide. Live images from locations of heavy pedestrian traffic in the five boroughs of New York are transmitted continuously via closed-circuit television and projected onto the screen, either from the interior of the concourse or from underneath the north wing of the cultural building that spans over the footprint. These images of people from around New York where the attacks on the World Trade Center had their most immediate and devastating effect are reflected in the polished surface of the footprint.

The southern footprint is to be another site for communal participation and of growth [5]. Wooden beams, stacked horizontally to a height of 30 inches, define its outline. The families and close friends of the victims are to be invited to collect soil from locations of their choice and deposit it into this receptacle [2][3]. Likewise, the 92 governments of the countries where the victims were born are to be invited to contribute a tree or a rock. Embedded in the soil and imported with the trees and rocks from around the world will be a great variety of seeds. They will sprout and grow along with airborne seeds. This spontaneous growth is to remain absolutely untended. A unique ecosystem will develop at the foot of the waterfall in the plan of Studio Daniel Libeskind.



North tower footprint black granite. Visitors deposit pebbles on footprint, as tribute to victims. Continuous closed-circuit TV transmission and projection of live images of pedestrians from 5 boroughs of New York on glazed wall of concourse.



South tower footprint. Spontaneous plant growth in soil deposited by victims' families and close friends. Governments of 92 countries where victims were born are invited to contribute a tree or a rock.





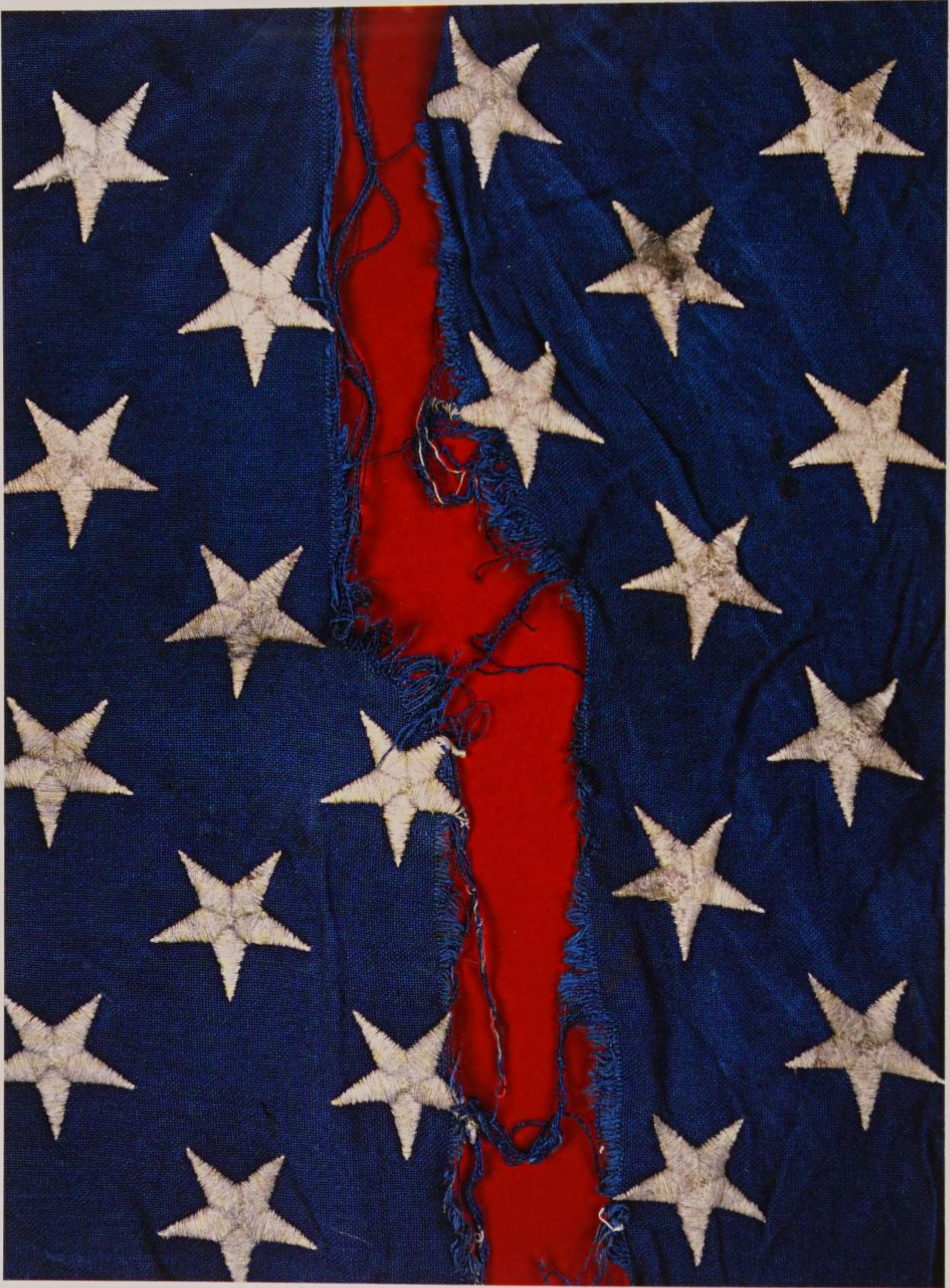
The title is a comment by United States Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on the massive looting and destruction of public buildings, among them the National Library and the National Museum of Art in Baghdad, when U.S. troops occupied the Iraqi capital in April 2003.

First exhibition: 2003, 192 Books, New York (a bookstore affiliated with the Paula Cooper Gallery)









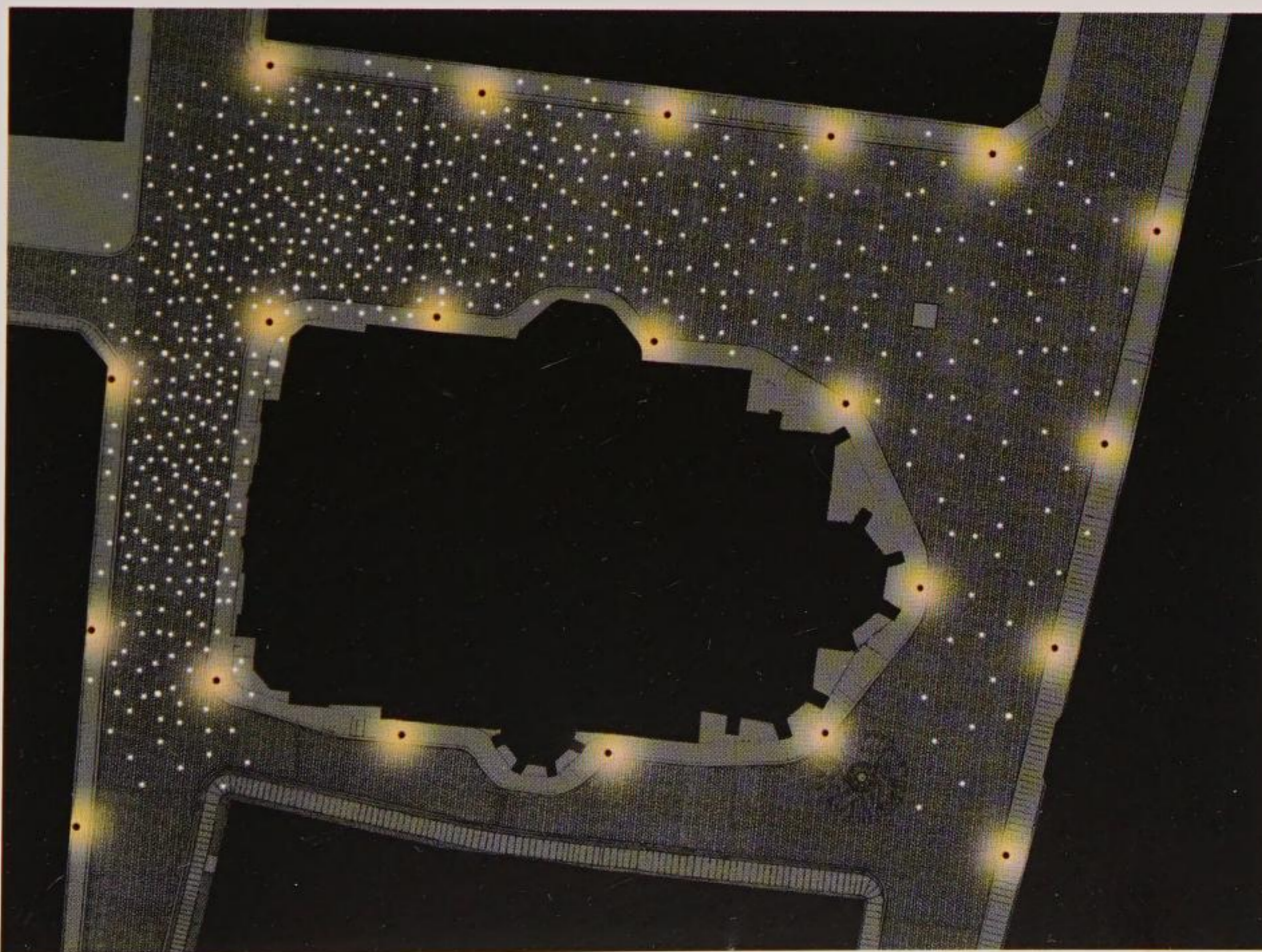


**Competition model** / Since 1982, led by the Reverend Christian Führer of the Leipzig Nikolaikirche, atheists and members of all faiths have come together every Monday for "peace prayers." These gatherings gradually developed into massive assemblies of people carrying candles as a signal of their opposition to the repressive government of the GDR (East Germany). In the fall of 1989 these peaceful demonstrations gained such momentum that, on October 9, a violent confrontation between 50,000 demonstrators and the regime's police and militia was barely avoided. It was the starting point for countrywide demonstrations, accompanied by the chant "Wir sind das Volk" (We are the people). The accent was on the "we," a challenge to the government's claim that it represented the people. The regime of the GDR

collapsed a month later and the wall that had divided Germany since 1961 came down.

Xenophobic and racist groups have since regularly tried, although unsuccessfully, to hold rallies at the Leipzig Völkerschlachtdenkmal, a monument commemorating the defeat of Napoleon in 1813. Proposal: 600 points of light 1.5 cm in diameter are embedded at irregular distances of 3 to 4 meters apart from each other in the paving stones of the square around Nikolaikirche in Leipzig, Germany. Uncoordinated, they slowly light up and gradually extinguish. The handwritten words "Wir (Alle) sind das Volk" (We [all] are the people) are projected in blue light onto one of the church's small towers. The words gradually appear, gain in intensity, and then dim. After a pause the cycle begins again.

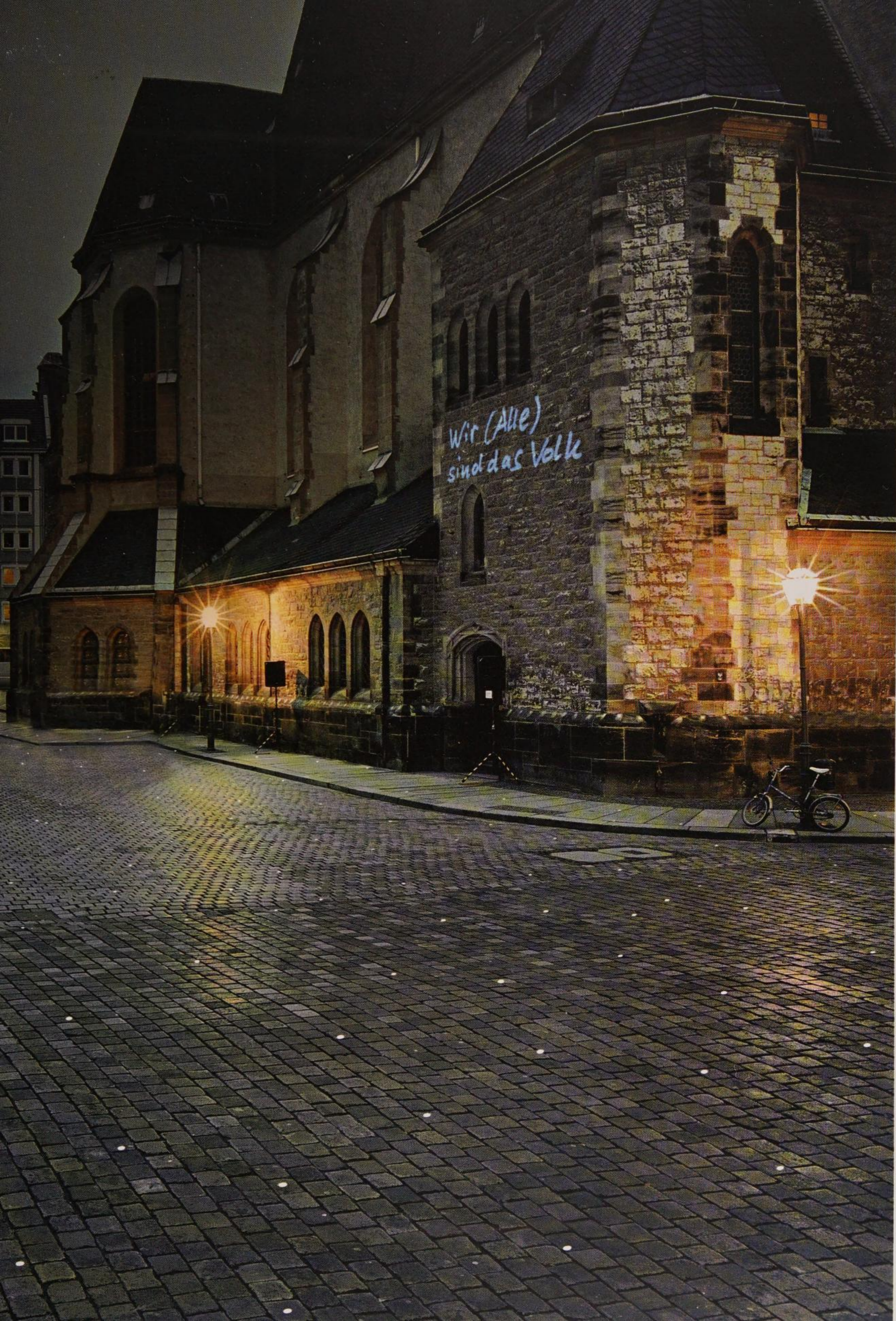
Every Monday afternoon at the time of the "peace prayers" in the Nikolaikirche, Amnesty International and other human rights organizations set up tables in the church to promote their causes. They sell candles that can be placed among the points of light as a vigil.







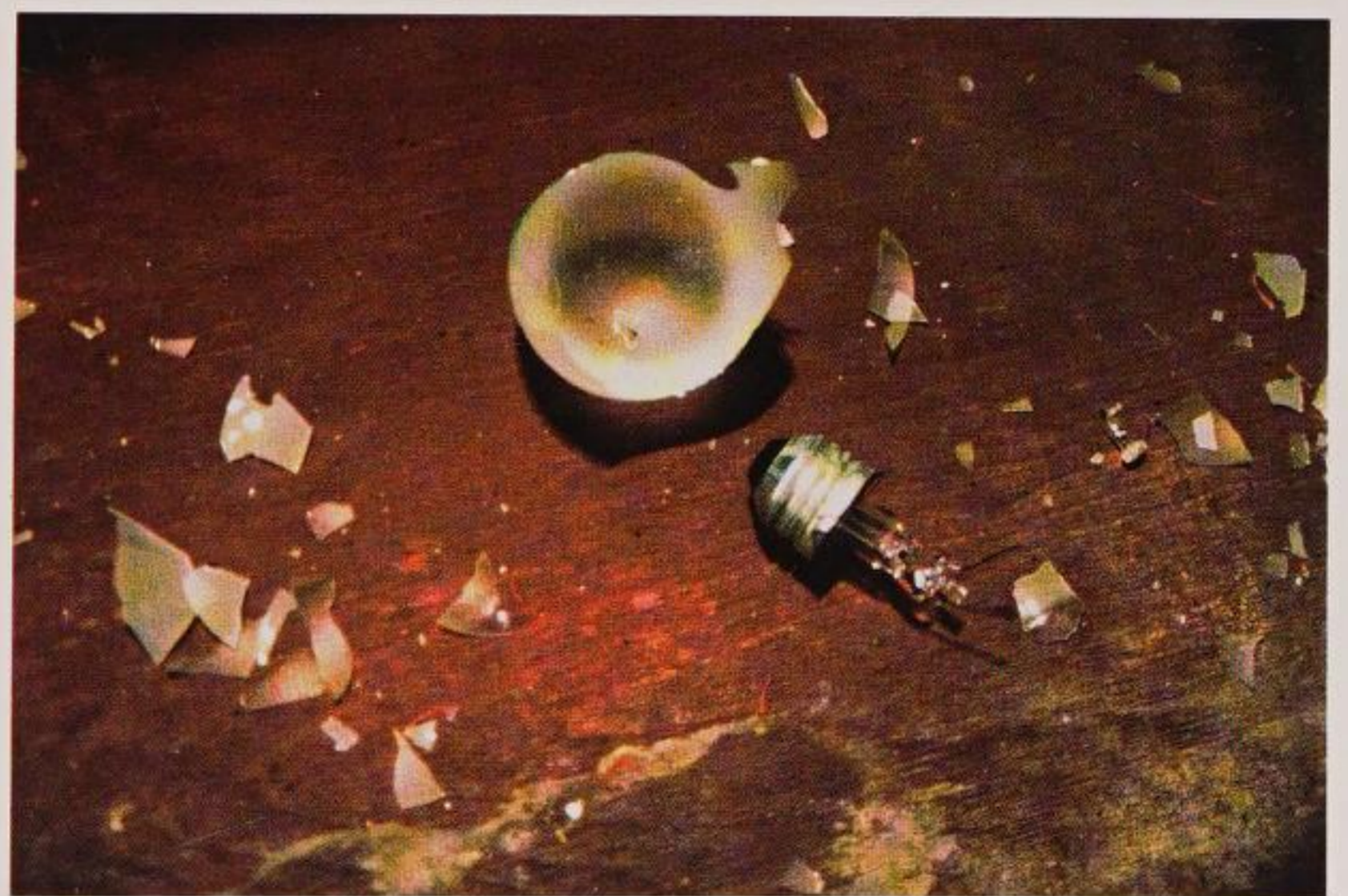
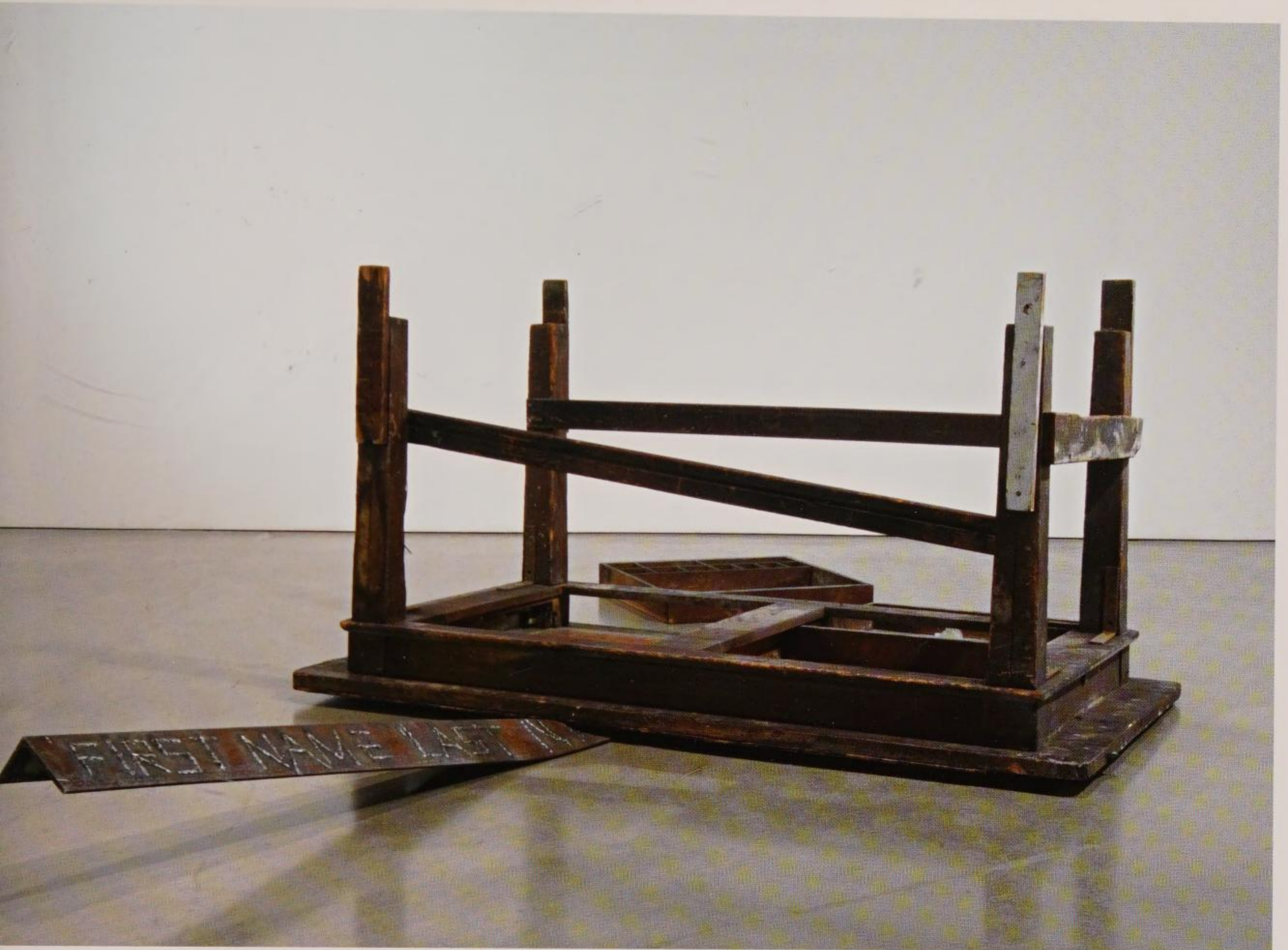




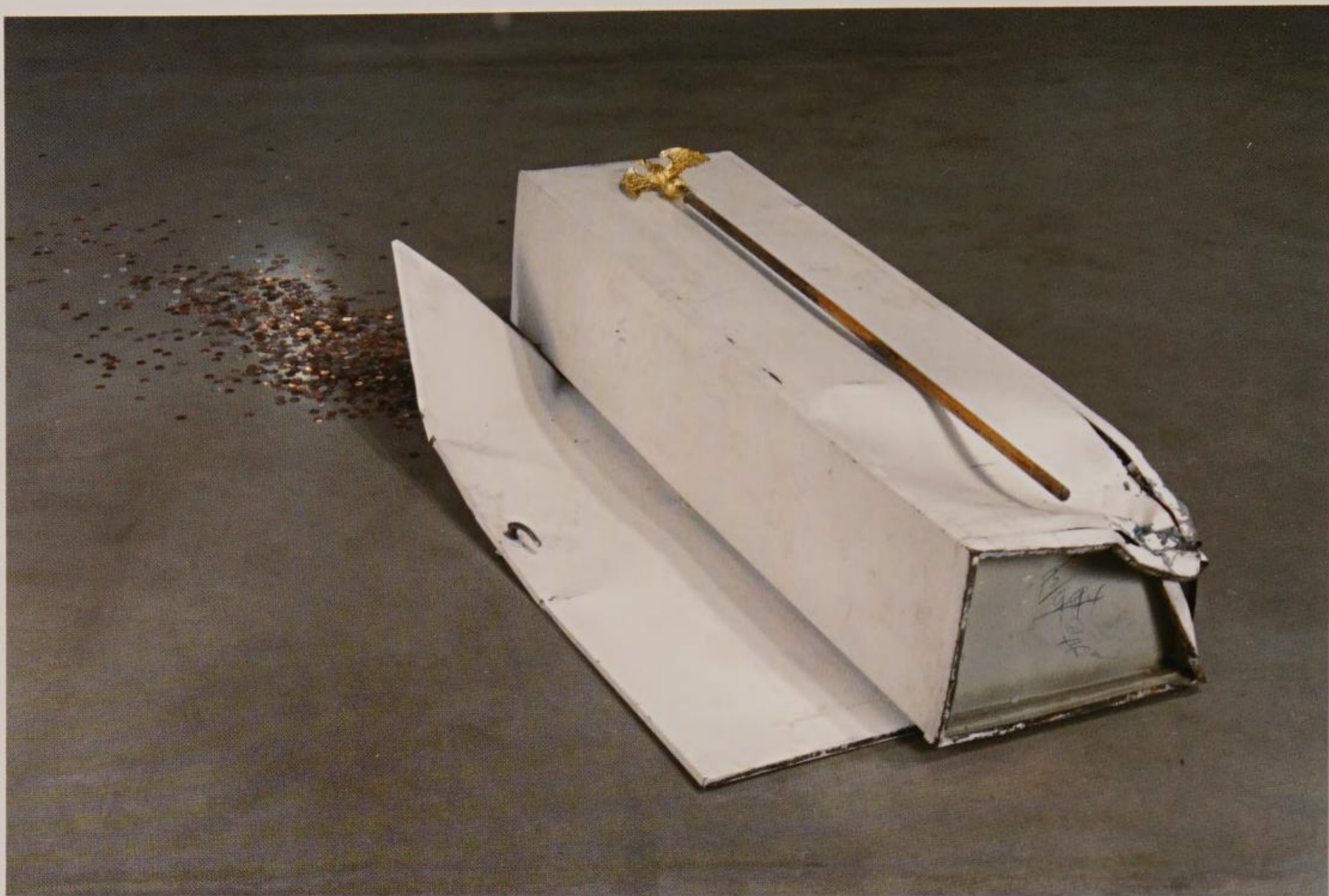


















Allein nicht nur die militärische Organisation, auch das innere politische, auch des amerikanischen Volkes wird durch die Folgen des Krieges aufs tiefste

Kein Paar auf der Welt hat so wie wir alle Voraussetzungen glücklich zu sein. Ros

Zunächst ist der heutige Staat – die Organisation der herrschenden Kapitalisten

Es darf keine Pflichten ohne Rechte geben, wie es auch keine Rechte ohne Pflichten so müssen sie auch im Staate Rechte besitzen, und vor allem das Ha

Am 4. August 1914 hat die deutsche Sozialdemokratie politisch abgedankt, und g

Wie die ganze Weltanschauung Marxens ist sein Hauptwerk keine Bibel mit fertiger sondern ein unerschöpflicher Born der Anregung zur weiteren geistigen A

Geschändet, entehrt, im Blute wattend, vom Schmutz triefend, so steht die bürgerli

Und wenn mir nächstens einfällt, ein paar Sterne herunterzuholen, um sie jemandem kalter Pedant mit gehobenem Finger wehren, daß ich sämtliche Schulatlan

Ohne allgemeine Wahlen, ungehemmte Presse- und Versammlungsfreiheit, frei in jeder öffentlichen Institution, wird zum Scheinleben, in der die Bürokr

Freiheit nur für die Anhänger der Regierung, nur für die Mitglieder einer Partei – zahlreich sein – ist keine Freiheit. Freiheit ist immer Freiheit der

246



Permanent installation, Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz, Berlin (conceived 2004)



sche Leben  
osa Luxemburg (1898)

g (1899)

Luxemburg (1899)

rf. Da alle Menschen Pflichten gegenüber dem Staate haben,  
an den Parlaments- und Sejmwahlen teilzu nehmen. Rosa Luxemburg (1904)

t die sozialistische Internationale zusam mengebrochen. Rosa Luxemburg (1915)

allemal gültigen Wahrheiten letzter Instanz,  
Forschen und Kämpfen um die Wahrheit. Rosa Luxemburg (1915)

haft da, so ist sie. Rosa Luxemburg (1916)

hettenknöpfe zu verschenken, soll mir kein  
onomie in Ver wirrung bringe. Rosa Luxemburg (1917)

mpf erstirbt das Leben in  
s tätige Element bleibt. Rosa Luxemburg (1918)

noch so  
kenden. Rosa Luxemburg (1918)









**Hans Haacke**

**for real**

**Texts 1965-2006**



... make something which experiences, reacts to its environment, changes, is nonstable ...  
... make something indeterminate, which always looks different, the shape of which cannot be predicted precisely ...  
... make something which cannot 'perform' without the assistance of its environment ...  
... make something which reacts to light and temperature changes, is subject to air currents and depends, in its functioning, on the forces of gravity ...  
... make something which the 'spectator' handles, with which he plays and thus animates ...  
... make something which lives in time and makes the 'spectator' experience time ...  
... articulate something Natural ...

Cologne, January 1965

First publication:

Announcement of solo exhibition at the Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf, May 1965; reprinted in Hans Haacke, Edward F. Frey, *Hans Haacke - Werkmonographie* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1972), 24.

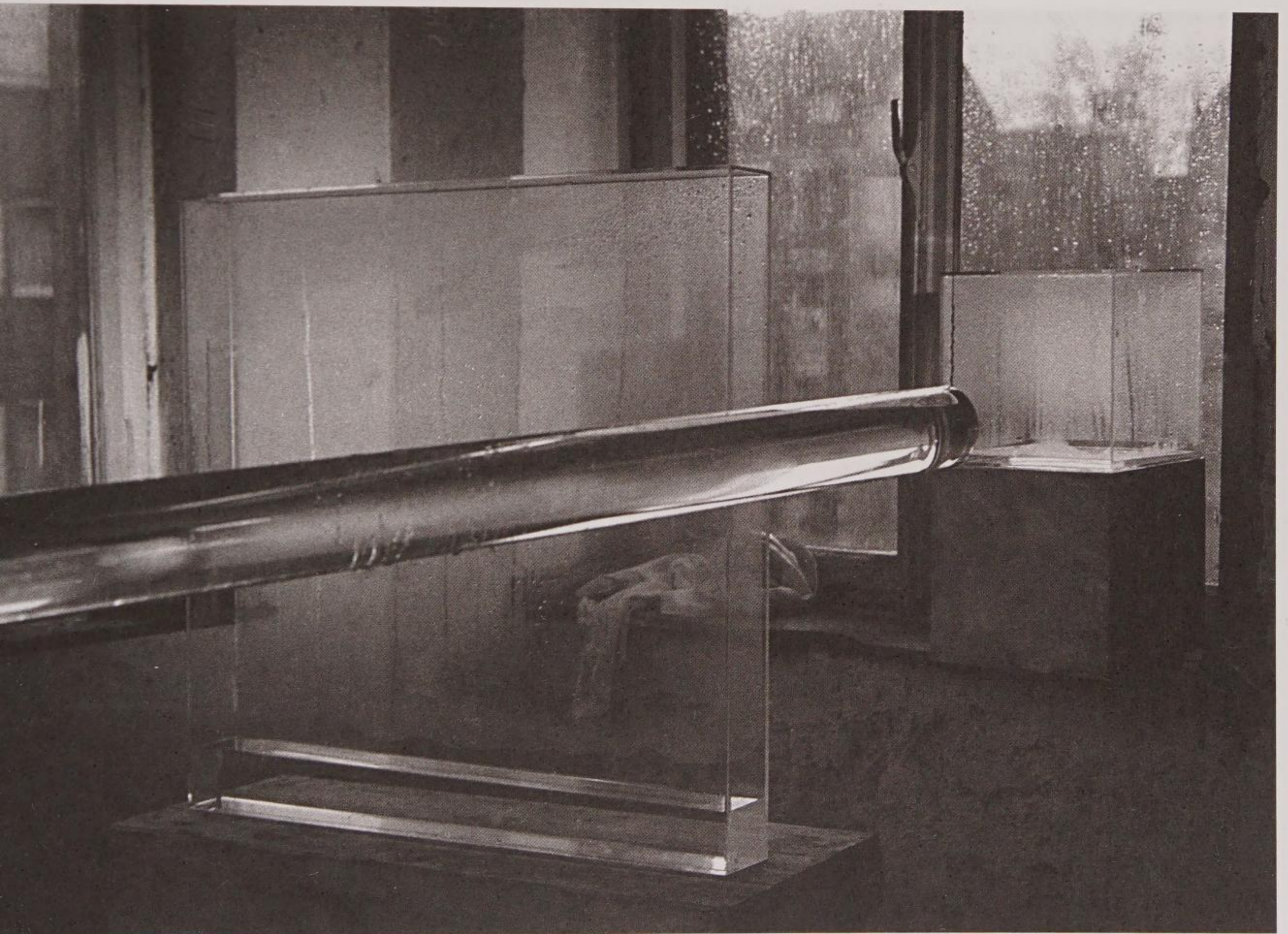
250

The working premise is to think in terms of systems; the production of systems, the interference with and the exposure of existing systems. Such an approach is concerned with the operational structure of organizations, in which transfer of information, energy, and/or material occurs. Systems can be physical, biological, or social; they can be man-made, naturally existing, or a combination of any of the above. In all cases verifiable processes are referred to.

New York, 1969

First publication: Announcement of solo exhibition at the Howard Wise Gallery, New York, November 1969. First publication in German: Hans Haacke, Edward F. Frey, *Hans Haacke - Werkmonographie* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1972), 47.







## An Interview with Hans Haacke by Jeanne Siegel

Jeanne Siegel: You have been called a naturalist because of your extensive interest in physical elements as well as grass, birds, ants, and animals.

Hans Haacke: I don't consider myself a naturalist, nor for that matter a conceptualist or a kineticist, an earth artist, elemental, minimalist, a marriage broker for art and technology, or the proud carrier of any other button that has been offered over the years. I closed my little statement of 1965 with "articulate something Natural." That has an intended double meaning. It refers to "nature," and it means something self-understood, ordinary, uncontrived, normal, something of an everyday quality. When people see the wind stuff or the things I have done with animals, they call me a "naturalist." Then they get confused or feel cheated when they discover, for example, my interest in using a computer to conduct a demographic survey. This is inconsistent only for those with a naive understanding of nature—nature being the blue sky, the Rockies, Smokey the Bear. The difference between "nature" and "technology" is only that the latter is man-made. The functioning of either one can be described by the same conceptual models, and they both obviously follow the same rules of operation. It also seems that the way social organizations behave is not much different. The world does not break up into neat university departments. It is one super-system with a myriad subsystems, each one more or less affected by all the others. If you take a grand view, you can divide the world into three or four categories—the physical, the biological, the social and behavioral—each of them having interrelations with the others at one point or another. There is no hierarchy. All of them are important for the upkeep of the total system. It could be that there are times when one of these categories interests you more than another. So, for example, I now spend more thought on things in the social field, but simultaneously I am preparing a large water-cycle for the Guggenheim show that uses the peculiarities of the building.<sup>1</sup>

J. S.: When did you first become aware of systems theory?

H. H.: Sometime in '65 or '66 I was introduced to the concept of systems. I heard about systems analysis, and the related fields of operational research, cybernetics, etc. The concepts used in these fields seemed to apply to what I had been doing and there was a useful terminology that seemed to describe it much more succinctly than the terminology that I and other people had been using until then, so I adopted it. But using a new terminology doesn't mean that the work described has changed. A new term is nothing holy, so it can't serve as a union label. On the other hand, a clear terminology can help to stimulate thinking.

J. S.: Jack Burnham has had a lot to say about systems and sculpture, yours in particular. When did you first meet him?

H. H.: I met Jack in 1962 when we were both isolated from people interested in what we were doing. Since then we have been in contact and have had a very fruitful exchange of ideas. It was Jack who introduced me to systems analysis.

J. S.: What is your definition of a system that is also a work of art?

H. H.: A system is most generally defined as a grouping of elements subject to a common plan and purpose. These elements or components interact so as to arrive at a joint goal. To separate the elements would be to destroy the system. The term was originally used in the natural sciences for understanding the behavior of physically interdependent processes. It explained phenomena of directional change, recycling, and equilibrium. I believe the term 'system' should be reserved for sculptures in which a transfer of energy, material, or information occurs, and which do not depend on perceptual interpretation.

I use the word 'systems' exclusively for things that are not systems in terms of perception, but are physical, biological, or social entities which, I believe, are more real than perceptual titillation.



J. S.: Do you originate systems? Do you demonstrate existing systems?

H. H.: Both, but not for didactic reasons. Let me give an example. Take the *Cycle*, water trickling out of holes in a hose, which I laid out around the periphery of the roof of my studio building. The water was following the uneven surface of the roof, down to a central pool from which it was pumped back into the hose. This is a system which I originated. On the other hand, the invitation to come to the same roof on a given day and view the weather was a demonstration of the meteorological system. This was later complemented by that day's weather chart and the weather statistics of the month.

J. S.: When did you first break away from the object?

H. H.: Reflective pieces that I made in 1961 evaded being an object. You had a hard time seeing what was actually there, namely, the laminated material. The reflected environment obliterated the objecthood. One of these pieces was made of two half-cylinders covered with aluminum-foil laminations. A part of the left half-cylinder is reflected in part of the right half-cylinder, and vice versa. So you have something like feedback—the two halves of the piece are optically interdependent, they are “environments” for each other. Then, of course, they also respond to the environmental conditions of light and color in the display space.

J. S.: Many of the works that immediately followed—the waterboxes, the *Ice Stick*, and others—visually resemble minimal sculptures.

H. H.: I was concerned with having a shape that didn't impose itself as something important. The shape is primarily determined by technical factors: the material comes in plates or rods or tubes, in other words, in a form that mass production and versatility of commercial uses impose. The overriding requirement, however, is that I allow the process to have its way. I have to provide an appropriate container for the water, for example, or create a condition in which what I am aiming for can function best. Consequently my decisions are not stylis-

tic (inert, hard edge, soft edge, antiform, etc.) but functional primarily. I am not aiming for a particular look, so visual terms do not apply.

Naturally everyone has preferences that determine what they choose to do and how this will finally appear. For instance, I don't like heavy-looking things, so I gravitated toward comparatively immaterial things, visually. That eventually led me to abandon the visual artist's aim of organizing perceptual patterns. If a system can be seen, I don't object to it and I take care of its looks—much the way a mathematician does with an equation.

A very important difference between the work of minimal sculptors and my work is that they were interested in inertness, whereas I was concerned with change. From the beginning the concept of change has been the ideological basis of my work. All the way down there's absolutely nothing static ... nothing that does not change, or instigate real change. Most minimal work disregards change.

Things claim to be inert, static, immovably beyond time. But the status quo is an illusion, a dangerous illusion politically.

J. S.: How did your attitude about change manifest itself in these works?

H. H.: Well, first, by the use of water I got rid of the static illusion and introduced real motion. (At first one only stumbles over the more obvious.) Then I saw the rain boxes condensing and I was very intrigued by it—there was this fantastic cycle of evaporation, condensation, then the droplets falling. That is a process evolving all by itself. This was the first time I had something that was literally responding to its environment. And, all without a little help from a friend, the response was so subtle that one had to come back after a while to notice it—it had a history. One could decipher the history of the process from the condensation patterns on the inside of the container's walls. It was like a living organism reacting in a flexible manner to its environment. It would be more appropriate, however, to liken it to our weather system.



The Ice Stick, it should be pointed out, is the reverse of the condensation pieces. In the condensation pieces, you have the cold on the outside and the warm inside (that's what causes condensation). With the Ice Stick you have the cold inside and the warm outside. Consequently, environmental moisture settles on the exposed freezing coil and freezes there. This piece, incidentally, has been reproduced rather often, probably because of its erotic connotations. This was not intended. It's just easy to make a straight freezing coil. I am not into surrealist game-playing and metaphors. My stuff is very open. In other words, there's not much to be said because everything is right there. What can be said is only descriptive. There are no mysteries, and psychological investigations would not reveal my secrets.

J. S.: How did you make the transition from physical systems to biological ones?

H. H.: The condensation as much as the formation of ice, figuratively speaking, are related to growth. It was a natural step, then, to introduce actual growth—namely, biological growth. The grass pieces went through a life cycle: they were seeded a few days before the exhibition; the seedlings came out of the ground at the time of the opening of the exhibition, they grew during the show, and at the end of the exhibition they were about to die.

J. S.: Growth is obviously a manifestation of change. Are there conditions other than change upon which a work can depend?

H. H.: Interference in an existing situation which thereby affects it—this is something that intrigues me. I've brought water into a rather dry forest, a sort of irrigation system, which then changed the existing vegetation.

J. S.: Is there any difference in communication between social systems and physical or biological ones?

H. H.: For physical or biological processes to take their course, there is no need for the presence of a viewer—unless, as with some participatory works,

his physical energy is required (he then becomes an indispensable part of the system's physical environment). However, there is no need for anybody to get mentally involved. These systems function on their own, since their operation does not take place in the viewer's mind (naturally this does not prevent a mental or emotional response).

The rigging of a social situation, however, usually follows a different pattern. There the process takes place exclusively in the minds of people. Without participants there is no social set. Take the MOMA-Poll in last year's Information show: the work was based on a particular political situation circumscribed by the Indochina War, Nixon's and Rockefeller's involvement in it, MoMA's close ties to both, my own little quarrels with the museum as part of the Art Workers Coalition's activities, and then all the minds of the people who had a stake in this game—the Vietcong as much as the Scarsdale lady on her culture tour to the city. The result of the poll—approximately 2 to 1 against Rockefeller/Nixon and the war—is only the top of the iceberg. The figures are not quite reliable because MoMA, as usual, did not follow instructions, and polls have to be taken with a grain of salt.

Emily Genauer gave us a little glimpse of the larger base of the work in her review of the show. She wrote: "One may wonder at the humor (propriety, obviously, is too archaic a concept even to consider) of such poll-taking in a museum founded by the governor's mother, headed now by his brother, and served by himself and other members of his family in important financial and administrative capacities since its founding 40 years ago." With this little paragraph she provided some of the background for the work that was not intelligible for the politically less-informed visitors of the museum. She also articulated feelings that are shared by the top people at numerous museums. It goes like this: We are the guardians of culture. We honor artists by inviting them to show in 'our' museum, we want them to behave like guests, proper, polite and grateful.



After all, we have put up the dough for this place. The energy of information interests me a lot. Information presented at the right time and in the right place can be potentially very powerful. It can affect the general social fabric. Such things go beyond established high culture as it has been perpetrated by a taste-directed art industry. Of course I don't believe that artists really wield any significant power. At best, one can focus attention. But every little bit helps. In concert with other people's activities outside the art scene, maybe the social climate of society can be changed. Anyway, when you work with the "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 that have to be weighed carefully. If you work with real-time systems, well, you probably go beyond Duchamp's position. Real-time systems are double agents. They might run under the heading "art," but this culturization does not prevent them from operating as normal. The MOMA-Poll had even more energy in the museum than it would have had in the street—real socio-political energy, not awe-inspiring symbolism.

J. S.: Can you describe a social work that is not political?

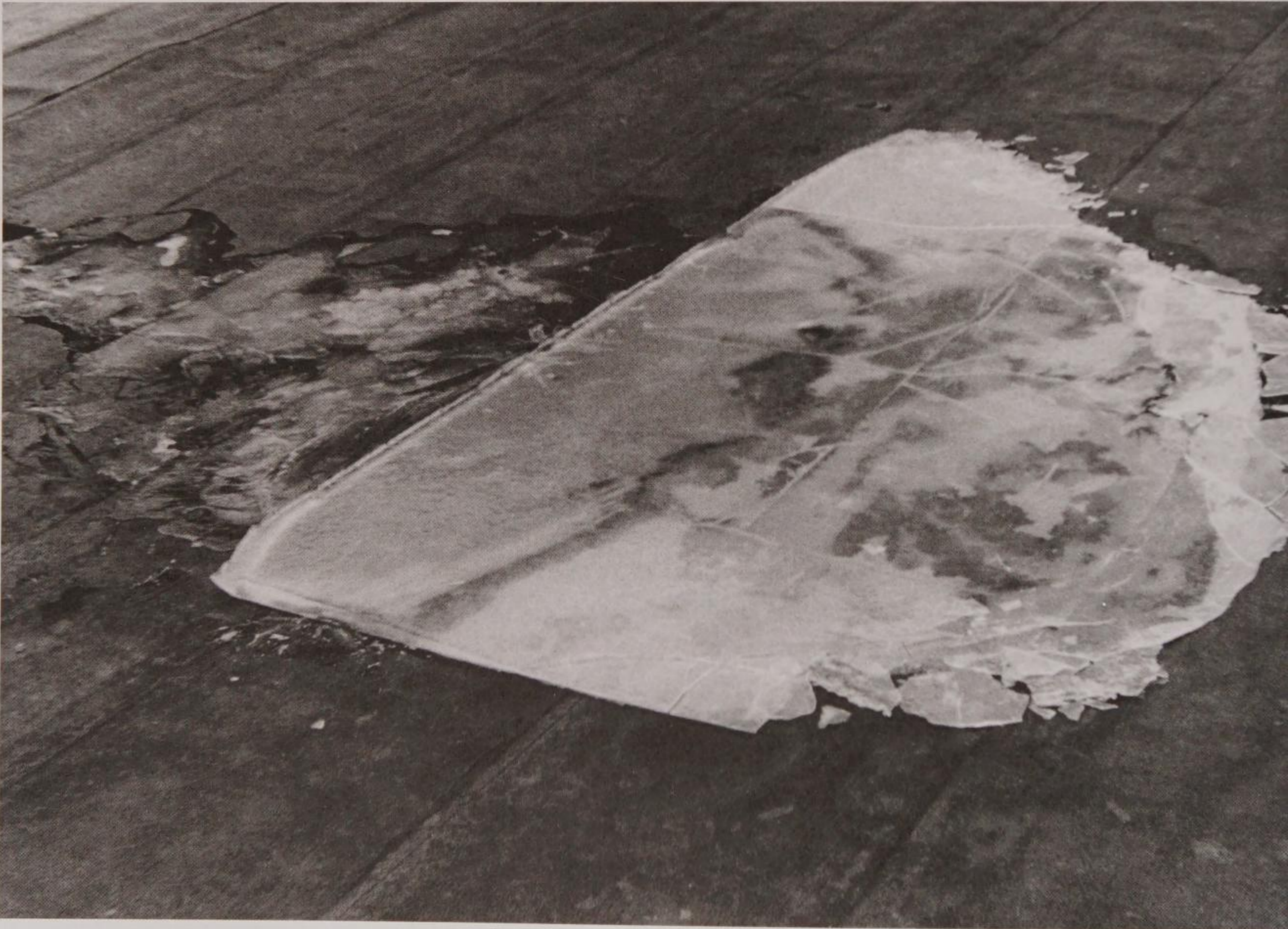
H. H.: Probably all things dealing with social situations are to a greater or lesser degree political. Take the Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile. I asked the people that came to my exhibition to mark with a blue pin on large maps where they were living. After the show I traveled to all those spots on the Manhattan map that were marked by a blue pin and took a photograph of the building or approximately that location. I came up with about 730 photographs for Manhattan (naturally not every visitor participated in the game). The photographs were enlarged to 5" by 7". They will be displayed on the wall of the Guggenheim according to a geographical score. All those spots that were east of Fifth Avenue go upward on the wall from a horizontal

center line, those west go downward. The respective distance from Fifth Avenue determines the sequence of pictures East and West. The Fifth Avenue spine takes up approximately thirty-six yards of wall space. Sometimes the photographs reach up to the ceiling, on other occasions (e.g., there is only one on the west side and none on the east side) it becomes a very jagged distribution. The "composition" is a composition determined by the information provided by the gallery-goers. No visual considerations play a role.

All this sounds very innocent and apolitical. The information I collected, however, is sociologically quite revealing. The public of commercial art galleries, and probably that of museums, lives in easily identifiable and restricted areas. The main concentrations are on the Upper West Side (Central Park and adjoining blocks, and West End Avenue with adjoining blocks), the Upper East Side, somewhat heavier in the Madison-Park Avenue areas; then below 23rd Street on the East and West sides with clusters on the Lower East Side and the loft district. The photographs give an idea of the economic and social fabric of the immediate neighborhood of the gallery-goers. Naturally the Lower East Side pins were not put there by Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans and blacks (Harlem is practically not represented) do not take part in an art scene that is obviously dominated by the middle and upper income strata of society or their drop-out children. I leave it up to you as far as how you evaluate this situation. You continue the work by drawing your own conclusions from the information presented.

— 1 This interview was recorded and edited between December 1970 and February 1971, before the cancellation of the Haacke exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, which was scheduled to open in May 1971.





Cast Ice Freezing And Melting, 1969



## Provisional Remarks

In 1963 I built my first weather box. It was a rectangular container, made of clear plastic, in which I sealed some distilled water. Air currents, light entering the container, and changes in temperature made the internal temperature rise above the outside temperature and led to the condensation of the evaporating water on the inside walls of the box. If a condensation droplet gained a certain size, it would fall or run down the pane, erasing all other drops in its way. The trace left behind eventually would be covered again with a veil of droplets, although their size would differ from that of the older ones. The dew point is not a fixed figure on the temperature scale but is itself dependent on a delicate constellation of ever-changing factors. I was very excited about the subtle communication with a seemingly sealed-off environment and the complexity of interrelated conditions determining the meteorological process. This was an open system, a system responsive to changes in its environment. Ambient climatic changes were answered by a transfer of energy and material inside the boxes in a self-regulatory way, with the goal of maintaining equilibrium.

Such a system differed essentially from sculpture as I knew it, because its operational program was in no way determined by visual considerations, although the veil of droplets remained visually appealing. It functioned independently of a viewer and thus carried meaning on its own terms, meaning in the sense of an organized, goal-seeking whole. A viewer was relegated to the role of witness to a process that would evolve without him. He was naturally not limited in his associative vagaries, which in turn could invest this process with a sign value and a cultural meaning. However, irrespective of what he was reading into it, the dynamic system took its own course. I was dealing with real stuff—on its own terms.

This implied a departure from generally accepted attitudes in the visual arts. Here, no attempt to solve formal “problems” was made. It was the

behavior of a meteorological system that determined the appearance. It gave only clues to what was actually happening. The interdependent adjustments and the cause for these adjustments remained invisible. Considerations about the arrangement of visual material, the composition of colors, shapes, textures, and spaces, became irrelevant, and stylistic innovations are without interest. The structuring of the elements, the materials and conditions for this and other systems that I worked with, became a function of their performance. Although my interest and later on the interest of an art-oriented public in such processes was culturally determined, the processes themselves did not share the mythical character of art and were not affected by what was read into them. They were subject only to the laws of nature.

If real-time systems are introduced into an art context, chickens hatching and growing up in a museum, for example, a very strange dialectic of transformation and sameness occurs. The chickens in the museum, naturally, are still the same kind of chickens that would also have been born from these eggs on a chicken farm; and if they are sent to a farm at the end of the exhibition, they are indistinguishable from all other chickens there. Condensation on a car window, for that matter, is physically also no different from the condensation in my weather box. As has been said above, these processes follow their own pattern of behavior, which is totally immune to the cultural context into which they are placed. On the other hand, the museum or any other cultural frame invests real-time systems with an additional program (meaning). Such a super-structure for a “ready-made” process is determined by the historical and cultural context in which the system receives attention. In this respect, it does not differ from other culturally impregnated activities and presentations (painting, sculpture, poetry, etc.). The aborigines of the Amazon would attribute value to neither a Raphael nor a Duchamp readymade.



The witness and/or participant in a real-time system that evolves in a cultural context, recognized by him as such, therefore responds in an ambiguous way; he is caught seeing something that proceeds according to its own terms, at the same time realizing that he is using it as a screen for his own culturally biased projections. This oscillatory state can exist only with real-time systems; painting and sculpture of the traditional mode operate exclusively as projection screens—they have no life of their own.

I suspect that this is the point in which 'real-time' "readymades" or "assisted readymades" also differ from the Duchampian premise. Duchamp was probably the first to expose the mechanism that transforms a piece of material into "art." His elevation of ready-made 'objects' to a culturally significant level gave them a new meaning. But in doing so, he divested them of their original program. Although memories of that program lingered (in fact without that knowledge, the new meaning would be different), neither he nor the visitors to a Duchamp exhibition, in fact, continued to use the urinal as usual. In contrast to this, real-time systems are not objects, and the cultural attention directed to them does not stop or change the ongoing process. As long as no attempt is made to present documentary material (photographs, verbal descriptions, maps, and so on) of a real-time system as the thing itself, the same holds true for processes that occur outside and are simultaneously or subsequently reported in a cultural context.

This is not the place to talk about all the other physical and biological situations that I rigged with a great variety of elements in a multitude of different environmental circumstances. The principle of real-time systems in which interdependent processes of energy, material, and/or information occur has been indicated, and it pervades all of them. A few remarks should be devoted to my expansion into the field of sociopolitical systems. Artists as well as other people are operating in a given socio-

political environment: their immediate group of friends and their family, their jobs, and the art scene. Beyond this parochial environment they naturally are also infinitesimally small and powerless elements in the larger social fabric of their respective countries and the political and ideological power blocks of the world. It has not been long since artists began to realize the role they have unconsciously been playing as political beings, and a painful learning process seems still to be ahead. Weather boxes seemingly have nothing to do with sociopolitical situations; however, even on the superficial level of figurative speech, there are many similarities. We speak of political currents, pressure, of a political climate and a political balance, political interdependence, a low in relations between two countries, political thaw, and the rest. Meteorological terms are abundant. More important, though, beyond such analogies, which might let unwanted symbolism in through the back door, systems analysts seem to be convinced that on a conceptual level, physical and biological phenomena have their equivalents in the social and behavioral sphere, that the same vocabulary applies, and that conditions in any one of these areas can be described by the same or related equations. In other words, these are not correspondences due to an imaginary language, but are based on specifiable isomorphisms.

Having stepped from the perceptually oriented and culturally controlled imagery of the visual arts to the presentation or interference in physical and/or biological systems in real time, the need arose to complete the areas of my activities with work also in the sociopolitical field, which affects our lives at least as much as the physical and biological determinants of our bodies and our environment. I was no doubt pushed in this direction by the general political awakening that followed years of absolute apathy after World War II.

Physical and biological processes are per se apolitical, although human decisions for the structur-



ing of either one are naturally ideologically determined, as, for example, the Bomb and the Pill. Social phenomena are as real as physical or biological ones; we all participate in any number of social systems and are affected by them. Their verifiability, however, seems to be limited because they often elude the measuring stick; and since the researcher is, himself, a social being, he, by necessity, influences the object of investigation and is infinitely more encumbered than his colleague in the natural sciences.

Consequently, any work done with and in a given social situation cannot remain detached from its cultural and ideological context. It differs essentially, therefore, from the functional self-sufficiency of a weather-box. In fact, it is precisely the exchange of necessarily biased information between the members of a social set that provides the energy on which social relations evolve. The injection of any new element into a given social organism will have consequences, no matter how small they may be. Often the repercussions cannot be predicted, or they take a course contrary to what was expected. Laboratory conditions are practically nonexistent. As in dealing with "the real stuff" in physical and biological systems, perhaps more so, one has to weigh carefully the prospective outcome of undertakings in the social field. One's responsibilities increase; however, this also gives the satisfaction of being taken as a bit more than a court jester, with the danger of not being forgiven everything. Here is a modest example of a work that I produced for a given sociopolitical situation. In response to an invitation to participate in the 'Information' show, held by the New York Museum of Modern Art during the summer of 1970, I entered two transparent ballot boxes, each equipped with automatic counting devices, into which visitors to the exhibition were invited to drop ballots signifying their response to a yes-no question. The question was: "Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon's Indochina policy be a reason for

you not to vote for him in November?" By the end of the exhibition the counter of the YES-box had made 25,566 registrations; the NO-box had a tally of 11,563. For a number of reasons the result has to be taken with a grain of salt, although the general trend seems to be trustworthy.

Emily Genauer commented on the MOMA-Poll in her review of the 'Information' show as follows: "One may wonder at the humor (propriety, obviously, is too archaic a concept even to consider) of such poll-taking in a museum founded by the governor's mother, headed now by his brother, and served by himself and other members of his family in important financial and administrative capacities since its founding 40 years ago." The reviewer succinctly provided the necessary background information for the understanding of the sociopolitical field for which this work was designed.

Naturally, it would have been naive to assume that this poll-taking could affect the outcome of the 1970 gubernatorial elections, in which Nelson Rockefeller enjoyed solid conservative support. It should be noted that in this instance the museum acted not only as the cultural backdrop but also as a vital ingredient of the social constellation of the work itself. The museum's ties to the Rockefellers, Nixon and, in turn, their involvement in the Indochina war, as much as its policy to present a serene image of itself to an unsuspecting public, were part of this real-time system.

The embarrassment and indignation caused are indicative of the double-agent character of a real-time social system operating in an art context. On one hand, the MOMA-Poll was like any other item exhibited by the museum, something invested with the aura of culture and special significance. From experience we know that a process, as much as a painting, can be elevated into the realm of art. On the other hand, as mentioned above, such benediction cannot stop the process from continuing. In the case of this particular situation, the museum pedestal not only failed to emasculate the work but



endowed it with social power that it did not enjoy in the studio. This potential is not restricted to the premises of the museum. Any repercussions that it might have had and might still have beyond West 53rd Street, including those that might derive from this report, are part of the work. This demonstrates that works operating in real time must not be geographically defined, nor can one say when the work is completed. Conceivably the situation into which a new element was injected has passed when the process unleashed at that moment has gained its greatest potential.

The MOMA-Poll was harmless. At best it was embarrassing for the museum and its backers and served as a valve for the anger of a surprisingly large proportion of the visitors. Work in the sociopolitical field, however, must not be restricted to the rigging of a satirical setting and dealing with art-world figures.

New York, February 1971

(written for the catalogue of a solo exhibition that was to have opened in May 1971 at the Guggenheim Museum)

**Continued (after cancellation of the exhibition):**

My experience with the Guggenheim Museum in the spring of 1971 might illustrate this point. Four weeks before the scheduled opening of a one-man exhibition at the museum, the show was canceled. Thomas Messer, the Guggenheim Museum's director, objected to three social systems that I had prepared for the exhibition.

Two of the three censored pieces were representations of current large Manhattan real-estate holdings: photographs of the facades of the properties, maps indicating their location, and documentary information on ownership and mortgages culled from the public records of the New York County Clerk's office. The works contained no evaluative content and were legally unassailable.

The third piece was to be a significantly enlarged version of my poll at the Museum of Modern Art, a

survey of the Guggenheim Museum's visitors consisting of ten demographic questions and ten questions on current socio-political issues. The answers, given voluntarily and anonymously, were to be tabulated and posted daily.

In a letter giving his reasons for the cancellation, Mr. Messer claimed there was danger that the Guggenheim Museum would be sued for libel by the two real-estate groups. In the judgment of several lawyers intimately familiar with the material in question, however, there were no grounds for a libel suit because the information I planned to display is true, it is on public record, the manner of presentation was not defamatory, and, while retaining corporate names, I had agreed to replace all names of individuals. The opinion of these lawyers was tested successfully through the subsequent publication of significant portions of the two real-estate systems in several art magazines. None of them was sued. Although Mr. Messer's legal reasoning does not stand up under scrutiny, it duped many unfamiliar with the law and thus served as a useful smoke screen for the more dubious reasons behind the cancellation.

In the aforementioned letter Mr. Messer pontificated that "art may have social and political 'consequences' but these, we believe, are furthered by indirection and by the generalized exemplary force that works of art may exert upon the environment," and later he postulated "symbolic significance" to be a criterion for rendering a work "esthetically susceptible and thereby a fit subject matter for a museum." His understanding of "symbolic significance" or, as he also refers to it, "symbolic expression," requires the use of a metaphoric language with rather tenuous ties to the object of the metaphor and therefore suitable for the sublimation of conflicts.

What Mr. Messer is objecting to is obviously the double nature of real-time systems, their potency both in the art context and on their home turf. Had the substance of the three works been historically



removed or had it been coded without the provision of a key, my exhibition would not have been cancelled. Mr. Messer complained that I had sacrificed the "immunity" of a work of art by my insistence on being specific and presenting topical and verifiable information.

The very principle of a real-time system, its actuality, is considered by Mr. Messer a poison when he writes, "the choice was between the acceptance of or the rejection of an alien substance that had entered the art museum organism."

Human communication, and consequently social systems, function only by way of some sort of language. Like the entries in the public record pointing to real-time property interests, the signs of the medieval painter, for example, were well defined and intelligible. Both make unambiguous reference to signifieds, the existence of which is not doubted by their contemporary users (the believer fully accepted the stories of the *biblia pauperum* as having actually occurred; no distinction between God's time and physical time was made). In contrast to this clear "symbolic expression," the color code without key that Mr. Messer suggested was not meant to communicate but to obscure and, by lifting the content onto an ideal plane, severed all connections to the actual world. To have real-time systems abide by the canons developed for works operating in an ideal time and space would, in effect, deny their right of existence and disregard *das Kunstwollen* (Alois Riegl's recognition that each era chooses the language most appropriate to communicate).

A close examination would probably reveal that Mr. Messer's criterion of "immunity" is not fulfilled by a great number of works and even entire periods and cultures presently accepted in the history of art. Arguments for abstract art, legitimate at the beginning of this century, are now used to defend attitudes hostile to enlightenment and greater social awareness.

It is significant that the conflict came to a head

over "real stuff" of a sociopolitical nature, although none of the other twelve biological and physical systems for the show fulfilled Mr. Messer's criteria of indirection, generalization, and symbolism. Mere focusing on large-scale private property without comment was deemed "inappropriate" and so was the solicitation and collection of opinions on current sociopolitical issues. Preventing the free flow of information is the trademark of totalitarian regimes. In Mr. Messer's view, the accumulation of large capital should remain shrouded under a veil of mystery so that it will not become subject to public scrutiny. Similar to the poll I conducted at the Museum of Modern Art, the context in which such a survey is held becomes a vital ingredient of the system. In withholding the museum context, Mr. Messer protected the interests of those who might profit from the museum public's lack of awareness of its own role in society, an awareness that might result in changing attitudes and commitments. Concomitant with this is his avoidance of putting the museum and its present constituency into a larger social perspective with possibly a new self-understanding and different responsibilities and programming. The cancellation of the exhibition no doubt was a political act. It clearly violated the policy Mr. Messer himself has set for the Guggenheim Museum, which "excludes active engagement toward social and political ends."

By censoring the show, Mr. Messer furnished one of the vital elements of a real-time social system, as complex and possibly more consequential than those he tried to avoid. The complementary element was my own decision to prefer having the exhibition not take place than to submit to his ultimatum that I abandon the three works. However, there would have been no consequences to speak of had I pulled in my tail and not immediately issued a public statement and assured its widest possible circulation (a copy of Mr. Messer's letter giving his reasons for the cancellation was attached). I thus plugged the affair into the larger



environment of the artistically and politically alert public.

Unwittingly, Mr. Messer is playing the role of the protagonist in a large-scale real-time social system. As with earlier physical and biological systems, the provision of some key elements set an environmentally controlled process in motion, the ramifications and consequences of which still remain uncertain.

The affair was covered in numerous newspapers, periodicals, on radio and television, both in the United States and in Europe. Edward Fry, the curator of the show, was fired because he publicly denounced the cancellation. An exhibition boycott against the Guggenheim Museum has been declared by more than 130 artists who stated, "Believing that by canceling Hans Haacke's show, Thomas Messer, Director of the Guggenheim Museum, has betrayed the cause of free art and the charter of his own institution, we the undersigned artists join in refusing to allow our works to be exhibited in the Guggenheim until the policy of art censorship and its advocates are changed."

Whatever the final outcome of the conflict will be, I am confident it will increase the awareness of all participants esthetically as much as politically. It has and will result in changing attitudes and will affect a number of decisions for the future.

Written in Southold, New York, summer 1971



## All the Art That's Fit to Show

Products that are considered "works of art" have been singled out as culturally significant objects by those who, at any given time and social stratum, wield the power to confer the predicate "work of art" onto them; they cannot elevate themselves from the host of man-made objects simply on the basis of some inherent qualities.

Today, museums and comparable art institutions, like the ICA in London, for example, belong to that group of agents in a society who have a sizable, although not an exclusive, share in this cultural power on the level of so-called "high art."

Irrespective of the "avant-garde" or "conservative," "rightist" or "leftist" stance a museum might take, it is, among other things, a carrier of sociopolitical connotations. By the very structure of its existence, it is a political institution. This is as true for museums in Moscow or Peking as for a museum in Cologne or the Guggenheim Museum. The question of private or public funding of the institution does not affect this axiom. The policies of publicly financed institutions are obviously subject to the approval of the supervising governmental agency. In turn, privately funded institutions naturally reflect the predilections and interests of their supporters. Any public museum receiving private donations may find itself in a conflict of interests. On the other hand, the indirect subsidy of many private institutions, through exemption from taxes and partial funding of their programs, could equally create problems. Often, however, there exists in fact, if not by design, a tolerance or even a congruence of the respective ideological persuasions. In principle, the decisions of museum officials, ideologically highly determined or receptive to deviations from the norm, follow the boundaries set by their employers. These boundaries need not be expressly stated in order to be operative. Frequently, museum officials have internalized the thinking of their superiors to such a degree that it becomes natural for them to make the "right" decision, and a congenial atmosphere reigns between employee

and employer. Nevertheless, it would be simplistic to assume that in each case museum officials are faithfully translating the interests of their superiors into museum policy, particularly since new cultural manifestations are not always recognizable as to their suitability or opposition to the parties concerned.

The potential for confusion is increased by the fact that the convictions of an "artist" are not necessarily reflected in the objective position his/her work takes on the sociopolitical scale and that this position could change over the years to the point of reversal.

Still, in order to gain some insight into the forces that elevate certain products to the level of "works of art" it is helpful—among other investigations—to look into the economic and political underpinnings of the institutions, individuals, and groups who share in the control of cultural power.

Strategies might be developed for performing this task in ways that its manifestations are liable to be considered "works of art" in their own right. Not surprisingly, some museums do not think they have sufficient independence to exhibit such a portrait of their own structure and try to dissuade or even censor works of this nature, as has been demonstrated. Fortunately, art institutions and other cultural power agents do not form a monolithic block; so the public's access to such works might be limited but not totally prevented.

Bertold Brecht's 1934 appraisal of "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties" is still valid today. These difficulties are the need for "the courage to write the truth, although it is being suppressed; the intelligence to recognize it, although it is being covered up; the judgment to choose those in whose hands it becomes effective; the cunning to spread it among them."

There are no "artists," however, who are immune to being affected and influenced by the sociopolitical value system of the society in which they live and of which all cultural agencies are a part, no matter



if they are ignorant of these constraints or not ("artists," like "work of art," are put in quotation marks because they are predicates with evaluative connotations deriving their currency from the relative ideological frame of a given cultural power group). So-called "avant-garde art" is, at best, working close to the limitations set by its cultural/political environment, but it always operates within that allowance.

"Artists," as much as their supporters and their enemies, of no matter what ideological coloration, are unwitting partners in the art syndrome and relate to each other dialectically. They participate jointly in the maintenance and/or development of the ideological makeup of their society. They work within that frame, set the frame, and are being framed.

New York, September 1974







## The Constituency

Two polls, conducted respectively in 1972 and 1973 at New York's John Weber Gallery, a commercial gallery for contemporary art, showed that 70% of 858 (first poll) and 74% of 1,324 (second poll) gallery visitors who responded to a questionnaire during each of two two-and-a-half-week periods declared that they had a "professional interest in art."<sup>1</sup>

The visitors to commercial galleries of contemporary art in New York seem to be an extremely select audience, which recruits itself from the ranks of the college-educated middle and upper-middle classes. The professionally uncommitted public of the gallery can hardly be suspected of representing "the proletariat" or the mythical "man in the street."

Those who have a professional interest in art (artists, students, critics, the directors, curators and their assistants in museums and comparable institutions, gallery owners and their assistants, advertising and public-relations executives, government and party bureaucrats in charge of the arts, art advisors of foundations, corporations and collectors, et al.) influence which products and activities are to be considered "art" and how much attention should be paid to each artist and the often competing art "movements." Many members of this diverse group are not independent agents but act rather on behalf of employers and clients whose opinions they have internalized or cannot afford to disregard.

By no means is the art quality of a product inherent in its substance. The art certificate is conferred upon it by the culturally powerful social set in which it is to be considered art, and it is only valid there and then. The attribution of value, particularly if this value is not supported by the needs for physical survival and comfort, is determined ideologically. Unless one invokes God or the quasi-divine inspiration of a disembodied party, the setting of norms and their subtle or not so subtle enforcement, throughout history, is performed by

particular individuals or groups of people and has no claim to universal acceptance. Their beliefs, emotional needs, goals, and interests, no matter if the particular cultural power elite is aware of and acknowledges it, decide on the ever-shifting art criteria.

Usually there is no quarrel about the existence of ideological determination if it emanates from a political or religious authority. The liberal culture mongers do not quite as readily admit the fact that man-made value systems and beliefs, reflecting particular interests, are also at work in liberal surroundings. Ideology, of course, is most effective when it is not experienced as such.

Still, in the liberal environment of the John Weber Gallery, the question "Do you think the preferences of those who financially back the art world influence the kind of work artists produce?" received a remarkable answer. 30% of the 1,324 respondents of the aforementioned poll answered "Yes, a lot." Another 37% answered "Somewhat." The answer "Not at all" was chosen by only 9%. To fully appreciate the gallery visitors' feeling of dependence, potential conflict, and, possibly, cynicism and alienation, it is worth noting that 43% thought their standard of living would be affected if no more art of living artists were bought.

Apparently a sizable portion of the visitors to the gallery (74% of whom declared a professional interest in art) believed, at the time, that the economic power of private and institutional collectors, foundations, publishers, corporate and private contributors to art institutions, and governmental funding agencies does, indeed, play a decisive role in the production and distribution of contemporary art. The validation of certain products as contemporary high art, which, of course, guides future production while feeding on the consensus of the past, obviously is not independent of the art industry's economic base.<sup>2</sup> A cursory look at the art world in liberal societies might therefore lead to the conclusion that it is, in fact, as stringently controlled as

First publication: *Art actuel: Akira annuel* 3 (1977): 147-48 (in French translation). First publication in English: Hans Haacke, Volume 1

(Oxford: Museum of Modern Art; Eindhoven: Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, 1979), 78-81. First publication in German (revised version):

*Feldforschung*, trans. Marlis Grüterich (Cologne: Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1978), 44-47.



the cultural life in societies where street cleaning equipment is called out to take care of deviant art, where a palette of blood and earth is used, or an occasional blooming of a thousand flowers is announced with great fanfare.

It is true that the trustees and, perforce, the directors of many big museums probably agree with the declaration of one of their director-colleagues: "... we are pursuing esthetic and educational objectives that are self-sufficient and without ulterior motive. On those grounds the trustees have established policies that exclude active engagement toward social and political ends."<sup>3</sup>

Such policies pretend to be based on the sociologically and philosophically untenable premise of a self-sufficient education and free-floating aesthetics while ignoring that a museum, by its very existence, actively engages in the promotion of social and political ends. Thus many museums that constitute some of the more powerful agents in the validation and distribution of art are closed to a whole range of contemporary work and, if the premise is applied consistently, also to many works of the past. Such a ban has the further effect of seriously impairing the economic viability of the incriminated works in commercial galleries, another of the major validating agents. Therefore, in effect if not by design, this posture has far-reaching consequences and leaves a politically neutral stance far behind, if such a thing exists at all.

The idealist notion of an art created out of and exclusively for "disinterested pleasure" (Kant), a claim contradicted by history and everyday experience, is upheld by formalist art theory as promulgated and normatively established by Clement Greenberg and his adherents. Formalist thinking, however, is not confined to his accredited followers; it reigns wherever formal qualities are viewed in isolation and their pure demonstration becomes the intended message.

This theory of cultural production and dissemination obviously overlooks the economic and ideologi-

cal circumstances under which the industry and formalist theory itself operate. Questions as to the content and the audience and beneficiaries of art are heresy for a true formalist. Neither contemporary thinking in the social and political sciences nor psychoanalytic theory support such views. The pressures and lures of the world do not stop respectfully at the gate to the "temple," Giscard d'Estaing's term for Paris' Centre Pompidou (!), or the studio door.

It is not surprising, then, that the designers of public spaces and the corporate men who dominate the boards of trustees of cultural institutions in the United States<sup>4</sup> are so fond of these nineteenth-century concepts of art for art's sake. The fact that many works done in this vein today are abstract and enjoy avant-garde status no longer poses a problem and now often is seen as an asset in the hunt for cultural prestige. The corporate state, like governments, has a natural allergy to questions such as "what?" and "for whom?" Unwittingly or not, formalist theory provides an alibi. It induces its clients to believe that they are witnessing and participating in important historic events, as if artworks, purportedly made for their own sake, still performed the liberating role they played in the nineteenth century.

Aside from this powerful ideological allegiance and confluence of interests, the curators, critics, artists, and dealers of the formalist persuasion, like the producers and promoters of any other product or system of messages, also have an economic interest in the maintenance and expansion of their position in the market. The investment of considerable funds is at stake.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of these constraining forces, it is demonstrably false to assume that their control over the art world in liberal societies is complete. Examples could be cited in which certain cultural products are censored outright or discouraged from surfacing in one corner and accepted or even promoted in another corner of the same liberal environment.<sup>6</sup>



Although in all these instances ideology or, more crudely, apparent financial considerations guide the decisions, the individuals and social forces behind them do not necessarily share the same beliefs, value systems, and interests.

The consciousness industry,<sup>7</sup> of which the art industry is an integral but minor small-shop operation for a custom-made output, is such a far-flung global operation, with so many potentially conflicting elements, that absolute product control is impossible. It is this lack of total cohesion and the occasional divergence of interests that secures a modicum of "deviant" behavior.

The relative openness to nonconforming products—not to be equated with so-called pluralism—is further aided by the consciousness industry's built-in dialectics. For it to remain viable and profitable, it requires a pool of workers and a clientele with the judgment and the demand for ever-new forms of entertainment, fresh information, and sensual as well as intellectual stimulation. Although rarely in the foreground, it is the "deviant" elements that provide the necessary dynamics. Without them the industry would bureaucratize and stagnate in boredom, which is, in fact, what happens in repressive environments.

Ironically, the ideological stabilization of power in the hands of a given power elite is predicated on the mobilization of the resources for its potential overthrow. If "repressive tolerance" were as smothering as Herbert Marcuse fears, there would be no need to spend enormous amounts of money for propaganda and the public-relations efforts of big corporations (Mobil Oil Corporation spent \$21 million alone for its "Goodwill Umbrella" in 1976).

These investments attest to the race between an ever more sophisticated public and newly developed techniques of persuasion, in which art is also increasingly used as an instrument.<sup>8</sup>

The millions of white-collar workers of the consciousness industry, the teachers, journalists, priests, art professionals, and all other producers

and disseminators of mental products, are engaged in the cementing of the dominant ideological constructs—as well as in dismantling them. In many ways, this group reflects the ambiguous role of the petite bourgeoisie,<sup>9</sup> that amorphous and steadily growing class with a middle and upper-middle income and some form of higher education, oscillating between the owners of the means of production and the "proletariat." This embarrassing and embarrassed class, in doubt about its identity and aspirations and riddled with conflicts and guilt, is the origin of the contemporary innovators and rebels, just as it is the reservoir of those most actively engaged in the preservation of the status quo.

The general art public (not to be confused with the relatively small number of collectors), that is to say, the public of museums and art centers, comes from the same social pool. It is a rather young audience, financially at ease but not rich, college-educated and flirting rather with the political left than with the right.<sup>10</sup> Thus there is a remarkable demographic resemblance between the art professionals, the art public at large, and probably the readership of this publication. Apparently art is no longer the exclusive domain of the bourgeoisie and nobility as it was in the past. Decades of doctrinaire interpretation of only a few aspects of the economic base have prevented us from adequately understanding the complexities of the art world and the even more complex functioning of the consciousness industry, of which the art world appears to be a microscopic model and a part. Nor have we learned to understand the elusive character of the expanding petite bourgeoisie in industrialized societies, which has become a considerable force in the consciousness industry and among its consumers. It seems to play a more important role in societal change than is normally recognized.

Nothing is gained by decrying the daily manipulation of our minds or by retreating into a private world supposedly untouched by it. There is no reason to leave to the corporate state and its public-



relations mercenaries the service of our sensuous and mental needs, or to allow, by default, the promotion of values that are not in our interest. Given the dialectic nature of the contemporary petit-bourgeois consciousness industry, its vast resources probably can be put to use against the domi-

nant ideology. This, however, seems to be possible only with a matching dialectical approach and may very well require a cunning involvement in all the contradictions of the medium and its practitioners.

New York, 1976

— 1 Complete results of John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 1 and 2, two surveys conducted by the author, are reproduced in Hans Haacke, *Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-75* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; New York: New York University Press, 1975). Most visitors to the John Weber Gallery also view exhibits at the Castelli, Sonnabend, and Emmerich galleries, all contemporary art galleries in the same building at 420 West Broadway, in New York. The polls are not based on representative samplings. Personal observation of the gallery public, however, suggests that the margin of error is not so excessive as to make the survey useless. For the purpose of this essay, collectors are not considered art professionals.

— 2 In a survey by the New York State Council on the Arts, the operating budget of nonprofit arts groups in New York State for the fiscal year of 1976-77 is given as \$410 million.

— 3 Thomas Messer, director of the Guggenheim Museum, in a letter to the author 19 March 1971, explaining the rejection of works dealing with New York real estate for exhibition in a scheduled one-man show at the museum. The exhibition was eventually canceled and Edward F. Fry, the curator, dismissed.

— 4 Boards of Trustees of New York museums: Guggenheim Museum: President, Peter O. Lawson-Johnston (mining company executive, represents Guggenheim family interests on numerous corporate boards). Metropolitan Museum: Chairman, C. Douglas Dillon (prominent investment banker); Vice Presidents, Daniel P. Davison (banker, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.), J. Richardson Dilworth (investment banker, Rockefeller & Family Associates), Roswell L. Gilpatrick (corporate lawyer, partner Cravath, Swaine & Moore, prominent N.Y. law firm). Museum of Modern Art: President, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3<sup>rd</sup>; Chairman, William S. Paley (Chairman CBS); Vice Chairmen, Gardner Cowles (publisher, Chairman Cowles Communications Inc.), David Rockefeller (Chairman Chase Manhattan Bank). Whitney Museum: President, Flora Miller Irving (granddaughter of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney);

Chairman, Howard Lipman (managing partner Neuberger & Berman, securities company).

— 5 The André Emmerich Gallery, a major outpost for formalist art in New York, resumed advertising in *Artforum* after a two-year pause as soon as the anti-formalist editor-publisher, John Coplans, and his executive editor, Max Kozloff, were dismissed or forced to resign by the magazine's owner, Charles Cowles (son of the vice-chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Museum of Modern Art), in December 1976. Other prominent New York galleries had also withheld advertising when *Artforum* editors did not abide by the tacit understanding that their galleries' artists receive ample attention and that the art world's infrastructure remain a taboo subject.

— 6 One example from the author's own experience: in 1974 the Cologne Wallraf-Richartz-Museum banned *Manet-PROJEKT'74*, a large work, for obvious economic and political reasons. Two years later, it was displayed prominently at the Kunstverein in Frankfurt. Both institutions are funded by their respective cities, and the Social Democratic Party dominated both city councils at the time. Before the Frankfurt exhibition, the piece had been shown in a commercial gallery in Cologne (Paul Maenz), at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, and at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. It also had been reproduced extensively or in its entirety and covered in German, Belgian, Italian, and U.S. art magazines. It was acquired by a Belgian collector.

— 7 Title of an essay by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, in *Einzelheiten I, Bewusstseinsindustrie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1962).

— 8 "Exxon's support of the arts serves the arts as a social lubricant. And if business is to continue in big cities, it needs a more lubricated environment." Quote from Robert Kingsley, Manager of Urban Affairs, Department of Public Affairs, Exxon Corporation, New York.

— 9 The contemporary petite bourgeoisie is the subject of many relevant essays in *Kursbuch 45* (Berlin) (September 1976).

— 10 Supported by data from polls conducted by the author at Milwaukee Art Center, 1971; Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, 1972; Documenta 5, 1972; and Kunstverein Hannover, 1973.











## The Agent

Commercial art galleries are powerful agents in that small segment of the consciousness industry which we know as the world of so-called high art.

It is apparent that, due to the limited resources of artists for reaching possible clients on their own, the chances for the sale of their products are considerably greater if they are promoted by a gallery. The prestige and consequently the cultural power of an established gallery not only creates a market, it also facilitates the securing of teaching jobs and grants, so that there is often a direct connection between an artist's affiliation with a commercial gallery and his/her standard of living and command over productive resources.

Obviously, today galleries also hold a key position in the dissemination of the works of an artist.

Exhibitions under their auspices generate articles in trade journals and other publications and furnish the grist for the gossip and shop talk of the industry. Above all, it is through such shows and the feedback they receive that an artist is invited to exhibitions in other galleries, in museums, and in international art events, which, in turn, are often organized in collaboration with galleries. Therefore also, the access to large audiences through exhibitions in prestigious showplaces with the accompanying consecration, press coverage, and increase in market value can be gained more easily through the mediation of a gallery than without.

Art dealers, however, are more than merchants; they are also purveyors as well as representatives of ideology and occasionally connoisseurs with emotional ties to their suppliers and clients. The difficulty in fully assessing their role derives from the ambiguous nature of the product they promote and sell.

An item deemed to be a work of art by a cultural power elite is a commodity, an ideological token, and the source for intellectual and emotional gratification, all in one. Although these constitutive qualities relate to each other, their relationships are not proportional or fixed. The evaluation of each, more-

over, depends on the ever-changing beliefs, values, and needs of the individual or the social set by which it happens to be judged.

Works of art, like other products of the consciousness industry, are potentially capable of shaping their consumers' view of the world and of themselves and may lead them to act upon that understanding. Since the exhibition programs of museums and comparable institutions—with large audiences from the middle and upper-middle classes, which predominate in contemporary opinion and decision-making—are influenced by commercial galleries, it is not negligible which ideologies and emotions are traded in these establishments.

Not surprisingly, institutions and galleries are often resistant to products that question generally held opinions and tastes, particularly if the positions they themselves hold are at stake. But the peculiar dialectics of consciousness—bolstered by their potential for financial speculation, and given the relative lack of uniformity of interests within the culture industry and among its consumers—nevertheless promotes the surfacing of such critical works, at least in liberal societies.

With this modicum of openness, wherever suitable, the galleries' promotional resources should be used without hesitation for a critique of the dominant system of beliefs while employing the very mechanisms of that system.

New York, May 1977



## Museums, Managers of Consciousness

The art world as a whole, and museums in particular, belong to what has aptly been called the "consciousness industry." More than twenty years ago, the German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger gave us some insight into the nature of this industry in an article that used that phrase as its title. Although he did not specifically elaborate on the art world, his article did refer to it in passing. It seems worthwhile here to extrapolate from and to expand upon Enzensberger's thoughts for a discussion of the role museums and other art-exhibiting institutions play.

Like Enzensberger, I believe the use of the term 'industry' for the entire range of activities of those who are employed or working on a freelance basis in the art field has a salutary effect. With one stroke that term cuts through the romantic clouds that envelop the often misleading and mythical notions widely held about the production, distribution, and consumption of art. Artists, as much as galleries, museums, and journalists (not excluding art historians), hesitate to discuss the industrial aspect of their activities. An unequivocal acknowledgment might endanger the cherished romantic ideas with which most art-world participants enter the field, and which still sustain them emotionally today. Supplanting the traditional bohemian image of the art world with that of a business operation could also negatively affect the marketability of its products and interfere with fundraising efforts. Those who, in fact, plan and execute industrial strategies—whether by inclination or need—tend to mystify art, conceal its industrial aspects, and often fall for their own propaganda. Given the prevalent marketability of myths, it may sound almost sacrilegious to insist on using the term 'industry.'

On the other hand, a new breed has recently appeared on the industrial landscape: the arts managers. Trained by prestigious business schools, they are convinced that art can and should be managed like the production and marketing of

other goods. They make no apologies and have few romantic hang-ups. They do not blush in assessing the receptivity and potential development of an audience for their product. As a natural part of their education, they are conversant with budgeting, investment, and price-setting strategies. They have studied organizational goals, managerial structures, and the peculiar social and political environment of their organization. Even the intricacies of labor relations and the ways in which interpersonal issues might affect the organization are part of their curriculum.

Of course, all these and other skills have been employed for decades by art-world denizens of the old school. Instead of enrolling in arts administration courses taught according to the Harvard Business School's case method, they have learned their skills on the job. Following their instincts, they often have been more successful managers than the new graduates promise to be, since the latter are mainly taught by professors with little or no direct knowledge of the peculiarities of the art world. Traditionally, however, the old-timers are shy in admitting to themselves and others the industrial character of their activities, and most still do not view themselves as managers. It is to be expected that the lack of delusions and aspirations among the new art administrators will have a noticeable impact on the state of the industry. Being trained primarily as technocrats, they are less likely to have an emotional attachment to the peculiar nature of the product they are promoting. And this attitude, in turn, will have an effect on the type of products we will soon begin to see.

My insistence on the term 'industry' is not motivated by sympathy for the new technocrats. As a matter of fact, I have serious reservations about their training, the mentality it fosters, and the consequences it will have. What the emergence of arts administration departments in business schools demonstrates, however, is the fact that in spite of the mystique surrounding the production and dis-



tribution of art, we are now—and indeed have been all along—dealing with social organizations that follow industrial modes of operation, ranging in size from the cottage industry to national and multinational conglomerates. Supervisory boards are becoming aware of this fact. Given current financial problems, they try to streamline their operations. Consequently, the present director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York has a management background, and the boards of trustees of other U.S. museums have or are planning to split the position of director into that of a business manager and an artistic director. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is one case where this split has already occurred. The debate often centers merely on which of the two executives should and will in fact have the last word.

Traditionally, the boards of trustees of U.S. museums are dominated by members who come from the world of business and high finance. The board is legally responsible for the institution and consequently the trustees are the ultimate authority. Thus the business mentality has always been conspicuously strong at the decision-making level of private museums in the United States. However, the state of affairs is not essentially different in public museums in other parts of the world.

Whether the directors have an art-historical background or not, they perform, in fact, the tasks of the chief executive officer of a business organization. Like their peers in other industries, they prepare budgets and development plans and present them for approval to their respective public supervising bodies and funding agencies. The staging of an international exhibition such as a Biennale or a Documenta presents a major managerial challenge, with repercussions not only for what is being managed but also for the future career of the executive in charge.

Responding to a realistic appraisal of their lot, even artists are now acquiring managerial training in workshops funded by public agencies in the

United States. Such sessions usually are well attended, as artists recognize that the managerial skills for running a small business could have a bearing on their own survival. Some of the more successful artists employ their own business managers. As for art dealers, it goes without saying that they are engaged in running businesses. The success of their enterprises and the future of the artists in their stables obviously depend a great deal on their managerial skills. They are assisted by paid advisors, accountants, lawyers, and public-relations agents. In turn, collectors often do their collecting with the assistance of a paid staff.

At least in passing, I should mention that numerous other industries depend on the economic vitality of the art branch of the consciousness industry. Arts administrators do not exaggerate when they defend their claims for public support by pointing to the number of jobs that are affected not only in their own institutions but also in communications and, particularly, in the hotel and restaurant industries. The Tut show at the Metropolitan Museum is estimated to have generated \$111 million for the economy of New York City. In New York and possibly elsewhere, real-estate speculators follow with great interest the move of artists into low-rent commercial and residential areas. From experience they know that artists unwittingly open these areas for gentrification and lucrative development. New York's Soho district is a striking example. Mayor Koch, always a friend to the realtors who stuff his campaign chest, tried recently to plant artists into particular streets on the Lower East Side to accomplish what is euphemistically called the "rehabilitation" of a neighborhood but what, in fact, means squeezing out an indigenous poor population in order to attract developers of high-rent housing. The 'Terminal Show' was a brainchild of the city's Public Development Corporation; it was meant to draw attention to the industrial potential of the former Brooklyn Army Terminal building. And the Museum of Modern Art, having erected a



luxury apartment tower over its own building, is also now actively involved in real estate.

Elsewhere, city governments have recognized the importance of the art industry. The city of Hannover in West Germany, for example, sponsored several widely publicized art events in an attempt to improve its dull image. As large corporations point to the cultural life of their location in order to attract sophisticated personnel, so Hannover speculated that the outlay for art would be amortized many times by the attraction the city would gain for businesses seeking sites for relocation. It is well documented that Documenta is held in an out-of-the-way place like Kassel and given economic support by the city, state, and federal government because it was assumed that Kassel would be put on the map by an international art exhibition. It was hoped that the event would revitalize the economically depressed region close to the border to East Germany and that it would prop up the local tourist industry.

Another German example of the way in which direct industrial benefits flow from investment in art may be seen in the activities of the collector Peter Ludwig. It is widely believed that the motive behind his buying a large chunk of government-sanctioned Soviet art and displaying it in "his" museums was to open the Soviet market for his chocolate company. Ludwig may have risked his reputation as a connoisseur of art, but by buying into the Soviet consciousness industry he proved his taste for sweet deals. More recently, Ludwig recapitalized his company by selling a collection of medieval manuscripts to the J. Paul Getty Museum for an estimated price of \$40 to \$60 million. As a shrewd businessman, Ludwig used the money to establish a foundation that owns shares in his company. Thus the income from this capital remains untaxed and, in effect, the ordinary taxpayer winds up subsidizing Ludwig's power ambitions in the art world.

Aside from the reasons already mentioned, the dis-

comfort in applying industrial nomenclature to works of art may also have to do with the fact that these products are not entirely physical in nature. Although transmitted in one material form or another, they are developed in and by consciousness and have meaning only for another consciousness. In addition, it is possible to argue over the extent to which the physical object determines the manner in which the receiver decodes it. Such interpretive work is in turn a product of consciousness, performed gratis by each viewer but potentially salable if undertaken by curators, historians, critics, appraisers, teachers, etc. The hesitancy to use industrial concepts and language probably also can be attributed to our lingering idealist tradition, which associates such work with the "spirit," a term with religious overtones and one that indicates the avoidance of mundane considerations. The tax authorities, however, have no compunction in assessing the income derived from these "spiritual" activities. Conversely, the taxpayers so affected do not shy away from deducting relevant business expenses. They normally protest against tax rulings that declare their work to be nothing but a hobby, or to put it in Kantian terms, the pursuit of "disinterested pleasure." Economists consider the consciousness industry as part of the ever-growing service sector and include it as a matter of course in the computation of the gross national product.

The product of the consciousness industry, however, is not only elusive because of its seemingly nonsecular nature and its aspects of intangibility. More disconcerting, perhaps, is the fact that we do not even totally command our individual consciousness. As Karl Marx observed in *The German Ideology*, consciousness is a social product. It is, in fact, not our private property, homegrown and a home to retire to. It is the result of a collective historical endeavor, embedded in and reflecting particular value systems, aspirations, and goals. And these do not by any means represent the interests



of everybody. Nor are we dealing with a universally accepted body of knowledge or beliefs. Word has gotten around that material conditions and the ideological context in which an individual grows up and lives determine to a considerable extent his or her consciousness. As has been pointed out (and not only by Marxist social scientists and psychologists), consciousness is not a pure, independent, value-free entity, evolving according to internal, self-sufficient, and universal rules. It is contingent, an open system, responsible to the crosscurrents of the environment. It is, in fact, a battleground of conflicting interests. Correspondingly, the products of consciousness represent interests and interpretations of the world that are potentially at odds with each other. The products of the means of production, like those means themselves, are not neutral. As they were shaped by their respective environments and social relations, so do they in turn influence our view of the human condition.

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Currently we are witnessing a great retreat to the private cocoon. We see a lot of noncommittal, sometimes cynical playing on naively perceived social forces, along with other forms of contemporary dandyism and updated versions of art for art's sake. Some artists and promoters may reject any commitment and refuse to accept the notion that their work presents a point of view beyond itself or that it fosters certain attitudes; nevertheless, as soon as work enjoys larger exposure it inevitably participates in the public discourse, advances particular systems of belief, and has reverberations in the social arena. At that point, art works are no longer a private affair. The producer and the distributor must then weigh the impact.

But it is important to recognize that the codes employed by artists are often not as clear and unambiguous as those in other fields of communication. Controlled ambiguity may, in fact, be one of the characteristics of much Western art since the Renaissance. It is not uncommon that messages are received in a garbled, distorted form; they may

even relay the opposite of what was intended (not to mention the kinds of creative confusion and muddleheadedness that can accompany the art work's production). To compound these problems, there are the historical contingencies of the codes and the unavoidable biases of those who decipher them. With so many variables, there is ample room for exegesis, and a livelihood is thus guaranteed for many workers in the consciousness industry. Although the product under discussion appears to be quite slippery, it is by no means inconsequential, as cultural functionaries from Moscow to Washington make clear every day. It is recognized in both capitals that not only the mass media deserve monitoring but also those activities that are normally relegated to special sections at the back of newspapers. The New York Times calls its weekend section "Arts and Leisure" and covers under this heading theater, dance, film, art, numismatics, gardening, and other ostensibly harmless activities. Other papers carry these items under equally innocuous titles, such as "culture," "entertainment," or "lifestyle." Why should governments, and for that matter corporations that are not themselves in the communications industry, pay attention to such seeming trivia? I think they do so for good reason. They have understood, sometimes better than the people who work in the leisure suits of culture, that the term culture camouflages the social and political consequences resulting from the industrial distribution of consciousness. The channeling of consciousness is pervasive not only under dictatorships but also in liberal societies. To make such an assertion may sound outrageous because according to popular myth, liberal regimes do not behave this way. Such an assertion also could be misunderstood as an attempt to downplay the brutality with which mainstream conduct is enforced in totalitarian regimes, or as a claim that coercion of the same viciousness is practiced elsewhere as well. In nondictatorial societies, the induction into and the maintenance of a



particular way of thinking and seeing must be performed with subtlety in order to succeed. Staying within the acceptable range of divergent views must be perceived as the natural thing to do.

Within the art world, museums and other institutions that stage exhibitions play an important role in the inculcation of opinions and attitudes. Indeed, they usually present themselves as educational organizations and consider education as one of their primary responsibilities. Naturally, museums work in the vineyards of consciousness. To state that obvious fact, however, is not an accusation of devious conduct. An institution's intellectual and moral position becomes tenuous only if it claims to be free of ideological bias. And such an institution should be challenged if it refuses to acknowledge that it operates under constraints deriving from its sources of funding and from the authority to which it reports.

It is perhaps not surprising that many museums indignantly reject the notion that they provide a biased view of the works in their custody. Indeed, museums usually claim to subscribe to the canons of impartial scholarship. As honorable as such an endeavor is—and it is still a valid goal to strive for—it suffers from idealist delusions about the nonpartisan character of consciousness. A theoretical prop for this worthy but untenable position is the nineteenth-century doctrine of art for art's sake. That doctrine has an avant-garde historical veneer and in its time did indeed perform a liberating role. Even today, in countries where artists are openly compelled to serve prescribed policies, it still has an emancipatory ring. The gospel of art for art's sake isolates art and postulates its self-sufficiency, as if art had or followed rules, which are impervious to the social environment. Adherents of the doctrine believe that art does not and should not reflect the squabbles of the day. Obviously they are mistaken in their assumption that products of consciousness can be created in isolation. Their stance and what is crafted under its auspices have

not only theoretical but also definite social implications. American formalism updated the doctrine and associated it with the political concepts of the "free world" and individualism. Under Clement Greenberg's tutelage, everything that made worldly references was simply excommunicated from art so as to shield the Grail of taste from contamination. What began as a liberating drive turned into its opposite. The doctrine now provides museums with an alibi for ignoring the ideological aspects of art works and the equally ideological implications of the way those works are presented to the public. Whether such neutralizing is performed with deliberation or merely out of habit or lack of resources is irrelevant: practiced over many years it constitutes a powerful form of indoctrination.

Every museum is perforce a political institution, no matter whether it is privately run or maintained and supervised by governmental agencies. Those who hold the purse strings and have the authority over hiring and firing are, in effect, in charge of every element of the organization, if they choose to use their powers. While the rule of the boards of trustees of museums in the United States is generally uncontested, the supervisory bodies of public institutions elsewhere have to contend much more with public opinion and the prevailing political climate. It follows that political considerations play a role in the appointment of museum directors. Once they are in office and have civil service status with tenure, such officials often enjoy more independence than their colleagues in the United States, who can be dismissed from one day to the next, as occurred with Bates Lowry and John Hightower at the Museum of Modern Art within a few years time. But it is advisable, of course, to be a political animal in both settings. Funding, as much as one's prospect for promotion to more prestigious posts, depends on how well one can play the game. Directors in private U.S. museums need to be attuned primarily to the frame of mind represented by the Wall Street Journal, the daily source of edifi-



cation of the board members. They are affected less by who happens to be the occupant of the White House or the mayor's office, although this is not totally irrelevant for the success of applications for public grants. In other countries the outcome of elections can have a direct bearing on museum policies. Agility in dealing with political parties, possibly even membership in a party, can be an asset. The arrival of Margaret Thatcher in Downing Street and of François Mitterrand at the Élysée noticeably affected the art institutions in their respective countries. Whether in private or in public museums, disregard of political realities, among them the political needs of the supervising bodies and the ideological complexion of their members, is a guarantee of managerial failure. It is usually required that, at least to the public, institutions appear nonpartisan. This does not exclude the sub-rosa promotion of the interests of the ultimate boss. As in other walks of life, the consciousness industry also knows the hidden agenda, which is more likely to succeed if it is not perceived as such. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the objectives and the mentality of every art executive are or should be at odds with those on whose support his organization depends. There are natural and honorable allegiances as much as there are forced marriages and marriages of convenience. All players, though, usually see to it that the serene facade of the art temple is preserved.

During the past twenty years, the power relations between art institutions and their sources of funding have become more complex. Museums have to be maintained either by public agencies—the tradition in Europe—or through donations from private individuals and philanthropic organizations, as has been the pattern in the United States. When Congress established the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965, U.S. museums gained an additional source of funding. In accepting public grants, however, they became accountable—even if in

practice only to a limited degree—to government agencies.

Some public museums in Europe went the road of mixed support, too, although in the opposite direction. Private donors came on board with attractive collections. As has been customary in U.S. museums, however, some of these donors demanded a part in policy making. One of the most spectacular recent examples has been the de facto takeover of museums (among others, museums in Cologne, Vienna, and Aachen) that received or believed they would receive gifts from the German collector Peter Ludwig. As is well known in the Rhineland, Count Panza di Biumo's attempt to get his way in the new museum of Mönchengladbach, down the Rhine from Ludwig's headquarters, was successfully rebuffed by the director, Johannes Cladders, who is both resolute and a good poker player in his own right.<sup>1</sup> How far the Saatchis in London will get in dominating the Tate Gallery's Patrons of New Art—and thereby the museum's policies for contemporary art—is currently watched with the same fascination and nervousness as developments in the Kremlin. A recent, much-noticed instance of Saatchi influence was the Tate's 1982 Schnabel show, which consisted almost entirely of works from the Saatchis' collection. In addition to his position on the steering committee of the Tate's Patrons of New Art, Charles Saatchi is also a trustee of the Whitechapel Gallery.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the Saatchis' advertising agency has just begun handling publicity for the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Royal Academy, the National Portrait Gallery, the Serpentine Gallery, and the British Crafts Council. Certainly the election victory of Mrs. Thatcher, in which the Saatchis played a part as the advertising agency of the Conservative Party, did not weaken their position (and may in turn have provided the Conservatives with a powerful agent within the hallowed halls of the Tate).<sup>3</sup> If such collectors seem to be acting primarily in their own self-interest and to be building pyramids



to themselves when they attempt to impose their will on "chosen" institutions, their moves are in fact less troublesome in the long run than the disconcerting arrival on the scene of corporate funding for the arts—even though the latter at first appears to be more innocuous.<sup>4</sup> Starting on a large scale toward the end of the 1960s in the United States and expanding rapidly ever since, corporate funding has spread during the last five years to Britain and the Continent. Ambitious exhibition programs that could not be financed through traditional sources led museums to turn to corporations for support. The larger, more lavishly appointed these shows and their catalogues became, however, the more glamour the audiences began to expect. In an ever-advancing spiral, the public was made to believe that only Hollywood-style extravaganzas were worth seeing and that only these could give an accurate sense of the world of art. The resulting box-office pressure made the museums still more dependent on corporate funding. Then came the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s. Many individual donors could no longer contribute at the accustomed rate, and inflation eroded the purchasing power of funds. To compound the financial problems, many governments, facing huge deficits—often due to sizable expansions of military budgets—cut their support for social services as well as their arts funding. Again museums felt they had no choice but to turn to corporations for a bailout. Following their own ideological inclinations and making them national policy, President Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher encouraged the so-called private sector to pick up the slack in financial support.

Why have business executives been receptive to the museums' pleas for money? During the restive sixties the more astute ones began to understand that corporate involvement in the arts is too important to be left to the chairman's wife. Irrespective of their own love for or indifference toward art, they recognized that a company's association

with art could yield benefits far out of proportion to a specific financial investment. Not only could such a policy attract sophisticated personnel, but it also projected an image of the company as a good corporate citizen and advertised its products—all things that impress investors. Executives with a longer vision also saw that the association of their company (and, by implication, of business in general) with the high prestige of art was a subtle but effective means for lobbying in the corridors of government. It could open doors, facilitate passage of favorable legislation, and serve as a shield against scrutiny and criticism of corporate conduct.

Museums, of course, are not blind to the attractions for business of lobbying through art. For example, in a pamphlet with the telling title "The Business Behind Art Knows the Art of Good Business," the Metropolitan Museum in New York wooed prospective corporate sponsors by assuring them: "Many public relations opportunities are available through the sponsorship of programs, special exhibitions and services. These can often provide a creative and cost-effective answer to a specific marketing objective, particularly where international, governmental or consumer relations may be a fundamental concern."<sup>5</sup>

A public-relations executive of Mobil in New York aptly called the company's art support a "goodwill umbrella," and his colleague from Exxon referred to it as a "social lubricant."<sup>6</sup> It is liberals in particular who need to be greased, because they are the most likely and sophisticated critics of corporations and they are often in positions of influence. They also happen to be more interested in culture than other groups on the political spectrum. Luke Rittner, who as outgoing director of the British Association of Business Sponsorship of the Arts should know, recently explained: "A few years ago companies thought sponsoring the arts was charitable. Now they realize there is also another aspect; it is a tool they can use for corporate pro-



motion in one form or another." Rittner, obviously in tune with his prime minister, has been appointed the new secretary general on the British Arts Council.

Corporate public-relations officers know that the greatest publicity benefits can be derived from high-visibility events, shows that draw crowds and are covered extensively by the popular media; these are shows that are based on and create myths—in short, blockbusters. As long as an institution is not squeamish about company involvement in press releases, posters, advertisements, and its exhibition catalogue, its grant proposal for such an extravaganza is likely to be examined with sympathy. Some companies are happy to underwrite publicity for the event (which usually includes the company logo) at a rate almost matching the funds they make available for the exhibition itself. Generally, such companies look for events that are "exciting," a word that pops up in museum press releases and catalogue prefaces more often than any other.

Museum managers have learned, of course, what kinds of shows are likely to attract corporate funding. And they also know that they have to keep their institutions in the limelight. Most shows in large New York museums are now sponsored by corporations. Institutions in London will soon be catching up with them. The Whitney Museum has even gone one step further. It has established branches—almost literally a merger—on the premises of two companies.<sup>7</sup> It is fair to assume that exhibition proposals that do not fulfill the necessary criteria for corporate sponsorship risk not being considered, and we never hear about them. Certainly, shows that could promote critical awareness, present products of consciousness dialectically and in relation to the social world, or question relations of power have a slim chance of being approved—not only because they are unlikely to attract corporate funding but also because they could sour relations with potential sponsors for

other shows. Consequently, self-censorship is having a boom.<sup>8</sup> Without exerting any direct pressure, corporations have effectively gained a veto in museums, even though their financial contribution often covers only a fraction of the costs of an exhibition. Depending on circumstances, these contributions are tax-deductible as a business expense or a charitable contribution.

Ordinary taxpayers are thus footing part of the bill. In effect, they are unwitting sponsors of private corporate policies, which, in many cases, are detrimental to their health and safety, the general welfare, and in conflict with their personal ethics. Since the corporate blanket is so warm, glaring examples of direct interference rare, and the increasing dominance of the museums' development offices hard to trace, the change of climate is hardly perceived, nor is it taken as a threat. To say that this change might have consequences beyond the confines of the institution and that it affects the type of art that is and will be produced therefore can sound like over-dramatization. Through naiveté, need, or addiction to corporate financing, museums are now on the slippery road to becoming public-relations agents for the interests of big business and its ideological allies. The adjustments that museums make in the selection and promotion of works for exhibition and in the way they present them create a climate that supports prevailing distributions of power and capital and persuade the populace that the status quo is the natural and best order of things. Rather than sponsoring intelligent, critical awareness, museums thus tend to foster appeasement.

Those engaged in collaboration with the public-relations officers of companies rarely see themselves as promoters of acquiescence. On the contrary, they are usually convinced that their activities are in the best interests of art. Such a well-intentioned delusion can survive only as long as art is perceived as a mythical entity above mundane interests and ideological conflict. And it is, of



course, this misunderstanding of the role that products of the consciousness industry play that constitutes the indispensable base for all corporate strategies of persuasion.

Whether museums contend with governments, power trips of individuals, or the corporate steamroller, they are in the business of molding and channeling consciousness. Even though they may not agree with the system of beliefs dominant at the time, their options not to subscribe to them and instead to promote an alternative consciousness are limited. The survival of the institution and personal careers are often at stake. But in nondictatorial societies, the means for the production of consciousness are not all in one hand. The sophis-

tication required to promote a particular interpretation of the world is potentially also available to question that interpretation and to offer other versions. As the need to spend enormous sums for public relations and government propaganda indicates, things are not frozen. Political constellations shift and unincorporated zones exist in sufficient numbers to disturb the mainstream.

It was never easy for museums to preserve or regain a degree of maneuverability and intellectual integrity. It takes stealth, intelligence, determination—and some luck. But a democratic society demands nothing less than that.

New York, 1983

— 1 Dr. Cladders, in 1982 and 1984, was commissioner of the German Pavilion of the Venice Biennale. Since 1985 he has been retired from the directorship of the museum in Mönchengladbach. Count Giuseppe Panza di Biumo sold a major portion of his collection to the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles.

— 2 A major exhibition of the work of Julian Schnabel was held at the Whitechapel Gallery in the fall of 1986.

— 3 The vice-chairman of Saatchi & Saatchi, Michael Dobbs, was chief of staff to the Conservative Party chairman, Norman Tebbit, during the 1980s. Since then the Saatchi brothers have had close relations to the leadership of the party. They played an important role in all their campaigns.

— 4 Because this influence is originating with individuals, it may not survive them and may in the end have only minor structural consequences.

— 5 Carl Spielvogel, the head of one of the Saatchi & Saatchi subsidiaries in New York at the time, was chairman of the Metropolitan Museum's Business Committee. Charles Saatchi

was vice-chairman of the museum's International Business Committee.

— 6 In an op-ed page advertisement in the New York Times on 10 October 1985, Mobil explained, under the headline "Art, for the sake of business," the rationale behind its involvement in the arts in these words: "What's in it for us—or for your company? Improving—and ensuring—the business climate." More extensive reasons are given by Mobil director and vice-president of public affairs Herb Schmertz in "Affinity-of-Purpose Marketing: The Case of Masterpiece Theatre," from his book *Good-bye to the Low Profile: The Art of Creative Confrontation* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1986).

— 7 The headquarters of Philip Morris in New York and the headquarters of the Champion International Corporation in Stamford, Connecticut.

— 8 Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is quoted in *Newsweek*, 25 November 1985: "It's an inherent, insidious, hidden form of censorship. ... But corporations aren't censoring us—we're censoring ourselves."



## Niemandsland

Der quadratische oder der rechteckig lange unter dem Straßenniveau liegende Hof im Baukomplex des Ministeriums für Bildung und Wissenschaft und des Ministeriums für Justiz der Bundesrepublik in Bonn-Bad Godesberg ist völlig auszubetonieren. Darauf wird eine Kreisfläche von ca. 25 m Durchmesser markiert.

Auf dem so abgegrenzten Areal soll mit einem Förderband in die Mitte solange Erde aufgehäuft werden, bis sie natürlich nach den Seiten abrutschend die gesamte Kreisfläche bedeckt. Die Höhe des Hügels wird durch die Erdmenge bestimmt, welche erforderlich ist, um die markierte Zone in der beschriebenen Weise zu füllen.

Nach seiner Vollendung bleibt der Erdhügel sich selber überlassen. Es ist zu erwarten, daß Erosion ihn verändert, daß Flugsamen und im Erdreich mitgeführten Samen aufgehen und gelegentlich wilde Vegetation den Hügel bedeckt. Das Areal darf in keiner Weise im Auftrag oder auf Anregung des Anrainers hin kultiviert oder gesäubert werden. Der natürliche Prozeß soll ungehindert seinen Lauf nehmen.

Wenn die Erdaufhäufung beendet ist, wird dem markierten Territorium der Status einer völkerrechtlich unabhängigen Enklave verliehen, in der kein Staat Hoheitsrechte besitzt und die Gesetze keines Staates gelten.

Die Bundesrepublik schließt mit mir einen völkerrechtlich bindenden Vertrag unbegrenzter Dauer, in dem sie auf sämtliche Rechte in und an diesem Territorium verzichtet, in dem sie sich verpflichtet, jedermann Zugang zur Enklave zu gewähren und weder direkt noch indirekt auf Ereignisse und Entwicklungen im Niemandsland Einfluß zu nehmen. Ich versichere ebenfalls in diesem Vertrag, mich jeglichen Eingriffs in das Geschehen im markierten Territorium zu enthalten.



Kopien des Vertrages sind zu jedermanns Einsicht in unmittelbarer Nähe des Erdhügels wetterfest unter Glas auszustellen. Die gesamte Korrespondenz zum Projekt "Niemandland" zwischen allen an ihm beteiligten Parteien soll in einem Museum oder einer entsprechenden Institution dem Publikum zugänglich sein

Hans Haacke  
Bonn-Bad Godesberg  
1973/74



## German-German

On June 23, just over two weeks before a consumer-command economy broke out in the German Democratic Republic, eighty-one segments of the antifascist protective wall were auctioned at the Metropole Palace Hotel in Monte Carlo (the Wall had been officially inaugurated in 1961 and constantly improved thereafter). The majority of these segments, ennobled on one side by the application of spray paint, originated in Kreuzberg, where they had been taken down by the dedicated efforts of GDR border guards from Berlin during the nights of January 22 to 26. Limex-Bau Export-Import, a state-owned company of the GDR, guaranteed the authenticity of every lot in the auction with a certificate dated November 9, 1989. The letterhead of the document is decorated with a seal on which three crenellated towers and an eyeless eagle, whose left wing has lost some feathers, are surrounded by the words SIGILLUM DE BERLIN BURGENSEIUM. The auction was arranged jointly by the Lelé Berlin Wall Verkaufs- und Wirtschaftswerbung GmbH of West Berlin and the Galerie Park Place, a Monacan auction house that, as the glossy catalogue made known, had already "run a number of often unusual auctions, from exclusive sports cars to rare wines."

The managing director of the limited liability company of Tempelhofer Ufer chose the slogan "Imagination knows no borders," which she had discovered on the outer wall of Really Existing Socialism as a "personal and professional challenge." The proceeds from the auction were to benefit public health services for the workers and farmers, which, as two professors from the Charité hospital testified in the catalogue, was "the sickest patient in the GDR." They also confess that a great deal of thought had been given to "what should happen after the quiet revolution in the GDR had stripped the wall of its meaning." This edition of art in public places now being auctioned under their auspices is limited to 360 numbered copies.

The catalogue quotes Berlin's mayor, Walter Momper: "Art versus concrete. Art won." Like the mayor, his new, much-discussed urban development partner expressed confidence in the healing power of art while devouring a choice piece of real estate. In full-page ads in the international press, the largest German arms manufacturer [Daimler-Benz] declared its faith in Goethe's defiant dictum "Art will always remain art." In keeping with its obligation to the nation's cultural heritage, the company sponsors activities worldwide: the South African police, the IFA-Kombinat [automobile factory] in Ludwigsfelde, the restoration of Dresden after its destruction during the war of the Volksgenossen, and Andy Warhol. The corporation even remembered its 46,000 former employees, who had written the motto "Work shall set you free" on their banners, by granting them 434 deutsche marks per head.

On the construction drawings for the lookout towers (1974 model) in the former rabbit hangout of Berlin, at a location 690 cm under the crenels, one can make out, although it is scarcely recognizable in the cross section, a doormat. Referred to page IV/12, the foreman of the construction brigade finds a detailed plan for this doormat.

"Be prepared!" the chancellor shouted (in the spring of 1990, with an eye to the imminent conversion of his brothers and sisters to the German unification lifestyle, the Stasi-heir Peter-Michael Diestel requested from Bonn a number of Uzis and an assortment of additional law-and-order transfer equipment for the DM region). "Always prepared!" the chorus of the unemployed responded.

August 1990





Encounter in the death strip, 1990





LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA 1934



## Gondola! Gondola!

"Gondola! Gondola! That is the battle cry of Venice." With this line, the party paper of the capital of the Reich opened its first-page atmospheric report from Venice, on June 14, 1934.<sup>1</sup> The following day, the correspondent cabled enthusiastically:

"The gondolas, marvelously festooned with lanterns, come to a stop at the Biennale. Aristocratic ladies alight, men stride solemnly. ... Has there really ever been a time in Germany when the Führer was called a foreigner? Venice greets him with the Meistersinger! He sits to the right of the Duce."<sup>2</sup> What is behind this story? An Austrian postcard painter was on his first trip to Italy. He had a friend down there, Benito. A dozen years earlier, Benito had made a march on Rome and taken over the place. That inspired the postcard painter to try something similar a year later in Munich. It was a flop. It took him until 1933 to pull off a coup in Berlin. A celebration was thus in order. But Adolfo, as the Italians called him, was very busy at first. They had to wait for an entire year. Only then could the two friends go on a vacation together in Venice. Benito threw him a tremendous welcoming party, with everything Venice had to offer. After the first night, there was plenty of action again.

Already at the crack of dawn there was shouting in the Piazza San Marco: "Evviva Hitler!" Berliners read in the paper on the following day: "Throngs of fascist maidens in black skirts and white blouses were on their feet."<sup>3</sup> But not only girls were filling the streets. Blackshirts, too, were lining up en masse: "The avant-gardists left a particularly good impression. The human material was excellent."<sup>4</sup> Benito appeared in full regalia on the grandstand that had been put up in front of the Caffè Florian. "There was a reveling in light and colors, costumes and beauty. And as always, there was the blue sky of the South."<sup>5</sup> The press spoke of a "frenzy of enthusiasm."

After the celebration on the Piazza San Marco, the postcard painter took a motorboat to the Biennale. As a former denizen of Schwabing, he was curious

to see what his colleagues had been up to. At the Giardini Pubblici landing, he was greeted by Count Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata,<sup>6</sup> the president of the Biennale, and by Antonio Maraini, its general secretary. Like the two thousand giovani fascisti who had lined up to welcome him, the two gentlemen had donned the local black garb of boots, shoulder strap, and decorations that had become fashionable in those years. This black costume was only one of many the goateed Count Volpi donned as he moved in the circles of international finance and politics. He had busied himself, among other interests, in the Balkans, at Rapallo, in regional electric power companies, in banking and insurance, and in transportation. As a condottiere and governor of the Italian colony of Tripolitania he had won the title of count as well as large land holdings. Together with Vittorio Cini and Achille Gaggia, Volpi had been promoting a new port and industrial zone at Marghera, near Mestre on the mainland. To venerable Venice they had assigned the role of a museum island with fully integrated service industries. Volpi, the godfather of Venice, had substantial interests on both sides of the lagoon. Benito's guest from Berlin, for example, was lodged in the Grand Hotel, which was one of many luxury hotels belonging to his CIGA chain. The agile tactician had been an early patron of the Venetian 'fascio,' perhaps assuming that his revolutionary political friends would protect him from the red menace. When things had reliably settled in 1922, he joined the party. The Duce thought highly of him. In 1925 he entrusted the Venetian senator with his ministry of finance, and a few months after the Biennale visit from Berlin he made him president of the Italian Association of Industrialists. As head of Confindustria he had frequent dealings with the newly established Reichsgruppe Industrie. Like his colleague Hermann Josef Abs<sup>7</sup> of the Deutsche Bank in the cold North, the busy Count of Misurata warmed seats in more than forty different boardrooms. And after the big crash, both men were able to rely on old business



friends abroad. Happily, their exoneration was assured (for the comrade-in-arms up North, this turned out to be the prelude to a spectacular post-war career and, in his old age, even the occupation of the Städel Museum in Frankfurt; only in the United States is he still *persona non grata*). No question, Benito's Biennale guest was not received by some doddering, impoverished nobleman who had charitably been put in charge of an honorary culture post: il Conte Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata was a seasoned man, well versed in all the dirty tricks Venice has up its sleeve.

The painter from Schwabing made his way immediately to the German Pavilion. In 1934, it had been decorated by Eberhard Hanfstaengl, who had just been appointed director of the National Gallery in Berlin (he was a cousin of the painter's good friend Putzi from Munich). For a good while he remained silent in the first room, contemplating the bust of Hindenburg. Then he saw himself confronted with Ferdinand Liebermann's Reich Chancellor Hitler. He looked deeply into his bronze eyes. What he found there has not been recorded. Eventually, without comment, he turned away. Joseph Wackerle's National Emblem, an excellent example for the postcard painter's new corporate identity program, filled him with new confidence in predestination. Continuing on his tour, he had occasion to celebrate a happy reunion with the German Soil, a painting by Werner Peiner from his own collection. In the intoxicating atmosphere of Venice, this painting offered a welcome opportunity to reconnect with the heaviness of the earth at home, and with the discipline of the German peasant.<sup>8</sup> Finally, facing Georg Kolbe's Statue for a Stadium, a giant nude, he was inspired to think about film projects for Leni Riefenstahl. He was not only a lover of the visual arts and architecture. For many years he also had been a movie buff. Like so much else, he shared this passion with his 'cicerone.' The Biennale president, in fact, was the one who, in 1932, had invented the Venice Film Festival, even

though he was also occupying the office of provost of San Marco. Naturally, like the Biennale, the Festival played an important part in his investments in the local tourist industry. Volpi also had acted as patron saint at times when trouble was brewing in Rome over some hot scenes on the silver screen. At the end of his tour, our vacationer was clearly pleased.

The Reichskulturkammer of his Ministry of Public Relations under Joseph Goebbels had done an excellent job. To be sure, there were a few minor glitches, such as the exhibition of Kolbe's bust of Hans Prinzhorn and Barlach's Monks Reading. That had to do with an argument that was still raging between Goebbels, who was known for his connoisseurship, and the hard line of the national observer Alfred Rosenberg. They quarreled over whether the Expressionists were to be branded cultural Bolsheviks or whether their angular style was, in fact, a perfect representation of the new era. Goebbels, the consummate PR man, had a penchant for modern art. During the preceding year, he had sponsored a Futurist show in Berlin, and prior to Fritz Lang's sudden departure from Metropolis, he had seriously considered entrusting him with the supervision of the entire film production of the Reich. For the time being, in Venice, the Biennale visitor let his hosts know how much he appreciated their efforts. During a warm farewell, Antonio Maraini, the general secretary, expressed the hope that the German Pavilion would be enlarged and equipped with state-of-the-art exhibition technology in the near future. Within a few years, this wish was to be fulfilled. In spite of the inclusion of Prinzhorn and Barlach, Eberhard Hanfstaengl had done his 'Kulturarbeit' with such loyalty that he was allowed to continue in 1936. (His triumphal period, however, had to wait until 1948; for ten years, until 1958, the buddy from Munich atoned). No doubt, the 'Kraft durch Freude' (Strength through Joy) excursion to Venice could be chalked up as a fantastic success. The enthusiastic review



in the *Lavoro Fascista* served as confirmation:

"The fact that Fascism and National Socialism let the seeds of a new culture sprout is the best guarantee for the peaceful intentions of Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany."<sup>9</sup>

This editorial from Rome was both high praise and an appeal to diligently nurture the frail shoots of the new German "Will to Culture." It was a matter of defending German soil and German blood against all that was foreign. Martin Heidegger, as president of the University of Freiburg, had already announced in 1933, in a proud 'Declaration of Allegiance to Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist State': "We have completely broken with idolizing a thinking that is bottomless and lacking power."<sup>10</sup> Contemplating human existence, the New Age philosopher arrived at the conclusion: "Superman belongs to that race ['Schlag'] of mankind which, above all, wills itself as a race, and allies itself with that race. ... Amidst meaningless totality, this race ['Menschenschlag'] posits the will to power as the 'meaning of the earth.' The final stage of European nihilism is 'catastrophe' in the sense of an affirmative turnabout."<sup>11</sup> Superman's race struck. Marxist, Jewish, and democratic literature was purged by fire. (Born late, Hans Jürgen Syberberg recently also voiced the opinion that the Left and the Jews were responsible for the misery of German culture.)<sup>12</sup> The cleansing had begun.

The 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin offered another opportunity to spread the image of the New German around the world. *Mens sana in corpore sano sit*. Shortly after his return from the sun of Italy, the tanned vacationer laid down the ardently awaited line in the quarrel over pictures: "Our resolve was firm that the driveling Dadaist-Cubist and Futuristic 'experience'-mongers and 'objectivity'-mongers would, under no circumstances, be allowed any part in our cultural rebirth."<sup>13</sup> Tried and tested artists like Joseph Wackerle and Arno Breker, as well as Leni Riefenstahl, were given major commissions. The Bauhaus artist Herbert

Bayer also came on board. He produced a brash design for the 'Deutschland Ausstellung 1936' exhibition guide (six years later he would take care of 'The Road to Victory' at the Museum of Modern Art in New York).<sup>14</sup> For artists who did not belong to the Field and Stream variety but who thought, nevertheless, their works were compatible with the dominant 'Zeitgeist'—and many well-known modern artists held such mistaken beliefs—the year 1937 turned out to be a major educational experience. In Munich, the chief artist of the Reich inaugurated his Haus der Deutschen Kunst with a representative selection from the pool of new creativity—and they were not invited. Instead their products could be inspected in the 'Degenerate Art' exhibition around the corner.

1937 was also the year in which preparations for the next Biennale got under way. The new 'völkisch' art was to be presented to the world in a monumental new building, representative of the power and self-confidence of the Third Reich, not in that classicist treasure box in which Count Volpi's guest had encountered his double in 1934. Like the old building, the new one was to be designed by a Bavarian architect.<sup>15</sup> Professor Ernst Haiger from Munich, the 'Stadt der Bewegung' (City of the Movement), got the commission. In January 1938, the professor informed the general secretary of the Biennale that the Führer had approved his plans (this decision was not surprising, since he had faithfully followed the model of Paul Ludwig Troost, the ocean liner decorator). He closed his letter with a remark that beautifully linked economic and political considerations with esthetic expectations: "Since the costs of the construction will be covered by the German government, I am looking forward to a concession on your part in regard to the reshaping of the area in front of the building. It needs more symmetry."<sup>16</sup> In response, Commendatore Bazzoni asserted his proprietary rights. He agreed, however, to meet the Axis partner half way. One of the three trees that was in the way was cut down,



and Società Anonima Cementi Armati of Venice streamlined the pavilion according to the new Munich style in the record time of sixty-four days. The master architect described his work in a statement: "Tall and strong pillars of stone support the portico; above the entrance the national emblem of the Third Reich prepares us for the new spirit of German art."<sup>17</sup> A stonemason of the Società Anonima chiseled, in unadorned simple letters, the word GERMANIA into the entablature. In order to lend the interior a cool and solemn appearance, the drawing room parquet of the old Bavarian Pavilion was replaced with Chiampo mandorlato, a stone similar to Istrian marble. On November 2, 1938, the periodical of the Building Department of the Prussian Ministry of Finance gave the edifice an excellent review: "The setting in which the art of our German fatherland is presented abroad is not immaterial. The new German exhibition hall in Venice is not only an impressive and distinguished representation of the Third Reich, it also demonstrates how an artistically perfect environment can enhance the art works it houses."<sup>18</sup> A week after this review, the Jews of the Reich were given a crystal shower.

The Master of the Pubic Hair was granted first crack in the new state chapel in Venice. Adolf Ziegler had well earned this honor with his service at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich. Now, in the Giardini Pubblici, he proved his manhood again. His exhibition concept assigned the central role to the boss's two favorite artists.<sup>19</sup> In their work he recognized that "The unbeatable spirit of our people's race and the manifestations of a proud past have once again opened up the German soul."<sup>20</sup> Coyly waving a laurel twig, Arno Breker's Heroine and Her Decathlete companion did an impressive burlesque number as nude sentries (they had trained together at the 1936 Berlin Olympics). By comparison, Josef Thorak's tête-à-tête of Führer and Duce was rather chaste. Breker's ensemble, in fact, amounted to an exquisite foreplay for the next

date in Venice. In 1940, the first year of the war, Breker's bodybuilder demonstrated his Readiness. Already from the steps leading up to the portico, pilgrims could see through the open door, far away in the depth of the apse, the resplendent hunk drawing his sword, his eyes firmly turned toward the East (the master had put the last touches on the magnificent body just before the German invasion of Poland). It was a top performance. The creator was awarded the Grand Prix.

After this high point in Venice, Arno Breker distinguished himself with great bravery on the home front. With blind devotion to his supreme commander, he fought in his studio until the last drop of blood was shed. He was on special assignment. Meanwhile, smoke signals appeared in the sky—like those rising from incinerators (cleansing also occurred in Venice). And as far as one could see, the fields of honor were being fertilized. When, after twelve years, the time clocks of the Thousand Year Reich stopped and Breker's long-time patron went down ingloriously, there was only a brief pause for the tenacious fighter. Old comrades such as Maillol, Vlaminck, Céline, Cocteau, and Jean Marais, as well as Salvador Dali, Ezra Pound, and, of course, Winifred Wagner and Ernst Jünger, needed busts. However, new admirers from trade and industry also knocked on the door of his studio in Düsseldorf. There were even commissions from statesmen for the creator of the Party and the Armed Forces, two monumental action figures that had been guarding the entrance to the Reich Chancellery in Berlin until the end. Among the new clients were the Christian Democrats Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard. The easy-going father of the German Miracle sent the yapping pipsqueaks packing: "The rebuilding of a country requires not only economic efforts from a people but also reflection on its spiritual and cultural values. Arno Breker's artistic achievements have survived all kinds of political favors and resentments because of their unshakable foundation. An artist



like Breker, tolerant and unwavering, who works with a deep commitment to Christian ethics and the Good, needs no defense. Through his work Breker defends man's freedom and dignity in society."<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, the man who had made the deutsche mark roll lacked the art-world reputation necessary to shield the master from petulant grumbling. Art connoisseurs with impeccable credentials had to come forward. Peter Ludwig and Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza stepped in. As a sign of their admiration, they commissioned the victor of Venice to fashion their and their spouses' likenesses for eternity. Tastefully, the Baron proceeded in private. The chocolate master, however, as is his habit, did so in public. When the Ludwig-Museum was opened in Cologne he confided to *Der Spiegel*: "I think Breker is an interesting artist, a great portraitist. ... Certainly there is a penchant for conservatism around the world. I have followed Breker's work for quite a while. It was only a year and a half ago, however, that my wife and I decided to commission a portrait." The admirer of Cicciolina also offered an art-theoretical aperçu: "Post-modern, what else does that mean other than being traditional?"<sup>22</sup> A week after the 1993 Biennale opening, an exhibition with the title 'LudwigsLust – Die Sammlung Irene und Peter Ludwig' is to be inaugurated in Nuremberg at the Germanic National Museum. To get the visitors in the right mood, the collectors will be introduced to them through portraits by Andy Warhol, Bernhard Heisig, Jean-Olivier Nuccleux, and Arno Breker.<sup>23</sup>

In 1993, as always, Venice is worth a visit. The art world's logistical strategists booked hotels as early as Christmas for the big days of the Biennale opening in June. Travel agencies with an intimate knowledge of the industry's needs have prepared informational pamphlets and are offering personalized service. The Danieli, a hangout of art stars, is making this pitch: "Over the past five years almost all rooms have been renovated in the CIGA Empire

style. The spacious rooms have muted color schemes and luxurious marble bathrooms."<sup>24</sup> Old hands in the hotel industry remember CIGA Empire as the favored style of Count Volpi's hotel chain. For people with more exquisite taste there is the Cipriani, on the Giudecca: "It is noteworthy for its exceptional comfort, amenities, personalized service, secure surroundings, and refined taste."<sup>25</sup> The secure surroundings of the Cipriani are not emphasized without reason: for decades the bohemians of the art world stayed around the corner at the Casa Frolo. The establishment also knows how to fend off overtures from the working-class residents of the Giudecca. In fact, the Cipriani, with its refined taste and tight security, has proven itself an ideal pied-à-terre for the World Economic Forum. If need be, the American Sixth Fleet can interpose itself between the Giardini Pubblici and the hotel, with its concern for an atmosphere of total relaxation and privacy for intimate business transactions. During the time of the Biennale opening, a double superior room is available for 690,000 lire (approximately \$435). An additional value-added tax of nineteen percent is charged. However, given the deterioration of the Italian currency, the tax will be of little significance for foreign clients. The Cipriani name is a guarantee of good company in other ways as well. Since preparations for the 1993 Biennale have entered their final stretch, Harry Cipriani is commemorating Ernest Hemingway, who was his father's loyal drinking buddy. His own bottom-line, double-page advertisements: "I think that having the American Express® Card, the world becomes smaller"<sup>26</sup> (years ago American Express had already contributed to the Mystic Lamb in Ghent). Deutsches Reisebüro is encouraging its clients to think of intimate settings, too: "How about an exquisite dinner for two at Antico Martini's or at Harry's famous bar?"<sup>27</sup>

The desire for a global love-in was present at the birth of the Biennale. It still brings masses of visitors to Venice one hundred years later. Riccardo



Selvatico, an author of comedies and mayor from 1890 to 1895, together with local artist friends, invented the Biennale as an international sales exhibition.<sup>28</sup> In his appeal to German artists for participation, he declared: "The city council of Venice decided to establish this art exhibition because it is convinced that art is indeed one of the most valuable elements of civilization and that it represents an unprejudiced act of the spirit as much as the brotherly union of all peoples."<sup>29</sup> Thanks to excellent publicity, 224,000 visitors came to the first Biennale. There were also sales.<sup>30</sup> Selvatico, the good soul, was replaced by a clerical-conservative coalition, of which the first general secretary of the Biennale, Antonio Fradeletto, was an active member. He was a traditionalist art historian at the University Ca' Pesaro in Venice. Under his aegis the exhibition developed as an event to benefit the local restaurant and hotel industry and as an asset in the development plans of the Venetian establishment. As is customary with World Fairs and the Olympic Games, in Venice local investment policy and the insatiable desire for national representation happily joined forces in an ideologically saturated arena.

The Biennale troops traditionally pass their busy days at the Paradiso or the Florian on the Piazza San Marco and continue into the wee hours at Harry's. In case of doubt, the bills are processed as tax-deductible business expenses. However, the excursion to Venice does not just satisfy everybody's understandable need for relaxation and disinterested pleasure. The traders, producers, buyers, and cultural officials, the press and the hangers-on, all flock to the Venetian get-together to spy ("information is power"), to develop and push opinions, and, of course, to nurture old and establish new friendships and business connections. What is at stake isn't chicken shit. The Venetian gift for comedy in marrying big money with sublime art challenges today's jet-set actors to rival the model of 'La Serenissima' with contemporary versions of

intimacy, chutzpah, and nonchalance. Honi soit qui mal y pense. A few days after the abandon of the carnival in Venice, the show moves on to the hard sell of the Basel Art Fair, and, depending on one's taste, it could end in Nuremberg with 'LudwigsLust.' One would underestimate the Biennale (held on a site where Napoleon razed a monastery two-hundred years ago to make room for a park) if one were to believe that it is only concerned with development aid for Venice and dividing up the secular shares of the art market. Philip Morris, at least, was not fooled when the giant consumer-goods corporation sponsored the American Pavilion of Isamu Noguchi in 1986. The Marlboro cowboys couldn't care less whether Noguchi's prices would go up. Living in the saddle all their lives, they understood one thing: "It takes art to make a company great."<sup>31</sup> One might be tempted to assume that the weather-beaten fellows with big hats were thinking of paintings of their horses, or of fiery sunsets behind the Rockies. No, they are used to more powerful stuff. They aim at the big showplaces for "high art" around the world. One can surmise what they are looking for from the jargon with which such behavior is analyzed in a book published by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ, a conservative German newspaper): "Sponsoring has three central communications goals: recognition, attitudes, and the promotion of good relations." What matters is that "the positive image of the sponsored is transferred to the sponsor (image transfer)." FAZ-summary: "Sponsoring is an opportunity to cultivate relations with selected big clients, trading partners, opinion makers, and opinion multipliers in an attractive setting."<sup>32</sup> The oil men from Mobil are more direct. They call it "Art, for the sake of business." For those who are a bit dense they elaborate: "What's in it for us—or for 'your' company? 'Improving—and securing—the business climate.'"<sup>33</sup> In plain English this means low taxes; favorable regulations in the areas of commerce, public health, and the environment; governmental export assis-



tance, irrespective of the nature of the products and the politics of the country of destination; and a defense against criticism of the sponsor's conduct. For example, behind the smokescreen of art, it is easier for the 'Wehrwirtschaftsführer' (Leaders of the Defense Industry, in the terminology of the Third Reich) of Daimler-Benz to rid themselves elegantly of pesky reporters inquiring about the company's chumminess with Saddam Hussein and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Alain-Dominique Perrin, the boss of the Cartier bauble shop in Paris, once described this mechanism in exquisite, amorous terms: "Sponsoring art is not only a fantastic communications tool. It is much more than that. It is a tool for the seduction of public opinion."<sup>34</sup> The best part is that the seduced are allowed to pay for the aphrodisiac expenses incurred in their seduction—they are tax deductible. The cowboys with their cancer sticks simply followed their innate country smarts when they decided to take Noguchi for a ride. "Culture is in fashion. All the better. As long as it lasts, we should use it," applauds the gentleman from the Place Vendôme<sup>35</sup> (apparently he is aware of the impermanence of the high entertainment value culture enjoys at the moment).

According to Thomas Wegner, who staged a fair of electronic consumer products (MEDIALE) laced with art in the 1993 cyberspace of Hamburg, "art events of the scale of Documenta or the Biennale are modern myths."<sup>36</sup> Public-relations experts and their marketing colleagues have gleefully discovered that, of late, the prestige and symbolic power of these and comparable mythical art institutions are at their disposal. Art still exudes the odor of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, an unbeatable opportunity for image transfer. Because they are not suspected of serving worldly interests, the Good, the True, and the Beautiful (GTB) represent enormous symbolic capital, even though this cannot be put into numbers.<sup>37</sup> In his Biennale call, the mayor-comedy writer Riccardo Selvatico had

declared that "art is one of the most valuable elements of civilization," and that it represents "an unprejudiced act of the spirit."<sup>38</sup> Managers do not need to worry about what this may mean, as long as their target groups believe in immaculate conception, and no mass lay-offs are in the offing. While Casanova—that great Venetian expert—has taught them that not just anything is suitable for the enterprise of seduction, they can rely on the art institutions to choose the appropriate means. We know from Philippe de Montebello, unquestionably a connoisseur of the milieu, how the internal control mechanism of sponsorship works: "It's an inherent, insidious, hidden form of censorship."<sup>39</sup> GTB not only serves as a lubricant and constitutes exchange value in art markets. The Good, the True, and the Beautiful are empty terms, ready to be filled by any number of different contents. It is therefore not surprising that fierce arguments have always raged among producers and traders, as well as in the warehouses, over the dominance of this or that ingredient. And not only there. When it comes to the definition of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, more is at stake than parochial politicians of the art world sometimes imagine.

Determining language is ideological and political management—to be sampled also in what has filled the pavilions of the Biennale over the past hundred years.

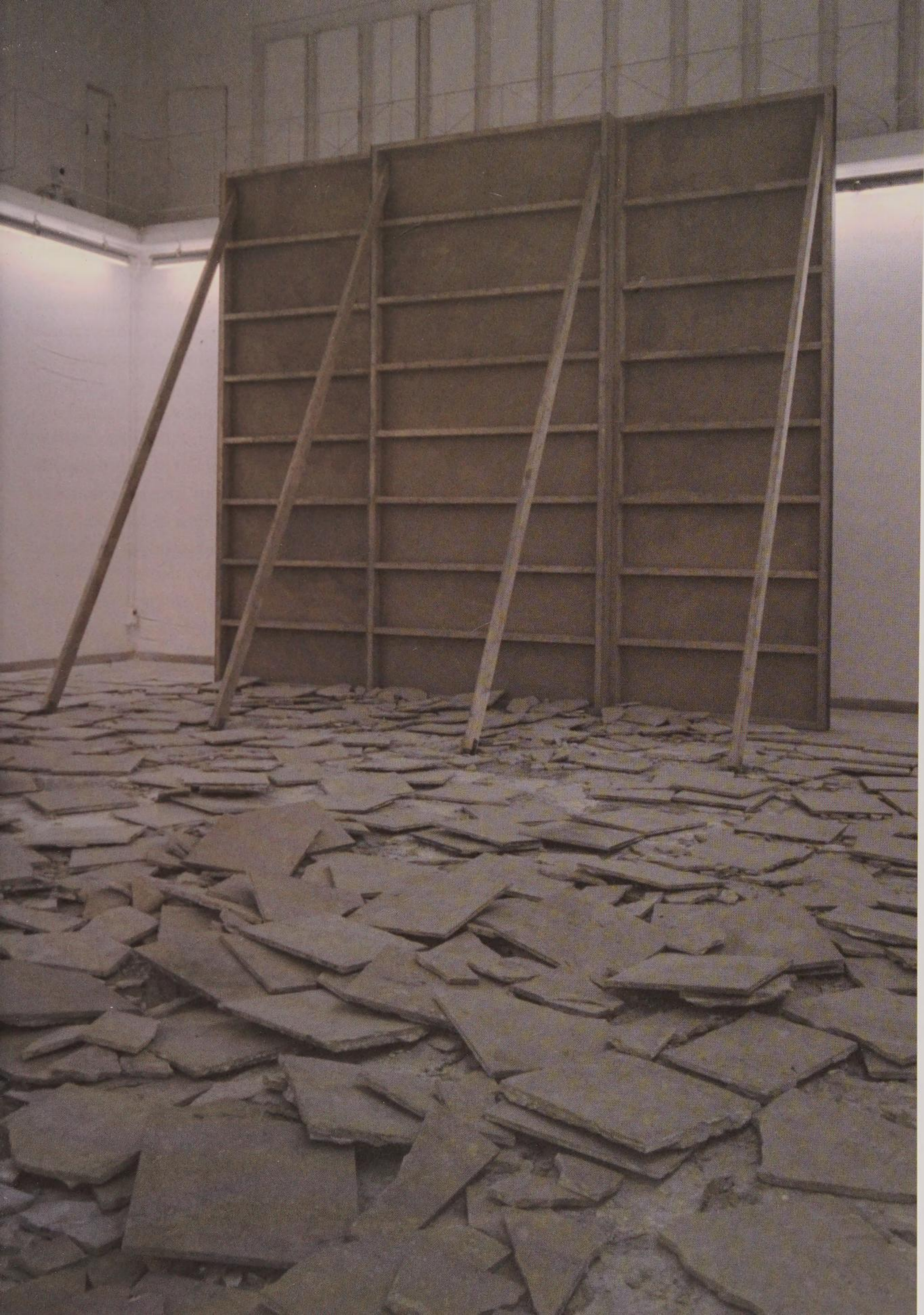
On October 3, 1786, Goethe wrote in his diary about his visit to the Chiesa dei Gesuati at Zattere, in Venice: "Gesuati, a true Jesuit church. Merry paintings by Tiepolo. On sections of the ceiling, one can see more of the lovely saints than their thighs, if my perspective does not fool me."<sup>40</sup>

New York, 1993



- 1 Gustav W. Eberlein, 'Venedig feiert Hitler,' Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Zentralorgan für die Reichshauptstadt 278, 15 June 1934, I.
- 2 Gustav Eberlein, 'Venedigs große Tage,' Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Zentralorgan für die Reichshauptstadt 279, 16 June 1934, I.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 'Der Vorbeimarsch der Giovani Fascisti,' Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Zentralorgan für die Reichshauptstadt 279, 16 June 1934.
- 5 'Faschistenparade vor Hitler,' Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Zentralorgan für die Reichshauptstadt 279, 16 June 1934.
- 6 Sergio Romano, Giuseppe Volpi et l'Italie moderne: Finance, industrie et l'état de l'ère giolittienne à la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, trans. Sophie Gherardi (1979), reprint École Française de Rome, 1982. See also Rolf Petri, 'Industriestadt im Zugriff des großen Geldes,' in Venedig: Ein politisches Reisebuch, ed. Rolf Petri (Hamburg: 1986), 113-17; Maurizio Reberschak, 'Faschismus, Antifaschismus, Widerstand,' in *ibid.*, 118-31; Mario Isneghi, 'Die Biennale: Väter und Söhne,' in *ibid.*, 195-211; and Rolf Petri, 'Disneyland in der Lagune: Tourismus als Selbstentfremdung,' in *ibid.*, 213-21.
- 7 See Hans Haacke, Manet-PROJEKT'74, first exhibited at Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne, 1974. Facsimile reproduction pp. 177-22, and in Hans Haacke, Framing and Being Framed (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; New York: New York University Press, 1975), 69-94; also in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York and Cambridge: New Museum of Contemporary Art and M.I.T. Press, 1986), and other exhibition catalogues.
- 8 Annette Lagler, Biennale Venedig: Der deutsche Beitrag und seine Theorie in der Chronologie von Zusammenkunft und Abgrenzung, dissertation, Technische Hochschule, Aachen, 1991, 169-79. See also 'La visita di Hitler alla XIX Biennale,' *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 16 June 1934, 10-11; 'Hitler alla Biennale,' *Tevere* (Rome), 16 June 1934; 'La visita di Hitler alla Biennale,' *Gazzetta del Popolo* (Turin), 16 June 1934; "Besuch der Kunstausstellung 'Biennale,'" *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin) 167, 16 June 1934, I.
- 9 'Aus der italienischen Presse,' *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 16 June 1934, 1.
- 10 Martin Heidegger, cited in Jürgen Habermas, *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 187.
- 11 Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche*, vol. 2 (Pfullingen, 1961), 313.
- 12 Hans Jürgen Syberberg, *Vom Unglück und Glück der Kunst in Deutschland nach dem letzten Kriege* (Munich: Matthes & Seitz, 1990).
- 13 Adolf Hitler, speech at Reichsparteitag 1935, cited in Stephanie Barron, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 386.
- 14 'Inszenierung der Macht: Herbert Bayer, Kataloggestaltung,' in *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus*, ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin: NGBK, 1978), 286-97. See also Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, 'From Factura to Factography,' *October* 30 (Fall 1984): 80-119.
- 15 Annette Lagler, *Biennale Venedig*, 118f., 179f.
- 16 Letter of Ernst Haiger to Comm. Bazzoni, General Secretary of the Biennale, 10 January 1938, *Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee, La Biennale di Venezia, Venice*.
- 17 Ernst Haiger, 'Der neue deutsche Ausstellungsbau der Biennale in Venedig,' type-written manuscript, 19 April 1938, *Archivio storico delle arti contemporanee, La Biennale di Venezia, Venice*.
- 18 G., 'Das deutsche Kunstausstellungsgebäude in Venedig,' in *Prussian Ministry of Finance*, ed., *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung, vereinigt mit Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* (Berlin) 58, 2 November 1938, 1192-95.
- 19 Annette Lagler, *Biennale Venedig*, 182-88.
- 20 Adolf Ziegler, *XXI Biennale di Venezia*, exh. cat. (1938), 257.
- 21 Ludwig Erhard, 1974, in *Form und Schönheit* (Salzburg: Salzburger Kulturvereinigung, 1978), 15; cited in Siegfried Salzmann, 'Der Fall Breker.' *Im Namen des Volkes: Das 'gesunde Volksempfinden' als Kunstmaßstab*, exh. cat. (Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1979), 160.
- 22 Jürgen Hohmeyer, 'Breker wird zur Seite gedrückt,' *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), 1 September 1986.
- 23 *Presse-Infonation* (3), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, July 1992.
- 24 'Biennale Venice 1993,' promotional flier, Humbert Travel Agency, Inc., New York, 1993.
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 American Express, double-page advertisement in *Art News* (April 1993): 5-6; also in *New York Times Magazine*, 7 March 1993, 8-9.
- 27 *DER Tour: Städtereisen*, Deutsches Reisebüro GmbH, Frankfurt, 1992.
- 28 Mario Isneghi, 'Die Biennale: Väter und Söhne,' 195-211.
- 29 Cited in Annette Lagler, *Biennale Venedig*, 20.
- 30 Mario Isneghi, 'Die Biennale: Väter und Söhne,' 195-211.
- 31 Philip Morris slogan on double-page ads in the American press announcing art events sponsored by the company during the 1970s and 1980s.
- 32 Manfred Bruhn, *Sponsoring: Unternehmen als Mäzene und Sponsoren* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), 87.
- 33 'Art for the sake of business,' Mobil Corporation advertisement, *New York Times*, 10 October 1985.
- 34 Alain-Dominique Perrin, 'Le Mécénat français: La fin d'un préjugé,' interview by Sandra d'Aboville, *Galleries Magazine* 15 (October-November 1986): 74.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 36 Thomas Wegner, 'Bei der MEDIALE gehen Markenartikel und Kultur eine Ehe in getrennten Schlafzimmern ein' (At MEDIALE, brand-name consumer goods are joined in a marriage with separate bedrooms), interview, *Prinz-Stadt-Monitor* (Bochum) (February 1993): 15.
- 37 The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has contributed much to the understanding of 'symbolic power' and 'symbolic capital.'
- 38 Cited in Annette Lagler, *Biennale Venedig*, 20.
- 39 Cited in 'A Word from our Sponsor,' *Newsweek*, 25 November 1985, 98.
- 40 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Tagebuch der Italienischen Reise 1786: Notizen und Briefe aus Italien mit Skizzen und Zeichnungen des Autors*, ed. Christoph Michel (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1976), 114.







## "To Whom Do the People Belong?"

### Replies by Hans Haacke to Questions from Matthias Flügge and Michael Freitag

Matthias Flügge/Michael Freitag: Since the Bundestag's advisory committee on art has approved your project the first objections are being raised, now quite clearly, above all by the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Social Union. Are you surprised?

Hans Haacke: During my lifetime I've been surprised by all sorts of things. I'm trying to break the habit.

M. F./M. F.: What's your opinion of the hypothesis that it is not the democratic and integrative impetus of your work that has provoked the opposition of several members of parliament but rather the request that they take part in a symbolic action. In other words, that members of parliament who perhaps may be entirely in agreement with you politically would be forced, as it were, by the active participation expected of them, to align with an understanding of art that does not coincide at all with their aesthetic experience.

H. H.: By accepting the invitation to bring soil from their own electoral districts to Berlin and mix it with the soil of their colleagues, the members of parliament are not aligning themselves with any given understanding of art whatsoever. It goes without saying, by the way, that I neither can nor wish to force anyone to participate. The social symbolism of such an action, which is associated with equality and concerted action, is older and presumably has different motives than the symbolism of related artistic practices of the twentieth century (in my own artistic practice there are precursors that date back to the 1960s). Historians and anthropologists surely would have something to say to that. The participatory undertaking leads to a process of growth full of surprises and lacking any regulation. As for the practical matters: I would supply the members of parliament with two fifty-kilo sacks in which to transport the soil, which then, like the other things they bring from their

electoral districts, can easily be taken to Berlin by a trucking company, as airline baggage, or in their own automobiles. It would do no harm to the symbolism if the members of parliament left the scattering of the soil around the dedication TO THE POPULATION to the building personnel and chose not to attend the photo op. I could imagine that voters might discuss the location within their district, which should provide their symbolic presence in the parliament building. The action was supposed to be fun and not be perceived as a compulsory exercise.

M. F./M. F.: Your proposal to dedicate your work 'To the population' and not 'To the German people' is confusing at first, since the root of the word **population** is still 'people.' You have criticized the National Socialist aspect of the slogan 'To the German people' as well as the concept of the people in general and its associations with xenophobia, the 'Volkspolizei' (East German police), and the 'Volksturm' (National Socialist militia). The question arises whether the German 'Volk,' to whom the work is addressed after all, even if they represent more than the German people, is in fact a word purely negative in its connotations, even if it does appear in other compounds like 'Volksschule' (primary and secondary school), 'Volksbefragung' (referendum), and 'Volksdichtung' (folk literature) as well as 'Völkerrecht' (international law) and 'Volksvertreter' (representatives of the people). Don't the words themselves have just as ambivalent a history as their use? How do you regard the historical aspect of your contribution?

H. H.: Naturally the word people is behind the word population. I also cite the lettering that Peter Behrens designed for the facade. That is the only way to bring out both the relationship and, at the same time, the essential difference between the two terms.

The idea of the people has an ambivalent history. In 1789 it was the *peuple français* who stormed the Bastille and proclaimed the Republic. It was pre-



cisely this suggestion of the revolution that led Wilhelm II to block for twenty-one years the dedication for the Reichstag that Paul Wallot had intended. Not until 1915, when the enthusiasm for war games was at risk of waning, did he change his mind. Then he had two cannons that had been captured during the Napoleonic Wars melted down to use for the unloved inscription. The strengthening of the home front he sought made it worthwhile to him. Wallot's projected tribute to the users of his hulking Wilhelmine building had been transformed during the Great War at the turn of the century into a martial slogan.

Two sons of the bronze casters who produced the letters for the dedication TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE in 1916 were murdered—one in Plötzensee, the other in Auschwitz. One hundred and thirteen members of parliament were denied the right to belong to the German people. Seventy-five of them were arrested, and eight committed suicide. Apart from the information specific to this site, it is surely unnecessary to recapitulate here the well-known, terrible consequences of the National Socialist *völkisch* interpretation of the word *Volk*.

In his essay "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," Bertolt Brecht wrote in exile in 1935: "In our times anyone who says population in place of people or race ... is by that simple act withdrawing his support from a great many lies." Brecht also had a relevant comment on June 17, 1953. He proposed to the authorities of the German Democratic Republic, who had gambled away their proclaimed identification with the tradition of the people in class struggle, that they dissolve the people and elect another. Foolishly, they did not follow this advice. The people—in the sense of the French Revolution—fired them without notice in autumn 1989. On the tenth anniversary of that event, a triumphant and at the same time melancholy banner on Berlin's Alexanderplatz announced: "We were the people."

So German history certainly provides examples of the concept of the people in the emancipatory tra-

dition of 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.' That explains words like *Volksvertreter*, *Volksbühne* (People's Theater), *Volksschule*, and so on. At the same time, however, the concept of the people—especially in the phrase 'the German people,' which implies a mythical, exclusive tribal unity—is associated with a radically undemocratic understanding of the *res publica*. It is this notion of racial purity, which became dubious at the very latest with the invasion of the Romans, that prepared the way for the crimes of the 'Volksgenossen' (national comrades). And it is this concept of the people as a community related by blood that wreaks havoc even today, as electoral results and racist acts of violence demonstrate.

Article 3 of Germany's Basic Law reads: "All persons shall be equal before the law. ... No person shall be favored or disfavored because of sex, parentage, race, language, homeland and origin, faith, or religious or political opinions." This article specifically applies to 'all persons,' not, for example, to members of a people as defined by race, passport, or any other means. Unfortunately, despite the Basic Law and despite the commitment of countless people and institutions, even today we cannot yet speak of general liberty, equality, and fraternity in everyday life.

M. F./M. F.: Do you believe that it is possible to change the collective consciousness in crucial ways by critiquing the language of historically influenced forms?

H. H.: Of course, that's not enough. However, drawing attention to the historical dimension of this ill-fated inscription at the seat of the highest constitutional body of the Federal Republic could serve as a socially significant signal.

M. F./M. F.: Is the accumulation of symbol-laden (almost archetypical) terms and associations in your work—such as 'soil share' in a 'wooden trough' in the 'northern light well' of the 'Reichstag'—not already an overloading by which you counteract the easy, procedural aspect of the idea of growth, which is, after all,



for variety, openness, and the democratic development of equals.

H. H.: I use the word Reichstag, following the practice of the historian Michael S. Cullen in his book of that name, only with reference to the history of the building. Otherwise I always speak of the Reichstag building. The 'northern light well' is a geographical description that is used by the Bundesbaugesellschaft, which is responsible for the building. There is also a southern light well, in which Ulrich Rückriem has installed a work. The outer walls of the projected vegetation area are made of robinia wood, which over time will oxidize and turn gray. I do not understand why this material—which is recommended by companies that design roof gardens, is durable, and requires no care—could counteract the "easy, procedural aspect of the idea of growth." And as far as the 'soil share' is concerned: it refers to the share of the total volume of soil in the wooden trough that each member of parliament contributes. It too, in my opinion, is a descriptive term and not a symbolic one.

M. F./M. F.: Currently in Germany there is a vehement debate over how to deal with relics of the Nazi era. In the offices of the Bundestag in Berlin, swastikas were found above the door lintels; in Nuremberg there was a symposium on the question of how to deal with National Socialism sites as museums when they preserve their architectural rhetoric. Isn't it necessary to learn how to come to terms with the provocations of a detested legacy by provoking engagement with these provocations? Should your work be understood in this way as well? And could the question of whether it would be better to abolish a term like 'people' perhaps be misunderstood as a position that prefers to avoid such provocations?

H. H.: When I was asked in 1993 at the Venice Biennale whether the German Pavilion, which had been remodeled by Hitler, should be torn down, I replied that you cannot do away with German history that way. Wallot's inscription TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE belongs to the Reichstag building just as

much as the graffiti of Soviet troops. We should, however, without reserve come to terms with the fatal historic aura that now clings to what was once intended as an emancipatory dedication and clarify the ways in which we do not want it to be understood today. And looking forward, it would presumably be good to give expression to the changed social situation in Germany. I attempt to do both with my Brecht-inspired dedication TO THE POPULATION.

1999





Construction Site Reichstag Building, 1999



## The Guggenheim Museum: A Business Plan

When doing a Google search of the keyword “Guggenheim Museum,” I came across a German article. I inadvertently clicked the link for an automatically translated English version. Beginning to read, I wondered whether this was indeed an article on the Guggenheim Museum because, repeatedly, a Mr. Measurer was referred to. Then it dawned on me that the program had given me a translation of the name of a person I had once met, Thomas Messer, the director of the Guggenheim from 1961 to 1988. German-English dictionaries translate the common German word Messer normally as ‘knife.’ In the early 1970s, Mr. Messer was often alluded to as ‘Mack the Knife.’ The clever translating program had related his name instead to the German verb messen, to measure. He had thus turned into someone who measures and, acting on the results of this exacting occupation, takes measures—by implication then, a person who upholds standards and is at the cutting edge. What better way to characterize the predecessor of Thomas Krens, who has been Guggenheim director since 1988.

In many respects, Thomas Messer was a trailblazer for Thomas Krens. One of the last major endeavors under his aegis was an exhibition of Andy Warhol’s ‘cars’, a series the artist executed shortly before his death. It was a commission of portraits of Daimler-Benz automobiles from the company’s first motorized vehicle made in 1886 to a test vehicle from 1970. The chairman of Daimler-Benz at the time, Edzard Reuter, closed his preface to the exhibition catalogue by aptly noting “A company’s encounter with an artist is as complex as the perfect presentation of perfect products.”<sup>1</sup> In a seconding statement the museum director paid tribute “to an artist whose achievement is based upon an extraordinarily acute sense of the signs of the time.”<sup>2</sup> He added: “Appropriately, the exhibition is sponsored by Mercedes-Benz. ...”

By the 1980s Thomas Messer—like Andy Warhol and Messer’s colleagues in other museums—indeed had “an extraordinarily acute sense of the signs of

the time.” In a flier, the Metropolitan Museum of Philippe de Montebello had offered a hard-nosed business rationale for the corporate sponsors it was wooing: “Many public relations opportunities are available through the sponsorship of programs, special exhibitions and services. These can provide a creative and cost-effective answer to a specific marketing objective, particularly where international, governmental or consumer relations may be a fundamental concern.”<sup>3</sup> The flier had the telling title “The Business Behind Art Knows the Art of Good Business.”

Nevertheless, when Thomas Messer bailed out in 1988 after twenty-seven years, the Guggenheim Museum was facing serious financial problems. In an interview with the *New York Times* he gave his blessing to the forty-one-year-old Thomas Krens and assessed him as “an extraordinary young man of great equanimity, of tact, of force.”<sup>4</sup> Attributing tact to the young man was perhaps a bit too generous. Less than ten years later, in 1996, Elaine Dannheisser quit the Guggenheim Board in a huff: “Tom Krens is very arrogant, and his rudeness was just too much to take,” she complained<sup>5</sup>—and took her collection of contemporary art to the Museum of Modern Art.

But Thomas Messer was right in other respects when he praised the budding director’s “force” and his “international propensity.”<sup>6</sup> Krens’s boast at the time of his appointment, that the Guggenheim “is the one museum in New York City that is a specialist in international outlook,” followed a cool business logic: “I think there’s tremendous future potential in that.”<sup>7</sup> From the beginning, global expansion was an essential part of his game plan. Peggy Guggenheim had been persuaded by Messer in 1976 to bequeath her collection and her Venetian Palazzo to her late uncle’s Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation in New York.<sup>8</sup> It significantly boosted the equity that Thomas Krens was about to wager in his global designs.

During his undergraduate years he had majored in

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political economics and had later earned a master's degree in studio art from the State University of New York at Albany. While teaching as an adjunct professor at Williams College in the 1980s, he went for a second master's degree—this one from Yale's School of Management. He won praise from one of his Yale professors, Martin Shubik, an expert in Mathematical Institutional Economics and author of *Game Theory in the Social Sciences*. When asked about his student, Shubik said: "Without exaggeration, I can say that Tom has the mantle of P. T. Barnum on his shoulders, and I regard Barnum as a very serious fellow. Tom is probably the greatest seducer in the business"<sup>9</sup>.

Krens did not succeed in seducing the trustees of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art to appoint him director of their institution. "We were scared to death by all his talk of flow charts and spreadsheets and computers and strategies. He never mentioned a work of art once," the *New Yorker* quoted one of the trustees.<sup>10</sup> The Guggenheim trustees, however, were not frightened by his management lingo. Facing the task of tackling the financial disaster they had been presiding over, they were eager to be seduced by a full-blooded go-getter with a business plan. The culture of the Guggenheim board, headed for decades by Peter O. Lawson-Johnston, was quite compatible with Krens's outlook. Lawson-Johnston is a son of Barbara Guggenheim. Still today he is involved with the significant mining interests that the branch of the Guggenheim family to which he belongs has held around the world (in U.S. relations with Chile during the Allende/Pinochet years, its El Teniente copper mine in the Andean country played a critical role). His political leanings may be deduced from his being a director of William S. Buckley's conservative journal *National Review*.

The Guggenheim Board had signed up a gambler. There is some doubt today whether the disciple of a Yale economic game theorist was, in fact, a good bet. It is only fitting that Krens eventually opened

not only one but two Guggenheim branches at a casino in Las Vegas in 2001, one of which closed after eighteen months and just one exhibition. As the saying goes: you win some, you lose some. A year after his appointment, Krens wanted to demonstrate to the world that, in spite of his lack of curatorial experience, he was qualified to mount an exhibition filling Frank Lloyd Wright's spectacular automobile-salon-turned-museum. The neophyte's 1989 'Refigured Painting: The New German Image, 1960-1988,' however, did not gather kind reviews. Krens had to write it off as a loss. Perhaps he had been too absorbed—as he would be many times later—by building and expansion projects: the renovation and the addition of a boxy wing to the spiral of the uptown museum and the opening of a new branch in SoHo, designed by Arata Isozaki. With a sense of measure for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Foundation's limited resources, Thomas Messer had prepared a far more modest plan than his successor. A \$54.9 million bond issue in 1990 was to finance Krens's more ambitious ventures.<sup>11</sup> Its debt service has been plaguing the museum ever since. It has, in fact, governed Thomas Krens's peripatetic scouring the globe for rescue from what, in economic terms, has turned out to be his original sin. In 2002 his expense account was larger than that of the director of the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>12</sup>

The construction project by Gwathmey Siegel & Associates was to take eighteen months and cost \$40.3 million. It lasted twenty-six months and with a cost of \$57.9 million went over budget by \$17.7 million. The SoHo branch had a cost overrun of \$4.6 million. In 1994, four years after the bond issue, the museum faced annual interest and principle payments of over \$6.5 million.<sup>13</sup> And by 1993 the \$10.5 million operating budget of 1988 had risen to a projected \$23 million.<sup>14</sup>

The museum was closed during construction for about two years. As a consequence, it derived no income from entrance fees, retail sales, or the



rental of its spaces. When the SoHo branch opened in 1992 (behind schedule), to reach the galleries one had to traverse a museum gift shop that occupied almost the entire ground floor. The Guggenheim had commissioned and marketed a great number of objects made in the style of works in its collection: ties, shopping bags, scarves, mobiles, dolls, and a variety of knick-knacks, most of them hardly in line with the museum's declared mission to educate and promote excellence. A grandson of Joan Miró put an end to selling derivatives of his grandfather's images.

In a 1994 *Art News* article that quoted in its title a deputy director of the museum saying "It's Tight Right Now," Robin Cembalest reported that several exhibitions had to be cancelled or postponed—sourcing relations with cooperating institutions—and that the museum cut ten percent of its staff and fired all of its librarians.<sup>15</sup> Krens asked his remaining staff to become engaged in a drive to increase museum membership. Ruefully he declared: "I'd rather that the museum was only about art. But that's the situation that doesn't exist. So therefore we have to do whatever we can to maximize our revenues."<sup>16</sup>

In 1990, at the time of his building spree, the Guggenheim director acquired the collection of three hundred Minimal and Conceptual works of Count Giuseppe Panza di Biumo for a reported \$30 million in a gift-purchase.<sup>17</sup> He raised the funds for this purchase by selling at Sotheby's a Chagall, a Modigliani, and an important Kandinsky for \$47.3 million.<sup>18</sup> Again in 1999 and 2000, \$15 million worth of artworks were de-accessioned and \$10.1 million was deposited in a restricted fund of the museum's endowment. The Association of Art Museum Directors asked the Guggenheim to explain this move in light of the AAMD's code of ethics, which prohibits income from the sale of artworks to be used for anything other than the acquisition of other works. The Guggenheim's deposit in a newly created restricted art fund helped the museum to

meet a critical requirement of the letter of credit stating the terms and conditions for securing its bonds. The letter, since 1997 with WestLB, stipulated that by June 2001 the Museum's endowment be worth at least \$35 million and that it was to be increased thereafter to \$52 million.<sup>19</sup> The original bond issue in 1990 did not provide for the collection to serve as collateral. However, over the years, suspicions repeatedly arose that in case of default there does exist an indirect link. The AAMD is now raising this question again. It is the first time that the association has investigated a member.

In the early nineties, Krens brought new moneyed members to the Board of Trustees. Real-estate developer Samuel J. LeFrak made a gift of \$10 million. His expectation that the LeFrak name appear on the facade of the museum together with that of Solomon R. Guggenheim was thwarted by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.<sup>20</sup> Instead, level five of the rotunda and annex are now called "The Honorable Samuel J. and Ethel LeFrak Galleries and Sculpture Terrace." The billionaire Ronald O. Perelman also gave \$10 million and became president of the Board in 1995, succeeding Peter O. Lawson-Johnston, who had been president since 1969. As the man behind Revlon, Perelman, next to the two Lauder brothers, is the third cosmetics executive at the top of boards of trustees of major New York museums. Ronald Perelman's buy-out artistry as chairman and CEO of a diversified holding company with investments in consumer products, entertainment, and financial services got him frequently into the news. But he also got coverage for his generosity to both Democrats and Republicans,<sup>21</sup> for offering Monica Lewinsky a job at a critical time, and for a messy custody battle.<sup>22</sup> Articles in the *New York Times* about his shifting fortunes were often illustrated with photos in which he posed at the Guggenheim Museum. When he pledged an additional \$20 million in 1998, the ground level of the rotunda was named for him. But he was trumped by Peter B. Lewis, head of the



Cleveland-based Progressive Corporation, one of the largest auto insurance companies in the United States. Lewis gave \$50 million, provided the Board would make him chairman, above Perelman. The Board looked at the figures. Peter Lewis became chairman and Perelman resigned.<sup>23</sup>

By the late 1980s, Thomas Krens had begun his high-stakes gamble on global expansion, which he hoped would shore up the museum's troubled finances. He had his eyes on Berlin's Martin-Gropius-Bau for a joint venture; however, to no avail. His plan for a Guggenheim branch in Salzburg, to be built by the Austrian architect Hans Hollein in a mountain, also did not come to fruition. Hollein's son worked with Krens in New York for a number of years and is now director of the Frankfurt Schirn Kunsthalle, succeeding Thomas Messer on the Main in that position. Like an early attempt to get a foothold in Moscow, adding the Dogana at the entrance to the Grand Canal in Venice to his empire did not pan out. Nor did the feelers he sent out to several cities in Spain lead to a breakthrough.

But, unexpectedly, in 1991, Thomas Krens landed a spectacular coup in Bilbao. It funded the \$100 million construction of a museum building by Frank Gehry, which was an adaptation of the architect's design for the Disney concert hall in Los Angeles, realized only much later. The Basques also made available \$50 million for new acquisitions and agreed to subsidize the museum's annual \$12 million budget. And they paid Krens \$20 million in cash up front.<sup>24</sup> The Guggenheim Museum, in turn, was to lend its brand name, works from its collection, and pass through Bilbao shows it had organized elsewhere. It was given complete control over programming and acquisitions for the Bilbao collection.

I was one of those who believed that in this deal the Basques could only lose and the Guggenheim could only win. Both parties were desperate. Once-prosperous Bilbao was crippled by the closing of

the steel plants of Altos Hornos de Vizcaya on the Nervión River and the demise of related industries and its formerly busy port. Compounding its economic plight was the reluctance of investors to risk their money in a region wracked by ETA violence. The Basques hoped that the importation of the Guggenheim Museum's cultural capital would promote urban development, give Bilbao a positive image, attract tourists from all over the world, and thus be a boon to the local service industry. It now appears that the Basque government had indeed made a profitable investment—thanks, no doubt, to the extraordinary attraction of the glittering structure of Frank Gehry that was parachuted into Bilbao. Whatever one may think about its suitability for the presentation of artworks and its ranking in the pantheon of architecture, it appears to perform the economic and the political purpose for which the Basque government spent considerable amounts of taxpayers' money. Philip Johnson's comment "When a building is as good as that one, fuck the art"<sup>25</sup> may be translated into the economic terms of today's culture and tourist industry: "If the money is right, fuck the art." Even though a Basque audit in 2001 discovered a construction cost overrun of \$16.5 million and alleged that the Guggenheim in New York had paid higher-than-market prices for its acquisition of artworks for Bilbao, the Basque government nevertheless planned to contribute another \$30 million for further acquisitions.<sup>26</sup> The appearance, internationally, of a big popular success also burnished the brand name of the New York mother, thus making her attractive for more suitors from around the world, whom she desperately craved. This may, for example, have been a reason behind Enron's sponsorship of Frank Gehry's retrospective at the New York flagship. The strategy of franchising the Guggenheim name and sending the collection on the road to bring in much-needed cash was given an important boost. Within a month of the Bilbao opening, a joint venture with the Deutsche Bank came to fruition in



Berlin. Krens had approached the bank a year earlier. He quickly came to an agreement with Hilmar Kopper, the bank's president since 1989 and now the chairman of its supervisory board. Both businessmen understood immediately the benefit each could derive from opening a Guggenheim branch in the bank's regional headquarters on the Unter den Linden. They fused the names of the two institutions, calling the franchise the Deutsche Guggenheim. The terms of the contract in Berlin remain a closely guarded secret. However, it is fair to assume that one of the largest banks of Europe made a worthwhile offer in exchange for the cultural veneer and the image of international sophistication associated with Frank Lloyd Wright's iconic Guggenheim Museum. Hilmar Kopper gave a convincing business rationale in an essay for the book *Das Guggenheim Prinzip: "Deutsche Guggenheim Berlin is an advertisement for Deutsche Bank's global expertise, quality, and innovative potential."*<sup>27</sup>

304 Kopper was equally frank when he explained in 1995, on the occasion of the Deutsche Bank's establishing a Foundation for Culture: "Whoever gives the money, controls."<sup>28</sup> In effect, he spoke for all corporate sponsors. As in Bilbao, Guggenheim-generated exhibitions pass through the Berlin branch. Because of a lack of funds in New York, some even originated at Unter den Linden. While Jeff Koons had supplied a ten-year-old flower puppy to Bilbao, for Berlin he produced a new series of images with the appropriate title *Easyfun - Ethereal* which, in Thomas Krens's words, "reflects deeply upon the complex concerns of Western culture."<sup>29</sup>

This evaluation of *Easyfun - Ethereal* and the attendant financial rewards may have been behind Krens's most spectacular curatorial endeavor, a 1998 exhibition with the ambitious title 'The Art of the Motorcycle.' It filled the entire rotunda and drew unprecedented crowds to the museum. It was a box-office hit. BMW was the sponsor of the extravaganza. In a press release the company

explained: "BMW's contribution to this exhibition ... goes far beyond the mere provision of objects—BMW is dedicated, rather, to the combination of art, culture and technology in the more general sense. For this exhibition corresponds perfectly to the Company's motivation and commitment to culture: BMW wants to make a contribution towards new perspectives of the works, towards a new perception of everything around us."<sup>30</sup>

In the same year, an earlier and ongoing relationship with the German-Italian men's fashion house Hugo Boss was complemented by a Gucci-sponsored event staged by Vanessa Beecroft with women. For two hours, fifteen female models showed off Tom Ford-designed Gucci rhinestone bikinis and high-heel shoes. An additional five models were stripped bare by their Beecroft even, wearing nothing but Gucci shoes.<sup>31</sup> In 2000 this baring of all had a full-dress sequel: 'Giorgio Armani,' curated by the Arte Povera expert and founding director of the Prada Foundation Germano Celant. The allegation that Armani's pledge of \$15 million to the Guggenheim had something to do with this venture is strenuously denied by the museum.<sup>32</sup> The show's official sponsor was *In Style* magazine, a Time Warner publication. The lavishly appointed fashion showroom on Fifth Avenue and later also that at the Guggenheim Bilbao were both designed by Robert Wilson, as were the halls of the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin when it played host to the roving Armani extravaganza.

'The Art of The Motorcycle' traveled, together with the Guggenheim Motorcycle Club, to Las Vegas. In 2001 they were the opening attraction in one of the two new Guggenheim branches at the Venetian Resort Hotel Casino. The Museum's director of communication, Ben Hartley, had fittingly clarified the museum's mission: "We are in the entertainment business and competing against other forms of entertainment out there."<sup>33</sup> The Hotel Casino had paid for the two Rem Koolhaas-designed museums, made other undisclosed contributions, and let the



Guggenheim share in the operating income—and the losses—at a 51-percent rate.<sup>34</sup> Accompanying the move to the gondoliers in Las Vegas, Krens had entered into two new partnerships with financially pressed European museums, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Their ostensible common purpose is to mount shows from their respective collections in Las Vegas, Bilbao, New York, and in Venice/Italy, occasionally sponsored by Deutsche Bank. In addition, Krens signed an agreement with the Hermitage for developing joint projects in St. Petersburg. Next to the Hermitage's director, Mikhail Piotrovsky, a key figure in this relationship is Vladimir O. Potanin, who was elected to the Guggenheim board in 2002. He is the board chairman at the Hermitage and also the chairman of the board of directors of a newly created Hermitage-Guggenheim Foundation. The inaugural exhibition of works from both museums in the Hotel Casino, 'Masterpieces and Master Collectors,' was sponsored by the Interros Holding Company of Russia, of which Vladimir Potanin happens to be the president. When Potanin was not yet forty years old, Forbes ranked him in 1998 as the wealthiest man in Russia and the 186th wealthiest in the world.<sup>35</sup> Many questions have been raised about how, in less than ten years of the privatization of state-owned properties, the young man amassed a fortune that was estimated in 2002 to be worth four percent of Russia's gross national product. Belonging to his Interros empire is Norilsk, the world's largest producer of nickel and palladium and a major producer of platinum, copper, cobalt, and gold, as well as large banking and media interests, including the national newspapers Izvestia and Komsomolskaya Pravda.<sup>36</sup> They are considered to have played a role in Boris Yeltzin's election. Perhaps observing the fate of his fellow oligarch Mikhail B. Khodorkovsky of Yukos, Potanin is currently viewed as discreetly supporting Vladimir Putin. His PR office made it known that he had donated one of four versions of Malevich's Black

Square to the Hermitage. His answer to a reporter's question about how much it costs to be a Guggenheim trustee was "\$2.5 million spread over five years."<sup>37</sup> If true, it would be a rather modest entrance fee.

By the end of 2002, in spite of the global maneuvering of many years, the Guggenheim house of cards was close to collapse. Krens had recklessly leveraged the museum's future. Again and again he had to dip into the endowment to cover operating expenses. Peter Lewis, the Guggenheim chairman, read Krens the riot act. He publicly humiliated Krens and threatened to fire him if he didn't shape up. Lewis accepted part of the blame as board chairman. In exchange for giving an additional \$12 million to pay outstanding bills and service the museum's debt, he demanded a drastic reduction of the budget to half of what it had been. Staff positions dropped from 391 to 181, major exhibitions were postponed, and hours were reduced.<sup>38</sup> In due course, the idea of another Gehry museum building in downtown New York was abandoned, as was an online commercial enterprise. Following the closing of the SoHo branch a year earlier, one of the two Las Vegas branches, the motorcycle showroom, was also shuttered.<sup>39</sup>

The Guggenheim Museum's trajectory is full of ironies, from Black Square via Red Square to Venice—real and fake—with deep mining, the murmur of "The Spiritual in Art," and the roar of a motorcycle gang in the background.<sup>40</sup>

There was a good deal of schadenfreude among the peers of the Guggenheim director. The adulating coverage he had enjoyed from the press earlier turned into sneering "we always knew it" commentary. However, boards of trustees and officials in charge of public monies still consider him a guide. Less flamboyantly than Krens but just as determinedly, many of his peers are expected to pursue similar strategies to turn cultural capital into monetary capital. Some museum administrators do so out of conviction. The effect on "the Good, the



True, and the Beautiful" to which they all have pledged their allegiance is either ignored or written off as collateral damage.

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- 1 Edzard Reuter in Andy Warhol: Cars, exh. cat. (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1988), 6.
- 2 Thomas Messer, in Andy Warhol: Cars, 7.
- 3 "The Business Behind Art Knows the Art of Good Business," leaflet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, mid-1980s, unpaginated.
- 4 "Guggenheim Names New Director," New York Times, 13 January 1988, C13.
- 5 Martin Filler, "Speaking Her Mind about Art, and Giving It," New York Times, 28 September 1997, Arts and Leisure section, 35.
- 6 "Guggenheim Names New Director."
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 In 1986 the Guggenheim Museum bought the American Pavilion of the Venice Biennial for \$30,000. Repeated attempts by the museum to determine the official exhibition program of the pavilion have run into strong resistance and have not succeeded.
- 9 Martin Filler, "The Museum Game," New Yorker, 17 April 2000, 96-105.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Andrew Decker, "Can the Guggenheim Pay the Price?" Art News (New York) (January 1994): 142-49.
- 12 2002 income tax return of Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, Schedule 13, Part V.
- 13 Andrew Decker, "Can the Guggenheim Pay the Price?"
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Robin Cembalest, "It's Tight Right Now," Art News (May 1994): 41.
- 16 Andrew Decker, "Can the Guggenheim Pay the Price?," 146.
- 17 Carol Vogel, "As Guggenheim Adjusts, Pinch Is Felt Elsewhere," New York Times, 24 February 1994, Arts and Leisure section, C16.
- 18 Robin Cembalest, "The Guggenheim's High-stakes Gamble," Art News (May 1992): 84-92.
- 19 Kelly Devine Thomas, "Following the Money," Art News (January 2004): 45-46. In 1998 the endowment reached \$52 million. Krens dipped into the endowment to cover operating expenses. It has shrunk to \$45 million. Carol Vogel, "Guggenheim Loses Top Donor in Rift on Spending and Vision," New York Times, 20 January 2005, A1, 21.
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- 21 Wayne Barrett, "The Man behind the Job," Village Voice, 3 February 1998, 37.
- 22 "Billionaire's Custody Hearing Must Be Open, Court Says," New York Times, 5 December 1998, B2.
- 23 Deborah Solomon, "Is the Go-Go Guggenheim Going, Going ...," New York Times Magazine, 30 June 2002, C36.
- 24 "The Basques Get Modern," New York Times, 24 June 1997, C1, 10.
- 25 Allan Schwartzman, "Art vs. Architecture," Architecture (December 1997): 56-59.
- 26 George Stolz, "The Guggenheim Gets Audited," Art News (May 2001): 98.
- 27 Hilmar Kopper, "1 + 1 = 3 : Das Deutsche Guggenheim Berlin," in Das Guggenheim Prinzip, ed. Hilmar Hoffmann (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1999), 56-67.
- 28 Hilmar Kopper, "Die Kultur und das Kapital," Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), 18 May 1995, 13.
- 29 [www.deutsche-bank-kunst.com/guggenheim/alt/english/info/krens](http://www.deutsche-bank-kunst.com/guggenheim/alt/english/info/krens)
- 30 "Presseinformation," BMW AG Munich, 20 November 1997.
- 31 Patricia Bickers, "Marriage à la Mode," Art Monthly (November 2002): 1-4.
- 32 Herbert Muschamp, "Where Ego Sashays In Style," New York Times, 20 October 2000, Arts and Leisure section, 29, 32.
- 33 Ralph Blumenthal, "Painting by Numbers: My Renoir Beats Your Vermeer," New York Times, 6 June 1999, Week in Review, 6.
- 34 Kelly Devine Thomas, "The Guggenheim Downsizes," Art News (February 2003): 100-105.
- 35 Centre of Russian Studies (NUPI), "New Forbes' assessment of the wealth of Russian tycoons," 26 June 1998. In its issue of 15 March 2004, Forbes ranked Potanin fourth among the richest Russians. Three oil tycoons had overtaken him. However, with \$4.9 billion to his name he moved up to position 85 in the list of the world's billionaires.
- 36 Sylvia Hochfield, "Oligarch at the Guggenheim," Art News (March 2002): 45. Raf Shakirov, the chief editor of Izvestia, was forced to resign on 6 September 2004, because he had published on the front page of the newspaper a harrowing photograph of a



man carrying a wounded child out of a school in Beslan that had been attacked by Chechen rebels. Seth Mydans, "Grief in Russia Mixes with Harsh Words for Government," *New York Times*, 7 September 2004, A3. In 2005 Izvestia was sold to Gazprom, the Russian energy giant, which is associated with the Russian government and considered to be the fifth-largest corporation in the world. It was also reported in 2006 that negotiations for the sale of Komsomolskaya Pravda to Gazprom are under way. See Andrew E. Kramer and Steven Lee Myers, "Workers' Paradise Is Rebranded as Kremlin Inc.," *New York Times*, 24 April 2006, A1, 10.

— **37** Adrian Dannatt, "Guggenheim, Las Vegas: Gambling a Sin—Rev. Rosenthal," *Art Newspaper*, November 2001, 1.

— **38** Celestine Bohlen, "Chairman Gives the Guggenheim an Ultimatum, Then \$12 Million," *New York Times*, 4 December 2002, B1, 6.

— **39** Citing "differences of direction," Peter B. Lewis resigned from the board on 19 January 2005. Since 1993 he had given the museum about \$77 million, four times as much as any other board member. He wanted the museum to concentrate on New York and to bring its financial house in order rather than continue trying to expand elsewhere. The board backed Krens. Attempts to open branches in Rio de Janeiro and Taiwan are stalled. A new venture is being explored for Guadalajara, Mexico. In 2004 the museum held an exhibition titled 'The Aztec Empire.' The board appointed William Mack acting chairman and president. Mack had joined the board in 2003 together with Stephen M. Ross. Both are major real-estate developers. Carol Vogel, "Guggenheim Loses Top Donor in Rift on Spending and Vision," *New York Times*, 20 January 2005, A1; Robin Pogrebin, "Loyalty Prevails over Money in Guggenheim Showdown," *New York Times*, 21 January 2005, B3.

— **40** On October 1, Lisa Dennison, since 1996 deputy director and chief curator, assumed the directorship of the museum in New York. Thomas Krens continues as the director of the foundation and all Guggenheim branch museums.



## (De)Facing the Flick Collection: Should Art Replace Political Reparations for Nazi War Crimes?

In the spirit of full disclosure I should say, at the beginning, that Friedrich Christian Flick bought a work of mine in 1998, twenty-three pages of handwritten notes of the results of my John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 2 from 1973. The New York dealer representing him in this transaction was David Zwirner. I was aware that a Flick had been convicted at the Nuremberg Trials as a war criminal. I also remembered a so-called Flick scandal, generous contributions of some DM 25 million (approx. \$10 million; all dollar amounts given at contemporaneous currency exchange rates) by an uncle of our protagonist to the Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party. This subsidy had persuaded the three Bundestag parties to grant him an exemption from capital gains taxes amounting to over DM 800 million (approx. \$320 million) from a DM 2 billion (approx. \$800 million) sale of securities.

308 Upon my inquiries I was told that Friedrich Christian Flick was born in 1944, and that he was a grandson of the war criminal. Like many who dealt with the young Flick, I felt it would be wrong to hold him liable for the crimes committed by his grandfather and I naively agreed to the sale. I reproach myself now for not having looked more closely at the curriculum vitae of Mick Flick, as Friedrich Christian Flick has been called in his family and is now also known in the press. I have since learned my lesson, thanks to the research and the questions raised by critics, foremost among them the Zurich-based playwright and theater director Christoph Marthaler and other theater people and writers, the most well known being Günter Grass. Their challenges were prompted by Mick's plan in 2001 to build a private museum in Zurich for his newly amassed collection of contemporary art. He was willing to spring 10 to 15 million euros (\$8.5 to 12.74 million) for the construction of a building designed by Rem Koolhaas. In an era of spreading amnesia about atrocities of the recent past and of

revisionist history writing, the critics reminded the public that among the 120,000 workers in the grandfather's factories were 50,000 concentration camp inmates and prisoners of war. They also pointed out that the elder Frick had benefited from the "Aryanization" of Jewish properties, and that he was an early and unswerving supporter of the Hitler regime and its war, a stance that made him the richest man of Nazi Germany. After spending only three of the seven years to which he had been convicted in prison and not being stripped of his industrial holdings, by 1960 he was once again the richest man in Germany. Until his death in 1972 he insisted on his innocence.

What is relevant for the present, however, and what I could and should have realized back in 1998, was not only that Friedrich Christian Flick's inherited fortune of DM 525 million (approx. \$180 million; source *Berliner Zeitung*, 18 September 2004) was built on slave labor. At least as significant is the fact that the young heir had steadfastly refused to pay a penny into a recently established fund for the compensation of forced laborers. He thus followed the example of his grandfather, who rejected making even a symbolic gesture toward the victims of his exploitation. He is also in line with his uncle Friedrich Karl Flick, who was ranked seventy-second this year by *Forbes* in its list of the world's billionaires, with \$6 billion to his name. The art lover is currently estimated to be worth a comparatively modest 500 million euros (approx. \$650 million). His move from Germany to a tax-friendly country such as Switzerland in the late 1970s is reported to have saved him by now about 125 million euros (approx. \$160 million).

The furious debate triggered by Flick's plan for Zurich eventually led the art developer to give up. Being an astute strategist, however, as early as 2000 he also had talks in several cities in Germany. Among them was Dresden, where he and the peripatetic Thomas Krens reportedly thought they might establish a joint venture. Nothing came of it,



as happened with many of Krens's frenetic attempts to market the Guggenheim name in exchange for a financial infusion to pay the interest on a \$54.9 million bond issue.

Flick and his advisers also thought ahead on how to circumvent the political hazards associated with his own and his family's past. Shortly before giving up in Zurich, he set up the "Friedrich Christian Flick Foundation against Xenophobia, Racism and Intolerance" in Potsdam, near Berlin. In view of his personal assets, in view of what his grandfather gained from slave labor and the "Aryanization" of Jewish properties, and in view of what the grandson had spent as a playboy and later on the art market, the foundation's endowment of a paltry DM 10 million (approx. \$5 million) amounts to gross insult. Nevertheless, he succeeded in recruiting the chair of the SPD's committee for culture in the Bundestag for the board of his foundation and put her former office head in charge of running its affairs. There are many nongovernmental organizations with long experience in combating racism in Germany, but the difference for Flick is that his foundation trumpets his name. Whenever questions are raised about Flick's failure to live up to the responsibilities that came with his tainted inheritance—the vice president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Salomon Korn, called it "blood money"—Flick and his apologists counter by pointing to the foundation. What does the foundation do? The annual report for 2003 states that it made grants totaling 131,473 euros (approx. \$115,000). The largest portion of the grant money was spent on projects for children and high school students, predominantly student exchange programs with Eastern European countries, art workshops, and sports events. What the report refers to as "Christian-Jewish religious exchange" was underwritten by eleven per cent and the testimony of three Nazi victims by twenty-four per cent of total disbursements. No funds were allocated to organizations combating neo-Nazi movements and xeno-

phobia. The name "Foundation against Xenophobia, Racism and Intolerance" is a misnomer. But it serves as an effective cover for Mick Flick and his fawning followers in Berlin.

Following the example of Charles Saatchi's collection, which is probably still owned by a trading company registered on the Isle of Man, a tax-friendly island in the Iris Sea, the Friedrich Christian Flick Collection in Berlin belongs to Contemporary Art Ltd., which has a home on the Channel island of Guernsey. Its purpose is to buy and sell art works. Lothar Binding, an SPD member of the Bundestag who did not join Gerhard Schröder in his celebration of the glamorous tax dodger, argues that the governmental agency that brought the collection to the Hamburger Bahnhof for a limited period of seven years, in effect, provided a space for commercial transactions in a public institution. Consequently, the gains derived by Contemporary Art Ltd., including sales of exhibited works and the increase in their market value due to their prominent display, should be subject to German taxes. At his insistence, the German Federal Audit Office is currently looking into the matter.

Herr Binding has put his finger on something that has more fundamental implications than the payment of taxes. Public institutions in Berlin have abdicated their responsibility by handing over the control over programming and the allocation of limited funds to the interests of a private individual and his personal agenda. The culture budgets in the city have been cut to accommodate the collection from Guernsey. Although it is especially blatant in this case and puts the symbolic capital of a public institution in the service of a man who sees a need to make us forget that his family's name and his personal fortune is associated with slave labor, the subjugation of institutions chartered to serve the public to private interests is not new. For decades now, corporate sponsors have been invited to use these institutions as public-relations outposts and



effectively have been given a say on what exhibitions we get to see and what subjects curators are to avoid. Self-censorship has been institutionalized. New York museums have been at the forefront. Given that they are tax-exempt and that all donations they receive are tax-deductible, taxpayers are effectively underwriting the image campaigns of sponsors and collectors in these venues. More than before, potent collectors have entered the game. The Brooklyn Museum's morphing into a marketing showcase for Charles Saatchi is only a recent example. But it would be wrong to object to that museum's professional abdication without mentioning Rudolph Giuliani's attempt to have the museum censor a painting by Chris Ofili in the Saatchi-generated 'Sensation' show and his subsequent threat

to the museum's very survival when it did not oblige. We should take note that shortly after a federal judge ruled the former prosecutor in violation of the First Amendment, he was celebrated at a garden party held in his honor by the Museum of Modern Art. The degree to which collectors now call the shots also can be deduced from MoMA's first major exhibition after it reopened: the corporate collection of UBS. This bank recently paid \$12.5 million in a settlement for its underwriting of WorldCom bonds and has been notified by the S.E.C. for being implicated in an accounting fraud by HealthSouth. In Berlin as much as in New York, the work of artists is being held hostage.<sup>1</sup>

2005

— 1 On 22 April 2005, less than three weeks before the inauguration of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, Friedrich Christian Flick announced he is paying five million euros into the fund for the restitution of former slave laborers. Headlines of comments in the German press: "Too late" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung); "Look, I'm paying" (Süddeutsche Zeitung); "Flick pays: But what does that mean?" (Die Zeit).



## Celebration of the Peace Tower

Dear Friends of the Peace Tower!

I would like to thank Rirkrit Tiravanija, Mark di Suvero, and all the others who built this great Peace Tower. It is an undertaking that required courage, tenacity, managerial skills, and, of course, a lot of work. It was essential that the curators of the Whitney Biennial and the museum's director supported it. As important was that the Whitney Museum's Board of Trustees backed the artists and the museum's professionals, something that should not be taken for granted—particularly in the current political climate. Thank you all!

Almost exactly three years ago, President George W. Bush landed in a flight suit on the deck of the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln off the coast of San Diego. On May Day of 2003, he announced to the world: "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended." Behind the commander in chief, a banner proclaimed "Mission Accomplished."

Ostensibly, the U.S. invasion of Iraq was to protect the world from Saddam Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction." These WMDs were never found—because they did not exist.

Ostensibly, a "War on Terror" was to stop Iraq's collaboration with Al Qaeda. In 2003 there was no such link. The attack on Iraq, however, has since served as a recruiting tool for Osama bin Laden and independent, like-minded cells around the world.

Ostensibly, a brush fire of democratic ferment was to engulf the Middle East. Today, the region is still a political tinderbox but perhaps farther away from adopting the tenets of the Bill of Rights than it was three years ago.

The protection of these rights has since been diminished in this country. Steve Kurtz, a member of the artists collaborative Critical Art Ensemble, which is represented in this Biennial, is a telling example. Harmless bacteria that he used in artwork critical of biotechnological corporations and their government support were deemed a threat to the nation. He was called before a grand jury.

Eventually the charge of "bioterrorism" against him could not be sustained. However he is not off the hook. The government has indicted him since for "mail and wire fraud," with a possible sentence of twenty years.

Steve Kurtz's plight is minimal compared to that of others who have been detained by the U.S. government under the auspices of the war. Simply by being declared an "enemy combatant," countless individuals have been stripped of their civil rights and the protection of the Geneva Convention.

In an opinion delivered to the president, Alberto Gonzalez, currently the attorney general, declared, "in my judgment, this new paradigm renders obsolete Geneva's strict limitations on questioning of enemy prisoners and renders quaint some of its provisions. ..." A medieval mindset has taken over. As we know today, U.S. personnel, acting with the open or tacit approval of their superiors, have since tortured many prisoners. Other detainees were secretly "rendered"—a new term—to countries known to torture prisoners. It did not improve the moral standing of the United States when Vice President Dick Cheney, with the president's nodding approval, vigorously protested Senator McCain's legislative attempt to ban torture.

The New York Times reports today that the Department of Defense has identified 2,389 service members who have died since the start of the Iraq war. The return to their homeland has become a stealth operation. The public and the media are excluded. Estimates of the Iraqi death toll exceed 200,000. Statistics on the wounded and maimed are hard to come by.

When President Bush addressed the nation on March 17, 2003, and announced that within two days "Shock and Awe" would start, my wife and I became grandparents of twins. Evan and Matthew had their third birthday in March. And so has the morally and politically bankrupt policy of the White House. The twins are beginning to exercise their freedom of speech, and I am no longer as desper-



ate as I was only a few months ago. The American voters appear to be finally waking up to what has been done in their name. And the media are no longer as much of a clique, as they have been for too long. The Peace Tower is a sign that artists are also taking a public position against the war, as they did in 1966 with the first Peace Tower.

On the panel I contributed to the Peace Tower, a single star hovers in the blue sky above the forty-nine stars of the American flag that have fallen into a heap on the ground. I hope there will be reason soon for this star to become the first to rise higher, together with the other stars, and not the last one to fall. Thank you again, Rirkrit and Mark, for this Tower.

New York, 2006





Mission Accomplished, 2005 (Detail)



**Hans Haacke**

**for real**

**Translations**



**No-Man's-Land 1973/74**

The below-grade square or long, rectangular courtyard which is part of the complex of buildings belonging to the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Justice of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Bad Godesberg district of Bonn is to be completely covered with concrete. A circular area, about 25 meters in diameter, is marked off on this surface. / A conveyor belt is to deposit earth in its center until it runs off the sides of the pile and covers the entire circle. The mound's height is determined by the amount of earth required to fill the demarcated area in the way described. / Once completed, the mound is left alone. It is to be expected that erosion will alter it, that airborne seeds and seeds carried in the soil will sprout, and that, eventually, wild plant growth will cover it. The area must not be cultivated or cleared at the behest or the suggestion of the neighbors. The natural process should take its course without interference. / After completion, the demarcated territory will be granted the status of an independent enclave under international law, a territory where no state has sovereign rights and the laws of no state apply. / The Federal Republic of Germany will conclude with me a treaty of unlimited duration under international law, in which it waives all rights in and to this territory and in which it pledges to ensure that everyone will have access to the enclave and that it will not influence, directly or indirectly, the events and developments in No-Man's-Land. In turn, I will pledge to abstain from interfering in any way in what will happen within the demarcated territory. / Protected from the weather under glass, copies of the treaty will be placed in the immediate vicinity of the mound and made available for examination to everyone. The entire correspondence between all relevant parties regarding the No-Man's-Land project will be accessible to the public in a museum or another appropriate institution. / Hans Haacke / Bonn-Bad Godesberg

**Manet-PROJEKT '74 1974****Plate 1/ Bunch of Asparagus / 1880 painted by / Edouard Manet**

Born 1832 in Paris, dies 1883 in Paris. Descendant of well-to-do Catholic family of the French bourgeoisie. Father, Auguste Manet, lawyer, chief of personnel at Ministry of Justice, later judge (magistrat) at the Cour d'appel de Paris (court of appeals). Republican. Knight of the Legion of Honor. Grandfather, Clément Manet, mayor of Gennevilliers, on the Seine near Paris. Family owns 133-acre farm there. Mother, Eugénie-Désirée Fournier, daughter of French diplomat who managed election of Marshal Bernadotte to the Swedish throne. Her godfather, Charles XIV of Sweden. Her brother, Clément Fournier, colonel in the artillery. Resigned during revolution, 1848. Manet's two brothers in civil service. / Manet attends renowned Collège Rollin (with Antonin Proust, later politician and writer). Goes to sea for a short while, contrary to his father's wish for law studies. Fails entrance exam for École Navale (Naval Academy). / 1850-56 studies art in private atelier of Thomas Couture, successful salon painter. Travels to Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Spain. / Financially independent of sale of his paintings. Lives in richly furnished Parisian houses, with servants. / 1861 first exhibits at the Salon and in private art galleries, with uneven success. 1863 participates in "Salon des Refusés" (Salon of the Rejected). Paintings are attacked by establishment critics for their offenses against convention. Support from Zola, Mallarmé, Rimbaud. / After death of his father in 1863, marries Suzanne Leenhoff. She is his former piano teacher, daughter of a Dutch musician. Her son, Léon-Edouard Köella, born 1852, is Manet's illegitimate child; adopted by Manet. / 1867, in protest against conservative jury, exhibits fifty paintings in pavilion specially constructed at his own expense for 18,000 francs, on the grounds of the Marquis de Pomereu, near the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Has

followers among younger, especially Impressionist artists. / 1870, as national guardsman, participates in defense of Paris during Franco-Prussian War. Messenger for regimental staff. During Paris Commune, stays with his family in southern France. Antiroyalist. Admirer of Republican Léon Gambetta, the future prime minister. / 1871 art dealer Durand-Ruel, friend of Impressionist painting, buys great number of his works. Gains approval of circles of Parisian society open to artistic innovation. Numerous commissions of portraits. Wins second-class medal at the Salon, 1881. At suggestion of Antonin Proust, appointed Knight of the Legion of Honor. / During his fatal illness, treated by former physician of Napoleon III. / 1833 memorial exhibition at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Preface to catalogue by Émile Zola. Proceeds of sales for heirs, 116,637 francs.

**Plate 2 / Bunch of Asparagus / 1880 acquired for 800 francs by / Charles Ephrussi**

Born 1849 in Odessa, dies 1905 in Paris. Descendant of Jewish family of bankers with banks in Odessa, Vienna, Paris. Family relations to French high finance (Baron de Reinach, Baron de Rothschild). / Studies in Odessa and Vienna. 1871 moves to Paris. / Banking activities of his own. Art historical writings on Albrecht Dürer, Jacopo de Barbarij, Paul Baudry. 1875 works for Gazette des Beaux-Arts; 1885 co-owner; 1894 publisher. / Member of numerous cultural committees and salons in Parisian society. With Gustave Dreyfus, the Comtesse Greffulhes, and Princess Mathilde, organizes art exhibitions and concerts of works by Richard Wagner, among others. Second model for Marcel Proust's Swann. / Collector of works from the Renaissance, eighteenth century, and contemporary painters, as well as works by Albrecht Dürer and East Asian art. / He pays Manet 1,000 francs for Bunch of Asparagus instead of agreed price of 800 francs. To show his gratitude, Manet sends him a still life of a single asparagus (1800, oil on canvas, 6 1/2 x 8 1/2 in., Paris, Musée de l'Impressionisme) with a note: "Your



bunch was one short." / Knight (1882), officer (1903) in the Legion of Honor. / Engraving by M. Patricot, Charles Ephrussi, from Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris 1905

**Plate 3 / Bunch of Asparagus / between 1900 and 1902 acquired by / Alexandre Rosenberg**

Born about 1850 in Pressburg (Bratislava), dies 1913 in Paris. Descendant of a Jewish family from Bohemia. / Emigrates to Paris at the age of nine. / 1870 founds company dealing with antiques and art. / 1878 marries Mathilde Jellineck of a Viennese family. They have three sons and one daughter. / After his death in 1913, continuation of the firm by youngest son, Paul, born 1881 in Paris. Specialization in art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 1940 moves to New York. At present, Paul Rosenberg & Co. in New York headed by Alexandre Rosenberg, a grandson.

Charlot, charcoal, Portrait of Alexandre Rosenberg (detail), 1913

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**Plate 4 / Bunch of Asparagus / as of unknown date, owned by or on consignment with / Paul Cassirer**

Born 1871 in Görlitz, commits suicide 1926 in Berlin. Descendant of well-to-do Jewish family. Father, Louis Cassirer, with two sons, founder of Dr. Cassirer & Co., Kabelwerke [cable factory] in Berlin. Brother, Prof. Richard Cassirer, neurologist in Berlin. Cousin, Prof. Ernst Cassirer, renowned philosopher. / Studies art history in Munich. One of the editors of *Simplizissimus*. Own writings. / 1898 with his cousin, Bruno Cassirer, founder of publishing house and art gallery in Berlin. 1901 partnership dissolved. Continues Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer [gallery], Victoriastrasse 35, in wealthy section of Berlin. / Opponent, along with "Berliner Sezession" [association of artists], of official art of the court. Despite the Kaiser's indignation, supports French Impressionism through publications and art dealing. Close relation to Parisian art dealer Durand-Ruel. Promotes German painters Trübner, Liebermann, Corinth, and Slevogt. / 1908 founds publishing house Paul Cassirer for art publications,

fiction, and poetry. Publishes works of literary expressionism. 1910 foundation of bimonthly magazine *Pan* and Pan-Society for promotion of dramatic works, among them works by Wedekind. / From first marriage, one daughter and one son (commits suicide during World War I). Second marriage to actress Tilla Durieux. / 1914 army volunteer. Awarded Iron Cross at Ypres. Becomes pacifist. / Temporarily imprisoned (accused of having illegally sold French paintings). Escapes to Switzerland and stays in Bern and Zurich until end of war. Assists Harry Graf Kessler with French contacts for negotiations with French on behalf of Ludendorff. Publishes pacifist writings with Max Rascher. / After revolution of 1918, in Berlin, member of USPD [leftist faction of Social Democratic Party]. Publishes socialist books by Kautzky and Bernstein, among others. / Motives for suicide, 1926, probably related to conflict with Tilla Durieux. / Continuation of Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer in Amsterdam, Zurich, and London by Dr. Walter Feilchenfeldt and Dr. Grete Ring, a niece of Max Liebermann.

Lithograph by Max Oppenheimer, Portrait of Paul Cassirer, c. 1925

**Plate 5 / Bunch of Asparagus / acquired for 24,300 reichsmarks by / Max Liebermann**

Painter. Born 1847 in Berlin, dies 1935 in Berlin. Descendent of Jewish family of industrialists. Father, Louis Liebermann, textile manufacturer in Berlin. Also owns Eisengiesserei Wilhelmshütte [iron foundry] in Sprottau, Silesia. Mother, Philippine Haller, daughter of Berlin jeweler (founder of company Haller & Rathenau). Brother, Felix Liebermann, well-known historian. Cousin, Walther Rathenau, industrialist (AEG), foreign minister of German Reich (murdered 1922). / Liebermann attends renowned Friedrich-Werdersches Gymnasium in Berlin, together with sons of Bismarck. Studies art at private Atelier Steffek, Berlin, and Art Academy of Weimar. Works several years in Paris, Holland, Munich. 1870-71 voluntary medic during Franco-Prussian War. / 1884 marries Martha Marckwald. Moves back to Berlin.

1885 birth of daughter, Käthe Liebermann. / 1894 inherits father's mansion at Pariser Platz 7 (Brandenburg Gate). Builds summer residence at Wannsee, Grosse Seestrassse 27 (since 1971, clubhouse of Deutscher Unterwasserclub e.V.). Financially independent of the sale of his works. / 1897 major one-man exhibition at the Berliner Akademie der Künste. Great Gold Medal. His paintings, influenced by realism and French Impressionism, indignantly rejected by Kaiser Wilhelm II. Paints genre scenes, urban landscapes, beach and garden scenes, society portraits, and portraits of artists, scientists, and politicians. Exhibition and sale through Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Works in public collections, e.g., Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. / 1897 awarded honorary title of Professor. 1898-1911 president of "Berliner Sezession" (association of artists against art of the Kaiser's court). Resigns due to opposition from younger artists. Member (1898), in senate (1912), and president of Prussian Academy of Arts (1920). Resigns 1933. Honorary doctorate, University of Berlin. Honorary citizen of Berlin. Knight of the French Legion of Honor. Order of Oranje-Nassau. Knight of the German Order pour le mérite and other decorations. / Owns works by Cézanne, Daumier, Degas, Manet, Monet, Renoir. 1933 deposits his collection with Kunsthau Zürich. / 1933 dismissed from all offices by Nazis. Forbidden to exhibit. Removal of his paintings from public collections. / 1935 dies in Berlin. His wife, Martha Liebermann, commits suicide in 1943 to avoid arrest.

Photo c. 1930

**Plate 6 / Bunch of Asparagus / inherited by / Käthe Riezler**

Born 1885 in Berlin, dies 1951 in New York. / Daughter of the painter Max Liebermann and his wife, Martha Marckwald. / Marries Kurt Riezler (Ph.D.), 1915, in Berlin. 1917 birth of their daughter, Maria Riezler. / Dr. Kurt Riezler, born 1882 in Munich. Son of a businessman. Classical Greek studies at the University of Munich. 1905 dissertation: *The Second Book of Pseudo-Aristotelian Economics*. /



1906 enters Foreign Service in Berlin. Second Secretary, later minister. Worked on staff of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. 1919-20 chief of staff to President Friedrich Ebert of the German Reich. / 1913 publication of Prolegomena for a Theory of Politics under pseudonym J. J. Ruedorffer; 1914 Basic Traits of World Politics of the Present. Later publications on the philosophy of history, political theory, and aesthetics. / 1927 professor, vice-president, and chairman of the board of Goethe University, in Frankfurt am Main. / 1933 dismissed by Nazis. / 1935 family returns to Berlin, moves into Max Liebermann's house, Pariser Platz 7. Inherits his art collection, which Liebermann had deposited with the Kunsthaus Zürich for protection. / 1938 family emigrates to New York. Collection follows. / 1939 Dr. Kurt Riezler becomes professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York, a university founded by emigrants. Visiting professor at the University of Chicago and Columbia University in New York. / Käthe Riezler dies in 1951. Dr. Riezler retires 1952, dies in Munich 1956. Pastel by Max Liebermann, The Artist's Daughter, 1901.

**Plate 7 / Bunch of Asparagus / inherited by / Maria White**

Born 1917 in Berlin. Daughter of Prof. Dr. Kurt Riezler and Käthe Liebermann. / Emigrates with her parents to New York in 1938. / Marries Howard Burton White. / Howard B. White, born 1912 in Montclair, N.J. 1934-38 studies at the New School for Social Research in New York, where Dr. Kurt Riezler teaches. 1941 Rockefeller fellowship. 1943 Ph.D. in science from the New School. / Teaches at Lehigh University and Coe College. At present, Professor of Political and Social Science on the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research. Teaches political philosophy. / Publications: Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon (The Hague, 1968) and Copp'd Hills Toward Heaven: Shakespeare and the Classical Polity (The Hague, 1968), among others. / Maria and Howard B. White live in Northport, N.Y. They have two children.

Oil on canvas by Max Liebermann, The Artist's Daughter and Granddaughter (Maria Riezler on the right), c. 1930

**Plate 8 / Bunch of Asparagus / 1968, through Mrs. Marianne Feilchenfeldt of Zurich, acquired for 1,360,000 deutsche marks by / the Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratorium [Friends of the Museum] and the City of Cologne**

Presented to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum as a permanent loan by Hermann J. Abs, chairman of the Kuratorium, on April 18, 1968, in memory of Konrad Adenauer. / Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratorium und Förderer-Gesellschaft e.V. / Executive Committee and trustees: Hermann J. Abs, Prof. Dr. Kurt Hansen, Dr. Dr. Günter Henle, Prof. Dr. Ernst Schneider, Prof. Dr. Otto H. Förster, Prof. Dr. Gert von der Osten (managing director). / Trustees: Prof. Dr. Viktor Achter, Dr. Max Adenauer, Fritz Berg, Dr. Walther Berndorff, Theo Burauen, Prof. Dr. Fritz Burgbacher, Dr. Fritz Butschkau, Dr. Felix Eckhardt, Mrs. Gisela Fitting, Prof. Dr. Kurt Forberg, Walter Franz, Dr. Hans Gerling, Dr. Herbert Girardet, Dr. Paul Gülker, Iwan D. Herstatt, Raymund Jörg, Eugen Gottlieb van Langen, Viktor Langen, Dr. Peter Ludwig, Prof. Dr. Heinz Mohnen, Cai Graf zu Rantzau, Karl Gustav Ratjen, Dr. Hans Reuter, Dr. Hans-Günther Sohl, Dr. Dr. Werner Schulz, Dr. Nikolaus Graf Strasoldo, Christoph Vowinckel, Otto Wolff von Amerongen.

Hermann J. Abs presenting the painting

**Plate 9 / Bunch of Asparagus / acquired through the initiative of the chairman of the Wallraf-Richartz-Kuratorium [Friends of the Museum], / Hermann J. Abs**

Born 1901 in Bonn. Descendant of well-to-do Catholic family. Father, Dr. Josef Abs, attorney and judge, co-owner of Hubertus Braunkohlen AG Brüggen, Erft [brown coal mining company]. Mother, Katharina Lückerath. / 1919 graduates from Realgymnasium Bonn. Studies one semester law, University of Bonn. Trains as banker at Bankhaus Delbrück von der Heydt & Co., Cologne. Gains experience in international banking in Amsterdam, London, Paris, the United States. / 1928 marries

Inez Schnitzler. Her father related to Georg von Schnitzler, member of the executive committee of I.G. Farben group. Aunt married to Baron Alfred Neven du Mont. Sister married to Georg Graf von der Goltz. Birth of two children, Thomas and Marion Abs. / Member of Zentrums-partei (Catholic Party). 1929 on staff at Bankhaus Delbrück, Schickler & Co., Berlin, with power of attorney. 1935-37, one of five partners of the bank. / 1937 on board of directors and member of executive committee of Deutsche Bank in Berlin. Chief of its foreign division. 1939 appointed member of advisory council of Deutsche Reichsbank by Walther Funk, minister of economic affairs of the Reich. Member of committees of the Reichsbank, Reichsgruppe Industrie, Reichsgruppe Banken, Reichswirtschaftskammer, and Arbeitskreis of the minister of economic affairs. 1944 on more than fifty boards of directors. Membership in associations for the advancement of German economic interests abroad. / 1946 imprisoned by British for six weeks. Cleared by Allied denazification board and placed in category 5 [exonerated of active support of Nazi regime]. / 1948 participated in foundation of Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau [Credit Agency for Reconstruction]. Extensive involvement in economic planning by West German government. Economic advisor to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. 1951-53 head of German delegation to London conference negotiating German war debts. Advisory role during negotiations with Israel at Conference on Jewish Material Claims in The Hague. 1954 member of CDU (Christian Democratic Party). / 1952 on board of directors of Süddeutsche Bank AG. 1957-67 president of Deutsche Bank AG. Since 1967 chairman of the board. / Honorary chairman of board of directors: Deutsche Überseeische Bank, Hamburg; Pittler Maschinenfabrik AG, Langen (Hesse). / Chairman of the board of directors: Dahlbusch Verwaltungs-AG, Gelsenkirchen; Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart-Untertürkheim; Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt; Deutsche Lufthansa AG, Cologne; Philipp Holzmann AG, Frankfurt; Phoenix Gummiwerke AG, Hamburg-Harburg; RWE Elektrizitätswerk



AG, Essen; Vereinigte Glanzstoff AG, Wuppertal-Elberfeld; Zellstoff-Fabrik Waldhof AG, Mannheim. / Honorary chairman: Salamander AG, Kornwestheim; Gebr. Stumm GmbH, Brambauer (Westphalia); Süddeutsche Zucker-AG, Mannheim. / Vice-chairman of the board of directors: Badische Anilin- und Soda-fabrik AG, Ludwigshafen; Siemens AG, Berlin-Munich. / Member of the board of directors: Metallgesellschaft AG, Frankfurt. / President of supervisory board: Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau; Deutsche Bundesbahn. / Great Cross of the Order of Merit with Star of the Federal Republic of Germany, Papal Star with Cross of the Commander, Great Cross of Isabella the Catholic of Spain, Cruzeiro do Sul of Brazil, Knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher. Honorary doctorate degrees from universities of Göttingen, Sofia, Tokyo, and Wirtschaftshochschule Mannheim. / Lives in Kronberg (Taunus) and Bentgerhof near Remagen.

Photo from Current Biography Yearbook 1970, New York

Jürgen Heyner; Ms. Schlegel as court reporter. / The applicant for the teaching position at Haupt- and Realschulen [elementary and junior high schools with a medium academic program not leading to university], Ms. Fischer-Defoy, appeared with her lawyer for the hearing scheduled on July 11, 1975. Ms. Fischer-Defoy was first informed that because of her candidacy on the slate of MSB Spartakus [Marxistischer Studentenbund Spartakus, a Moscow-oriented communist student organization] at the Gesamthochschule Kassel in the months of May, June, and December 1974, serious doubts existed about whether she would stand up for the free and democratic order as expressed by the Basic Law and the Constitution of Hesse. / Ms. Fischer-Defoy was asked whether or not she had been a member of MSB Spartakus. At the same time she was informed that it would be held against her if she did not answer the questions about her membership in the aforementioned organization. Ms. Fischer-Defoy declared in response that as a student she had been a member of MSB Spartakus but that this membership ceased when she completed her state examination. In reply to the further question whether she was or presently is a member of the DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei], the applicant declared that she would not reply, since she did not consider this question to be the subject of the hearing. She stated that she had demonstrated her suitability for public service by having passed her state examination. That could not be made to depend on whether she had answered a question as to whether she was a member of a party that had not been declared unconstitutional. The "negative freedom of speech" guaranteed by the constitution prohibited such questions from being asked. Ms. Fischer-Defoy was informed that the refusal to answer the question put to her would be held against her. / In response to the question whether the applicant declared her faith in the free and democratic order as expressed by the Basic Law and the Constitution of Hesse and would stand up for it if she were to be accepted for employment in the service of the State of Hesse, she

declared that she was aware of the criteria that the Bundesverfassungsgericht [Federal Supreme Court] had established in a variety of decisions with regard to the definition of the free and democratic order. She was prepared, at any time, as necessary, to stand up for it actively. Her activity in student self-government had been an expression of her commitment to the democratic rights and obligations of her fellow students and her willingness to sacrifice her free time for them. Her activity in the student parliament clearly showed that she stood up for the rules of democracy not only there but in her other political engagement. Her membership in Spartakus could be explained by the fact that this association was the one working most actively for the social interests of the students and had made constructive proposals for achieving university reform. The applicant further declared that she was active in MSB Spartakus above all because its antimilitarist and pacifist stance was strongest. She herself was raised by her parents in these beliefs and, motivated by the serious war injury her father had suffered, rejected every application of force of the sort frequently advocated by the radical left student groups (e.g., the KSV [Kommunistischer Studentenverband, or Communist student association]). She would fight, as she had done so in the past, against any form of the application of violence in the political sphere. / Ms. Fischer-Defoy declared in conclusion that she requested a decision about her hiring be made as quickly as possible, as her parents could no longer afford to support her, especially as she had another sister who was studying at her parents' expense. / The applicant's request to be sent a copy of the record of the hearing was granted.

[signed] Wagner, Senior Government Official / [signed] Schlegel, Court Reporter

#### **Plates 4-6 / Record from Memory of My "Hearing"**

In Hesse from January to July 1975, there were 198 hearings; 52 applicants for civil service were rejected on the basis of these hearings and the existing "findings" against them regarding the

#### **318 Plate 10 / Bunch of Asparagus / acquired with donations from** (List of 85 individuals and corporations)

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#### **Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie des Gewährbietens, dargestellt am Beispiel des Ausbildungsverbots der Christine Fischer-Defoy 1976**

**Prognostic Theory of Cognition for a Guarantee of Security, Demonstrated by the Example of a Ban on Professional Training for Christine Fischer-Defoy**

**Plates 1-3 / Chief Administrator of the State (Hesse) / for the District of Kassel / II/1a - PA. Fischer-Defoy, Christine - / Kassel, July 11, 1975 Record of the Hearing**

Re: Attainment of permanent status as civil servant until revoked by Ms. Christine Fischer-Defoy / Present: Senior Government Official Wagner; Ms. Christine Fischer-Defoy; her lawyer,



protection of the constitution. In Kassel there have been 18 hearings thus far, 12 of which led to exclusion from the profession. / On July 9, I received a letter from the Chief Administrator of the State indicating that there were "findings" against me that justified a suspicion that I would not at all times stand up for the free and democratic order as expressed by the Basic Law and the Constitution of Hesse. For the purpose of examining these findings, I was ordered to the offices of the Chief Administrator for a "conversation" on July 11. The participants at this hearing were Mr. Wagner of the Offices of the Chief Administrator; a shorthand typist; my lawyer, Jürgen Heyner; and I. (I can only urgently advise all those affected to take along a legal adviser!) The hearing began with excerpts from a decree about me by the Hessian Minister of Culture being read and added to the record. In it I was accused of having: / - in May 1974 / - in June 1974 / - and in December 1974 / stood as a candidate for the student parliament at the Gesamthochschule Kassel, specifically on the MSB SPARTAKUS slate. Mr. Wagner asked me first if these accusations were correct, then whether I was a member of MSB SPARTAKUS. I appealed to the basic right of negative freedom of speech in Article 4 of the Basic Law ("Freedom of faith and of conscience, and freedom to profess a religious or philosophical creed, shall be inviolable") and Article 33, items 2 and 3: "Every German shall be equally eligible for any public office according to his aptitude, qualifications, and professional achievements. ... Neither the ... eligibility for public office ... nor rights acquired in the public service shall be dependent upon religious affiliation. No one may be disadvantaged by reason of adherence or nonadherence to a particular religious denomination or philosophical creed." I declared that I demonstrated my professional qualification by passing my state examination "with distinction" and that as I understood the Basic Law it was thus unconstitutional to pose this question and make my admittance to civil service dependent on it. Thereupon Mr. Wagner cited the decree of the Minister of

Culture to the effect that not answering the question of my membership would have disadvantages for me and would be interpreted negatively. This pure extortion contradicts, just as the whole procedure did, all principles of law! I then declared that I had been a member of MSB SPARTAKUS but that the membership had ceased when my studies ended. Then I was asked whether I was a member of the DKP. I responded in the same way I had to the question of my membership in MSB SPARTAKUS—that is, I appealed to Article 4 and Article 33 of the Basic Law. Wagner then attempted, shifting constantly between sheer extortion, friendly encouragement, and solicitous arts of persuasion, to elicit an answer from me to the question of DKP membership: / (a) He appealed first to the decree again and to the negative consequences my refusal to give evidence would have for me. / (b) If I am of the opinion that the DKP is not unconstitutional ("Although I am of the opinion that its hostility to the constitution is undisputed!"), then I could simply admit my membership. Assuming I were a member of the DKP, then I could simply declare: Yes, I am a member of the DKP; there are points in their program with which I do not agree, because my stance on the free and democratic order is thus and such. And if I could persuade him of the credibility of my expression of faith in the free and democratic order, why should I see it as a negative to admit my membership????? / (c) One does not become a member of a party, after all, just to pay the dues but rather because one believes in its goals and wants to work with it politically. If he were in the SPD [Sozialdemokratischer Partei Deutschlands], he would admit his membership publicly at any time and say: "Yes, I am a member of the SPD!" So I should do the same thing: if I were of the opinion that the DKP is not an unconstitutional party ("That is undisputed as far as the SPD and CDU go, after all!"), then I could just admit my membership!!! / We tried to explain to him that he could well admit that in Hesse, which was governed by the SPD, but that this membership could lead to his exclusion from the pro-

fession in Bavaria. Then he appealed to the higher powers, to the Minister of Culture's decree, and said that he wasn't responsible for anything but was just conducting this conversation on orders from above. Then I was asked about the principles of the free and democratic order (for all those, like me, who support them but don't always remember them: human rights, sovereignty of the people, separation of powers, the multiparty principle, the right to opposition, administration according to laws, the responsibility of government, and the independence of the judiciary). Wagner: "But they appeal to the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; how can they reconcile that with a declaration of faith in the free and democratic order? After all, they favor, for example, the working class, as they put it, exercising power." Then I outlined for him our entire politics, that political theories always have to be applied according to, within the framework of, and taking into account the concrete historical, social, and political conditions of a society at a given time, and that, for example, part of these conditions in the Federal Republic of Germany were the objectives of the Basic Law, which is a fulfillment of the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin under these circumstances—for example: the complete realization of Articles 14 and 15 of the Basic Law and 40 and 41 of the Hessian Constitution, which call for the socialization of important means of production, of monopolistically concentrated large industry, and of large estates. The crucial factor in my membership in and work with MSB SPARTAKUS was not simply the declaration of faith in Marxist theories but also the concrete, practical implementation of these theories in actions for the most immediately pressing daily problems of my fellow students in my department and in the university as a whole. In that respect, MSB SPARTAKUS was the only active university group pointing the way, having taken concrete steps to realize university reform and to champion the social and material interests of the students. That was also why I was a candidate for student parliament on the MSB SPARTAKUS slate, and



I saw that as a proof of my commitment to democracy and an expression of my desire to see our political goals realized by democratic means in a legal manner. In particular it was the antimilitaristic and pacifist stance of MSB SPARTAKUS that had led to my joining, because I was raised in that spirit, motivated by the serious war injury my father had suffered, and reject the use of violence as a means of political struggle. MSB SPARTAKUS was the only student organization calling for disarmament and peacekeeping in this spirit. / Then Mr. Wagner had no further questions (whatever that might mean: had I already sufficiently demonstrated my "hostility to the constitution"?) He formulated the record, condescending to allow me to formulate several passages myself, for example those related to my political engagement in the student parliament and my refusal, on the basis of my constitutional rights, to answer the question of my membership in the DKP. Finally, the record was read aloud and it was stated that I would hear more via my lawyer shortly, but for now my files with the "findings" (among which I could spot several photocopies of Konsequent!) and the record of the hearing would be returned to the Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Culture. That probably means that I will not be hired on August 1, although I had originally been assigned to a position in the District of Kassel. Thus my right to complete my education was trampled on, and the lessons for another class in Kassel will be canceled!

**Plates 7-9 / Der Regierungspräsident in Kassel** [State appointed County Manager] / **II 1 b-PA Fischer-Defoy, Christine** (Please give this reference number in your response) / Kassel, August 14, 1975

Re: Admission to Student Teacher / Program of the State of Hesse / Dear Miss Fischer-Defoy: / I herewith reject your application of January 31, 1975, requesting admission to the Student Teacher Program of the State of Hesse with probationary civil service status, because you do not meet the requirements of §7, Section I, no. 2 of the Civil Service

Act of Hesse. / *Reasons:* / In a letter of January 1, 1975, you applied for admission to the Student Teacher Program, starting August 1, 1975. You passed the First State Examination for teaching art and social studies at grade and high school levels in June 1975. / Since there are considerable doubts as to whether you would always stand up for the free and democratic order according to the federal constitution and the state constitution, you were given the opportunity, in an interview with your potential future employer, to put these misgivings to rest. / At this hearing in my office, on July 11, 1975, you confirmed that during your student years you had been a member of the MSB-Spartakus. This membership, you said, expired when you passed your state examination. The next question, on whether you were or are a member of the DKP, you did not answer. You considered this question inadmissible because, as you stated, you had demonstrated your qualifications for the civil service by passing the state examination. (cont.) / Staggered business hours. Recommended times for office visits: Mon-Fri from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. and 2:00 to 3:30 p.m. / On the mat: / All Germans have the right to freely choose their profession, workplace, and place of training. Professional practice can be regulated by laws. / Federal Constitution, Paragraph 12, Section 1. / Your statements during the hearing did not remove the existing and justified doubts about your loyalty to the constitution. It is true, your testimony cannot be refuted that you left the MSB-Spartakus after passing your state examination and that you are consequently no longer a member of this student association, an association which, as an affiliate organization of the DKP, is pursuing aims hostile to the constitution. However, you are mistaken in your opinion that you are not obliged to answer questions regarding party membership. According to the highest courts, recently confirmed by the Bundesverfassungsgericht [Federal Constitutional Court = Supreme Court], the qualification for civil service includes the obligation of the civil servant, at all times through his entire conduct, to adhere to the free and democratic order,

as expressed by the constitution. In order to ascertain this, the employment office had to ask you this question. In principal, of course, the public employer is not entitled to ask an applicant for or a member of the civil service about his membership in a certain party. However, this is only valid if the party in question is based on the constitution. If membership in a party with totalitarian aims is suspected, the public employer is obliged to ask this question in order to protect the state. A member of the civil service must answer this question. Should the applicant refuse to answer the question, he demonstrates, already by this refusal, even before he is employed, that he is unfit, in the sense in which employment in the civil service is viewed by the constitution. / Aside from the factual justification for answering the questions about membership in an organization or party with totalitarian aims, the obligation to answer arises from the intention to be accepted into the ranks of the civil service. A civil servant has a mutual relationship of service and loyalty with his public employer. This requires the civil servant to cooperate with his public employer, and non-compliance could, in certain cases, constitute a dereliction of his duties. It is true, this duty to cooperate is principally restricted to the position of a civil servant proper. However, just as in the preparations toward a contractual relationship, mutual duties and obligations exist already in the preparatory stage for a civil service position. (cont.) / On the mat: / Every German shall be equally eligible for any public office according to his aptitude, qualifications, and professional achievements. Civil and constitutional rights, admission to public office, as well as rights acquired in public service are independent of one's religious denomination. No one may be disadvantaged, by reason of adherence to a particular religious denomination or political creed. / Federal Constitution, Paragraph 33, Sections 2 and 3. / In the case of non-compliance with such duties and obligations by the future civil servant, it is justified, in the particular case, for his future public employer to conclude that serious doubts exist about the fitness of the applicant.



This is the case with you because, based on your attitude and your past activities in the MSB-Spartakus, you have not removed the existing doubts concerning your loyalty to the constitution. / Information on legal recourse: / Within one month of delivery, you can file, in writing or in person, a protest against this decision with my agency, Kassel, Steinweg 6. / Sincerely yours, / Signed for / On the mat: / Under no circumstances is it permitted to violate a basic right in its essence. / Federal Constitution, Paragraph 19, Section 2.

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### **Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht 1980**

#### **We Believe in the Power of Creative Imagination**

**Top panels** / It goes to countries that are not in a state of war (laughs). Well, in principle. ... But it can happen that the Belgian Army takes it over and it is delivered through an intermediate country.

Mr. Reynvoet, representative of the Christian Labor Union at FN (interview on Belgian television, 1975)

The Société Générale de Belgique owns 29.35% of FN. It is believed that the Belgian royal family, the Vatican, Prince Amaury de Merode, Count Lippens, and the families of Solvay, Boël, and Janssen are the controlling shareholders of the Société Générale de Belgique.

The Economist, London, March 18, 1978

We sell arms to responsible governments. As soon as they have taken possession of their arms, it is they who use them. We have nothing to do with the use to which they are finally put.

Mr. Fons Ni, Director of FN (interview on Belgian television, 1975)

**Center panels** / In Soweto [large black township] (Johannesburg) 1976 (left and right) / In the South African Army 1977 (center)

FN-Browning Prize for Creativity created on the occasion of the millennium of the

Prince-Bishopric of Liège. FABRIQUE NATIONALE HERSTAL S.A. We believe in the power of creative imagination. (each panel)

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### **Der Pralinenmeister 1981**

#### **The Chocolate Master**

#### **Plate 1 / Art Objects on Permanent Loan Are Exempt from Property Taxes**

Peter Ludwig was born in 1925 in Koblenz, the son of the industrialist Fritz Ludwig (Ludwig Cement Factory) and Mrs. Helene Ludwig (née Klöckner). / After his military service (1943-45), he studied law and art history. In 1950, he received a doctorate with a dissertation on "Picasso's Image of Man as an Expression of his Generation's Outlook on Life." The dissertation focuses on relations between contemporary literature and the work of Picasso. Historical events get little attention. / In 1951, Peter Ludwig married a fellow student, Irene Monheim, and joined Leonard Monheim KG, Aachen, the business of his father-in-law. In 1952 he became managing partner; in 1969, president; and in 1978, chairman of Leonard Monheim AG, Aachen. Peter Ludwig is represented on the boards of directors of Agrippina Versicherungs-Gesellschaft and Waggonfabrik Uerdingen. He is the chairman of the regional council of Deutsche Bank AG for the district Cologne-Aachen-Siegen. / Peter and Irene Ludwig have been collecting art since the beginning of the 1950s. At first they collected primarily ancient, medieval, and Pre-Columbian art. Since 1966 they have been concentrating on modern art: Pop art, Photorealism, Pattern Painting, art from East Germany, and the "New Expressionists." Since 1972 Peter Ludwig has been an adjunct professor at the University of Cologne and holds seminars in art history at the Museum Ludwig. / Permanent loans of modern art are located at the Museum Ludwig, Cologne, the Neue Galerie-Sammlung Ludwig and the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum in Aachen, the national galleries in West and East Berlin, the

Kunstmuseum Basel, the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, and the state museums in Saarbrücken and Mainz. Medieval works are housed at the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne and the Bavarian state gallery. The Rautenstrauch-Jost Museum in Cologne has Pre-Columbian and African objects, as well as works from Oceania. / In 1976, the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum of Cologne (now Museum Ludwig) received a donation of Pop art. The Suermondt-Museum in Aachen (now Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum) was given a collection of medieval art in 1977. A collection of Greek and Roman art that includes permanent loans located in Kassel, Aachen, and Würzburg was donated to the Antikenmuseum Basel (now Antikenmuseum Basel and Museum Ludwig). In 1981, a collection of modern art was brought into the Austria Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science. / Peter Ludwig is a member of the acquisitions committee of the state gallery of Düsseldorf, the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the advisory council of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles.

#### **Plate 2 / Regent**

Under the "Regent" label, the Monheim Group distributes milk chocolate and assorted chocolates, mainly through the low-priced "Aldi" chain stores and vending machines. / The production takes place in Aachen, where the company employs 2,500 people in two factories. It also has its administrative headquarters there. About 1,300 employees work in the Saarlouis plant, some 400 in Quickborn, and approximately 800 in West Berlin. / As it did ten years earlier, Monheim had a total of some 7,000 employees in 1981 (sales tripled over the same period); 5,000 of these are women. The blue-collar work force numbers 5,400, of which two-thirds are unskilled. In addition, the company employs approximately 900 unskilled seasonal workers. / The labor union Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten negotiated wages ranging from DM 6.02 per hour (scale E = assembly line work, under eighteen years) to DM 12.30 (scale S = highly skilled work). According to the



union contract, the lowest salary amounts to DM 1,097 per month, and the highest salary scale stipulates a minimum of DM 3,214. / The overwhelming majority of the 2,500 foreign workers are women. They come predominantly from Turkey and Yugoslavia. However, foreign workers are also hired by agents in Monaco, Tunisia, Spain, and Greece (price "per head": DM 1,080 in 1973). Another contingent of foreign workers crosses the border daily from nearby Belgium and Holland. / The company maintains hostels for its female foreign workers in its fenced-in factory compound in Aachen, as well as at other locations. Three or four women share a room (the building of hostels for foreign workers is subsidized by the Federal Labor Agency). The rent is automatically withheld from the worker's wage. The company keeps a check on visitors to these hostels and, in fact, turns some away. The press office of the Aachen Diocese and the Caritas Association judged the living conditions as follows: "Since most of the women and girls can have social contacts only at the workplace and in the hostels, they are practically living in a ghetto." / Female foreign workers who give birth reportedly have to leave the hostel because Monheim does not have a day care center, or they must find a foster home for the child at a price they can hardly afford. Another option would be to offer their child for adoption. "It should be no problem for a big company which employs so many girls and women to set up a day care center." The personnel department reported that Monheim is "a chocolate factory and not a kindergarten." They added that it would be impossible to hire kindergarten teachers; the company is not a welfare agency.

### **Plate 3 / We Do Not Work with Threats (Peter Ludwig)**

In 1968, Peter and Irene Ludwig gave the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne a collection of modern art (which consisted mainly of Pop art) on permanent loan. In 1976, this collection was donated to the city of Cologne on the condition that the city build a museum for art of the twentieth century. The museum was to be

called Museum Ludwig. / "In the event that the completion and opening of the Museum Ludwig by July 9, 1985, cannot be assured, Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig, or their survivors, are entitled to withdraw from this agreement and to demand the return of all art works donated under this agreement." July 9, 1985, is Peter Ludwig's sixtieth birthday. / The construction of the museum has begun on a site between the cathedral and the Rhine. In 1980, the building costs were officially given as DM 219 million. The reshaping of the area around the museum, made necessary by the construction, is likely to drive up the cost to well over DM 300 million. The yearly expenses for maintenance and personnel are estimated at approximately DM 10 million. / Independent from the building plans, all works of art from 1900 to the present, including all donations from Cologne collectors, were to be removed immediately from the administration of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and incorporated into the newly founded Museum Ludwig. For the time being, the new museum is housed in the building of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. New acquisitions of modern art are also to become part of the Museum Ludwig. / Moreover, in the contract covering the donation, the following was agreed upon: "Appointments for the position of director (of the Museum Ludwig), as well as the professional staff of the Museum Ludwig, are made after consultation with Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig or the surviving spouse. Prof. Dr. Ludwig and his wife are being fully apprised of the museum's ongoing work (e.g., exhibitions, acquisitions, publications)." / Twice yearly a meeting is to be held with Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig in which "the entire work of the Museum Ludwig is discussed in detail." / Regarding the value of the donation, Peter Ludwig declared: "That the collection is now worth 45 million is to be attributed mainly to its long-term exhibition in such a prominent institution as the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. I did not pay more than 5 million for the paintings and objects." / Peter Ludwig was made an honorary citizen of the city of Cologne.

### **Plate 4 / Comet Confectionary Ltd. / La Confiserie Comète Ltée.**

In 1959, the Monheim Group acquired a chocolate factory from the Kambly Company in Ste. Hyacinthe, near Montreal. In the beginning, the Canadian subsidiary produced chocolate bars and seasonal articles under the name Regent Chocolate Ltd. After expansions in 1968 and 1970, the plant covered an area of 9,000 square meters. / In 1974, salmonella poisonings occurred after the consumption of Regent chocolate bunnies, Christmas balls, and "Crunch Breakups" (milk chocolate especially made for Woolworth in Toronto). The health authorities of Canada and the U.S. stopped the sale of Regent products. A recall was ordered on all items that had already been distributed to retailers. The plant was closed for detoxification. / Production was resumed after half a year under the new name of Comet Confectionary Ltd./Confiserie Comète Ltée. The new company was capitalized with DM 5.3 million. Favorable terms on loans totaling Can. \$4.25 million from the Quebec Industrial Development Corp. and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion—in part interest-free—as well as reserves of the subsidiary facilitated its reopening. / In 1973, the employees (mostly women and unskilled) were paid an hourly wage that hardly exceeded the legally established minimum wage of Can. \$1.85. In 1974, while the plant was closed, they organized themselves into a union, the Syndicat des Salariés de la Confiserie Comète Ste. Hyacinthe (CSN). / There was a strike at Comet before the conclusion of the third union contract in 1979. This two-year contract established a minimum wage of Can. \$5.00. The highest wage amounted to \$7.51 per hour. Depending on the season, the number of employees fluctuates between 200 and 500. / Comet distributes its products under the names "Comet," "van Houten," and the house labels of numerous companies in Canada and the United States, for which it produces anonymously (e.g., Dalt, Orion, Sara Lee). For years, more than half of the production, particularly seasonal articles, has been exported to the United States. Comet also handles



the distribution of van Houten products from Europe on the Canadian market. / The Monheim management has been consistently pleased with the results of Comet. In 1979-80 sales rose by 31.7% to Can. \$35 million. Net income increased by 40.9% to \$0.8 million. It was not paid out but, rather, reinvested in the company.

#### **Plate 5 / Through Donations a Spouse's Payment of 35% Inheritance Tax Is Avoided**

The Neue Galerie-Sammlung Ludwig of the city of Aachen usually shows Peter Ludwig's new acquisitions and often does so in programmatic exhibitions. It is also the starting point for traveling exhibitions and permanent loans to other museums. The museum's director works closely with the collector. / In 1977, twenty-two works from Aachen went on permanent loan to the Nationalgalerie in East Berlin. In return, newly acquired paintings from East Germany were exhibited in Aachen. / In 1978, Aachen also organized an exhibition for the Museum of Modern Art in Tehran (until the Shah's ouster, a cousin\* of the empress was the director). The Centre Georges Pompidou and other European museums also received important loans from Aachen. / Since 1976, the city of Aachen has been planning to induce Peter Ludwig, through the building of a new museum, to leave his collection permanently in Aachen. As of 1982, a new building is to be erected on Monheim Allee, at a cost of DM 40 million. The estimated date of completion is 1985, when the collector celebrates his sixtieth birthday. He has not committed himself to leaving his collection in Aachen. / When, in 1976, the city raised its relatively low business tax, Peter Ludwig (a Christian Democrat) threatened: "There has to be an end to treating us like idiots. ... With increases in taxes I certainly do not want a museum!" / In 1979, he gave an important part of the Aachen collection on permanent loan to the newly founded Museum of Modern Art in Vienna. Dr. Dieter Ronte, who had been supervising the construction of the Museum Ludwig in Cologne, was appointed director of the museum in Vienna. / In

1981, a selection of 161 works, at a stated value of s. 150 million (approximately \$5 million), was entered into a newly founded Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Arts and Sciences. The Republic of Austria pledged to contribute s. 150 million for acquisitions, exhibitions, and other purposes of the foundation. / On the board of the foundation are Peter and Irene Ludwig, together with two members of their choice. Austria is also represented by four members. The chairmanship alternates yearly between Peter Ludwig and a representative of Austria. For ten years Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig retain a veto over the disposition of the works they donated (exhibitions, loans, etc.). / Mrs. Irene Ludwig was appointed professor in Vienna. Peter Ludwig became an honorary citizen of the city. / \*[corrected from German text, which reads "step-brother"]

#### **Plate 6 / Van Houten**

In 1971 the Monheim Group acquired the rights for the production, trademark, and distribution of van Houten products worldwide from the American Peter & Paul Inc. / Since then, the van Houten subsidiaries have handled the Monheim Group's entire export through totally owned marketing organizations in Germany, France (sales in 1979-80, Fr. 122.7 million), the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. / East Asia and East Germany are also important trading partners. The market is to be expanded into the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries. Moreover, negotiations for cooperative ventures have been started to open up the Austrian market for Monheim products. Approximately 34% (DM 403 million) of the company's sales for 1979-80 were achieved outside West Germany. / Aside from its business with brand-name products, van Houten also makes cocoa butter, cocoa powder, and other semi-finished products for the chocolate industry. The Monheim Group's total investment for the production of cocoa powder and cocoa butter between 1971 and 1974 in West Berlin alone amounted to DM 60 million. This investment in plant and equipment was essentially financed through the advanta-

geous provisions of the Berlin Aid Act (special depreciation allowances, outright grants, and other tax advantages). / In 1973, the Monheim Group signed a contract for cooperative ventures with AGROS, the state import/export agency of Poland. As a consequence of this agreement, the Kraków chocolate factory Wawel began production of van Houten chocolate bars under license in 1975. Part of the output is being exported. / In 1974, licensing agreements for the production of van Houten instant chocolate milk were also entered into with the East German state trading organization. Since then, East German schools receive the chocolate drink "Trinkfix." Otherwise, Monheim products can be found only in "Intershops" [foreign currency stores] and "Delikatläden" [high-price stores for luxury items]. Part of the production is exported to West Germany and other destinations. For the production in Poland and East Germany, the Monheim Group not only makes available its technical know-how but also provides highly specialized equipment. / Loan of art works from Peter Ludwig, the group's chairman, are frequently to be found in places where Monheim products are made or distributed, or where business relations are to be established (e.g., Nationalgalerie in East Berlin, Poland, Switzerland, France, Austria, Saarbrücken, Aachen, and, in the planning stage, the Soviet Union).

#### **Plate 7 / Donations Are Tax-Deductible up to 10% of the Yearly Income**

In 1980, Peter Ludwig submitted to the federal government, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the city of Cologne a draft "Document on the Establishment of the Ludwig Foundation for the Promotion of the Visual Arts and Related Fields." Bylaws were attached. The document was the result of yearlong discussions between Peter Ludwig and the three public partners of the proposed foundation. The public was kept in the dark about the plans for this foundation until, on September 6, 1980, they were disclosed in the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger [local newspaper], due to a leak. /



According to the draft document, Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig intend to donate art works to the foundation; these are to be listed in an appendix. The contents of this appendix are not known. / As for art works on permanent loan, the foundation would assume the rights and duties of the donor in his capacity as lender. Peter and Irene Ludwig intend to donate to the foundation all their future art acquisitions. / Until the publication of the contents of the donation, its size and value cannot be judged. It is being speculated that it would include the medieval works that are now on permanent loan to the Schnütgen Museum of Cologne (estimated value DM 100 million). Also Pre-Columbian, African, and Oceanic art, which is housed in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Cologne, is supposedly being considered, as well as a collection of modern works that are on loan to numerous museums in Europe. / For ten years Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig are granted veto power "in questions relating to the disposition of art works brought in by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig." / The permanent loan of his art works saves the lender the necessary expenses for the proper storage, care, protection, and curatorial services for his property. Scientific research on the works, as well as their exhibition and publication in catalogues and articles, increases their value. / As long as art works are accessible to the public, they are exempt from property tax (0.5% of their value every year). A donation is deductible up to 10% of the yearly taxable income. In the case of large donations, these deductions can be distributed over several years. Art works are affected by inheritance taxes. In the case of a donation of more than DM 10 million, the surviving spouse does not have to pay inheritance tax on 35% of the value, i.e., DM 35 million.

**Plate 8 / Novesia / De Beukelaer**

In 1978, the Monheim Group acquired, for a total of Bfrs. 350 million, 75% of the shares of the Belgian General Chocolate NV/SA from General Biscuit. The remaining shares stayed with P. F. Feldhaus-Novesia of Neuss [West Germany]. / In Herentals (Belgium) and in Neuss,

General Chocolate makes a variety of chocolate products that are mainly distributed in the Benelux countries, in Germany, and in France. At the time of the takeover, the two plants had 500 employees each. Total sales amounted to approximately DM 200 million. / Following the Monheim Group's acquisition of the majority of the shares, the ministry for the Flemish economy decided to provide grants totaling Bfrs. 68 million to support payment of interest and capital on loans of Bfrs. 478 million. These loans were earmarked for the modernization of the plant in Herentals. In addition, the semi-governmental Industrial Credit Corporation gave government-backed loans of Bfrs. 288 million. For three years the Belgian subsidiary was also granted certain tax exemptions. The Monheim Group planned to invest Bfrs. 310 million of its own. In 1979, the Monheim Group acquired the rest of the shares that were still outstanding. Thus, the German subsidiaries Novesia Schokolade GmbH and Maurisse Schokolade GmbH of Neuss came totally under Monheim control. / In 1980, management decided to close down the Novesia facilities in Neuss (sales in 1979-80 approximately DM 80 million) and continue production of the "Goldnusstafeln" and "Goldnuss Pärchen" more efficiently in other Monheim plants. Three hundred and fifty employees are affected. / Among the products coming out of Herentals (Belgium) are "Melo Cakes," "Leo," "Ascot," "Big Nuts," "BibiP," and "Alu," mostly filled milk chocolate and chocolate wafers. "Alu" and "Leo" are widely distributed through vending machines.

**Plate 9 / Woe the (Art Fair) Stand that He Passed by (Peter Ludwig about Himself)**

In the bylaws of the Ludwig Foundation, which was proposed by Peter and Irene Ludwig and jointly planned by the federal government, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the city of Cologne, it states: "For purposes of the Foundation, the Foundation administers and supports the Museum Ludwig in Cologne." / "The board of the Foundation, in particular, decides the hiring and firing of ... the

directors of the Museum Ludwig." / If the foundation is dissolved, "the site of the Foundation-Museum and the objects which are normally located in Cologne will become the property of the city of Cologne without compensation." From this it would follow that—for the duration of the foundation—the city of Cologne would give up the rights over its collection of twentieth-century art. Not only the Pop art collection that was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig in 1976 would be affected by this. It would extend to all works that had been donated to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum by collectors from Cologne and that are now part of the Museum Ludwig, as well as the museum's new acquisitions. / Apparently the new building of the Museum Ludwig is also to be handed over to the Ludwig Foundation and possibly the cost of its maintenance and personnel are to be covered by the foundation. / Furthermore, the bylaws speak of "civil service positions made available by the city of Cologne." The public partners of the foundation are talking about yearly contributions that, at least in the beginning, are to amount to several million deutsche marks, also from the city of Cologne (the acquisitions budget of the eight Cologne museums is DM 1.1 million). / The representatives of the city of Cologne are among the most ardent proponents of the foundation. According to comments in the press, they fear that Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig might withdraw their loans, in spite of an express promise, if the projected Ludwig Foundation does not come to pass. Peter Ludwig once indicated: "Perhaps there are other governments with which one could speak and with which one does speak." / Cologne also hopes that, through the participation of the federal government and the state in the foundation, part of the sizable cost of the construction and maintenance of the new Museum Ludwig would be carried by them. / The general director of all Cologne museums, Hugo Borger, also refers to the desirability of an art "super center" in Cologne. The representatives of the city agree: "Without Ludwig nothing works anymore."



## Plate 10 / Lindt

The collaboration between the Monheim Group and the Swiss Lindt & Sprüngli goes back to the time before World War II. At present, Monheim holds 80% of the shares of both Lindt & Sprüngli GmbH, Aachen, and Lindt & Sprüngli BV, Netherlands. The rest of the shares remain with Lindt & Sprüngli AG, Kilchberg/Switzerland. / Under license, Monheim makes Lindt products such as assorted chocolates, milk chocolate, and seasonal articles for the German and Dutch markets (estimated sales in 1979-83, sfrs 195 million = approximately one-third of Lindt sales worldwide). / The Monheim Group also had licensing and distribution agreements with the British John Mackintosh and Sons Ltd. and Peter & Paul Inc. of the United States. / Lindt products are mostly made in a factory in the center of Aachen, where the company's headquarters are also located. / In 1977, according to a rumor circulating in Aachen, Monheim planned to move part of this production to another facility in Saarlouis. In Aachen, 1,030 to 1,800 jobs would have been lost. / However, at the same time, a company spokesman declared that the company was, instead, trying to move production to Aachen-Süsterfeld, on the outskirts of the city, and to expand a plant there that was already in operation: "This requires a considerable amount of money. Concentration of the Aachen facilities in Süsterfeld would have to be subsidized by the city and the state." In the same year, the city of Aachen decided to make the 20,000 square meters of the plant in the city center an area for rehabilitation and to buy it for the construction of one-family houses with gardens in its place. / As compensation for giving up the plant and its relocation, Monheim is being paid out of public funds a total of DM 45.7 million. Seventy-five percent of this amount is carried by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. / Monheim intends to use part of its DM 60 million investments earmarked for 1980 for the construction of the new plant and administrative headquarters. New, automated facilities are to bring about a more efficient and profitable operation. The construction in Aachen-Süsterfeld is

expected to be completed by the end of 1982.

## Plate 11 / Patrons Have a Price, Too (Peter Ludwig)

The bylaws of the Ludwig Foundation, which were proposed by Peter Ludwig and Irene Ludwig and which were planned together with the federal government, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the city of Cologne, set forth as the purposes of the foundation: / 1. Curatorial care and administration of the art works of the Foundation. / 2. Expansion of the collection and, in the spirit of paragraph 1, prevention of the sale of valuable works of the German art tradition to foreign buyers. / 3. Scholarly research on the Foundation's collection. / 4. Conception and organization of art exhibitions. / 5. Promotion of regional, national, and international activities in the visual arts and related fields. / Represented on the board of the foundation are Peter and Irene Ludwig, two persons of their choice, as well as four representatives each from the federal government, the state, and the city of Cologne. Peter Ludwig is the chairman. Decisions of the board of the foundation are made by majority vote. In the event of a tie, the chairman casts the deciding vote. For ten years, Peter and Irene Ludwig are granted "a veto against decisions of the Foundation's board whenever questions relating to the disposition of art works that were brought in by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig are concerned." / Critics of the Ludwig Foundation point to the art-political power which would be handed to Peter Ludwig, a private individual, due to his dominant position in a publicly financed foundation. The collector explains: "It is clear that on such boards a consensus must be achieved. However, I am certain that my expertise will have some weight." It is feared that the numerical majority of the public representatives on the board of the foundation will not count much because they have contradictory interests, and because the city of Cologne is highly dependent on Peter Ludwig. The veto power of Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig and the deciding vote of the chairman in a tie underscore his dominant position. / The

collector judges his influence on the art market as follows: "The market for Pop art has been determined decisively by the activities of Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig." The combination of the financial resources of the foundation with his own would give Peter Ludwig immense power in the world of exhibitions, in art-political decision making, and in the art market. It would give him the means to exert even more control over the international art world than he does already.

## Plate 12 / Trumpf / The Chocolate Master

The Monheim Group distributes, under its house label "Trumpf," chocolate bars, "Schogetten," assorted chocolates, hot chocolate powder, seasonal articles, and chewing candy. Production is done by subsidiaries in Aachen, Quickborn near Hamburg, Saarlouis, and the Trumpf Schokolade- und Kakaofabrik Berlin GmbH, which has been operating independently since 1979 under this new name. / In 1979, 51% of the shares of the Berlin company, which was totally owned by Monheim, were sold to the newly founded Trumpf Berlin GmbH. The new company financed this acquisition by issuing atypical nonvoting stocks to private investors. Monheim thus received, in 1979, an infusion of approximately DM 100 million, which was used by the company in a "tax-neutral" way (Ludwig). / Such opportunities are, for example, investments in the plant (in 1980 earmarked for Berlin: DM 25 million) and in special tax-favored loans to the Berlin Development Bank (12% of the loan tax-deductible). Moreover, money was set aside for future investments in the plant, and Monheim claimed depreciation on supplies (cocoa and contracts on cocoa). / The plant in Berlin was established in 1953. At the beginning of the seventies it was expanded considerably and manufacturing methods were brought up to the latest standards. Monheim benefited from the special advantages of the aid for Berlin: 75% depreciation in the first year for investment in plant and equipment (in West Germany 3%), outright public grants of 10% or more for investment in plant and equipment, the deduction of



4.5% of the sales tax for sales to West Germany, and other tax advantages. / In East Germany, "Trumpf" products are made under licensing agreements dating from 1974. They are available almost exclusively in "Intershops" [foreign currency outlets] and "Delikatläden" [special stores for high-priced luxury items]. Some are also exported. Monheim handles the distribution for all products of Trumpf Berlin GmbH (a.o. Schogetten). Aside from department stores, "Trumpf" items are sold in large quantities through "Aldi" [low-priced chain stores]. Well-known brand names besides "Schogetten," which were introduced in 1966, are assorted chocolates with labels such as "Noble Drops in Nut," "Good Spirits in Nuts," "Fresh Fruit Drinks," "Marzipan Stars," "Armorial Class," "Tradition," and "Classic." / In Germany, Monheim has a market share for chocolate bars of 18%, for assorted chocolates of 25%, as well as for seasonal items of 25%. The stated cocoa contents of the products range from 25% to 54%. / Monheim uses 5% of the world harvest in cocoa beans (70,000 metric tons) for a yearly output of 100,000 metric tons (1980). In 1979-80 the company stored raw materials valued at DM 172 million.

**Plate 13 / Nothing Is of Less Interest to Us than Cultural-Political Power (Ludwig)**

The statutes of the Ludwig Foundation, which were proposed by Peter and Irene Ludwig and which were planned together with the federal government, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the city of Cologne, provide for financial contributions to the foundation's endowment from the three public partners. No mention of any amounts is made. / The commissioner of culture for the city of Cologne declared in March 1981: "At the current state, the Foundation will have a budget of 14 million." However, a representative of the state government mentioned as a "reference figure" an amount of DM 2.7 million, which is to be paid in the first year by each of the public partners of the foundation. / In 1981, the state North Rhine-Westphalia cut its traditional grants of DM 3 million to municip-

pal art institutions by one-third. As a consequence, a number of exhibitions cannot be put on as planned, and catalogues cannot be published. The DM 3 million acquisitions budget of the state gallery of Düsseldorf was equally cut by one million, in spite of rising prices on the art market. / The directors of the affected institutions suspect that these cuts were motivated by the payments to the Ludwig Foundation, which are to start as of 1982. Fifteen directors of municipal museums (except those of Cologne and Aachen) therefore spoke out in a protest letter "with great determination ... against the federal government's and the state's subsidizing a concentration of money and power in Cologne." They fear that "the variety of the museum landscape which is based on local initiatives would be severely threatened by the Ludwig Foundation." / The participation of the federal government raises constitutional questions. According to these, the cultural autonomy of the states would be interfered with, and the federal government would gain an instrument with which to make cultural policy that the constitution does not allow. Bavaria has considered bringing the issue before the Supreme Court. / The state of Baden-Württemberg countered with a proposal to establish a "Cultural Foundation of the State," which would not give reason to raise constitutional objections. This "acquisition syndicate of the states" is to prevent the loss of valuable works of German art and cultural history through their sale to foreign buyers, in cases where the financial resources of a single museum would be insufficient to cover the purchases. / To prevent such losses for the nation, however, is also one of the main purposes of the Ludwig Foundation. It is also among the goals of the National Foundation, which is still not operating as designed.

**Plate 14 / Mauxion**

In 1959 the Monheim Group took over Schokoladenfabrik Mauxion KG. Since then it has been producing assorted chocolates and seasonal items under the "Mauxion" label. Following is the development of the company since World War II:

/ 1951 Establishment of a new plant in Quickborn near Hamburg / 1952 Peter Ludwig becomes managing partner. A new plant opened in Berlin-Neukölln (since 1979 independent company Trumpf Berlin GmbH; 49% of the shares held by Monheim) / 1959 Acquisition of a chocolate factory in Ste. Hyacinthe near Montreal (operating since 1974 under the name Comet Confectionary Ltd.) / 1960 Addition of the A. Poser Schokoladenfabrik GmbH of Saarlouis. / 1969 Peter Ludwig becomes president of the company / 1971 Exclusive production and marketing rights for van Houten products. Takeover of the van Houten world distribution network / 1974 Licensing agreements for production in East Germany and Poland / 1979 Acquisition of all shares of Belgian General Chocolate NV/SA with plants in Herentals (Belgium) and Neuss (Germany) / 1980 Participation in the newly founded cocoa trading company Eurobras BV, Amsterdam. Negotiations for cooperative ventures with the Austrian Konsum and the Julius Meinl AG food business in Vienna. Plans are made for the expansion into the Austrian market and possibly joint export to COMECON countries. / In 1978, the parent organization Leonard Monheim KG was transformed into a public company. The former partners, Prof. Peter Ludwig, Dieter Monheim, and Dr. Bernd Monheim, of the third Monheim generation, are now holding "clearly more than 50%" of the capital of DM 41.5 million. The shares are issued in the name of the owner and can be transferred only with the company's approval. The shares are kept totally within the family. / The chairman of the supervisory board of Leonard Monheim AG is Prof. Peter Ludwig. / The Monheim Group comprises twenty-four domestic and sixteen foreign subsidiaries. In 1979-80, worldwide sales amounted to DM 1.358 billion (approximately 34% outside West Germany). / The domestic income was taxed at the rate of DM 19.4 million. If no back payments in taxes had to be made, net income could be estimated at 34 million.



## **Memento Rosa Luxemburg**

2006

Not only the military organization but also the domestic politics and economic lives of the American people will be profoundly influenced by the consequences of the war. Rosa Luxemburg (1898)

No couple in the world has all the prerequisites for happiness that we do.

Rosa Luxemburg (1899)

First, the state today: the organization of the dominant capitalist class.

Rosa Luxemburg (1899)

There can be no obligations without rights, just as there can be no rights without obligations. Because all people have obligations to the state, they must possess rights within the state, and above all the fundamental right to participate in the elections for parliament and the Sejm. Rosa Luxemburg (1904)

On August 4, 1914, German social democracy abdicated politically, and at the same time the Socialist International collapsed. Rosa Luxemburg (1915)

Like his entire worldview, Marx's magnum opus is not a final authority for truths valid for all time but rather an inexhaustible fount of inspiration for further intellectual work, in order to research and struggle for the truth.

Rosa Luxemburg (1915)

Desecrated, dishonored, wading in blood, dripping mud, bourgeois society stands there—that is what it is.

Rosa Luxemburg (1916)

And if it should occur to me to pull down a few stars in order to give them to someone as cuff links, no cold pedant should raise his finger to prevent me from bringing all the student's astronomical atlases into disorder. Rosa Luxemburg (1917)

Without universal elections, unrestricted freedom of the press and of assembly, and free opinion, life in every public institution will die, will become a pseudolife in which bureaucracy remains the only active element. Rosa Luxemburg (1918)

Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for members of a party, however numerous they may be, is not freedom. Freedom is always freedom for those who think differently.

Rosa Luxemburg (1918)



**Hans Haacke**

**for real**

**Appendix**



## List of Exhibited Works

Exhibited in Berlin **B.**

Exhibited in Hamburg **H.**

Editioned work **E.**

### **Fotonotizen, documenta 2** (Auszug) 1959

Photographic Notes, documenta 2  
(excerpt)

26 black-and-white photographs, framed  
under glass

17 x 25.4 cm each

Collection of Hans Haacke, on permanent  
loan to the Museum für Gegenwartskunst  
Siegen **E.**

**H.** ill. pp. 22, 81

### **A7-61** 1961

Wall relief: reflective foil on hardboard

65 x 65 x 3 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 82

### **A8-61** 1961

Wall relief: reflective foil on wood frame

65 x 67 x 10.5 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 83

### **D6-61** 1961

Wall relief: reflective foil on hardboard

65 x 65 x 3 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 82

### **Les Couloirs de Marienbad** 1962

The Corridors of Marienbad

Acrylic plastic, polished stainless steel

31 x 31 x 10 cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, National-  
galerie

**H.** ill. p. 84

### **Revolution - Counterrevolution** 1962

Acrylic plastic, stainless steel

8.9 x 20.5 x 20.5 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** not illustrated

### **A4-62** 1962

Acrylic plastic, stainless steel

8.9 x 27.6 x 27.6 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** not illustrated

### **Kondensationswürfel** 1963/1965

Condensation Cube

Clear acrylic plastic, water, light, air  
currents, temperature (climate of the  
exhibition space)

76 x 76 x 76 cm

MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de  
Barcelona

**H.** ill. pp. 85, 251

### **Kondensationswürfel** 1963/1965

Condensation Cube

Clear acrylic plastic, water, light, air  
currents, temperature (climate of the  
exhibition space)

30.4 x 30.4 x 30.4 cm

Reconstruction by Hans Haacke 2001

Sammlung Generali Foundation, Vienna **E.**

**H.** not illustrated

### **Welle** 1964

Wave

Acrylic plastic, water

137 x 20 x 1.5 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**

**H.** not illustrated

### **Kondensationsboden** 1963/1967

Condensation Floor

Acrylic plastic, water

4.5 x 200.5 x 200.5 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke, Kaiser-  
Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld **E.**

**B.** not illustrated

### **Große Wasserwaage** 1964

Large Water-Level

Acrylic plastic, water

140 x 9 cm (diameter)

Reconstruction 2006

Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**

**H.** ill. pp. 89, 251

### **Blaues Segel** 1964/1965

Blue Sail

Blue chiffon, rotating fan, fishing weights,  
nylon thread

approx. 272 x 272 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke, on permanent  
loan to the Museum für Gegenwartskunst  
Siegen **E.**

**B.** ill. p. 87

### **Kleines Segel** 1964/1965

Small Sail

Blue chiffon, fan, fishing weights, nylon  
thread

Chiffon, approx. 100 x 100 cm

Reconstruction 2006

Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**

**H.** not illustrated

### **Kugel in schrägem Luftstrahl** 1964/1967

Sphere in Oblique Air Jet

Fan with housing, white balloon, electrical  
outlet (110 volts)

30 x 50 x 30 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 86

### **Slow Bubble** 1964/1968

Acrylic plastic; clear, viscous fluid

37.8 x 5.7 cm (diameter)

Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**

**H.** not illustrated

### **Große Welle** 1965

Large Wave

Acrylic plastic, water

31 x 300 x 3.75 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**

**B.** ill. p. 88

### **Photoelectric Viewer Controlled**

**Coordinate System** 1966/1968

14 infrared projectors, 14 photoelectric  
sensors, 28 light bulbs

Dimensions variable, original size of  
room: 345 x 345 cm

Reconstruction 2006

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 94

### **Flight** 1967

Chiffon, steel wire, fan with housing,  
electrical outlet (220 volts)

approx. 20 x 100 x 100 cm

Partial reconstruction 2006

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 91

### **Wide White Flow** 1967

Fans, white fabric

Dimensions variable

Reconstruction 2006 (900 x 1,200 cm)

Collection of Hans Haacke

**H.** ill. p. 92



**High Voltage Discharge Traveling** 1968  
Glass tube, transformer, electrical outlet  
540 x 10 cm (diameter)  
Moderna Museet, Stockholm, New York  
Collection for Stockholm 1973  
H. ill. p. 93

**Circulation** 1969  
Circulation pump, clear plastic hoses,  
Y connectors  
Installation dimensions variable  
Sammlung Generali Foundation, Vienna E.  
B. ill. p. 95

**Grass Grows** 1969  
Earth, grass  
Dimensions variable  
Reconstruction 2006  
Collection of Hans Haacke E.  
H. ill. p. 96

**News** 1969  
Dot matrix printers, rolls of paper,  
news agencies  
Dimensions variable  
Reconstruction 2006  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
H. ill. p. 112

**Schwimmender Eisring** 1970  
Ice Ring  
Acrylic plastic, refrigeration unit, water,  
electrical regulators  
20 x 120 x 200 cm  
MACBA, Collection Museu d'art  
Contemporani de Barcelona  
H. ill. p. 90

**Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile, Part 2**  
1970  
732 black-and-white photographs,  
189 typewritten cards, under glass  
12.5 x 18 cm each  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
H. ill. p. 111

**Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real-Estate  
Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as  
of May 1, 1971** 1971  
142 black-and-white photographs,  
142 typewritten cards, 2 excerpts from  
city map, 6 charts  
Photograph and map: 20.5 x 31 cm  
each pair; excerpts from map,  
charts: 61 x 51 cm each  
Musée national d'art moderne, Centre  
Georges Pompidou, Paris  
B. ill. pp. 45, 113-16

**Manet-PROJEKT '74** 1974  
10 panels, color reproductions of Bunch  
of Asparagus by Edouard Manet in the  
museum frame, framed under glass  
(photo of painting: Rolf Lillig)  
Panels 80 x 52 cm each;  
reproduction 83 x 94 cm  
(size of original)  
Sammlung Museum Ludwig, Cologne  
B. ill. pp. 117-22

**Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board  
of Trustees** 1974  
7 panels, in brass frames under glass  
61 x 50.8 cm each  
Daled Collection, Brussels  
B. ill. pp. 124-27

**On Social Grease** 1975  
6 magnesium plates with photo-  
engraving, on aluminum  
76.2 x 76.2 cm each  
Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection,  
Detroit  
H. ill. pp. 128-30

**Seurat's Les Poseuses (small version),  
1888-1975** 1975  
14 panels, color reproduction of Les  
Poseuses by Georges Seurat in the  
museum frame, framed under glass  
(reproduction: Dia Blauel, Munich)  
Panels 70.5 x 60.5 cm each; reproduction  
60.6 x 70.5 cm (size of original)  
Collection Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven  
H. ill. pp. 131-38

**Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie des  
Gewährbietens, dargestellt am Beispiel  
des Ausbildungsverbots der Christine  
Fischer-Defoy** 1976  
Prognostic Theory of Cognition for a  
Guarantee of Security, Demonstrated by  
the Example of a Ban on Professional  
Training for Christine Fischer-Defoy  
9 panels, black-and-white photographs in  
museum passe-partouts with printed  
titles (sepia), in wood frames under glass  
102 x 72 cm each (framed)  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
B. ill. pp. 139-43

**A Breed Apart** 1978  
7 panels, black-and-white photographs  
on hardboard, framed under glass  
91.5 x 91.5 cm each  
Tate, presented by the Patrons of New  
Art through the Friends of the Tate  
Gallery, 1988  
H. ill. pp. 30, 144-50

**Toch denk ik, dat U mij niet de juiste  
motieven toeschrijft** 1978/79  
But I Think You Question My Motives  
Triptych: 3 light boxes, black melamine,  
black-and-white slides, blue silkscreen as  
background for text and images  
Central panel: 202.5 x 137 x 30 cm; left  
and right panels: 154.5 x 104.5 x 25 cm  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
H. ill. p. 151

**Wij geloven aan de macht van de  
creatieve verbeeldingskracht** 1980  
We Believe in the Power of Creative  
Imagination  
Polyptych: 11 silkscreen panels in blue  
brass frames, black velvet flag, flagpole  
Central panels: 100.5 x 83.3 cm; left and  
right panels: 100.5 x 38.2 cm; top and  
bottom panels: 27.7 x 83.3 cm; flagpole:  
180 cm  
Assistance (silk screen): Day Gleeson  
Collection Stedelijk Museum voor Actuele  
Kunst, Ghent  
H. ill. pp. 76, 152-53



**Der Pralinenmeister** 1981

The Chocolate Master

7 diptychs: 14 collages of polychrome silkscreen, glued photographs, and chocolate packages, in brown wood frames, under glass

100 x 70 cm each

Photograph of Peter Ludwig: Wolf P.

Prange; photographs of workers: Wilhelm Schürmann

Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection, Detroit

H. ill. pp. 154-67

**Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel****Broodthaers** 1982

Oil Painting: Homage to Marcel

Broodthaers

Oil on canvas in gold frame, lamp, brass plaque, brass posts with red velvet rope, red carpet, large-format black-and-white photograph

Painting: 90 x 73.5 cm (framed); brass plaque: 11.5 x 30.5 cm; carpet: 89 cm wide, length variable; dimensions of photograph variable

Installation dimensions variable

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

H. ill. pp. 168-69

**Taking Stock (unfinished)** 1983/1984

Oil on canvas in gold frame

241.2 x 205.7 x 17.8 cm

Assistance: Max Hyder, Richard Knox

Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection, Detroit

B. ill. pp. 170-71

**MetroMobiltan** 1985

Fiberglass construction, three fabric banners, photograph (photo: Alan

Tannenbaum/SYGMA)

355.6 x 609.6 x 152.4 cm

Assistance: Max Hyder, Richard Knox, Paula Payne

Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

H. ill. pp. 173-75

**Buhrlesque** 1985

Shoe boxes, shoes, candles, embroidered tablecloth, color photograph framed under glass, pedestal

Tablecloth: 243 x 143 cm; photograph:

60 x 47 cm; pedestal: 94 x 194 x 94 cm

Assistance (embroidery): Steve Diamond, Hugo Herrera, Boleslaw Hevallo, Mike Otero, Joe Pinero, Krystyna Pochadaj, Sanford Sigall

Collection du Fonds régional d'art contemporain de Bourgogne, France

H. ill. pp. 176-77

**Les must de Rembrandt** 1986

Wood, black-and-white photograph

(photo: W. Campbell/SYGMA), concrete, fabric, metal signs

Front of the boutique:

330 x 300 x 33 cm;

"bunker": 370 x 370 x 180;

wall: 300 x 800 cm

Partial reconstruction 2006

Assistance: Catherine Bonnotte, Sylvia

Bossu, Fabrice Bureau, Jules Chapit, Gérard Chevallier, Robert Chevallier, Eric

Colliard, Xavier Douroux, Franck

Gautherot, Mary Holder, Pierre Mathey,

Marie-Ange Orivel, Jean-Marc Roblot,

Yvon Roblot, Denis Znenek

Collection of Hans Haacke

H. ill. pp. 178-80

**Broken R. M. ...** 1986

Enamel sign, gold-plated snow shovel with broken handle

Installation dimensions variable

Collection of Hans Haacke E.

H. ill. p. 181

**Kontinuität** 1987

Continuity

Three-dimensional adaptation of the logo of Deutsche Bank, rotating Mercedes star in neon, light box, color photograph

(photo: Mark Peters, Black Star), neon tubings, 8 panels with text and photographs, framed under glass, 6 laurel trees

Installation dimensions:

500 x 350 x 350 cm

Partial reconstruction 2006

Assistance: Berthold Schäfer, Hartmut

Schmidt, Winfried Waldeyer

Collection of Hans Haacke

H. ill. pp. 182-85

**The Saatchi Collection (Simulations)**

1987

Photograph, framed under glass, shelf, bust of Lenin in plastic mirror-plated fiberglass, 3 cardboard boxes, plastic bucket, paint roller, plastic disk, plastic sign, bundle of British flags and artificial roses, 3 printed rolls of paper

Installation dimensions:

255 x 193 x 38 cm

Assistance: Lorenzo Clayton, José

Collazo, Richard Knox, Irwin Lefkowitz

Fonds national d'art contemporain,

Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Paris; Inventor-No. FNAC 88350 E.

H. ill. pp. 30, 186-87

**Baudrichard's Ecstasy** 1988

Gold-plated porcelain urinal, ironing board, fire bucket, circulation pump, water, electrical outlet (110 volts)

110 x 90 x 30 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

H. ill. p. 188

**Und ihr habt doch gesiegt** 1988

And You Were Victorious After All

Documentation/reconstruction of temporary installation in public space, column with the Virgin in Graz

Two-part poster wall: 16 posters, collage facsimiles, 6 photographs on aluminum

Posters: 119 x 84 cm each; facsimiles:

22 x 22 cm each; poster wall (total):

approx. 300 x 720 cm; photographs:

75 x 100 cm (4), 85 x 125 cm (1),

93 x 64 cm (1)

Sammlung Generali Foundation, Vienna

B. ill. pp. 35, 189-95

**Calligraphie** 1989

Calligraphy

Architectural model, photograph

Model: 42 x 98 x 149 cm

Assistance: Richard Knox, Alex Ku,

Dan Wiley

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. pp. 37, 196-97



**Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gespon-**  
**sert - aus der Portokasse** 1990  
Freedom Is Now Simply Going to Be  
Sponsored—Out of Petty Cash  
Documentation of temporary installation  
in public space, no-man's-land at the  
Berlin Wall  
3 panels with photographs  
190 x 120 cm (2), 84 x 120 cm  
Assistance: Oliver Schwarz  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**B.** ill. pp. 198-200

**Begegnung im Todesstreifen** 1990  
Encounter in death strip  
Digital C-Print  
250 x 160 cm  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**B.** ill. p. 285

**Helmsboro Country** 1990  
Silkscreens and photograph on wood  
(photo: John Nordell/JPB Pictures),  
cardboard  
"Cigarette box": 77 x 203 x 121 cm;  
"cigarettes": 176 cm x 17 cm (diameter)  
Assistance: Jocelyne Benzakin, John  
Campione, Richard Humann, Charles Nix,  
David Nodelman, Ceil Singer  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**H.** ill. pp. 30, 201-3

**Die Fahne hoch!** 1991  
Raise the Flag!  
Reconstruction of temporary installation  
in public space, Königsplatz, Munich  
3 flags, silkscreen  
Central flag: 551 x 350 cm;  
outer flags: 1,100 x 249 cm  
Reconstruction 2006  
Assistance: Ebrima Camara, Deokallie  
Persaud, Thakurdei Sookram, Jacques  
Rochaste  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**H.** ill. pp. 204-5

**Trickle Up** 1992  
Threadbare sofa, embroidered pillow  
Sofa: 76 x 183 x 86 cm;  
pillow: 66 x 66 x 18 cm  
Assistance: Maria Costa, Bob Hewallo,  
Joc Pinero, Samford Siegel, Isabel Silva  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**H.** ill. p. 206

**Nothing to Declare** 1992  
7 picture frames, bottle rack  
Dimensions variable  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**H.** ill. p. 207

**Photo Opportunity (After the Storm/  
Walker Evans)** 1992  
Black-and-white photograph, framed  
under glass (photo: Walker Evans); light  
box with press photograph; neon lamp  
Photograph: 37 x 44.5 cm;  
light box: 89 x 185 x 8 cm  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**B.** ill. pp. 208-9

**GERMANIA** 1993  
Documentation of temporary installation,  
Venice Biennale  
5 panels with photographs  
approx. 60 x 50 cm (4), 194 x 280 cm  
Assistance: Klaus Bussmann, Stefano  
Corso, Gerardo Fregnan, Richard Georgy,  
Walter Grasskamp, Klaus Habicht, Petra  
Haufschild, Annette Lagler, Florian  
Matzner, Mario Mazzon, Ugo Molin, Lutz  
Neumann, Luca Penso, Slawa Schljachow,  
Richard Schulte, Oliver Schwarz, Paul  
Vadder, Jürgen Wanjek  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**B.** ill. pp. 34, 40-41, 53, 210-12, 286, 295

**Standortkultur** 1997  
Corporate Culture  
Documenta poster: 2 posters, advertising  
column  
350 x 175 cm each  
Reconstruction 2006  
Assistance: Dennis Thomas  
Collection of Hans Haacke **E.**  
**B. H.** ill. p. 213

**DER BEVÖLKERUNG** 2000  
TO THE POPULATION  
Documentation of process-based installa-  
tion in public space, Reichstag, Berlin  
7 panels with photographs,  
50.8 x 50.8 cm each; 1 Duratrans  
Assistance: Joern Kuschinsky, Oliver  
Schwarz  
Collection of Hans Haacke  
**B.** ill. pp. 216-24

**DER BEVÖLKERUNG** 2000  
TO THE POPULATION  
Discussion of the proposal "Art Project in  
the Northern Light Well of the Reichstag  
Building by Hans Haacke: TO THE POPU-  
LATION" by Members of Parliament  
Dr. Norbert Lammert, Ulrich Adams, Ilse  
Aigner, and others at the 97th Meeting  
of the 14th Lower House of German  
Parliament on Wednesday, April 5, 2000  
Video on DVD, approx. 100 min.  
Parliamentary archive of the Deutscher  
Bundestag  
**B.** not illustrated

**Proposal for Poster Commemorating  
9/11** 2001  
Collage, framed  
55.6 x 48.3 cm  
Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy  
Paula Cooper Gallery, New York  
**B.** ill. p. 232, cover

**Commemorating 9/11** 2002  
Documentation of poster project in public  
space, New York  
50 photographs  
38.1 x 26.4 cm each  
Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy  
Paula Cooper Gallery, New York **E.**  
**B.** ill. pp. 232-34

**Proposal: Competition for World Trade  
Center Memorial** 2003  
Digital C-Print, framed  
112.4 x 87.3 cm  
Digital image processing: Sagi Haviv  
Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy  
Paula Cooper Gallery, New York  
**B.** ill. p. 235

**Stuff happens** 2003  
Digital C-Print on aluminum  
127 x 94 cm  
Digital image processing: Gearóid Dolan  
Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy  
Paula Cooper Gallery, New York **E.**  
**B.** ill. p. 236



**Wir (Alle) sind das Volk** 2003

We (All) Are the People

Competition entry for courtyard of Nikolaikirch in Leipzig

5 panels with photographs

60 x 45 cm each

Digital simulation: Hans Haacke, Gearóid

Dolan, based on a photograph by Peter

Franke

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. pp. 239-41

**Star Gazing** 2004

Digital C-Print on aluminum

127 x 94 cm

Photo assistance: Laura Napier; digital

image processing: Gearóid Dolan

Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy

Paula Cooper Gallery, New York E.

B. ill. p. 237

**Ripped** 2004

Digital C-Print on aluminum

127 x 94 cm

Photo assistance: Laura Napier; digital

image processing: Gearóid Dolan

Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy

Paula Cooper Gallery, New York E.

B. ill. p. 238

**State of the Union** 2005

Flag with appliqué

640 x 445 cm

Assistance: Deokallie Persaud

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. p. 242

**Untitled #1** 2005

Table, drawer, iron brace with welded

text, broken lightbulb, pin

Table: 149.2 x 281.3 x 81 cm; iron brace:

151.1 x 12.1 x 6.4 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. p. 243

**Untitled #2** 2005

Clothing storage box, broom handle with

eagle, pennies

Clothing storage box:

165.1 x 49.2 x 33 cm;

broom handle: 152.4 x 7.6 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. p. 244

**Commander in Chief** 2005

Digital C-Print

43.2 x 54.3 cm

Collection of Hans Haacke, courtesy

Paula Cooper Gallery, New York E.

B. ill. p. 245

**Innen/Außen: Spiegelfechterei** 2006

InsideOutside/OutsideInside

Mirror, wood, steel construction

Dimensions variable

Assistance: Götz Hilgner, Lutz Kempkes,

Rainer Knapwerth, Joachim Lex, Gerhard

Manthey, Torsten Stiller, Michael Thiessen

Collection of Hans Haacke

H. ill. pp. 2-5

**Kein schöner Land** 2006

Digital print on foil, digital print on paper

(employing multi-headed doll from the

collection of the Museum of Childhood,

Bethnal Green, London; photograph,

based on instructions from the artist:

Jeremy Hardman-Jones)

Dimensions variable

Information: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung,

Berlin; Berit Lusebrink, Julia Neudert

Assistance: Andrea Illig, Simone

Schmaus, Andreas Süß, Albert Weis

Collection of Hans Haacke

B. ill. pp. 6-13



## Biography

### — 1936

Hans Haacke, born in Cologne in 1936, lives in New York since 1965

### — 1956-1960

Studies at the Staatliche Werkakademie, Kassel

First state examination as art teacher

### — 1960-1961

Works at Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17, Paris

### — 1961-1963

Works at the Tyler School of Fine Arts, Temple University, Philadelphia; lives in New York

### — 1963-1965

Returns to Cologne; teaches at the Pädagogische Hochschule in Kettwig and other institutions

### — 1966-1967

Teaches at the University of Washington, Seattle; at Douglass College of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey; and at the Philadelphia College of Art

### — 1967-2004

Teaches at Cooper Union, New York (Professor of Art)

### — 1973

Visiting professor at the Hochschule für bildende Künste, Hamburg

### — 1979

Visiting professor at the Gesamthochschule Essen

### — 1994

Visiting professor at the Hochschule für bildende Künste, Hamburg

### — 1997

Regents Lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley

## Prizes and Honors

### — 1960

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD grant)

### — 1961

Fulbright Fellowship

### — 1973

John Simon Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship

### — 1978

National Endowment for the Arts grant

### — 1991

College Art Association Distinguished Artist Award for Lifetime Achievement

Deutscher Kritikerpreis for 1990

Honorary doctorate in Fine Arts, Oberlin College, Ohio

### — 1993

Golden Lion, Venice Biennale (together with Nam June Paik)

### — 1998

Honorary doctorate from the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar

### — 2004

Peter-Weiss-Preis of the City of Bochum

## Works in Public Collections

— Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona

— Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin

— Städtisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn

— List Visual Arts Center, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts

— Australian National Gallery, Canberra

— Fonds Régional d'Art Contemporain de Bourgogne, Dijon

— Le Consortium, Dijon

— Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven

— Stedelijk Museum voor Actuele Kunst, Ghent

— Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

— Israel Museum, Jerusalem

— Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld

— Fonds Régional d'Art Contemporain Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Lille

— Tate Gallery, London

— Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

— Fonds Régional d'Art Contemporain Rhône-Alpes, Lyon

— Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

— Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster

— New School of Social Research, New York

— New Museum for Contemporary Art, New York

— Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio

— Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

— National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

— Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

— Fonds National d'Art Contemporain, Paris

— Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris

— Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

— Fundação Serralves, Porto, Portugal

— Neuberger Museum of Art, Purchase, New York

— San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, California

— Broad Art Foundation, Santa Monica, California

— Moderna Museet, Stockholm

— Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

— Museum Heedendagse Kunst, Utrecht

— Generali Foundation, Vienna

— Bauhaus Universität, Weimar

— Galerija Suvremene Umjetnosti, Zagreb



## Selected Solo Exhibitions

— 1965

Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf

— 1966

Howard Wise Gallery, New York

— 1967

Hayden Gallery, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

— 1968

Howard Wise Gallery, New York

— 1969

Howard Wise Gallery, New York

— 1971

Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne

— 1972

Galerie Françoise Lambert, Milan  
Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld

— 1973

John Weber Gallery, New York

Galerie Paul Maenz, Brussels

— 1974

Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne

— 1975

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1976

Galerie Françoise Lambert, Milan  
Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt;  
traveled to Badischer Kunstverein,  
Karlsruhe

Lisson Gallery, London

Max Protetch Gallery, Washington, D.C.

— 1977

John Weber Gallery, New York  
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford,  
Connecticut

Galerie Durand-Dessert, Paris

— 1978

Galerie Durand-Dessert, Paris  
Museum of Modern Art, Oxford

— 1979

Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven  
The Renaissance Society, University of  
Chicago

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1980

Galerija Suvremene Umjetnosti, Zagreb

— 1981

Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1983

Galerie France Morin, Montreal

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1984

Tate Gallery, London

Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst,  
Berlin

— 1985

Kunsthalle Bern

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1986

Le Consortium, Dijon

New Museum of Contemporary Art,  
New York; traveled to Mendel Art Gallery,  
Saskatoon, Canada; Museum of Contem-  
porary Art, La Jolla, California; Lowe Art  
Museum, Coral Gables, Florida; The Knight  
Gallery, Charlotte, North Carolina

— 1987

Victoria Miro Gallery, London

— 1988

John Weber Gallery, New York

The Grand Rapids Art Museum, Grand  
Rapids, Michigan

— 1989

Musée nationale d'art moderne, Centre  
Georges Pompidou, Paris

— 1990

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1992

John Weber Gallery, New York

— 1993

Venice Biennale, German Pavilion  
(with Nam June Paik)

— 1994

John Weber Gallery, New York  
Volksbühne, Berlin (stage design)

— 1995

Fundació Antoni Tàpies, Barcelona

— 1996

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,  
Rotterdam

— 2000

Portikus, Frankfurt am Main

Reichstag, Berlin (commissioned perma-  
nent process installation; design 1999)

— 2001

Serpentine Gallery, London

Generali Foundation, Vienna

— 2002

Creative Time (poster in 115 locations in  
New York as memorial to September 11)

— 2005

Paula Cooper Gallery, New York

— 2006

Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz, Berlin

(Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg, design  
2004)

## Selected Group Exhibitions

— 1964

'Group Zero,' Institute of Contemporary  
Art, University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia; traveled to Washington  
Gallery of Modern Art, Washington, D.C.

'Zero,' New Vision Centre, London

'Sculptors as Printmakers,' Museum of  
Modern Art, New York

— 1965

'Nul,' Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

'Licht und Bewegung: Kinetische Kunst,'

Kunsthalle Bern; traveled to Palais  
des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; Staatliche  
Kunsthalle, Baden-Baden; Kunstverein für  
die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Düsseldorf

— 1966

'Directions in Kinetic Sculpture,'

University Art Gallery, University of

California, Berkeley; traveled to Santa  
Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara,  
California

'Kinetic Currents,' San Francisco Museum  
of Art

— 1967

'Miscellaneous Notions of Kinetic Sculp-  
ture,' Hayden Gallery, Massachusetts  
Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

— 1968

'Ars multiplicata: Vervielfältigte Kunst  
seit 1945,' Wallraf-Richartz-Museum,  
Cologne

'Plus by Minus: Today's Half-Century,'  
Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New  
York

'Art Vivant,' Fondation Maeght, St.-Paul-  
de-Vence, France

'The Machine as Seen at the End of the  
Mechanical Age,' Museum of Modern Art,  
New York; traveled to University of  
St. Thomas, Houston; San Francisco  
Museum of Modern Art

'Some More Beginnings: Experiments in  
Art and Technology,' Brooklyn Museum,  
New York

— 1969

'Earth Art,' Andrew Dickson White  
Museum of Art, Cornell University, Ithaca,  
New York

'Live in Your Head: When Attitudes  
Become Form: Works-Concepts-  
Processes-Situations-Information,' Kunst-  
halle Bern; traveled to Museum Haus



Lange, Krefeld; Institute of Contemporary Arts, London

'Prospect 69,' Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf

'New Alchemy: Elements, Systems, Forces,' Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto; traveled to Musée d'art contemporain, Montreal

— 1970

Tokyo Biennale '70: 'Between Man and Matter,' Metropolitan Art Gallery, Tokyo; traveled to Municipal Art Museum, Kyoto, Aichi Prefectural Art Gallery, Nagoya

'Information,' Museum of Modern Art, New York

'L'art vivant aux États-Unis,' Fondation Maeght, St.-Paul-de-Vence, France

'Software,' The Jewish Museum, New York; traveled to Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

'Conceptual Art, Arte Povera, Land Art,' Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin

— 1971

'Earth Air Fire Water: Elements Of Art,' Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

'Arte de sistemas,' Museo de Arte Moderno, Buenos Aires

'Prospect 71,' Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf; traveled to Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark

'Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects,' New York Cultural Center, New York

— 1972

Documenta 5, Kassel

'Konzept'-Kunst, Kunstmuseum Basel

— 1973

'Kunst im politischen Kampf,' Kunstverein Hannover

'New York Collection for Stockholm,' Moderna Museet, Stockholm

'Contemporanea,' Parcheggio di Villa Borghese, Rome

— 1974

'Interventions in Landscape,' Hayden Gallery, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

'Art into Society, Society into Art: Seven German Artists,' Institute of Contemporary Arts, London

— 1975

Venice Biennale: 'Attualità internazionale'

'Prospectretrospect: Europa,' 1946-1976, Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf

— 1977

'Words at Liberty,' Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago

'A View of a Decade,' Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago

— 1978

Venice Biennale

'Feldforschung,' Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne

'Museum des Geldes: Über die seltsame Natur des Geldes in Kunst, Wissenschaft und Leben,' Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf; traveled to Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven; Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

'Das serielle Prinzip in der zeitgenössischen Kunst: Pop Art, Minimal Art, Konzept Kunst,' Kunstmuseum Luzern, Lucerne

— 1979

'Eremit? Forscher? Sozialarbeiter? Das veränderte Selbstverständnis von Künstlern,' Kunstverein Hamburg

— 1980

'Kunst in Europa na '68,' Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent

— 1981

'Politische Konzeptkunst,' Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe; traveled to International Cultureel Centrum, Antwerp

— 1982

'60'80: Attitudes/Concepts/Images,' Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

Documenta 7, Kassel

— 1983

'Photography in Contemporary Art,' National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo; the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto (1984)

'Masterworks of Conceptual Art,' Galerie Paul Maenz, Cologne

— 1984

Fifth Biennale of Sydney: 'Private Symbol: Social Metaphor,' Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney

'Difference: On Representation and Sexuality,' New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York; traveled to The Renaissance Society, University of Chicago; Institute of Contemporary Arts, London

'Content: A Contemporary Focus,' Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

'L'art et le temps: Regards sur la quatrième dimension,' Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; traveled to Musée Rath, Geneva; Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim; Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts, Vienna; Barbican Art Gallery, London

— 1985

'1945-1985: Kunst in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,' Nationalgalerie, Berlin

— 1986

'An American Renaissance: Painting and Sculpture since 1940,' Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale, Florida

'Bodensulptur,' Kunsthalle Bremen

'The Artist as Social Critic,' Australian National Gallery, Canberra

— 1987

'Avant-Garde in the Eighties,' Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

'State of the Art,' Institute of Contemporary Arts, London

'Photography and Art: Interactions since 1946,' Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles; traveled to Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Queens Museum, Flushing, New York; Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, Iowa

'L'époque, la mode, la morale, la passion,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

Documenta 8, Kassel

'Skulptur-Projekte in Münster,' Münster

— 1988

'Committed to Print,' Museum of Modern Art, New York; traveled to University Art Galleries, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio; Peace Museum, Chicago; Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta; New York State Museum, Albany, New York; Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence; Newport Harbor Art Museum, Newport Beach, California

'50 Artists/50 Flags: Gran Pavese; The Flag Project,' Rotterdam; traveled to Museumsufer, Frankfurt am Main; Modern Art Museum, Antwerp; Rond Point des Champs Elysées, Paris; Tiananmen Square, Beijing; University Art Museum, University of Tampa, Florida; Systema Galleries, Baarn, The Netherlands

'Bezugspunkte 38/88,' Steirischer Herbst, Graz, Austria



— 1989

'Word as Image,' Australian National Gallery, Canberra

'Magiciens de la terre,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

'Image World: Art and Media Culture,' Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

'L'art conceptuel: Une perspective,' ARC/Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris; traveled to Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid; Deichtorhallen, Hamburg; Musée d'art moderne, Montreal

— 1990

Eighth Biennale of Sydney: 'The Ready-made Boomerang: Certain Relations in 20th Century Art,' Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney

'Um 1968: Konkrete Utopien in Kunst und Gesellschaft,' Kunsthalle Düsseldorf; traveled to Museum für Gestaltung, Zurich

'Le territoire de l'art,' State Russian Museum, Leningrad

'The Decade Show: Framework of Identity in the 1980s,' The Studio Museum in Harlem, New York

'Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit: Berlin 1990,' Berlin

'Art et Publicité 1890-1990,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

— 1991

'Inheritance and Transformation,' The Irish Museum of Modern Art, Royal Hospital Kilmainham, Dublin

'ArgusAuge,' Königsplatz, Munich

'Das Goldene Zeitalter,' Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart

— 1992

'Pour la suite du monde,' Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal

'Manifeste: 30 ans de création en perspective, 1960-1990,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

'Territorium Artis,' Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn

— 1993

'Mediale,' Deichtorhallen, Hamburg

— 1994

'The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History,' The Jewish Museum, New York; traveled to Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin; Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich

'Welt Moral: Moralvorstellungen in der Kunst heute,' Kunsthalle Basel

'Gewalt/Geschäfte,' Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, Berlin

— 1995

'Reconsidering the Object of Art, 1965-1975,' Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

'Revolution: Art of the Sixties from Warhol to Beuys,' Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo

— 1996

'Face à l'histoire,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

— 1997

Documenta X, Kassel

'Skulptur-Projekte in Münster 1997,' Münster

'DeutschlandBilder: Kunst aus einem geteilten Land,' Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin

Second Johannesburg Biennale, Johannesburg

— 1998

'Reality Bites: Approaches to Representation in American Sculpture,' Chicago Cultural Center, Chicago

'Minimal Maximal,' Neues Museum Weserburg, Bremen; traveled to

Kunsthalle Baden-Baden; Centro Gallego de Arte Contemporánea, Santiago de Compostela

— 1999

'The Museum as Muse: Artists Reflect,' Museum of Modern Art, New York; traveled to Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego, La Jolla, California

'Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980s,' Queens Museum of Art, New York; traveled to Miami Art Museum, Miami; Vancouver Art Museum, Vancouver; List Visual Art Center, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

'Circa 1968,' Museu Serralves, Porto, Portugal

'Das XX. Jahrhundert: Ein Jahrhundert Kunst in Deutschland,' Hamburger Bahnhof, Museum der Gegenwart, Berlin

'The American Century: Art & Culture 1900-2000,' Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

— 2000

'Le temps, vite,' Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

Whitney Biennial 2000, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

'Force Fields,' Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona; traveled to Hayward Gallery, London

'Painting the Century,' National Portrait Gallery, London

'Dinge in der Kunst des XX. Jahrhunderts,' Haus der Kunst, Munich

'Intermedia: Dialog der Medien,' Museum für Gegenwartskunst Siegen, Germany

— 2001

'Jasper Johns to Jeff Koons: Four Decades of Art from the Broad Collections,' Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

'Antagonismes,' Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona

— 2002

'Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art,' Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (ZKM), Karlsruhe

'1968-1977: L'art en cause(s),' CAPC/Musée d'Art Contemporain de Bordeaux

'Comer o no comer,' Centro de Arte de Salamanca, Spain

— 2003

'Air,' James Cohan Gallery, New York

'The Last Picture Show: Artists Using Photography, 1960-1982,' Walker Art Center, Minneapolis; traveled to UCLA Hammer Museum, Los Angeles (2004) Berlin-Moskau, Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin

— 2004

'A Minimal Future? Art as Object, 1958-1968,' Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

'Behind the Facts: Interfunktionen, 1988-1975,' Fundació Joan Miró, Barcelona; traveled to Museu Serralves, Porto, Portugal; Kunsthalle Fridericianum Kassel (2005)

'Art and Utopia, Action Restricted,' Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona

'Beyond Geometry: Experiments in Form, 1940s-1970s,' Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles; traveled to Miami Art Museum, Miami

'Moskau-Berlin,' Historical Museum, Moscow

'Mirrorical Returns: Marcel Duchamp and 20th Century Art,' National Museum of



Art, Osaka; traveled to Yokohama  
Museum of Art, Yokohama (2005)

— 2005

'Open Systems,' Tate Modern, London  
'Occupying Space/Wasting Time,' Generali  
Foundation, Vienna

'Kritische Gesellschaften: Kunst, Kritik  
und die Versprechen des Kapitalismus,'  
Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe

'Wie Gesellschaft und Politik ins Bild  
kommen,' Generali Foundation, Vienna

— 2006

'ZERO: Internationale Künstler-Avant-  
garde der 50er/60er Jahre,' museum  
kunst palast, Düsseldorf

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