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A POLITICS OF ACTION: HANS HAACKE IN GERMANY, 1972-2006

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Examining the works of Hans Haacke (b. 1936, Cologne) made in and about Germany between 1972-2006, this dissertation argues that the investigation of that country's political structures comprises the very core of Haacke's motivating concerns. Haacke's long-term interrogation of German politics, now extending over more than three decades and including museum, gallery, and public art projects, reveals a new and crucial way of understanding his overarching enterprise, one which developed in direct response to the history of Nazi Germany and its aftermath in the following decades. His determination to figure out how things work stemmed, I argue, from his drive to understand how the Nazi history came to be, and to work against a repetition of such events in the future. In early work this focused on physical and biological systems before moving into the political sphere, examining how powerful people and institutions operate and act in the world according to their interests.

The generous attention to the aftermath of Haacke's most provocative works in both Germany and the United States, while certainly central to his oeuvre, has obscured crucial attention to the initiation of his work. I consider Haacke's work in light of Hannah Arendt's proposition of action, which focuses on the outset of a project and its inherent potential to initiate a process in a new direction. My chapters correspond to the central themes in Haacke's German works—memory, the public sphere, and participatory citizenship—and are organized in terms of the “what,” “where,” and “how” of these projects. His individual works comprise a larger inquiry into the failures of Germany's work of coming to terms with the past and are a type of memory work, but one attuned to historical recovery rather

than trauma or mourning. In so doing, they engage questions of the “public,” both in physical terms of public space as well as in an engagement of public audiences, and generate a version of Arendt’s “space of appearance,” in which participants come together to examine and debate contentious histories and their current implications. Ultimately, I argue, Haacke’s works take on the fraught and sweeping question of citizenship in Germany—of who is included or excluded from the German people either by prejudice or law—and carry an implicit call for participation that challenges the interests of large-scale institutions. Accounting for multiple moments of first West Germany’s and then reunified Germany’s efforts to define themselves, I contextualize Haacke’s German works within the larger question that underlies this dissertation, and in which they are necessarily situated, namely, Germany’s postwar reckoning with its history.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Hans Haacke's work in sculpture, photography, painting, and installation has contributed to his renown as a major figure in conceptual art, but the works he completed in his native Germany remain lesser known—in both Germany and the United States—than those he produced in New York, where he has lived and worked since the mid-1960s. Indeed, his most familiar works are those that have fit formally and or conceptually into a broader art historical narrative, in which early works such as the clear acrylic box *Condensation Cube*, 1963-65, have helped to define conceptual art of the 1960s, and *MOMA-Poll*, 1970, articulated so well the concerns of artists who were beginning to question the institutional conditions in which their works were being shown.

At the same time, Haacke's exhibition history—or rather the relative absence of such in the United States—explains why an American audience has been little exposed to his explorations of German political interests and terms since the 1970s. These projects have regularly been shown in his solo exhibitions in Europe—in Frankfurt (1976), Oxford (1978), London (1984), Berlin (1984), Paris (1989), Barcelona (1995), Vienna (2001), and Berlin and Hamburg (2006). However, not since his 1986 show at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, has Haacke had a retrospective in the United States, and the smaller exhibitions that he has had have focused on the immediate political and economic conditions of the contexts in which he has shown.

Most famously the victim of the Guggenheim Museum's cancellation of his scheduled 1971 survey exhibition, Haacke was unofficially blacklisted by museums in the 1970s and

80s and twice removed from exhibitions in the United States and Germany, first the Guggenheim in 1971 and then the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in 1974, precisely for exposing the tangled threads between art, money, and politics. Haacke's renown for critiquing the mechanisms of private (primarily corporate) funding of museum exhibitions in this country is the obvious (if unproven) explanation for the fact that he has been excluded from both the exhibition calendars and acquisition programs of the major institutions.

All of this has contributed to the lack of attention to his works made in Germany, which generally require long explication through texts and other documents to convey the details of the circumstances to which they have responded. But although these works are less familiar, Haacke's long-term interrogation of German politics since the early 1970s, now extending over more than three decades, reveals a new and crucial way of understanding his overarching project, one which developed in direct response to the history of Nazi Germany, into which he was born in 1936, and its aftermath in the following decades. Indeed, this dissertation argues that the investigation of Germany's postwar political structures is the very core of his practice, for it motivated projects to figure out how things work—first in the physical and biological realms, and later the political—how powerful people and institutions operate and act in the world according to their interests. The motivation behind many of the German works—to understand and represent the continuities between Nazi-era institutions and postwar realities in the effort to help guard against a return to such repression, has come to inform the whole of his practice, which centers on laying bare the interests behind the actions of powerful individuals and institutions.

While Haacke is one among many artists who have responded to this period of German history, his work on the questions of memory and coming to terms with the past is distinct from other responses that focus on trauma and mourning, often locating the Holocaust at their center, as an interrogation of the political structures that engendered it rather than an emotional response after the fact. While awareness of the atrocities of the Holocaust is undoubtedly entwined in Haacke's response, the focus of his work about Germany has been attuned to its political aftermath and, importantly, the ways in which it remained unaccounted for, even as West Germany undertook the long-term process of making a public accounting. In Haacke's work, the events themselves are taken as given, and the working through is a reckoning with the present moment rather than the past.

His conceptual framework, and particularly his use of text—in archival documents and the presentation of his own research—effects a certain remove from the emotional pull of memory, which other artists have frequently explored through images, and indeed there is a wealth of literature on the problem of representing the Holocaust visually.¹ In directing the focus of his examination differently, Haacke allows for an alternative approach to grappling with the same historical facts that does not aim to connect with the viewer's emotion, but rather her intellect.

¹ See, for example, Barbie Zelizer, ed., *Visual Culture and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Lisa Saltzman, *Anselm Kiefer and Art After Auschwitz* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and *Making Memory Matter: Strategies of Remembrance in Contemporary Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006); James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002). Among the artists frequently written about in these terms are Anselm Kiefer, Christian Boltanski, Rachael Whiteread, Shimon Attie, and Art Spiegelman.

It is important to note that Haacke's interests are generational; he was faced with accounting for the social and political structures into which he was born, but for which he was too young to be directly accountable. The Nazis had been in control of the country for three years, and in the year of his birth staged the Berlin Olympics, now infamous for their appropriation as a propagandistic platform filled with imagery in support of National Socialist ideals.² Haacke's father was a Social Democrat, and part of the resistance, which spared Haacke the legacy of descending from those who either passively supported or actively carried out the crimes of the Nazi Party.³ But after 1945, both individual Germans—particularly the next generation—and the country as a whole would begin the open-ended work of questioning what had happened and how, and who would be held accountable.

Haacke grew up in Bad Godesberg, a town outside of Bonn on the banks of the Rhine.⁴ He entered the Staatliche Hochschule für Bildende Kunst [State Art Academy], Kassel in 1956, and graduated in 1960. According to him, Kassel was the most interesting place in Germany to study at a time when most other art academies in Germany taught figurative painting, a direct consequence of the Nazis' attack on abstract art. Its faculty included Arnold Bode, who with art historian Werner Haftmann, organized the first three Documentas (beginning in 1955), which marked a turning point in German art and art history. Haacke studied with Fritz Winter and Marie-Louise von Rogister, who was married to the influential and well-connected art critic of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* Albert

² These oversized and idealized sculptures of athletes remain today on the grounds of Berlin's Olympic Stadium.

³ His father lost his job with the city of Cologne for refusing to join the Nazi Party. Afterwards, he established an accounting practice with support from Haacke's grandfather.

⁴ When Bonn was the capital of West Germany, most of the foreign embassies were located in Bad Godesberg. In 1969 Bad Godesberg was incorporated into the city of Bonn.

Schulze Vellinghausen, and they introduced students to the international art world.⁵ Winter was a Bauhaus-trained painter whose career had been interrupted by the Nazi campaign against modern art, and Haacke's training was shaped by his abstract-painter teachers and other West German gestural abstractionists including Emil Schumacher, Karl Fred Dahmen, and Bernhard Schulze, as well as the French Tachists.

In 1959, Haacke met Otto Piene in Düsseldorf, who with Heinz Mack, had founded the Zero Group the previous year.⁶ The meeting contributed to a permanent shift in Haacke's work, away from painting and toward a more distanced and cooler abstraction in sculpture. While Haacke never became an official member of Zero, he exhibited with the group on multiple occasions, and was drawn to its proclamation of a new beginning for art and the abandonment of earlier forms and materials, adopting light and technology (particularly kinetic elements) as new mediums that would simultaneously break with the past and open up new possibilities. The hand and psychology of the artist were abandoned as the basis for artmaking, replaced by smooth clean surfaces.

Throughout his studies, Haacke made visits to Paris, and in 1960, spent a year there on a DAAD grant, working in Stanley William Hayter's printmaking studio. His paintings from 1960-61 abandoned gesture and moved into all-over pattern compositions, as in the small points of silver and blue paint that cover the canvas in *Ce n'est pas la voie lactée* [This Is Not the Milky Way], 1960 (fig 1), and in the expanse of short orange dashes on a white ground that might be read as an experiment in a markmaking system, in light of his later interest in systems, in *B1-61*, 1961 (fig 2).

⁵ Interview with the author, April 4, 2011.

⁶ Piene and Mack were joined by Günter Uecker in 1961 and ZERO disbanded in 1966.

The following year, Haacke came to the United States, attending the Tyler School of Fine Arts at Temple University in Philadelphia on a Fulbright for prints and sculpture, where his work became increasingly object oriented, expanding away from two-dimensional works into objects that were shown on the wall, pedestal, or floor. His works from that year reflected the influence of ZERO, emphasizing a new set of materials including highly reflective foil strips, stainless steel, and clear acrylic, and Haacke wrote of them,

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.⁷

Some of the titles of these works referenced the writing and film of Alain Robbe-Grillet (*La Bataille de Reichenfels* [The Battle of Reichenfels], 1961, and *Les couloirs de Marienbad* [The Corridors of Marienbad], 1962), in an allusion to the distance and depersonalization for which French literature and film of the 1950s was known, while also indicating similar moves in his practice (figs 3, 4).⁸ The works themselves were devoid of narrative content, and comprised of regular patterns of grids and lines. In *A8-61*, 1961, and similar works, rows of thin strips of highly reflective foil were wrapped around curved wooden forms, approximately two-feet square, effecting a shimmering but cool surface that reflected its surrounds and viewer (fig 5). The Robbe-Grillet-referencing works were constructed of stainless steel or acrylic as, for example, *The Battle of Reichenfels*, in which a field of short stainless steel rods protrude from a thin sheet of the same material, presented

⁷ Philadelphia, January 7, 1962. Cited in Matthias Flügge and Robert Fleck, eds., *Hans Haacke: For Real: Works 1959-2006* (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 2006), 82.

⁸ This is discussed in Philip Glahn, *Estrangement and Politicization: Bertolt Brecht and American Art, 1967-79*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The City University of New York, 2007, 143-45.

horizontally. These qualities, as well as the incorporation of the viewer's presence in the use of reflective materials, quickly emerged as core characteristics in both Haacke's aesthetic and his very approach to artmaking.

While in Philadelphia, Haacke became determined to move to New York, which he saw as the center of the art world.⁹ He moved there the following September, and had his first one-person show of prints at George Wittenborn's One-Wall-Gallery, which comprised the wall of his art bookstore on Madison Avenue, an important gathering place for artists.¹⁰ The reviewer for *Arts Magazine* was frustrated by the reserved aesthetic of Haacke's works, and wrote, "it is more interesting to think and write about this sort of thing than to see it...."¹¹ Although he exhibited prints at One Wall, his work was moving more and more into the realm of objects and, in some cases, beginning to rely on the viewer to activate the work.

From 1962 through most of the decade, Haacke developed works that conveyed an investigative process of discovery. In 1963 he began a series of clear acrylic containers containing small amounts of water, which reacted to air temperature, condensed on the sides, and dripped back to the bottom. Among these works, *Condensation Cube* has become the best known (fig 6).¹² But others were interactive, including *Rain Tower*, 1962, a tall thin

⁹ Interview with the author, April 4, 2011.

¹⁰ The German Wittenborn had fled Berlin in 1932 after being harassed by Nazis for selling books on the ideological left.

¹¹ Sidney Tillim, "In the Galleries: Hans Haacke," *Arts Magazine* 37, no. 1 (October 1962): 57-8.

¹² In the 1964 *Group Zero* exhibition at the ICA Philadelphia, Haacke showed three not yet titled works, all 1964, made of acrylic containers that held small quantities of water, including one that was spherical. Samuel Adams Green, *Group Zero* (Philadelphia: Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, 1964). Reprinted by Arno/Worldwide, New York, 1968. *Condensation Cube* was first shown in Haacke's exhibition at the Haus am

column of acrylic boxes, through which water dripped down through holes in nine levels of acrylic dividers, which the viewer inverted to set it into motion (fig 7). Likewise interactive, *Welle* [Wave], 1964, was a long thin horizontal acrylic box that was half filled with water and suspended from the ceiling by wires, and also activated by a viewer who would push it from one end to engage a swinging motion, in the process generating the wave that gave the piece its title (fig 8).

While *Condensation Cube* has become part of the conceptual canon, Jack Burnham wrote at the time that it was not taken seriously. One version of the box was in the Museum of Modern Art's rental collection, which Burnham recalled visiting with Haacke, where "a secretary commented that Museum personnel had been playing with it for days—it seemed to have caused more joyful curiosity than any number of 'sculptures'—[and] for that reason the museum never thought seriously of buying it as a 'work of art'." He continued,

Most saw the water box as essentially frivolous; lacking the mystery, restraint, impact, technical bravura, cruelty, wit, optical salience that went into the games of other currently successful artists. Here was an art of essential phenomenalism where the obligation to see was passed onto the spectator. The artist had structured the events—take it or leave it.¹³

Required to return to Germany upon the expiration of his student visa, Haacke lived in Cologne for two years, working as an assistant in the art department of the Pädagogische Hochschule, Kettwig (a teachers' college) and other schools. Burnham described the studio in Cologne "on the top floor of a pre-war building... [in] a cavernous central room where the results of World War II bombing raids were keenly evident... within a shell of missing

Lützowplatz, Berlin. Haacke, *Hans Haacke: Wind und Wasser; August—September 1965, Galerie im 3. Stock, Haus am Lützowplatz* (Berlin: Haus am Lützowplatz, 1965).

¹³ Jack Burnham, "Hans Haacke: Wind and Water Sculpture," *Tri-Quarterly Supplement 1* (Spring 1967): 6.

masonry and blackened roof timbers” and, as Haacke continued his experiments with acrylic boxes and water, he told Burnham about the challenges of securing and financing the necessary materials.¹⁴ During this period, he participated in several group shows with Zero, including at the ICA Philadelphia (1964) and the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam (1965),¹⁵ where he showed new works based on experiments with water and air. The exhibition announcement for a solo show at Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf in May 1965, included a text he had written that articulated a kind of “assignment” for himself, of guidelines for making work that stemmed from and responded to the environment in which it was created, and which in retrospect foregrounded with incredible acuity the direction that his work would take far into the future.

... make something which experiences, reacts to its environment, changes, is non-stable ...
... 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...¹⁶

In 1965, Haacke moved to New York permanently and, through his connections to the Zero Group, was immediately approached by Howard Wise for a solo exhibition.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁵ *nul*, Stedelijk Museum Catalogue 377, no. 1-2 (April 15 – June 8, 1965). The show combined similar tendencies in current art from diverse places including NUL (the Dutch Zero group) and Gutai from Japan.

¹⁶ The text was reprinted on the poster for Haacke’s recent M.I.T. show, *Hans Haacke 1967*. Caroline A. Jones, *Hans Haacke 1967* (Cambridge, MA: MIT List Visual Arts Center, 2011).

Excerpts from the above text were reprinted in English on the announcement for Haacke's first New York show, titled *Hans Haacke: Wind and Water* at Howard Wise Gallery on West 57th Street in January 1966, and this was followed by additional shows in 1968 and 1969.

From 1966-67, Haacke taught at the University of Washington (Seattle), Rutgers University, and the Philadelphia College of Art, before accepting an adjunct position at Cooper Union in 1967, where he advanced to full professor and taught until his retirement in 2002. In addition to a solo exhibition at M.I.T. in 1967, he participated in several important group shows in the late 1960s: *Directions in Kinetic Sculpture* at the UC Berkeley Art Gallery and Santa Barbara Museum of Art (1966) framed his experiments with water in terms of the action they rendered visible,¹⁸ while *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* at MoMA (1968) presented his contribution as a marriage of form and technology, and as a "collaboration with forces of nature."¹⁹ A year later, *Earth Art* at Cornell University's Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art (1969) put his work into the context of this new type of sculpture that was often site-specific and attentive to time and process,²⁰ while in Europe, Harald Szeemann's landmark survey of conceptual art at the

¹⁷ Oral history interview with Hans Haacke, August 20-21, 2009. Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

¹⁸ Peter Selz, *Directions in Kinetic Sculpture* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966).

¹⁹ K.G. Pontus Hultén, *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968), 195. Haacke's work was represented by *Ice Stick*, 1966, a 54" refrigeration element, which, when plugged in condensed moisture in the air into a thin column of ice. Hultén, Director of the Moderna Museet in Stockholm, was a guest curator at MoMA.

²⁰ Willoughby Sharp, *Earth Art* (Ithaca, NY: Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1970), n.p. Haacke contributed *Grass Grows*, 1967-69, to the exhibition and also made *Spray of Ithaca Falls: Freezing and Melting on Rope, February 7, 8, 9...*, 1969, while there.

Kunsthalle Bern, *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form* (1969) presented Haacke's contributions in terms he described as the "documentation of processes."²¹

In the transcript of the symposium held in conjunction with the *Earth Art* exhibition, Haacke made a short statement about his contribution, *Grass Grows*, 1967-69 (fig 9). He explained that he was not particularly interested in what the piece *looked* like, but instead in what it demonstrated. "I'm more interested in the growth of plants—growth as a phenomenon which is something that is outside the realm of forms, composition, etc.," he said, "and has to do with interaction of forces and interaction of energies and information."²² Once again, one of Haacke's very early statements would concisely set the stage for the direction of his work in the next several decades, though the forms and content would change.

By his own account, Haacke made his first expressly political work in 1969, in the midst of the antiwar and civil rights movements.²³ In a pointed and deliberate challenge to the separation between politics and the confines of the museum, he conceived a project that inserted the technology of media distribution into the space of the gallery. *Nachrichten*

²¹ Haacke showed *Birth Certificate of My Son*, January 22, 1969 and photographs of his physical systems projects with water from 1968-69, which are documented in Germano Celant, *When Attitudes Become Form Bern 1969/Venice 2013* (Milan: Fondazione Prada, Ca' Corner della Regina, 2013). Szeemann's 1969 catalogue included Haacke's proposal for a new project in which a strip of Mylar would hang outdoors and move according to the wind, but this was not realized. See Szeemann, *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form: Works, Concepts, Processes, Situations, Information* (Bern: Kunsthalle Bern, 1969), n.p.

²² Sharp, n.p.

²³ Mary Gordon, "Art and Politics: Five Interviews with: [sic]," *Strata: A Publication of the School of Visual Arts* 1, no. 2 (1975): 7.

[News],²⁴ 1969-70, Haacke's contribution to *Prospect 69* at the Kunsthalle Düsseldorf (a group exhibition organized by Konrad Fischer and Hans Strelow in September—October 1969), comprised a teletype machine that printed the transmissions by the Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa) onto reams of paper that spilled onto the floor in real time during the exhibition (fig 10).²⁵ Each day, the previous day's dispatches were hung on the wall as an expansion of the installation, and then rolled and archived in clear plastic tubes labeled with the time, place, and source of the transmissions. Important, too, was that the exhibition coincided with federal elections in West Germany, and the news reports disrupted the separation between the exhibition and the world outside.

Haacke was among the generation of artists who were deeply impacted by the upheavals of the late 1960s, and he noted the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., as disturbing him deeply and demanding some kind of response. At the same time, the growing crisis in Vietnam added urgency. Although a decade older than the student generation, he shared the movement's concerns and anti-authoritarian positions, and was infected with the growing large-scale mistrust of institutions. Now firmly planted in New York, Haacke's energies were more focused on the New York protest movements than on developments in Europe, though the methods he developed would become the starting point for his German inquiries in the early 1970s. Young West Germans—the "68ers"—

²⁴ The choice of language for Haacke's titles is significant and intentional, for it indicates the original context in which a work was shown. Therefore, I give German titles first, followed by their English translations.

²⁵ Following this initial installation, Haacke included it in his show at Howard Wise that November, and then designated it for *Software* at the Jewish Museum (September—November 1970), which was curated by his friend Jack Burnham. Haacke employed a range of news services depending on the local context; they included UPI (United Press International), ANSA (Italy), Reuters, the New York Times News Service, and the Los Angeles Times/Washington Post.

were reacting against their parents and demanding answers to what had happened in the war, and artists of that generation gathered around Joseph Beuys's action-based protest projects, but this was far from Haacke's New York milieu. His critiques of German politics began and remained decidedly independent from the German art world. Within a community of artists and others interested in challenging the status quo, Haacke began to channel his political energy into works that lay bare the connections between art institutions and political institutions.

Beginning in 1969, Haacke devised a series of "polls," with which he surveyed the viewers of his exhibitions—by placing pins on maps, checking off a questionnaire, punching a card, or marking a form for computer tabulation, depending on the time and place—to collect data on the socio-economic status and political orientations of the gallery-going public. The first poll, *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1* and *Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile, Part 2*, stretched over two exhibitions, beginning with his gallery show at Howard Wise in November 1969 and followed up at Galerie Paul Maenz in Cologne in January—February 1971. The New York viewers were asked to mark the places of their birth and current residence—with different colored pins—on a map of the city, and then in Cologne, Haacke presented 732 5x7" black-and-white photographs that wrapped around the gallery's walls, of the addresses they had indicated, arranged along both sides of a center line that represented Fifth Avenue, with images on either side according to East or West (fig 11, 12). Additional polls were prepared for the *Software* exhibition at the Jewish Museum (1970) (which would have been administered via computer but was not conducted due to technical problems), the Guggenheim (1971), Documenta 5 (1972), and others.

Haacke's most famous poll appeared in 1970, when he was invited to participate in Kynaston McShine's *Information* show at the Museum of Modern Art. With *MOMA-Poll*, Haacke conceived a work that made the correspondence between political power and the control of art institutions very clear, connecting Rockefeller family influence in both New York State government and the Museum during the Vietnam Era (fig 13).²⁶ At the time Nelson Rockefeller was Governor of New York and also a member and past Chairman of the MoMA Board of Trustees, and his brother David the current Chair. The piece posed a question to viewers, asking them to vote yes or no with slips of paper received with their admission tickets. It 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.

Very much aware that he was challenging the institution within its own walls, Haacke was concerned that the project might not be permitted by the MoMA administration. The question referred to Nixon's authorization of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia at the end of April 1970, an expansion of the war in Vietnam, which had sparked widespread protests in the U.S., most infamously in a deadly suppression by the Ohio National Guard on May 4 at Kent State. Rockefeller was indeed reelected in 1970 (before going on to become Gerald Ford's Vice President after Nixon's resignation in 1974). Votes were deposited into 3' 4" tall acrylic boxes, much like the containers of his experiments with water in the previous decade, but this time they measured visitors' political inclinations rather than the changes in relative humidity brought about by their presence

²⁶ Kynaston McShine, ed. *Information* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970).

in the gallery. Ballots were to be counted nightly and recorded on a chart on the wall.²⁷

Haacke reported that over the course of the three-month exhibition, 68.7% of respondents voted yes, and 31.3% no, with a 12.4% overall participation by Museum visitors.

The polls were Haacke's first forays into what has since been termed institutional critique. When the Guggenheim cancelled his exhibition (more on this in chapter two), this relatively nascent development in his work moved increasingly to the center, as this institutional censure touched the core of his concern with free expression. He began with challenging the separation between inside and outside the museum with an examination of the terms and constraints under which art institutions frame the works they display, and, as his political concerns deepened, extended his investigations into other types of institutions. Indeed, *Framing and Being Framed* became the title of a 1975 volume on Haacke's work, which included texts by Burnham and sociologists Howard S. Becker and John Walton. Kasper Koenig, its editor, noted that it was through site-specific display—within the institutions themselves—that the works assumed their critical “socio-economic and political impregnation”—a kind of “fertilization”—that remained integral to the pieces beyond their initial display.²⁸ In Germany, this site-specificity would be extended beyond the confines of the museum, and his attention focused increasingly on other larger institutions—corporations and the government—that were working to shape politics to their own interests.²⁹

²⁷ Haacke acknowledged that the project's execution was imperfect, as the distribution of ballots was not always carried out according to his instructions.

²⁸ Kasper Koenig, “Editor's Note” in *Hans Haacke: Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-75* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 7.

²⁹ See Alexander Alberro, “Institutions, Critique, and Institutional Critique” and Blake Stimson, “What Was Institutional Critique?” in Alberro and Stimson, eds., *Institutional*

Haacke's first projects of this nature came shortly following the precedent set by Marcel Broodthaers (1924-1976) two years earlier, with his *Museum of Modern Art, Department of Eagles*, 1968-72. A complex project that took different forms over a four year period, it was organized around a collection of found objects that used the image of an eagle to symbolize power. Broodthaers's interest lay in the role of the institution in presenting and interpreting objects in its display, and the piece originated in the artist's studio on the occasion of a meeting of, as Broodthaers described, "friends who included gallery owners, collectors, and artists—[who came together] with the intention of analyzing from an artistic standpoint what it was that wasn't functioning in Belgium... the relations between art and society..."³⁰ Reframing the studio as a museum exhibition space, he presented a collection of "publications, discussions, postcards, real artistic objects, paintings and sculptures, and... publicity objects" in order to examine the conditions and interests behind museological presentation. He explained, "To talk about this museum, my museum, means to talk about how to analyze the deception [of his work]. The ordinary museum and its exponents merely represent a form of the truth. To talk about this museum means to discuss the conditions of truth."³¹

Haacke recognized from an early moment that even as he critiqued the art system, he was working within it and was part of it. He published a text on the imbrication of artists within the interests and operations of art institutions in 1974, on the occasion of his

Critique: An Anthology of Artists' Writings (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), 2-19 and 20-42.

³⁰ See Broodthaers, "A Conversation with Freddy de Vree, 1969" in Alberro and Stimson, eds., *Institutional Critique: An Anthology of Artists' Writings*, 82-4. Haacke presented a talk in 1994 in Bonn in which he spoke about Broodthaers's example. See "The Eagle from 1972 to the Present" in Manuel J. Borja-Villel, *Hans Haacke: "Obra Social"* (Barcelona: Fundacio Antoni Tapies, 1995), 224-26.

³¹ Broodthaers, "Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles" (1972) in *ibid.*, 138-9.

inclusion in *Art into Society—Society into Art: Seven German Artists* at the ICA London. He wrote,

There are no ‘artists’... who are immune to being affected and influenced by the social-political 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 (‘artist’ 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, no matter of 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 make-up of their society. They work within that frame, set the frame and are being framed.³²

While his work might appear to fit into a number of larger art tendencies, Haacke has always rejected art historical labels and categories—including conceptual artist and institutional critique. In a 1971 interview (prior to the Guggenheim), he declared, “I don’t consider myself a naturalist, nor for that matter a conceptualist or a kineticist, an earth artist, elementalist, minimalist, a marriage broker for art and technology, or the proud carrier of any other button that has been offered over the years.”³³ But labels aside, Haacke’s essential concern is that of a critic of the ways in which museums—and

³² *Art into Society—Society into Art: Seven German Artists* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1974), reprinted in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, *Hans Haacke* (London: Phaidon, 2004) as “All the ‘Art’ That’s Fit to Show, 1974,” 104-5. Andrea Fraser describes the degree to which this has only increased four decades later, when many institutions have embraced the critique, in “From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique,” *Artforum* 44, no. 1 (September 2005): 278-83, 332.

³³ Jeanne Siegel, “An Interview with Hans Haacke,” *Arts Magazine* 45, no. 7 (May 1971): 18.

corporations and governments—are guided by the interests of money, which, when traced, extend widely and deeply into other areas of political and financial interest. Activated by the political awakening of the time, Haacke first directed this attention to art institutions, and slowly adopted a wider lens to study how other kinds of institutions use support for the arts to strengthen their public images, particularly when they wish to mask unpopular or embarrassing partnerships, such as ones with apartheid-era South Africa in the 1980s.

While the details of each of Haacke’s German projects offer a great deal of information about the range of competing interests operative in the work of building a postwar and later post-Wall Germany, there is even more to be learned from considering his works about Germany as a larger oeuvre. To do this, I have looked to the writings of Hannah Arendt (1906-1975), whose works also comprise a prolonged project of working through the history of Nazi Germany and its consequences. While Haacke’s and Arendt’s lives were very different (Arendt was thirty years Haacke’s senior and a German-Jew forced to immigrate to the United States [via Paris]), they both organized careers around questions stirred by what happened in Germany and across Europe from 1933-1945. Arendt’s own search for understanding, as voiced throughout her oeuvre but most explicitly in “Understanding and Politics (The Difficulties of Understanding),” facilitates a broader interpretation of Haacke’s own collected works and indeed, this literature brings out new implications of his work that afford a deeper synthesis of his practice.³⁴ Arendt wrote,

³⁴ Rosalyn Deutsche and Chantal Mouffe have discussed Arendt’s ideas about citizenship in relation to Haacke’s *Der Bevölkerung*, 2000, which will be addressed in chapter four. Mouffe argues that for Arendt, citizenship is crucial, for only with citizenship do individuals have a

Understanding, as distinguished from having correct information and scientific knowledge, is a complicated process which never produces unequivocal results. It is an unending activity by which, in constant change and variation, we come to terms with and reconcile ourselves to reality, that is, try to be at home in the world.³⁵

In *The Human Condition* (published in 1958, and based on a 1956 lecture series at the University of Chicago), Arendt discussed a model for living—the *vita activa*—comprised of three parts: action, labor, and work. Arendt’s ‘action’ focused on the *initial moments* of an undertaking: “To act, in its most general sense, means to take an initiative, to begin... to set something into motion.”³⁶ Regardless of the end result, this first stage carried the possibility of changing course and effecting change. Attentive to the interconnectedness of all people (to our *plurality*, as she termed it), to the way in which “everything is connected to everything else” (and which is made clear in so many of Haacke’s works that reveal common interests that some players might prefer remain obscured), Arendt wrote, “The smallest act in the most limited circumstances bears the seed of the same boundlessness and unpredictability; one deed, one gesture, one word may suffice to change every constellation.”³⁷ (In his 1987 work *The Saatchi Collection (Simulations)*, an exposé of the links between a private art collection, a public museum, and political PR campaigns, Haacke cited a quote by Lenin, which had been used in the 1985 annual report of the Saatchi &

claim to rights. Mouffe, “Every Form of Art Has a Political Dimension,” *Grey Room* 2 (Winter 2001): 105-07.

³⁵ “Understanding and Politics (The Difficulties of Understanding)” in *Essays in Understanding 1930-1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1994), 307-08. The essay was originally titled “The Difficulties of Understanding” prior to its 1954 publication in *Partisan Review* XX, no. 4.

³⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 177.

³⁷ Arendt, “Labor, Work, Action” in Peter Baehr, ed., *The Portable Hannah Arendt* (New York: Penguin, 2000), 180. The essay was based on a 1964 lecture at the University of Chicago.

Saatchi Company: “Everything is connected to everything else,” in a rather less optimistic take on the same concept of interconnectedness [fig 14].³⁸ (More on this in chapter four.) Considering Haacke’s work in this light, it proposes the possibility that something might change for the better as the result of his work. The outcome is unpredictable because of our plurality, and so with each new work—each new engagement with the political circumstances that allow negative social forces to deepen and grow—there is the potential to initiate a process in a new direction.

Outlining the inherent *possibility* within action, Arendt writes,

Without action, without the capacity to start something new and thus articulate the new beginning that comes into the world with the birth of each human being, the life of man, spent between birth and death, would indeed be doomed beyond salvation. The life span itself, running toward death would inevitably carry everything human to ruin and destruction. *Action, with all its uncertainties, is like an ever-present reminder that men, though they must die, are not born in order to die but in order to begin something new* [emphasis added].³⁹

Different from so much “critical” contemporary art that focuses exclusively on the negative, and implies the impossibility of effecting change within structures so large and entrenched, and so guided by financial interests and priorities, Haacke’s work contains a glimmer of possibility, even as it, too, reveals insidious backdoor interests. So too, the generous attention to the *aftermath* of Haacke’s most provocative works—from the reconstructed Nazi obelisk that was firebombed in Graz in 1988 to his controversial garden in the Berlin Reichstag in 1999-2000, which ignited a fierce debate over the definition of the “German people”—while certainly central to his oeuvre, has obscured this crucial

³⁸ Haacke’s piece exposed the company’s own connections to the South African apartheid government, at the same time that Charles Saatchi had opened a new exhibition at his London gallery.

³⁹ Arendt in Baehr, ed., 181.

attention to the initiation of his work.⁴⁰ Haacke acts as though he still believes in the chance that his interventions into the German political landscape could initiate a change.

Haacke's practice is an ongoing questioning of the present moment, with each project a response to the participants, interests, and circumstances of a specific context. However, considering them as of a larger piece has also afforded a new understanding of the ways in which they operate as a durational argument. The similarities across Haacke's works on the German themes, attending to restrictions on freedom in Germany's public sphere, are necessarily repetitive, accumulating and unfolding across both his career and the different periods and political configurations of Germany's postwar history, as a recurring and reinforcing warning against a repetition of history.

Moreover, as his works are nearly always generated by specific exhibition opportunities, the structure of the exhibition is at the very core of his practice, and determinant of the works he produces. While he is exacting about the materials he uses and the forms the works take (particularly with respect to outside associations they might conjure), it is the exhibition that drives his production. Because of this, what follows also operates as an exhibition history, with attention to the histories of the sites and local political contexts (with particular attention to competing positions) and other interests that have held stakes in the terms of his projects.

In my research into Haacke's work about Germany, three themes repeated again and again, and proved to be key in determining the true stakes of his project. Memory, the public sphere, and participatory citizenship also correspond to the "what," "where," and

⁴⁰ See, for example, Benjamin Buchloh's primary article on Haacke, which examines his work precisely in terms of its reception. "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," *Art in America* 76, no. 2 (February 1988): 97-109, 157-59.

“how” of his German projects, or, more specifically, what the work is about, where it happens, and how he works to change the direction of the status quo. These are also key terms in Germany’s postwar reckoning with its history. Indeed, this is such a central problem in Germany that it has its own term. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or coming to terms with the past, has come to encompass this process that began upon Hitler’s defeat and took separate paths in East Germany and West before entering a new phase after the fall of the Berlin Wall and subsequent reunification. It continues, of course, into the present, in a process that is necessarily unending.

While Haacke’s perspective on this history could never be unbiased, living outside of Germany since the early 1960s has afforded him a larger perspective and a wider lens. Coming from West Germany, however, and never having lived in East Germany (though he did visit East Berlin, the first time in high school), he has approached the questions of his work from a West German point of view. In chapter two, I explore Haacke’s project as an inquiry into the failures of Germany’s work of coming to terms with the past. This is a type of memory work, but one attuned to the impact of history on the present instead of intent only on the past. Conceived as an inquiry into systems at this early stage in his career—first physical and biological systems, and then increasingly political—Haacke’s works from the late 1960s set the stage for his concerns about the structures of institutions in Germany in subsequent decades. The cancellation of his exhibition at the Guggenheim because his works were too politically charged was also fundamental to the further development of his career, serving to deepen Haacke’s commitment to investigating and exposing financial and political relationships that those involved preferred to keep hidden. Historical episodes in Cologne, Graz, and Venice became kernels through which to explore—in situ—the

persistence of Nazi history in the present, in the exhibition contexts of a museum exhibition, a show of public art, and the Venice Biennale, respectively.

Chapter three examines the question of the “public” in Haacke’s works, in the physical terms of his use of public space as well as his engagement of public audiences. In both West Germany and after reunification, and motivated by the history of the Nazi Party’s slow but ultimately devastating attacks on free expression, he produced works that articulated the ways in which free expression was threatened or impeded by both public authorities and private concerns. In an important but lesser known exhibition at the Frankfurter Kunstverein in 1976, Haacke devoted several works to new constraints by the West German government in a climate of fear during which the Red Army Faction was active. Then in the 1980s, he explored German corporations’ use of art to expand their interests, before turning the same concern to growing threats to free expression in the United States—and the corporate backing that helped drive it—in the context of the culture wars beginning in the late 1980s.

Arendt’s *The Human Condition* also offers a model for how many of Haacke’s works operate in a public context, in what Arendt identifies as the “space of appearance,” which “comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action, and therefore predates all formal constitution of the public realm and the various forms of government, that is, the various forms in which the public realm can be organized.”⁴¹ In the third chapter, I explore how Haacke has used public space as an arena in which to raise questions about the legacy of the German past, simultaneously critiquing constraints on free expression by corporate and governmental interests, productively creating a space in

⁴¹ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 199.

which these issues can be examined and debated. His practice is one of reclaiming public space as a space for debate—debates in which competing interests and claims are revealed and acknowledged, in a challenge to the equalizing mechanisms of institutions (the government and corporate power) that seek to smooth over difference. While scholars have demonstrated the fiction of a neutral public space—and indeed, this kind of agonistic reality is frequently revealed through Haacke’s works and the debates they trigger—Haacke has also claimed it for the potential to generate awareness of and debate over matters of political and historical concern.⁴²

The fourth and final chapter focuses on the ways in which Haacke’s works have engaged the fraught and sweeping question of national identity in Germany—of who is included or excluded from the German people either by prejudice or law—and how he has ultimately directed this toward an advocacy of participatory citizenship. Working across distinctly different moments of first West Germany’s and then reunified Germany’s efforts to define itself, Haacke made works that engaged the debates over these questions. In 1999-2000 and 2006, Haacke’s two major public projects in Berlin engaged the mechanisms of state and federal administration and generated debates that became part of the work that the projects were doing. Through them, he argued for an active citizenship as the means by which to both guard against a repeat of the Nazi history and be a basis for collective identity *not* based on a shared ethnic or religious background. For Arendt, participatory democracy was the antithesis of totalitarianism, and so offered a political

⁴² See Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” *Social Text* 25-26 (1990): 56-80; David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Chantal Mouffe, “Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?,” *Social Research* 66, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 745-58.

model that could guard against its reappearance. In *On Revolution* (1963), she rearticulated action, now in the context of political change:

The grammar of action: that action is the only human faculty that demands a plurality of men; and the syntax of power: that power is the only human attribute which applies solely to the worldly in-between space by which men are mutually related, combine in the act of foundation by virtue of the making and the keeping of promises, which, in the realm of politics, may well be the highest human faculty.⁴³

That is to say, political participation generates community, which allows a civil society to function. In Haacke's work, then, active citizenship and participation could guard against a loss of government accountability and the accumulation of too much power by any individual or group, while at the same time, offered the possibility of participatory citizenship as an *active* response that had the potential to effect change going forward rather than remaining mired in history.

While some of the German works have been written about before, in most cases, and especially in English language publications, it has been without adequate attention to the specific historical-social-cultural contexts in which they were created. This may be explained as a product of linguistic and cultural remove, the complexity of the relevant circumstances, and the simple absence of scholarly attention to some of the projects. However, as will be seen, it is precisely these contexts to which Haacke was responding, and which reveal their meaning. I take this close tracing of history as my methodology. Authors have tended to treat Haacke's projects as *faits accomplis*, but it is precisely the *circumstances of their making* that give them their power and significance. Haacke has said

⁴³ Arendt, *On Revolution* [1963] (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 167.

as much himself: “I often work with the specific context of the place for which I produce a piece—both the physical as well as the social and political context. They’re part of the materials I work with; they’re like bronze or paint on canvas.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ “Molly Nesbit in Conversation with Hans Haacke” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 12.

CHAPTER 2
RECOVERING HISTORY

On April 10, 1968, days after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., Haacke wrote a searching letter to his friend Jack Burnham. With uncharacteristic candor, he reflected on his doubts about the efficacy of art in the face of political violence and foreshadowed the shift that would follow shortly in his work, to a way of working that would address politics more directly.

Last week's murder of Dr. King came as a great shock. Linda and I were gloomy for days and still have not quite recovered. The event pressed something into focus that I have known for long but never realized so bitterly and helplessly, namely, that what we are doing, the production and the talk about sculpture, has no relation to the urgent problems of our society. Whoever believes that art can make life more humane is utterly naïve... Nothing, but really absolutely nothing is changed by whatever type of painting or sculpture or happening you produce on the level where it counts, the political level. Not a single napalm bomb will not be dropped by all the shows of 'Angry Arts'. Art is utterly unsuited as a political tool. No cop will be kept from shooting a black by all the light-environments in the world. As I've said, I've known that for a number of years and I was never really bothered by it. All of a sudden it bugs me. I am also asking myself, why the hell am I working in this field at all. Again an answer is never at hand that is credible, but it did not particularly disturb me. I still have no answer, but I am no longer comfortable.⁴⁵

It was a call to action. At the same time, the West German student movement was gathering around challenging the culture of silence about the Holocaust, and coalesced into a driving force behind the call for a national accounting for the Nazi period and all its crimes. From

⁴⁵ April 10, 1968, quoted in Burnham, "Steps in the Formulation of Real-Time Political Art" in *Hans Haacke: Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-75*, 130.

New York, Haacke followed the West German media, regularly reading *Der Spiegel*, for example, and sympathized with the movement's energy and demands.⁴⁶

Memory grew to become central in the work Haacke made in and about Germany. The politics of 1968 in both the United States and abroad had a strong influence, as he began to channel his energies into a more direct relationship with political conflict and change. Initiated in New York, this became pivotal in his German projects, there developing into a sustaining interrogation of the country's process of coming to terms with the past. Haacke's approach to memory has been oriented around current political configurations and activism, looking at the legacy of the Third Reich in terms of how it persisted after the war on a structural level—how it stealthily pervaded the structures of West German society prior to 1989 and the reunified country after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Haacke was a survivor of the war and had a first-hand relationship to its consequences. His recollections of air raids and burning buildings are absent from his work, however, and replaced with a more distanced perspective on history. With 1968, memory in Germany became politicized, and this proved crucial to Haacke once he turned his attention there in the early 1970s. Already sympathetic to the distrust of institutions that was integral to the '68 movements, Haacke turned increasingly toward questions of institutional power—both in politics and the art world. His works in West Germany and Austria developed into a long-term project to understand the political mechanisms of the Nazi period and their consequences, and the ways in which they persisted in postwar culture.

⁴⁶ Conversation with the author, April 4, 2011.

In projects from Cologne (1974) to Graz (1988) to Venice (1993), Haacke researched particular historical incidents—buried from public consciousness—and brought them into public view, where his projects demanded an audience and provoked a response. In 1974, this took aim at the continuities between Hitler’s Germany and postwar West Germany, which Haacke focused on Hermann Abs, a prominent economic figure both during and after the war, on the occasion of a group exhibition in Cologne. Then in 1988, when invited to contribute to an exhibition in Graz, Haacke recreated a Nazi monument in one of the city’s public squares, in a reconfiguration of public space that drew out local pro-Nazi responses previously somewhat obscured, and in 1993, at the Venice Biennale, he transformed an exhibition space designed by Hitler into an interrogation of the post-Wall present. Haacke told me in one of our conversations that he is “interested in what shapes the world that we live in,”⁴⁷ and I understand his German work as motivated by a decades-long attempt to understand what happened in Nazi Germany, and what the lingering consequences were for the country’s political, cultural, and social spheres. While his work did not turn to the German situation until the early 1970s, his interest in how things work—demonstrated first with his early systems experiments—seems likely to have originated in his first-hand experience of the war and in a personal effort to comprehend what many have deemed incomprehensible.

In Haacke’s ongoing address of the problem of memory in Germany—of gaps in memory even as the country has charted a course very much in relationship to this past—his repeated attention to these questions operates as a kind of memory work of its own. He disrupts existing memory and exposes its failures. Benjamin Buchloh, writing in 1988,

⁴⁷ Conversation with the author, December 2, 2009.

identified Haacke's work as "acts of countermemory" that disrupted the dominant strains of official West German memory and barred enthusiastic reception of his work in the 1970s and 80s.⁴⁸ Comparing Haacke's experience in Germany to that of Anselm Kiefer and Joseph Beuys, Buchloh wrote, "[i]t is clear that, for postwar Germany in particular, the type of factually specific memory that Haacke constructs is not very appealing. What the dominant forces in contemporary German culture seem to prefer is work that mourns the political barbarism of the Nazi past. Apparently they can afford to applaud the sublime and polyvalent (or are they merely politically obscurantist?) poetic meditations and pictorial reconciliations of work by Beuys and Kiefer. What they cannot tolerate is Haacke's devotion to factual accuracy..."⁴⁹

In 1965 or 1966, Haacke was introduced to systems theory and the work of biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy by Burnham, and realized that it could be useful to help explain the kinds of work he had been making about the environmental changes effected by water or air, and particularly the interactions between different elements. In addition to the experiments with water, he had made works about airflow, such as *Blue Sail*, 1964-65, in which a large but featherweight section of blue chiffon was suspended from the walls and set into constantly changing motion by a fan positioned beneath it (fig 15). In the summer and fall of 1967, he took the experiment with air currents outdoors for his first project in public space, *Sky Line*, 1967, in which a long string of white helium-filled balloons was released and activated by the local currents (fig 16). Carried out twice in New York's

⁴⁸ Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," 102.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 98.

Central Park at the Conservatory Pond, it was part of twin exhibitions organized by Willoughby Sharp, *Kinetic Environment I and II*.

As the political climate began to intensify, however, Haacke's thinking on the relationships between things began to expand. When he was invited to participate in the 1969 Sao Paulo Bieñal, he was one of many artists (and some countries) that withdrew in protest against Brazil's repressive military dictatorship. Haacke recognized the political relationships that were operative and how art was being instrumentalized for political positioning, though it had not quite yet entered into his work. Gyorgy Kepes, curator of the U.S. contribution to the exhibition and director of the Center for Advanced Visual Studies at M.I.T., refused to pull out of the show altogether. A year after Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, on April 22, 1969, Haacke wrote to Burnham,

I believe any exhibition organized and in the name of the U.S. Government abroad is a public relations job for this government and has the potential to divert attention from its machinations and the war in Vietnam. It is the old fig-leaf story.... Repressive tolerance diverts the information and makes it into a U.S.I.A. [United States Information Agency] stunt. It is just obscene to play innocent, particularly in a show organized for a country whose regime lives by the grace of the C.I.A....⁵⁰

On the announcement card for his show at Howard Wise in November 1969, Haacke included a statement about systems:

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

⁵⁰ Quoted in Burnham, "Steps in the Formulation of Real-Time Political Art" in *Framing and Being Framed*, 131.

social, they can be man-made, naturally existing or a combination of any of the above. In all cases verifiable processes are referred to.⁵¹

Two years later, while preparing his show for the Guggenheim, he discussed his conception of systems in an interview for *Arts Magazine*. He emphasized the action inherent within the work he was doing, and that this was more important than the perceptual experience of the viewer. “I believe the term system should be reserved for sculptures in which a transfer of energy, material, or information occurs,” he explained, “and which do not depend on perceptual interpretation.”⁵² At the same time, Haacke had turned to what he called “real stuff,” now working with “real-time systems.” “Real-time systems are double agents,” he explained. “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 [italics added].”⁵³ Curator Edward Fry also explored this in his Guggenheim essay, describing Haacke’s *Condensation Cube* as a “real time open system,” as distinguished from a closed system or one not playing out in real time. He wrote, “A real time system is any phenomenon which is observable as it takes place; an open system differs from a closed system in that it can respond to information outside of itself, whereas a closed system does not, i.e. it simply repeats itself without variation.”⁵⁴

While sculptures in the *Condensation Cube* family shared formal and material elements with minimalist works of the same period, Haacke considered them

⁵¹ Reprinted in Jones, *Hans Haacke 1967*, 53.

⁵² Haacke in conversation with Jeanne Siegel, “An Interview with Hans Haacke,” *Arts Magazine* 45, no. 7 (May 1971): 18.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁴ Edward F. Fry, “Introduction to the Work of Hans Haacke” reprinted in Jones, 33 and 45, note 3.

fundamentally different because of his primary concerns with *change* and ultimately with the political consequences of its denial. “From the beginning,” he explained, in the same interview, and setting up the terms for his work going forward,

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* [emphasis added].⁵⁵

Systems theory also bore relation to wider developments in American society, and while this was part of the reason for Haacke’s interest, its growing instrumentalization by the U.S. military became reason for him to distance his work from it. Burnham had written in *Artforum* in September 1968, “We are now in transition from an *object-oriented* to a *systems-oriented culture*. Here change emanates, not from *things*, but from *the way things are done*.”⁵⁶ Systems analysis was by then “best known through its usage by the Pentagon” and tied to “the expense and complexity of modern warfare.”⁵⁷ Indeed, power was being increasingly linked with technology. While this was not the motivation behind Haacke’s early work with systems, it was also not wholly outside its implications, for which his invitation to have an exhibition at M.I.T. is evidence. As Caroline Jones writes, M.I.T. was itself a center of development of military systems, and received major funding from the Department of Defense and NASA, which became the focus of student protests in 1968 (the

⁵⁵ Siegel, 19.

⁵⁶ Jack Burnham, “Systems Esthetics,” *Artforum* 7, no. 1 (September 1968), 31. Burnham went on to position this new form of art in opposition to Michael Fried’s attack on recent art. (Fried had published his now canonic essay “Art and Objecthood” in the Summer 1967 issue of *Artforum*.)

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

year after Haacke's show there).⁵⁸ Haacke's attention to political interests and power began to develop soon thereafter.

It was to be the Guggenheim where Haacke introduced his newest moves into eliciting the operations of social systems. But while his precarious first step in this direction with the *MOMA-Poll* had turned out to be passable, his projects for the Guggenheim proved too provocative. Invited by Fry to have a solo exhibition, a particular honor for a 34 year old artist, Haacke was well on the way to preparing the show when Thomas Messer, the Guggenheim Director, cancelled it. The April 5 press release by which the announcement was made read,

The contents of the exhibition were to include presentations that in the view of counsel might raise legal objections and in view of the Foundation's trustees would run counter to established policies that exclude active engagement toward social and political ends.⁵⁹

The Edward F. Fry Papers at the University of Pennsylvania Library reveal the extent to which preparations for Haacke's show were underway when it was cancelled. The catalogue proofs were back from the publisher and the installation schedule had been planned, which suggests the surprise with which Haacke, Fry, and their friends would have received the decision. Titled *Hans Haacke: Systems 1963-70*, the exhibition (scheduled to run from April 30—June 6), as outlined in Fry's one-page proposal, was to present "inorganic systems," "organic systems," and "interactions between human organisms,"

⁵⁸ See Jones, "Hans Haacke 1967," in *Hans Haacke 1967*, 26, note 40.

⁵⁹ "Haacke Exhibition Cancelled at the Guggenheim." Press release. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, April 5, 1971.

categories that have indeed held across decades, as the focus points for his investigations.

Fry also included the following comment,

Haacke's art, if it may be so called, marks a radical change in cultural consciousness, not only within the humanistic-aesthetic sphere but in the society that it reflects. Haacke's purpose is not primarily aesthetic despite the often very great elegance of his works. Instead, his intentions are, apparently, based on an apprehension of the poetry within the phenomena of the real world and its functioning; and ultimately the effect of his work is moral, directed toward increasing the general awareness of the conditions necessary for human life and of the threat to those conditions.⁶⁰

The exhibition was to include a range of works, including several plant-based projects to track biological growth, bringing the natural world into the space of the museum exhibition, and Haacke had already begun to grow specimens for *Guggenheim Beans* and *Guggenheim Rye in the Tropics* (for which he planted ryegrass next to the tropical plants already on site) in the Guggenheim's interior planters (fig 17, 18). Three other new works, however, were the reason for Messer's decision. *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*⁶¹ was at the center of his argument against the show (fig 19, 20). The project's namesake, Harry Shapolsky was a notorious New York slumlord, and his legal troubles had been covered in the *New York Times* since the late 1950s. *Shapolsky et al* marked the first time that Haacke incorporated topics from the local headlines into his work on such a large scale. The work paired 142 photographs of New York City buildings with lists of details about each property, which Haacke had researched in the New York County Clerk's office. These were to be installed on

⁶⁰ Edward F. Fry Papers, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

⁶¹ *Shapolsky* was also shown in the group exhibition at the 1978 Venice Biennale, which was co-organized by Jean Christophe Ammann, Achille Bonito Oliva, Antonio Del Guercia, and Filiberto Menna. Živa Kraus, ed., *La Biennale di Venezia 1978: From Nature to Art, from Art to Nature. General Catalogue* (Milan: Gruppo Editoriale Electa S.p.A., 1978).

the wall with data sheets that provided a list of details about the ownership of each one: address, building size and type (they were mostly tenements), corporate owner of record and individual signatories of the contracts, acquisition date and seller, mortgage amount, and assessed value, in a straightforward list without commentary. Also part of the installation were maps marking the locations of the properties, mostly on the Lower East Side and Harlem, in addition to six charts that mapped a web of corporate connections. One hundred and one corporations were connected to one another through mortgages, and thus blurred the ownership of and responsibility for the rundown addresses. As Haacke explained his motivation for the project with characteristic concision, “I was interested in who owns New York City.”⁶²

The second project Messer objected to was also based on New York real estate, and took similar form, in an early example of Haacke’s method of sometimes doubling projects based on a single theme and formal presentation, seeming to suggest that the systems he was identifying extended beyond the particular details of any one context. *Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971* also mapped and documented the properties of a New York real estate group, in this case the largest in Manhattan at the time, which owned both high rent properties like the Chrysler Building as well as tenements and seedy venues in Times Square (fig 21). Haacke wrote,

The partners have been accused of planting pimps and prostitutes in their residential buildings and of having tenants physically attacked by hired goons. During a strike by building employees at the Chrysler Building, they hired a firm related to the Carlo Gambino crime family for assistance. They have been

⁶² Haacke quoted in Annette Kuhn, “Haacke and the Landlords: The Art that Exposed Patterns of Property,” *The Village Voice* (December 14, 1972): 13.

charged with large-scale tax delinquencies, nonpayment of electric bills, and serious building violations which, in one case, led to the deaths of three pedestrians.⁶³

For this piece, Haacke used strips of photographic contact sheets of the properties rather than larger images, positioning them along the right edge of sheets of paper, and posting the details of the properties in block form alongside. These were accompanied by a map of Manhattan in six sections, on which the addresses of the properties were indicated with small circles.

The third new Guggenheim project was a *Visitors' Profile*, which was "almost identical" to an unrealized work that was conceived for the 1970 group exhibition *Software* at the Jewish Museum, New York, but not carried out there due to technical problems (fig 22). Its questions included:

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?
Should the use of marijuana be legalized, lightly or severely punished?
Do you sympathize with Womens' Lib [sic]?
Would you mind busing your child to integrate schools?
Assuming you were Indochinese, would you sympathize with the present Saigon regime?
In your opinion is the moral fabric of this country strengthened or weakened by the US involvement in Indochina?
In your opinion are the economic difficulties of the US mainly attributable to the Nixon Administration's policies?
In your opinion should the general orientation of the country be more or less conservative?

While this poll did not directly address any Guggenheim affiliates by name, as the *MOMA Poll* had done, its political forthrightness made it at least as uncomfortable. Fry later

⁶³ Haacke, "Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971," in Brian Wallis, ed., *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 88.

described how Messer was especially concerned about the *Visitors' Profile* "because he seemed to have been very taken aback by Haacke's poll at the 'Information' show."⁶⁴

Messer telephoned Haacke to tell him that these works would need to be modified or excluded if the show was to go on, and Haacke requested that he put this in writing. On March 19, Messer reaffirmed,

From a legal point of view it appears very doubtful that your findings [in the real estate projects] could be so verified as to be unassailable if a libel suit were directed against The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. Verification of your charge would be beyond our capacity while, on the other hand, unchecked acceptance of your allegations could have consequences that we are not prepared to risk.

He continued,

We have held consistently that under our Charter 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. It is well understood, in this connection, 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, not, as you propose, by using political means to achieve political ends, no matter how desirable these may appear to be in themselves.⁶⁵

Haacke, Fry, Messer, and Haacke's attorney met on March 23 to discuss a possible compromise, and Haacke proposed changing the names in the real estate pieces. He submitted revised works on the 29th, and Messer rejected them at once. Two days later

⁶⁴ Fry in Barbara Reise, "Background to the Foreground: The Haacke Exhibition History," *Studio International* 182, no. 935 (July-August 1971): 31.

⁶⁵ Reprinted in "The Cancellation of Haacke's Exhibition: Thomas M. Messer's 'Misgivings' in "Gurgles around the Guggenheim," *Studio International* 181, no. 934 (June 1971): 248-49.

Messer informed Haacke that the show would be cancelled.⁶⁶ Messer wrote in a memo to Peter Lawson-Johnston, President of the Guggenheim Foundation “that by trustee directive this museum was not to engage in extra-artistic activities or sponsor social or political causes but was to accept the limitations inherent in the nature of an art museum.”⁶⁷ On April 26, Fry was fired by Messer for defending Haacke, and he wrote in *Arts Magazine* the next month that “[t]he fundamental point at issue is a supposed separation between art and life, to the extent that art is sanctioned to deal with life only in symbolic or otherwise aestheticized terms.”⁶⁸

The cancellation of Haacke’s 1971 Guggenheim retrospective less than a month before the scheduled opening counts among the key episodes of censorship in American art history, and was a deeply frustrating and pivotal episode for him. At the same time, it helped to crystalize his concerns with institutional constraints on free expression and had a strong impact on his work going forward. Rosalyn Deutsche explains that Haacke’s work was so challenging because it went “[a]gainst the prevailing dogma that works of art are self-contained entities possessing fixed, transcendent meanings.”⁶⁹ It is well established that it marked the start of his investigations into the hidden loyalties of art institutions that developed and solidified his concern with relationships between power and money. At the same time, the incident also demonstrated how effective the simple presentation of

⁶⁶ “Chronologie der Ereignisse” in “Dokumentation zur Absetzung der Hans Haacke-Ausstellung im Guggenheim Museum, New York” in Haacke, *Werkmonographie*, 55.

⁶⁷ Thomas M. Messer, “Memorandum” to Peter Lawson-Johnston, President, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, April 5, 1971, 1. Edward F. Fry Papers, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Most of the memo was published in “Gurgles around the Guggenheim,” *Studio International* 181, no. 934 (June 1971): 249-50.

⁶⁸ Edward Fry, “Hans Haacke, the Guggenheim: The Issues,” *Arts Magazine* 45, no. 7 (May 1971): 17.

⁶⁹ Rosalyn Deutsche, “Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum” in Brian Wallis, ed., *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986).

information could be—which Buchloh has described as Haacke’s “factographic” approach.⁷⁰ The extreme response of cancelling the exhibition was a clear indication that Haacke had hit a nerve, and this approach became fundamental to his work going forward in Germany. His works there would be regularly based on research into the histories of local situations, often presented in a documentary fashion.

As shocking as it was, Haacke’s experience was only one of the episodes of removing art from the Guggenheim that year. Haacke’s exhibition was scheduled to follow the *Sixth Guggenheim International Exhibition* (February 12—April 11, 1971), a survey of recent art organized by Diane Waldman that included Dan Flavin, Donald Judd, Walter De Maria, Michael Heizer, and Joseph Kosuth. Daniel Buren was also invited, and proposed using the space below the central rotunda, hanging a 66-foot long blue-and-white striped banner from the ceiling (fig 23). After protests by other artists that it disrupted the viewing of their works installed along the ramps, Buren’s *Untitled*, 1971, was removed the day before the opening. Buren’s work also challenged the primacy of the imposing design of the building and immediately after, Haacke challenged the same museum’s assertion of distance from political realities outside its walls.

Alexander Alberro places the Guggenheim events in the context of larger moves in the U.S. to depoliticize the avant-garde during the 1950s and 60s, and then, in the 1970s, a swing back toward tradition and conservatism following the more liberal 1960s, within a national political culture moving to the Right (as will be seen, much like similar developments in West Germany). In this light, Buren’s experience was part of an “increasingly volatile milieu characterized by an explosive conflation of avant-garde art and

⁷⁰ Buchloh extended the application of a term he had conceived with respect to Soviet Productivism in 1984. Buchloh, “Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason,” 101-2.

radical politics.”⁷¹ He also points out that Messer was currently in dialogue with conservative *New York Times* critic Hilton Kramer, who was famously anti-avant garde, determinedly traditionalist, and certainly anti-conceptualist. Kramer’s review of the Sixth Guggenheim International had dismissed it as “inane rubbish” made by “so-called ‘artists’,”⁷² and he expressed concern over “outside” influences entering the museum and besmirching the integrity of its contents.⁷³ Messer had invited Kramer to lunch to discuss the review, and his response to Haacke seemed to be shaped, at least in part, by Kramer’s fears.

As Burnham described in his account of the Guggenheim events, the history of that Museum included a significant role in depoliticizing European and Latin American avant-garde art for an American audience, and he wrote,

Before the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum’s rise to power in the late 1950’s we should remember that it was a *Museum of Nonobjective Art*, and that it was in part responsible for performing the ‘rites of purification’ for the acceptance of avant-garde art into the American mainstream. This was first and foremost a content-free art, one allowing no ‘alien substance’ to penetrate the Museum’s sanctified environment.⁷⁴

If this was so, then the fate of Haacke’s exhibition in 1971 was due in large part to the attempt to keep art separate from “outside” concerns of politics and culture, instead confining its parameters to formal concerns. As Messer had written in a 1969 article, “Subversiveness in the creative sense... has little to do with revolutionary intentions and a

⁷¹ Alexander Alberro, “The Turn of the Screw: Daniel Buren, Dan Flavin, and the Sixth Guggenheim International Exhibition,” *October* 80 (Spring 1997), 81.

⁷² Hilton Kramer, “Playing the Gracious Host—But to What?,” *The New York Times* (March 7, 1971).

⁷³ Thomas Messer to Hilton Kramer, March 8, 1971, in Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Archives. Cited in Alberro, 83.

⁷⁴ Burnham, “Steps in the Formation of Real-Time Political Art,” 138.

great deal with the formulation and materialization of ideas powerful enough to challenge—*through their mere existence*—prevailing assumptions [emphasis added].”⁷⁵

Also during the 1950s, contemporary art became wrapped up in international politics, and, as Eva Cockcroft writes, Abstract Expressionism had become a “weapon of the Cold War.”⁷⁶ The Museum of Modern Art’s International Council had assumed a role in the “cultural imperialism” that saw exhibitions of “New American Painting” (as the biggest and most widely travelled of these shows was titled), which included Jackson Pollock, Barnett Newman, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko, Grace Hartigan, and many others, to strategic locations in Western Europe. *New American Painting* (1958) went to Basel, Milan, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and London, before comprising a bulk of the work in Documenta 2 in 1959.

This last was the same exhibition at which Haacke worked while a student in his last year of school, and was formative in his development. In 2009, he recalled, “Ironically, while having to fend off McCarthyite accusations against these works, it was the Museum of Modern Art’s International Council that sent them on a European tour...”⁷⁷ With the avant-garde’s transatlantic shift during the Second World War, the politics in which movements from German Expressionism to Constructivism to the Bauhaus had developed began to fall away in favor of attention to pure form. The Guggenheim was a major participant in this process in presenting these artists to an American public. In a way outlining the Guggenheim’s own trajectory as it transformed from a founding champion of the European

⁷⁵ Thomas M. Messer, “Impossible Art—Why It Is?,” *Art in America* 57, no. 3 (May—June 1969), 31, cited in Alberro, 68.

⁷⁶ Eva Cockcroft, “Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War,” *Artforum* 15, no. 10 (June 1974): 39-41.

⁷⁷ Haacke, “Lessons Learned,” *Tate Papers: Tate’s Online Research Journal* 12 (2009). <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/lessons-learned>. Accessed April 17, 2011.

avant-garde in America to its far more conservative perspective, Alberro writes of the broader shift in American cultural politics,

If the historical avant-garde of the early twentieth century claimed that aesthetic innovation could be intimately linked to social transformations, then the neo-avant-garde that developed in postwar America advanced the idea of autonomous aesthetic form as the meat and potatoes of established taste.⁷⁸

The Guggenheim affair became a touchstone in Haacke's career, and from there, institutional critique developed into a recurring and prominent focus. And, as would be the case with his later encounters with the curbing of artistic expression, he saw its stakes through the lens of restrictions on art during the Third Reich. While he was deeply disappointed by the cancellation, he did not see it only in personal terms. He wrote a three-page press release immediately following Messer's announcement, in which he compared the situation to the state of art in totalitarian countries. He wrote,

Mr. Messer has taken a stand which puts him completely at variance with the professed attitudes of all of the world's major museums, except for those located in countries under totalitarian domination and must put him in potential conflict with every artist who accepts an invitation to show his work at the Guggenheim Museum.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Alberro, 59, note 10.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Haacke, "To: All interested parties," Press release, April 3, 1971, 3. Edward F. Fry Papers, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Excerpts from Haacke's statement were published in "Gurgles around the Guggenheim," *Studio International* 181, no. 934 (June 1971): 249-50. Messer's response deemed this analogy "absurd if only because a society in which institutional multiplicity and decentralization prevails [sic] leaves the artist free to present his project under other or his own auspices. On the other hand, the judgment whether or not a particular activity is appropriate for a given institution is part of that institution's public responsibility and freedom." See Messer's "Memorandum to Peter Lawson-Johnston," April 5, 1971. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Archive.

In the edited version that was printed in *Studio International* and there co-signed by Fry, Haacke added, "Mr. Messer's repressive policy condemns Frank Lloyd Wright's structure to be a shell for tasteful recreation rather than a forum for the exchange of ideas of the present and for the future."⁸⁰

In the aftermath of the cancellation, Haacke sought new venues in which to show the new works, which seemed more pressing than ever. The work on Goldman and DiLorenzo real estate was shown in *Prospekt 71*, a group exhibition in Düsseldorf in September 1971, as well as *Making Megalopolis Matter*, a group show at the New York Cultural Center in October 1972. *Shapolsky et al* was shown in Milan at Françoise Lambert's gallery in January 1972 and at the University of Rochester in a show entitled *Art Without Limit* in April, and the *Visitors' Profile* intended for the Guggenheim became the *420 West Broadway Visitors' Profile*, and was included in a group show at the John Weber Gallery in October.⁸¹ Most significantly for this study, the cancellation increased interest in (and sympathy for) Haacke's work in Germany, and in 1972 he was invited to a solo exhibition at the Haus Lange Krefeld, near Düsseldorf, marking the beginning of his focused work on current politics in West Germany.⁸² A German version of the Guggenheim catalogue (which was never published in English) went ahead with production in 1972, becoming the first substantial German publication on Haacke's work.⁸³

⁸⁰ In "Gurgles around the Guggenheim," *Studio International* 181, no. 934 (June 1971): 249.

⁸¹ This is now known as *John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 1*. It was followed a year later by *John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile 2*, conducted during Haacke's solo exhibition at the gallery (April-May 1973). The results appeared in a group exhibition at the gallery the following September.

⁸² Conversation with the author, October 3, 2011.

⁸³ Hans Haacke and Edward F. Fry, *Werkmonographie* (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1972).

He was also included in documenta 5 (1972), for which he designed the *Documenta Visitors' Profile*, 1972 (fig 24). This continued in the vein of the John Weber profiles, but was tailored to the West German political context, and questions included,

Do you think an artist who exhibits a painting depicting Franz Josef Strauß with a swastica [sic] should be prosecuted?
The Ostpolitik of which party do you prefer? [SPD-FDP or CDU/CSU or don't know were the choices]
Do you think members of communist organizations should not be appointed to positions in the civil service?

These questions would come into greater focus in Haacke's 1976 Frankfurt exhibition.

The Krefeld exhibition (May 22—July 16, 1972) was titled *Hans Haacke: Demonstrations of the Physical World, Biological and Social Systems*, and included many of the works that had been planned for the Guggenheim, including *Shapolsky et al*, a new visitors' profile, and *Gerichtetes Wachstum* [Directed Growth], for which Haacke planted a length of bean plants inside the gallery that followed the direction of the diagonally stretched strings in their growth (fig 25).⁸⁴ His new site-specific work for the exhibition focused on the heavily polluted condition of the Rhine River, which runs through the city, for Haacke had learned that the City of Krefeld was dumping 42 million cubic meters of waste into the river annually. *Rheinwasseraufbereitungsanlage* [Rhine Water Purification Plant], 1972, was a simple yet effective chemical filtration system, which Haacke constructed and installed in the gallery (fig 26). Dirty river water was brought in in small containers and run through the system, which flowed into a large short square of a goldfish tank situated on the floor. The seemingly content fish seemed to indicate that the system was functioning, and the water drained from the tank out into the museum's garden. When

⁸⁴ Haacke, *Hans Haacke, New York: Demonstrationen der physikalischen Welt Biologische und gesellschaftliche Systeme*. Museum Haus Lange Krefeld, 22. Mai bis 16. Juli, 1972. Krefeld: Das Museum, 1972.

interviewed about the exhibition in 1972, Haacke again set the terms for his ongoing works into the future, explaining the water purification project thus,

The exposure of such a system, together with all the consequences as e.g. the reaction of the local press—not in the art pages—the response of the readers and the political decisions that might ensue, all of these constitute the work. The work is not only what is on the walls.⁸⁵

Following the Guggenheim cancellation, Haacke received strong support from his community of artists in New York, which in 1969 had already organized the Art Workers' Coalition. Organizing parallel to the student movement on American college campuses, Haacke and seven of his colleagues founded the AWC in January 1969, which coalesced around both artists' rights to control the exhibition of their work as well as larger political issues including the Vietnam War—issues that would emerge as central and lasting concerns for Haacke from that point forward, and which guided his search for a more politically-relevant way of working.⁸⁶ The group stated at its outset,

The present mood of our society is to ask deep-cutting questions about the very meaning and purpose of culture, questions which may have no definitive answers but which will nonetheless be asked. If the result may be partly to demystify the artist, it may also be to make his work more accessible and socially meaningful.⁸⁷

As cofounder Lucy Lippard detailed in the November 1970 issue of *Studio International*, the group's demands and stakes were born in the wake of a January 1969 incident at MoMA, in which Takis had removed one of his own works, *Tele-Sculpture*, 1960,

⁸⁵ "Hans Haacke: An Interview with John Anthony Thwaites," *Art & Artists* 7, no. 8 (November 1972): 33.

⁸⁶ The other original members were Takis, Farman, Nicholas Calas, Willoughby Sharp, Elizabeth Biar, and Dennis Oppenheim. By February 6, Tom Lloyd, Tsai, John Perrault, and Gregory Battcock had joined the roster. By March 6, Carl Andre had joined.

⁸⁷ Alex Gross, "Artists Attack MOMA," *The East Village Other*, January 24, 1969.

from *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* because he had not consented to its inclusion.⁸⁸ With the support of some friends, he removed the piece from the gallery and took it to the Museum's sculpture garden, where the group encircled it and refused to move until Director Bates Lowery agreed to a meeting; Lowery agreed to return the work to museum storage. In multiple public forums, artists gathered (Lippard reported "some 300 artists and observers" at an April 10 meeting) to hammer out a list of demands to art museums. Artists' rights were primary: they should retain agency over their works even after their sale, comprise one-third the membership on museum boards, and receive compensation from the exhibition and sale of their works. Strongly aligned with the civil rights and feminist movements, it also called for the diversification of museums through both audience outreach and works collected and exhibited.

What began as a stand against artists' loss of control of their own work expanded to address broader political issues—the Vietnam War especially—as the politics of the art world moved beyond its own immediate bounds. The AWC demanded that museums acknowledge their own interests and relationships to the Vietnam conflict—as epitomized in Haacke's *MOMA-Poll*—thereby challenging the presumed separation of high culture from politics that came to a head for Haacke personally at the Guggenheim in 1971. On October 15, 1969, the first Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam (a nationwide day of protest), the AWC negotiated the closure of MoMA, the Whitney, and the Jewish Museum, and persuaded the Metropolitan Museum to postpone an opening celebration. The Guggenheim refused to close and was consequently picketed. After the Guggenheim cancellation, the AWC

⁸⁸ Lucy Lippard, "The Art Workers' Coalition: Not a History," *Studio International* 180 (November 1970): 171-79. On the Takis episode see John Perreault's sympathetic, "Whose Art?," *The Village Voice*, January 9, 1969: 16-17, and, Anonymous, "Sculptor Takes Work Out of Modern Museum Show," *The New York Times* (January 4, 1969): 24.

organized an artists' boycott of the Guggenheim on May 1 and over one hundred artists signed a statement refusing to exhibit their work at the museum "until the policy of art censorship and its advocates [were] changed."⁸⁹

The question of art and politics had become a central problem in the New York art world. Hilton Kramer put forth his position on the pages of the *New York Times*, calling on "all of us who believe in the very idea of art museums—in museums free of political pressures—to make our commitments known; to say loud and clear that we will not stand for the politicization of art that is now looming as a real possibility."⁹⁰ The AWC, signed for by Haacke, Lippard, and Franz Dougherty, responded, "Kramer ignores the fact that what radical critics are opposed to is the present *conservative* politicization of the Museum... If the men now controlling the Museum of Modern Art are not politically involved, who the hell is?"⁹¹

A little over a month before Haacke made *MOMA-Poll*, the New York Art Strike against Racism, War, and Repression was organized on May 22, 1970 to protest the actions of the U.S. military in Cambodia and the murders at Kent State. Seven months after the AWC's closure of most New York museums, over 1,000 members of the New York art world—including artists, dealers, and museum staff—called for the closure of New York museums.⁹² Grace Glueck quoted the brand new 37-year old Director of MoMA, John

⁸⁹ Edward F. Fry Papers, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

⁹⁰ Kramer, "Do You Believe In the Principle of Museums?," *The New York Times* (January 18, 1970).

⁹¹ Letter to the editor, "Why MOMA Is Their Target," *The New York Times* (February 8, 1970): 23-24.

⁹² This came immediately on the heels of Robert Morris's personal strike at the Whitney, where he demanded the closure of his own exhibition two weeks early to protest the political situation. See Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Robert Morris's Art Strike" in *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009),

Hightower, defending MoMA's decision to remain open this time, although it did suspend admission fees for the day and added special antiwar film programming, as comparing the strike's demands to the Hitler, Stalin, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Glueck also reported the Guggenheim's decisions to remain open and to remove paintings from the walls for security. (It, too, suspended admission fees for the day.) She quoted Thomas Messer (one year before Haacke's exhibition), as saying, "The museum has always stayed clear of political issues" and that "empty walls are in themselves a sobering comment on violence and coercion of every kind."⁹³

In spite of his earlier reluctance, Hightower ultimately defended the *MOMA-Poll*, allowing it to remain on view, and writing to the trustees a week before *Information's* opening,

as a museum of modern art we must be concerned with the interpretation of the work of contemporary artists even if this work reflects political and social concern, as much of it did in the Thirties. We have an implied obligation to present it if it conforms to the exhibition direction we want to take as well as the quality and standards of the Museum.⁹⁴

In a lengthy memo to Board Chairman David Rockefeller, Hightower wrote that it was "immeasurably wise" to leave Haacke's and another unspecified work on view as "[t]he

83-125. On the Art Strike, see Grace Glueck, "Art Community Here Agrees on Plan to Fight War, Racism and Oppression," *The New York Times* (May 19, 1970).

⁹³ Grace Glueck, "500 in Art Strike Sit on Steps of Metropolitan," *The New York Times* (May 23, 1970).

⁹⁴ In The Museum of Modern Art Archives. Hightower's tenure at MoMA was very brief; he had only been in the position since May 1, 1970, and resigned at the request of the Board on January 5, 1972. Perhaps Messer had learned from Hightower's experience, however, for as Grace Glueck wrote at the time, "Hightower's reckless public statements that the museum was a 'club' whose role in society it was valid for artists to challenge did not sit at all well with MOMA's trustees; nor did they care for his populist art enthusiasms, which led him to such remarks as that pulling a Thanksgiving turkey from the oven 'could be a great artistic experience.'" Glueck, "MOMA's Boy Bows Out," *The New York Times* (January 16, 1972).

consequence [of withdrawing them] would be to draw more attention to each of these elements in the show than either of them deserve.” He continued,

It would probably raise questions of censorship and trustee control of curatorial decisions.... I also think the fact that you and Nelson allow yourselves to be publicly criticized by the very institutions you endorse and support so vigorously is—and already has been—recognized as a considerable tribute to you both.⁹⁵

David Rockefeller replied that he agreed with the decision to keep them on view and supported the artists’ freedom of expression, but that he failed to understand “how many of these works can be considered art,” or that they had “any artistic content whatsoever.”⁹⁶

These works from the last years of the 1960s into the 1970s, with their increasingly focused attention on understanding how things work by examining structures and the natural laws that they harnessed were the nurturing ground for the direction Haacke’s work would take once he began attending to the relationship between art and politics back in West Germany, where his repeated attempts to “work through” kept him revisiting the postwar history, each time through a different lens and focus. He asked questions on the level of politics (rather than psychology or emotions) and the ways in which structural elements established by the Nazis remained in place decades on. Focusing his attention on the historical record (aspects of which may or may not have been assimilated into public consciousness), Haacke asserted the need to deal in facts in the unwieldy task of achieving understanding about history.

⁹⁵ Hightower memo to David Rockefeller, July 7, 1970. The Museum of Modern Art Archives.

⁹⁶ David Rockefeller letter to John Hightower, July 10, 1970. The Museum of Modern Art Archives.

Haacke's first project about the German legacy of Nazism was prompted by his invitation to participate in *PROJEKT '74/Kunst bleibt Kunst* [Art Remains Art], a 1974 survey of international contemporary art co-organized by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Cologne's Kunsthalle, Art Library, and Kunstverein (July 6—September 8, 1974). West Germany was then in the aftermath of a political scandal, when Chancellor Willy Brandt (SPD), who had been elected in 1969 in a wave of post-'68 change, had resigned in May following an espionage incident within his staff. Haacke's project was inspired by a Walraff-Richartz brochure, in which Hermann Abs, Chairman of the Museum's Committee of Friends (i.e. donors), was being celebrated for facilitating the purchase and permanent loan of Édouard Manet's still-life painting *Bunch of Asparagus*, 1880. The loan was dedicated to the memory of West Germany's first Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (CDU, 1949-63 and a former mayor of Cologne), who had died in 1967.⁹⁷

Since 1968, the pasts of West German public figures had increasingly come under investigation, and Haacke's piece fused questions about the Nazi past with the attention he had already been giving to the interests of art institutions and the constraints he saw them imposing on creative freedom and expression. This would become a Germany-specific element of his practice of institutional critique, assuming particular urgency in the context of questions about the gaps in the country's official reckoning. Haacke was incensed by the way in which a figure like Abs could be honored for his largesse in the realm of culture.

Manet-PROJEKT '74 comprised ten framed text panels, which presented Haacke's provenance research on the Manet, to be installed with the Manet canvas itself (fig 27, 28).

⁹⁷ One of the most significant political figures in postwar West Germany, Adenauer was responsible for the postwar recovery and so-called "economic miracle."

The first seven panels were each dedicated to individual owners, who were represented by small portraits, and traced the painting's ownership across almost nine decades from Paris to Berlin to New York, in a history that touched on major moments of Europe's tumultuous twentieth century. This address of what Haacke termed the painting's "socio-economic history" foregrounded the link between art and the historical context of its creation and exchange.

One of the panels gave the biography of Max Liebermann, who acquired the painting from the Berlin art dealer Paul Cassirer, and Haacke's research described his persecution under the Nazi regime. President of the Prussian Academy of Art since 1920, Liebermann had resigned from his position in 1933, and was subject to the proscription against exhibiting work by Jewish artists (*Berufsverbot*). Upon his death in 1935 and his wife's suicide in 1943 under a threat of imminent deportation, the Manet transferred to their daughter who had immigrated with her family to New York in 1938, and subsequently to their granddaughter. It was the 1968 joint purchase by the Friends Committee of the Wallraf-Richartz and the City of Cologne that brought the painting back to Germany, by way of a Swiss collector, for the first time since the war.

The last three panels of *Manet-PROJEKT* focused on the Museum's receipt of the painting, which is where, while the preceding history provided historically interesting information about the painting's past, the crucial episode in the provenance emerged. The penultimate panel outlined Abs' biography; by 1937 he was a member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of Deutsche Bank in Berlin. Later in the Nazi period, he held advisory roles at a list of economic institutions including the Deutsche Reichsbank, Reichsgruppe Industrie, Reichsgruppe Banken, Economic Chamber of the Reich, and was a

member of the Committee of the Minister of Economics. After the war he spent six weeks in a British prison, went before a denazification board, which cleared him of active support for the Nazis, and ultimately resumed his professional work. He became an economic advisor to Chancellor Adenauer and was deeply involved with the work of reconstruction in West Germany, and also resumed his position as a regular presence on boards of directors in the 1950s, at corporations including the Süddeutsche Bank, Deutsche Bank, Daimler Benz, Lufthansa, and Siemens. The final panel listed the group of eighty-five donors—corporate and individual—that contributed funds for the purchase of the painting. Abs was at the top of the alphabetical list, followed by German banks (including Deutsche Bank), insurance groups, Daimler Benz, and many others.

Abs had recently been in the headlines, defending himself against allegations by an East German historian Eberhard Czichon, who had published a book about his Nazi collaboration in the Third Reich, while a member of the Deutsche Bank board of directors.⁹⁸ Abs had filed a lawsuit, which blocked a second edition of the book, and Haacke recalled that by the time of his project, the book was hard to come by, but that he eventually managed to track it down.

The project, however, was rejected before it could be installed, and became the second time in three years in which Haacke's work was censored and barred from exhibition. The show's six-member curatorial committee, comprised of Evelyn Weiss (Curator of modern art at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum), Manfred Schneckenburger (Director of the Cologne Kunsthalle and later curator of Documenta 6 in 1977 and Documenta 8 in 1987), Wulf Herzogenrath (Director of the Cologne Kunstverein), Horst

⁹⁸ Eberhard Czichon, *Der Bankier und die Macht. Hermann Josef Abs in der deutschen Politik* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1970).

Keller (Director of the Wallraf-Richartz), Albert Schug (Librarian at the Wallraf-Richartz), and Dieter Ronte (Assistant to the Director of Cologne's city museums), split evenly over Haacke's proposal, with the first three in favor and the others against. Keller forcefully outlined his objection to Haacke's aim "to give [the Manet] a social dimension," and "to provoke a discussion on the identity and reception of works of art."⁹⁹ In a two-page defense of Abs, he enumerated the depths of the Museum's deference and gratitude toward its benefactor. He wrote,

It would mean giving an absolutely inadequate evaluation of the spiritual initiative of a man if one were to relate in any way the host of offices he holds in totally different walks of life with such an idealistic engagement... A grateful museum, however, and a grateful city, or one ready to be moved to gratefulness, must protect initiatives of such an extraordinary character from any other interpretation which might later throw even the slightest shadow on it...¹⁰⁰

Upon hearing that Haacke's work would be excluded from the exhibition, a number of other participating artists, including Carl Andre, Sol LeWitt, Robert Filliou, Frank Gillette, and Newton and Helen Harrison, withdrew their own pieces in protest and solidarity. Buren, who was also in the exhibition, elected to stay, but adapted his piece in response by incorporating photocopied facsimiles of *Manet-PROJEKT* into the expanse of gray and white stripes that he had already installed (fig 29). He also added a poster that transformed the exhibition's slogan of "Art Remains Art" to a biting "Art Remains Politics" [Kunst bleibt Politik] (fig 30). Excerpting a text he had written in 1970, entitled "The Limits of Critique," which underscored the close relationship between his and Haacke's artistic concerns, Buren wrote, "All art is political. Therefore we must examine the cultural as well as the

⁹⁹ Project proposal in letter from Haacke to Evelyn Weiss. April 20, 1974. Galerie Paul Maenz Köln records, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

¹⁰⁰ Keller letter to Haacke, May 13, 1974. Translated in Wallis, 118.

formal limits (and not one or the other), because art also exists and develops within these limits.” He continued, “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.”¹⁰¹

Buren’s move led to the museum’s censorship of his work as well, and before the opening reception, the Director of the Cologne Museums, Gert von der Osten, ordered that Buren’s reproductions of Haacke’s piece be covered over with white paper. Meanwhile, Haacke’s German dealer Paul Maenz organized a display of *Manet-PROJEKT '74* in his Cologne gallery, opening on the day of the press preview at the Kunsthalle, with a color reproduction standing in for the missing Manet painting. At *PROJEKT '74*, visitors ripped away the white paper that had covered over the Buren, revealing patches of the Haacke text panels below.

The scandal of the decision against Haacke’s piece has, as in other cases of art censorship, come to dominate the history of this incident. Indeed, the work’s reception is certainly significant for what it demonstrates of the acute sensitivity to any suggestion of a link to Nazism in Germany circa 1974. Such a focus, however, has overshadowed the work itself and what it might reveal about Haacke’s growing concern with persisting and unaccounted for threads of Nazi history.

Manet-PROJEKT '74 was not actually fabricated until after the curatorial committee had rejected his proposal. Haacke’s critique of the museum’s financial reliance and related

¹⁰¹ Haacke and Buren issued their versions of the events in the May-June 1974 issue of *Avalanche*. See Haacke, “Hans Haacke: Manet/Projekt '74,” 16-17 and Liza Bear and Daniel Buren, “Daniel Buren: Kunst bleibt Politik,” 18-19.

willingness to overlook details such as Abs' background—as much as spelled out in Keller's letter—was clearly shaped by his experience at the Guggenheim three years prior. But while scholarly focus of the *Manet-PROJEKT* has been limited to its execution of institutional critique, it also crucially addressed a moment in the project of West German reconstruction and the ways in which professional expertise was continuous between the pre- and post-'45 periods, without regard for the roles and activities of such experts during the Nazi period.

While the majority of Haacke's works about German history were made for exhibitions there, two projects were conceived for Austrian contexts, where Haacke engaged a different constellation of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, one less advanced than in West Germany. Haacke's second major foray into questions of the Nazi past came in 1988, when he was invited to participate in the *Steirischer Herbst* [Styrian Autumn], an annual arts festival in Graz.¹⁰² It was the first of several projects that imposed questions of memory onto public spaces (more on questions of public in chapter three) and, significantly, the one that revealed how provocative such an imposition could be. While part of an exhibition, the project's seamless insertion into the city streets meant that there was no physical institutional barrier, no separation from the everyday goings on about the city.

The festival's twentieth anniversary that year (October 15-November 8, 1988), coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's annexation of Austria (the *Anschluss*) and curator Werner Fenz adopted this as the exhibition's organizing principle. Titled

¹⁰² Styria is an Austrian province.

Bezugspunkte 38/88 [Points of Reference 38/88], it addressed the city's local Nazi history, with artists invited to choose locations around the city for site-specific interventions. Writing in the catalogue, Fenz framed the exhibition in terms that echoed Haacke's own concerns with history and memory, writing that it was "to challenge artists to confront history, politics, and society, and thus to reclaim an intellectual territory, which is being surrendered to everyday indifference in a continual, unconscious, and manipulated retreat."¹⁰³

Haacke was aware of working within the context of the election of Kurt Waldheim (formerly Secretary General of the U.N., 1972-1982) to the Austrian presidency in June.¹⁰⁴ During Waldheim's campaign, it was revealed that he had belonged both to the Nazi Party and the S.A. during the war, and an international debate ensued about what it meant for a country to seemingly deem acceptable his background with this election. The situation was ripe for interrogation.

Haacke was one of seventeen participating artists (including one pair) from Europe and the United States, and chose the site at which Hitler had celebrated Graz as the "City of the People's Insurrection" [*Stadt der Volkserhebung*] on July 25, 1938, four months after the "success" of the *Anschluss* and exactly four years after a failed putsch in Vienna. For that ceremony, a temporary obelisk had been constructed in red and black fabric over an existing 17th century statue of the Virgin Mary, and crowned with a symbolic sacrificial bowl, and Haacke fabricated a copy of it on the same site for the exhibition. As he explained, "One could make the horror of this time a little more graspable if you recreated this sign

¹⁰³ Quoted and translated in Haacke, "History of the Project" in Sabine Breitwieser, ed., *Mia san mia: Hans Haacke* (Vienna: Generali Foundation, 2001), 129.

¹⁰⁴ Haacke, "Und ihr habt doch gesiegt," *October* 48 (Spring 1989): 79-87.

exactly as it was in 1938.”¹⁰⁵ His title, *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt* [And You Were Victorious After All], referred to the inscription on the original obelisk, which had addressed the residents of Graz (fig 31).

While Haacke’s installation was very similar to its reference, he modified the inscription to include details about the consequences of the so-called victory. On a black strip around the base of the obelisk, he added: “The vanquished of Styria: 300 Gypsies killed, 2,500 Jews killed, 8,000 political prisoners killed or died in detention, 9,000 civilians killed in the war, 12,000 missing, 27,900 soldiers killed.” Further, on a billboard installed opposite the monument, he displayed sixteen collaged posters made from news clippings from Graz papers of 1938 reproduced within the center of the black, white, and red of the Nazi flag (fig 32). The text, in Fraktur script to directly reference Nazi typescript, read, “GRAZ: Die Stadt der Volkserhebung.” A mix of advertisements and personal ads, the clippings made repeated mention of Aryan identity and the Aryanization of local businesses, as well as the destruction of the local synagogue. During the run of the exhibition, these posters were repeatedly vandalized and torn down, and then replaced.

Again, Haacke’s archival research was key to the project, and the news clippings demonstrated how racist ideology had permeated the culture. He turned to the facts of history, documenting and bringing to light specific episodes to coerce a public working-through of matters yet unresolved. Linking it to the same site on which it had originally occurred, Haacke made an undeniable link between the city’s present and past, concretizing memory in a challenge to its typically nebulous quality. The direct transmittal of historical material emerged in his practice as one of the strategies through which he

¹⁰⁵ In Horst Christoph, “Nazi-Furunkel,” *profil* 46 (November 14, 1988): 96.

worked toward understanding the Nazi past, and the process of research and subsequent dissemination conveyed its consequences for the present.

The installation provoked the strongest response to a project of Haacke's to date, when it was firebombed on the night of November 2, despite the posting of a guard. Haacke's piece was destroyed and the statue underneath damaged (fig 33). The two responsible—a thirty-six year old neo-Nazi, who carried it out, and the sixty-seven year old Nazi who had engaged him—were arrested and sentenced to prison. Writing afterwards, Haacke described the educational intent of the project and his interest in stimulating discussion about the past, reporting on the responses in the public before and after the attack. "Throngs of people," he wrote, "gathered and engaged in heated debate over whether, after fifty years, one should stir up the Nazi past again."¹⁰⁶ The festival's organizers installed a new text on Haacke's billboards, which also put the incident into historical context: "During the night of November 9, 1938, all synagogues in Austria were looted, destroyed, and set on fire. And during the night of November 2, 1988, this memorial was destroyed by a firebomb." Haacke's project was thus inscribed into the city's longer history and legacy of the Nazi past.

While Haacke was attending to Austria's lagging accounting for the past, a journalist for the German weekly *Die Zeit* suggested that the project's location outside of Germany allowed a kind of critique that in fact remained impossible in West Germany. "What German city," the writer asked, "would have the courage to risk such an art action, such an explosive reconstruction in the middle of everyday life?"¹⁰⁷ Perhaps it was precisely Austria's comparably slow progress in working through its Nazi past—as evidenced by the

¹⁰⁶ Haacke, "Und ihr habt doch gesiegt," 83.

¹⁰⁷ Anonymous, "Doch gesiegt," *Die Zeit* (November 11, 1988).

Waldheim situation—that made an action like this more possible than in West Germany, where a very public (yet, as Haacke would argue, superficial) working through had been ongoing since the 1970s.

In 1996, Haacke addressed Austrian politics and memory a second time, when he was invited to submit a proposal for a memorial competition in Graz, no doubt based on his project in the city eight years prior. Plans for *Memorial to the Victims of National Socialism at the Military Practice Range “Feliferhof” in Graz* were submitted to a competition organized by the local provincial government to commemorate the site where 142 people were murdered in May 1945, on a still-functioning military site (fig 34). A grave-like three-meter deep trench, twenty-five meters long, would gradually descend underground and display a grainy newspaper photograph of the site’s 1945 exhumation and a memorial plaque listing categories of victims on opposite ends. That the site was still in use as a target range was also integrated into Haacke’s plan, as he incorporated the ambient sounds of firing guns as another means by which a visitor might experience the memorial phenomenologically and, as he wrote, it “could heighten one’s psychological sensitivity to such an extent that, for a moment at least, a personal and initially unthinking identification may be possible with the people whom the National Socialists murdered at *Feliferhof*.”¹⁰⁸ The project, however, was never realized, although a plaque was installed four years later using the same source text that Haacke had proposed using, which listed the numbers of victims from the site.

In 2001, at the Generali Foundation in Vienna, Sabine Breitwieser organized what was initially conceived as a Haacke retrospective that would have presented the now-

¹⁰⁸ Haacke, “Memorial to the Victims of National Socialism at the Military Target Practice Range ‘Feliferhof’ in Graz” in Breitwieser, ed., *Mia san mia*, 120, 122.

familiar organization of his work into physical, biological, and socio-political systems, but which Haacke proposed instead to focus on “a single problem area: how the country deals with its history and national identity.”¹⁰⁹ He created a new work for the show that took on a current local issue: *Mia san mia* (a saying in Bavarian dialect that translates “we are who we are”), 2001, addressed the rise of Jörg Haider, the Governor of Carinthia [Kärnten] province in the south of the country, and leader of Austria’s far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ), which had won 27% of the national vote in 1999 and so entered into a coalition government with the country’s conservative party (the *Österreichische Volkspartei*) (fig 35). The province’s location at Austria’s southern border with Slovenia made questions of identity (and inclusion versus exclusion) especially loaded.

Haacke’s installation was based on a campaign poster for Haider in 2001 titled “Carinthia is blooming” [*Kärnten Blüht Auf*], on which a pair of red roses floated in front of a blue mountain landscape (fig 36). Haacke manipulated the poster into his own print, which he enlarged to the scale of the gallery and wrapped around pillars within the space. These four ceiling-height inkjet prints warned against the exclusionary and race-based political ideology spewed by Haider’s party, and Haacke changed the color of the flowers from red to blue and black to symbolize the colors of the governing coalition between the two parties. He also replaced the slogan with “Mia san mia,” once again in Fraktur script, and added the profile heads of a blonde woman and man— models of the Nazi Aryan ideal— which were copied from a poster for the 1941 Nazi-era German film *Heimat Erde* [Native Soil], thereby suggesting that the country’s present political configuration bore the threat of historical repetition. In his catalogue text, Haacke described an investigation into the

¹⁰⁹ Fax from Haacke to Breitwieser, March 31, 2001. Quoted in Sabine Breitwieser, “Hans Haacke: An Exhibition in Austria” in Breitwieser, 16.

financing of Haider's advertising campaign based on the suspicion of state money having been secretly and illegally used to finance it.¹¹⁰

The formation of this coalition in 2000 had triggered a strong international reaction against such a prominent role for the Freedom Party, and the European Union and United States had implemented fourteen months of diplomatic sanctions against Austria.¹¹¹

Haacke wrote,

Deftly exploiting dissatisfaction with uninterrupted coalitions of the two largest Austrian parties, Haider had campaigned on an 'Austria First' populist platform of anti-Semitism, sympathies with National Socialist ideology, hostility toward refugees and immigrants, and opposition to the inclusion of Eastern European countries in the EU.¹¹²

Displayed in the context of the museum of the private foundation of insurance and financial industry Generali Group, and in Vienna, far from the place about which the work referred, *Mia san mia* did not incite the same provocation as had the public project at Graz. Yet, working in Austria on both the Graz and Carinthia province projects afforded Haacke opportunities to explore projects in a milieu that was simultaneously less advanced in its work of dealing with the past and also more forthright about biases and resentments.

Between the two Austrian exhibitions, monumental change had of course occurred in Germany, with the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of East and West in 1990. In 1993, Haacke was invited to represent Germany at the Venice Biennale, the first time that the formerly divided nations were joined into one national presentation in the

¹¹⁰ Haacke, "Mia san mia (We Are Who We Are)" in Breitwieser, 84-7.

¹¹¹ See Donald G. McNeil Jr., "Europeans Move Against Austrians on Nativist Party," *The New York Times* (February 1, 2000).

¹¹² Haacke, "Mia san mia (We Are Who We Are)" in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 72.

German Pavilion, as in the 1990 exhibition, East and West had still occupied separate spaces. The German Pavilion had belonged to West Germany through the period of division; East Germany had begun to participate in 1982 amidst the relaxation of control of cultural production during the late 1970s, presenting in the Venetian Pavilion for the duration of the decade.¹¹³ In the early 1990s, Germany was very aware that many around the world remained wary of a unified Germany. Reunification seemed dangerous to many observers, and Margaret Thatcher, for one, convened a daylong symposium of experts in March 1990 to determine whether a unified Germany posed a threat to security.¹¹⁴

The German Pavilion's curator that year was Klaus Bussmann, with whom Haacke had worked at Skulptur Projekte, and who was then Director of the Westphalien State Museum of Art and Cultural History in Münster. Bussmann invited Haacke and Nam June Paik (1932-2006) to co-represent Germany, and they were surprising choices since Haacke had long resided in the United States and Paik, though having studied in West Germany beginning in 1956 and then taught at the Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf since 1979, was not a German citizen. As Bussmann wrote in his preface to Haacke's catalogue from Venice, "Who could represent Germany after the geopolitical changes and the country's unification? Nobody."¹¹⁵

¹¹³ 1986 was an exception, when the Biennale curators relegated the East German contribution to a smaller space in the Arsenale. See Matthias Flügge, "The Participation of the GDR at the Venice Biennale" in Elke aus dem Moore, Ursula Zeller, eds., *Germany's Contributions to the Venice Biennale 1895-2007* (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 2009): 137-45.

¹¹⁴ Craig Whitney, "Evolution in Europe: Sizing Up Germans: A Thatcher Symposium," *The New York Times* (July 16, 1990).

¹¹⁵ Bussmann, "Preface" in Klaus Bussmann and Florian Matzner, eds., *Hans Haacke: Bodenlos* (Ostfildern bei Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1993), 5.

Funded and administered by the German Office of Foreign Affairs [*Auswärtiger Amt*], the German Pavilion at Venice—like all the national pavilions there—had always been understood as a platform for German self-presentation to an international audience.¹¹⁶ With reunification’s incitement of a national debate on whether a unified identity was even possible, and if so at what cost, the selection of artists who complicated the notion of a “German artist” avoided the trap of taking too simple a position. Most importantly, choosing Haacke—who was by then known as an artist critical of German politics—signaled an awareness of the delicacy of a German presentation on this international stage. Bussmann’s nominations of Haacke and Paik were a way out of the pressure to select artists who were suitable to represent reunified Germany.

Haacke weighed the decision of whether to accept the invitation to Venice and explained that indeed, the opportunity to work on the loaded site, and to make a project that would connect that history to the country’s current challenges became part of the draw. He wrote,

What it meant to exhibit in a building engraved with the Italian word ‘Germania’ historically and what it means today. That quickly led to thinking about the relationship between the two parts of Germany and the reemerging nationalism. We have a kind of battlefield in Germany today.¹¹⁷

Haacke considered whether exhibiting in the German Pavilion would make him a “state artist,” but ultimately used this official institutional stage to interrogate the ways in

¹¹⁶ The Biennale was a politically charged exhibition from its early days, and took its lead from the system of national representation at world’s fairs. Founded in 1895, there were five national presentations by its tenth anniversary and by 1907, the first national pavilion had been constructed by Belgium. See Shearer West, “National Desires and Regional Realities in the Venice Biennale 1895-1914,” *Art History* 18, no. 3 (1995): 404-34.

¹¹⁷ Haacke, “Die Symbolik des Ortes: Ein Gespräch mit Hans Haacke, Venedig 12.6.1993,” *Neue bildende Kunst* 3, no. 4 (1993): 22.

which the site had been used to propagandistic effect by Hitler. Using the archives of the Venice Biennale and the Office of Foreign Affairs, he pieced together the history of the German Pavilion. He discovered that the Pavilion's current appearance dated to its 1938 renovation, which was carried out under direct orders from Hitler, and because of this, he structured his project around the building itself. He titled it *GERMANIA*, 1993, in an instance of his fondness for wordplay, for it was both the Italian word for Germany (as it is inscribed on the Pavilion's façade) and the name of Hitler's dreamed capital city, which, as designed by Albert Speer, was to reorganize Berlin into a grossly enlarged version of ancient Rome (fig 37).

Proposals had been made to remodel the Pavilion in the 1950s, when the Federal Foreign Office had contacted prominent West German architects Hans Scharoun, Egon Eiermann, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Arnold Bode to develop plans for a future incarnation of the building, but these were abandoned due to insufficient funds. Thus when Haacke received the commission, he found the building little changed from its wartime appearance. Haacke's additions to the space were limited to its entryway and the back wall of the interior, which allowed the space of the building itself to be in the foreground.¹¹⁸ Just inside the open doorway, on a crimson wall, Haacke installed a photograph of Hitler at that very site during the 1934 Biennale (fig 38). Above the door, on a hook that had once held a swastika-emblazoned eagle, he hung a large-scale replica of a one-Deutschmark coin from 1990, the year of German reunification. Entering inside, one walked around the red wall to

¹¹⁸ Haacke was not the first artist in the German Pavilion to stage a critique of Nazi history, and earlier examples included Gerhard Richter (1972), Joseph Beuys (1976), and Anselm Kiefer and Georg Baselitz (1980). See Elke aus dem Moore and Ursula Zeller, eds., *Germany's Contributions to the Venice Biennale 1895-2007* (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 2009).

encounter the centerpiece of the work. Beneath a second inscription of “Germania” on the pavilion’s rear wall, the very marble floor that Hitler had ordered lay in a pile of haphazard ruin (fig 39). Haacke had ordered a sledgehammer to the precious marble of the building’s floor, and Bussmann arranged for his staff from the museum in Münster to do it. Within what one observer described as an “eerie light” created by the fluorescent lights that ringed the interior, viewers walked amongst the debris, which continued to break apart under their feet over the run of the exhibition.¹¹⁹

Hitler had remade the Pavilion in 1938 in just over two months, replacing its original details from 1909 with a fascist vocabulary.¹²⁰ The four columns in front were transformed from classical capitals into sharp-edged supports while the pediment was removed and replaced by GERMANIA in a clean modern style. A row of high vertical windows replaced a classical-style frieze.

Even as the war began, the Biennale continued to be presented, and as Lawrence Alloway observed in his history of the Biennale, “That Europe’s communication system was able to move over three thousand art works and a substantial number of civilian visitors to an art exhibition, while half of Europe was fighting for survival, is as impressive as it is bizarre.”¹²¹ National participation in the exhibition did fluctuate, though, in tandem with international alliances and conflicts. The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union withdrew from the 1936 exhibition following the alliance between Hitler and Mussolini,

¹¹⁹ Michael Diers, “Germania a margine: The German Pavilion in Venice and the Interventions of Art—An Historical Survey” in *ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁰ The design was by Ernst Haiger, who worked with Paul Ludwig Troost, the architect of several buildings in Munich, including Hitler’s office (the *Führerbau*), the temples of honor on Königsplatz (where Haacke staged *Raise the Flag!*, 1991), and the Haus der deutschen Kunst. See Annette Lagler, “The German Pavilion” in *ibid.*, 55-61.

¹²¹ Lawrence Alloway, *The Venice Biennale 1895-1968: From Salon to Goldfish Bowl* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1968), 115.

though the United States returned in 1938 and 1940. The 1940 edition went on with the absences of Austria, Britain, Denmark, France, Poland, and the USSR. 1942 saw even fewer countries (including the U.S.) and lower attendance, and the 1944 exhibition was finally cancelled after Mussolini's fall from power in 1943.¹²²

At the same time as he foregrounded Hitler's presence in and mark on the Pavilion itself, Haacke implicitly pointed toward the larger cultural policy under the Nazis, and the ways in which art was instrumentalized in the service of its political interests, and it was this piece that was most significant to Haacke's larger project of understanding the mechanisms by which the Nazi machine operated. The German Pavilion was designated an outpost of Nazi arts policy, and in 1937 Adolf Ziegler, President of the *Reichskammer für bildenden Künste* [National Arts Chamber], was appointed its curator by Joseph Goebbels (Hitler's Propaganda Minister), the same year he was assigned to collect "degenerate art" from German museums in preparation for the infamous eponymous exhibition.

"Degenerate" works were defined as ones that "insult German feeling, or destroy or confuse natural form, or simply reveal an absence of adequate manual and artistic skill."¹²³ Ziegler and five others travelled around to German museums in a whirlwind ten days, selecting works and sending them to Munich for consideration in the exhibition. When the *Degenerate Art* [Entartete Kunst] exhibition opened in Munich in July 1937 in the former Institute of Archaeology, works were installed on the walls interspersed with disparaging texts about them. An overwhelmingly popular exhibition with over two million visitors, its

¹²² Jan Andreas May, "La Biennale di Venezia" in Elke aus dem Moore and Ursula Zeller, eds., 25.

¹²³ Cited in Stephanie Barron, "1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany" in Barron, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991), 19.

run was extended from two months to four, before travelling to Berlin, Leipzig, Düsseldorf, Weimar, Halle, Vienna, and Salzburg over the following three years. In 1991, in the midst of the Culture Wars in the U.S., to which Haacke would respond repeatedly (more on this in chapter three), Stephanie Barron organized a recreation of the Degenerate Art exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

While *Degenerate Art* was to show all that was wrong with art in Germany, a corollary exhibition in Munich was staged to demonstrate the ideal art to which Nazi ideology aspired. Ziegler was simultaneously responsible for the first annual *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [Great German Art Exhibition], which opened at the Haus der Kunst in Munich one day before *Degenerate Art*, following a grand parade through the city inclusive of a military display.¹²⁴ In his opening speech, Hitler exclaimed, “[W]ith the opening of this exhibition, the end of the mockery of German art and thus the cultural destruction of our people has begun. From now on, we will wage a pitiless, purifying war against the last elements of our cultural decay.”¹²⁵ There was an open call to German artists for participation, with selections subject to Hitler’s approval, and 884 works by 556 artists were included in the first year. Painted portraits of military figures, as well as one of Hitler, were in the first gallery, followed by rooms of figurative and genre paintings, sculptures, and prints, in a nineteenth-century academic style. While not as well-attended as *Degenerate Art*, it was still widely seen, with several hundred thousand attendees annually. The exhibition became an annual event through 1944.

¹²⁴ Ines Schlenker, “Defining National Socialist Art: The First ‘Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung’ in 1937” in Olaf Peters, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (New York: Prestel, 2014), 90-105.

¹²⁵ Cited in *ibid.*, 91.

The German Pavilion was considered an “annex” of the Great German Art Exhibition, and at the 1938 Biennale, Arno Breker’s *Zehnkämpfer* [Decathlete] and *Siegerin* [Victory] were included in a group exhibition in the German Pavilion titled “Constructing German Art.” Two years earlier they had been included in a competition at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin in 1936, where Breker won a silver medal.¹²⁶ At the next Biennale in 1940, eight Breker sculptures of athletes and battle figures were shown in the Pavilion including *Bereitschaft* [Readiness], 1939, (based on Michelangelo’s *David*), which had a prominent place in the apse, and he was awarded the Mussolini Prize (fig 40).¹²⁷ *Bereitschaft* was, however, intended to become more than just one more neoclassical nude that had been made over with the simultaneously exaggerated and idealized characteristics of the Nazi aesthetic. An enlarged version of the sculpture was slated to be installed as a monument to Mussolini in Berlin, a symbol of Hitler’s friendship and allegiance and a focal point of Speer’s redesign of the German capital. Breker was very much at the center of Third Reich ideology.

With Speer charged with Berlin’s overall reconfiguration into a monumentalized imperial capital, Breker was engaged to fill in figural details and executed commissions for the Ministry of Aviation (1935) and Olympic Stadium (1936), where they remain part of the network of surviving elements of the Nazi visual program. The two began collaborating in 1938, and two more Brekers, *Die Partei* [The Party] and *Die Wehrmacht* [The Army] (both 1939) were installed in the Court of Honor at the entrance to the Reichs Chancellery,

¹²⁶ Lagler, 57.

¹²⁷ See Christoph Becker, “The Venice Biennale and Germany’s Contributions from 1895 to 1942” in *ibid*, 63-86.

a major Speer building that was damaged during the Battle of Berlin and then demolished by the Russians in the early days following Germany's defeat.¹²⁸

As one scholar has argued, Breker's figure style was not so much responding to the Nazi program as influencing it in the mid-1930s, and he gave speeches at events including a 1934 Nazi Party meeting on culture policy and at the openings of the Great German Art and Degenerate Art exhibitions.¹²⁹ Breker did join the Party in 1937 (relatively late) and received numerous commissions and gifts from Hitler and others.¹³⁰ Following the war, he was subject to denazification proceedings, where he was classified as a *Mitläufer* ("fellow traveler"), which resulted in a fine and permission to return to his work.¹³¹ Breker was thus an example of the continuities during and after the war. After, his practice yielded portrait busts of Konrad Adenauer, Ernst Jünger, and the art collector-businessman Peter Ludwig, all of which carried loaded connections to representations of Nazi ideology.

Haacke and Paik shared the Biennale's Golden Lion award for best national presentation and, with great offense to Haacke, an additional Golden Lion was awarded to Ernst Jünger for his literary career. Jünger (1895-1998), the German author famous for his pro-war positions in the wake of World War One, as embodied in his widely read *Storm of Steel* (1920), was invited by Biennale curator Achille Bonito Oliva to contribute an introduction to the catalogue. In 1982 he had been at the center of a controversy after

¹²⁸ Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 224. See also Rudolf Conrades, *zur Diskussion gestellt: der Bildhauer Arno Breker* (Schwerin: cw-Verlagsgruppe, 2006).

¹²⁹ Peter Chametzky, *Objects as History in Twentieth-Century Art: Beckmann to Beuys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 141.

¹³⁰ Petropoulos, 229.

¹³¹ Chametzky, 142.

being awarded the prestigious Goethe Prize from the City of Frankfurt.¹³² At Venice, Haacke was incensed that such an honor would be bestowed upon a figure that had “distinguished himself with nationalist and anti-Semitic tracts,” sent personally inscribed books to Hitler, and commissioned a portrait bust from Breker in 1981-82.¹³³ When approached in May 1994 by Berlin theatre director Johann Kresnik (after the Biennale had closed the previous October) to design the sets for a new production about Jünger, Haacke accepted the opportunity to focus his distaste on a new project, and Kresnik’s musical became one of many Jünger-focused events organized in the approach to his 1995 centenary.

Kresnik’s project developed into a bombastic production that was quite a departure from Haacke’s characteristic reserve. Still, he enjoyed the opportunity to contribute to a push back on Jünger. He arranged the fabrication of oversized copies of the Goethe Prize medal and the Golden Lion trophy (with which, per Kresnik’s direction, the Jünger character simulated sexual intercourse). He also featured a copy of Breker’s *Readiness* in order to link Jünger to the sculptor (fig 41). The stage and walls were covered with cold steel plates and a WWII-era officer’s cap—on the scale of the entire stage—extended over the actors’ heads, bearing a swastika-emblazoned eagle above the brim (fig 42). With this, Haacke intended a “view into an officer’s head,” for Jünger had been in the Wehrmacht during World War II.¹³⁴ Haacke also incorporated twenty of Jünger’s own texts, set in Fraktur type (redolent of the Nazi period), against a steel backdrop—a reference to *Storm of Steel*, Jünger’s most famous text—while audience members took their seats. He

¹³² See Elliot Y. Neaman, *A Dubious Past: Ernst Jünger and the Politics of Literature after Nazism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹³³ Haacke in “Molly Nesbit in Conversation with Hans Haacke” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 10.

¹³⁴ Haacke, “Ernst Jünger” in *“Obra Social” Hans Haacke* (Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 1995), 240.

explained, “I chose steel because it is both directly and metaphorically impenetrable, responding to neither argument nor emotion. This is a material that corresponds to Jünger’s essential personality. I wanted it as cold as possible.”¹³⁵ Among the excerpts were,

Like many veterans, and not only German veterans, Hitler appreciated my books about the First World War; he let me know about it, and I sent him the latest editions. He thanked me, or he had [Rudolph] Hess [Hitler’s deputy] thank me on his behalf. I also received his book, which had just been published.¹³⁶

To the degree, however, to which the German will gains in clarity and shape, the last vestige of the Jew’s delusion of being in Germany as a German will be dispelled; and he will find himself confronted with a single choice: in Germany to be either a Jew or not to be.¹³⁷

For example, today you can’t say: ‘I am a fascist.’ In no time you are the lowest of the low. And you can’t drive your car on the left side of the road. All of this is a serious interference with individual freedom. My father and my grandfather were more free than we are today.¹³⁸

Haacke’s focus on Jünger was similar to his attention to Abs now two decades prior, as he aimed to inform his audience about biographical details that might not be widely known. As much as these projects were directed toward the details of their particular biographies—to their personal connections to the Nazi period and platform—they were also episodes through which to represent and take a position on debates that were being carried out in the German public sphere. Once again, research emerged as a driving

¹³⁵ Brigitte Werneburg, “The Armored Male Exposed,” *Art in America* 83, no. 6 (June 1995): 45.

¹³⁶ Jünger, *Jahre der Okkupation* (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1958), quoted in Martin Mayer, *Ernst Jünger* (Münich: C, Hanser, 1990): 374.

¹³⁷ Jünger, “Zur Judenfrage,” *Die Kommenden* (September 19, 1930), 446.

¹³⁸ Jünger, interview in *Der Spiegel* (August 8, 1982), 160.

element of Haacke's search for understanding and much of his text on the project outlined Jünger's biography in terms of the winding history of German fascism.¹³⁹ He critiqued Jünger's portrayal of war in *Storm of Steel*, which was based on his own experiences in the WWI trenches, as "an exhilarating, erotically charged, and, above all, esthetic, male experience," describing Jünger's support for "a state governed by an elite of warriors."¹⁴⁰ Jünger's 1932 *The Worker*, meanwhile, was a "fascist manifesto" that dismissed democracy and endorsed force with ideas that aligned with Nazi positions, even if he was never an official Party member. For four years after the war, the British administration imposed a publication ban on Jünger for having refused to stand before a denazification board.

While ostensibly focused on Jünger, the play presented Haacke with an opportunity to simultaneously address Breker, a figure closer to the question of artistic freedom during and after the Nazi period. Haacke's recreation of the Breker sculpture on the stage of the Volksbühne drew a web of convergent associations, linking Jünger to Breker, Breker to Hitler, and Hitler to Venice. (And yet further, Breker to businessman and collector Peter Ludwig, Haacke's critique of whom I will address in the following chapter.)

In a March 2000 interview, Haacke observed, "You have to be part of the system to participate in a public discourse."¹⁴¹ In each of these projects in Cologne, Graz, and Venice, Haacke's interventions worked to make evident the institutional structures that underlay present circumstances, bringing forth history that was deeply shaping the present even as

¹³⁹ Haacke, "Ernst Jünger" in *Obra Social* Hans Haacke, 240.

¹⁴⁰ Jünger, *Storm of Steel* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004). It was first published in 1920 and went through several revisions through 1978.

¹⁴¹ Deborah Solomon, "The Way We Live Now: 3-26-00: Questions for Hans Haacke; School for Scandal," *The New York Times Magazine* (March 26, 2000).

it remained out of view. While his method requires him to work within the system—agreeing to represent Germany at Venice and showing in other institutional contexts of museums and galleries—his work often leaves behind an impact on that institution. At Venice, this was manifest physically through the destroyed floor, but also because so many viewers of the Pavilion since have knowledge of his investigation there, and his project has become part of its history. Similarly at Graz, the large amount of publicity the arson attack generated became a part of the story of that square. Haacke is not separate from or outside of these institutions, which some might hold against him for relying on the very structures he critiques, but by gaining access to the inside, he is able to activate the very systems he seeks to expose.

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING LIMITS

To engage the stakes of West German institutions on their own terms, and the ways in which they shaped the country's reinvention after 1945, Haacke frequently employed public spaces. Indeed, his attention to Germany engaged questions of the "public" again and again, each time using a different frame to reveal a particular constellation of interests and conditions in operation. This "where" of Haacke's German project is a crucial element, getting at the ways in which free exchange and expression were constrained in the war's aftermath, in spite of a strong rhetoric of a clean break from the highly organized and coordinated institutions that had enabled the Nazis to take and maintain their power.

When the Berlin Wall was suddenly opened in November 1989, it initiated an unprecedented set of circumstances in which East and West Berlin would begin a process of slowly growing back together after nearly three decades of division. *Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit* [The Finitude of Freedom], an exhibition in East and West Berlin in the year after the fall of the Wall, counts among the best exhibitions of public art for its organizers' and participants' effectiveness in engaging a rapidly changing city on its own specific terms.¹⁴² Eleven artists including Haacke—from West Germany and abroad—were invited to develop site-specific projects around the city, in several cases choosing spaces that were inaccessible before the fall of the Wall. Ranging from Krzysztof Wodiczko's projection of a Polish shopper onto East Berlin's giant Lenin Memorial to Christian Boltanski's *Missing*

¹⁴² Wulf Herzogenrath, Joachim Sartorius, and Christoph Tannert, *Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit Berlin 1990: Ein Ausstellungsprojekt in Ost und West* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990).

House, which presented the lost histories of a bombed-out building's occupants, the projects focused attention on places that would soon begin to disappear with the coming wave of reconstruction and reorganization on a massive scale. The exhibition, funded largely by the West Berlin Senate with a sum of 1.5 million DM (and supplemented by 50,000 DM from the GDR¹⁴³) presented for five weeks beginning September 1, 1990 (and closing on October 7, days after the official celebration of reunification on October 3), advanced a cautious and critical perspective on reunification.

The exhibition's title emphasized freedom and Haacke's piece did, too.¹⁴⁴ *Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gesponsert—aus der Portokasse* [Freedom is Now Simply Going to Be Sponsored—from Petty Cash], 1990, advanced a cynical counter-position to official rhetoric about the triumph of freedom that had come with the Cold War's end (fig 43, 44). For Haacke, among the greatest consequences of reunification were its implications for the possibility of freedom, and he saw immediate limitations in this moment of supposed new beginnings. He dedicated his contribution to the current controversy over Daimler-Benz's plans to develop a large piece of land at Potsdamer Platz, which had suddenly transformed from an undesirable spot adjacent to the western side of the Wall into a prized location in the new Center. Taking advantage of a city full of temporary and transitional sites, Haacke appropriated a three-story watchtower in the former death strip that had separated East and West, transforming it into a Daimler-Benz advertising platform, in a multifaceted

¹⁴³ Tsp, "Ausstellung 'Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit' vorgestellt," *Der Tagesspiegel* (June 14, 1990).

¹⁴⁴ The exhibition was originally conceived of in 1986 by Heiner Müller, Rebecca Horn, and Jannis Kounellis while the city was still divided. Political realities, however, meant that it never had a chance for realization since it was impossible to gain authorization from the East Berlin authorities. "The finitude of freedom" had different implications in 1986, though not so far removed from what remained in 1990.

critique of the direction of a still-nascent yet fast-moving reunification process. That a multinational corporation was already playing a primary role in decisions about how the city's infrastructure would transform pointed to an even greater web of private interests that were operating behind the scenes. Installing a Daimler star on top of the watchtower, in an echo of the corporation's own advertising strategy in the skylines of many West German cities, and using the tower itself as an advertising platform, Haacke suggested a relationship between East Germany's repressive government and West Germany's expanding corporate capitalism.

In March 1990, multinational Daimler-Benz had closed a sweetheart deal with the West Berlin Senate for the fifteen-acre property at Potsdamer Platz, in a move that sparked a heated months-long debate over the path of reconstruction. Four months after the fall of the Wall, this transaction became a symbol of the question of who would have what power in a reunifying Germany. On one hand heralded by a Senate majority as a crucial windfall of private sector investment and on the other denounced as a closed-door deal heedless of public interests, Daimler's decisive claim on the physical space of the city seemed to suggest that despite widespread rhetoric about new freedoms and potentials, the bottom line had already emerged as the dominant priority.

Haacke's 1990 project was one in a decades-long trajectory of corporate critique, which had interrogated a number of multinationals, exposing business practices and relationships that public relations departments strived to obscure. But while widespread policies that prioritize profits over human consequences offered an international array of targets for Haacke's examinations, in Germany this work assumed a crucial additional charge, namely, the ways in which those powers represented unacknowledged continuities

in German society across the 1945 divide. His attention to corporate histories—their actions during World War II and the ways in which they benefitted from the war economy and Hitler’s forced labor system—as well as the occluded Nazi pasts of prominent individuals in West Germany.

Using public space as an arena in which to raise questions about the legacy of the German past, Haacke simultaneously critiqued constraints on free expression by corporate and governmental interests, productively creating a space in which these issues could be examined and debated, operating in the Arendtian “space of appearance.” The space of appearance remained a viable tool even as various interests competed for control of public space. Reclaiming public space as a space for debate in which competing interests and claims are revealed and acknowledged, Haacke challenged the equalizing mechanisms of institutions (the government and corporate power) that sought to smooth over difference. Arendt was also concerned with the agonistic nature of the public realm. However, while for Arendt, this was the site in which individuals might express their points of view and thereby be most fully themselves, in Haacke’s work this same idea expands to the work of making the differences between conflicting interests and positions known. The works represented these conflicts, which is to say, brought them to light by putting them in play in the very contexts in which they were operative.

The space of appearance also helps to make sense of that aspect of Haacke’s work that rehearses—or rephrases—again and again the warning of pernicious echoes of fascist oppression in the present moment in which he works. For as Arendt identified it, the space of appearance—the space for grappling and debate—only exists as long as the forum in

which it is created remains. “[I]t does not survive the actuality of the movement which brought it into being,” she writes, “but disappears not only with the dispersal of men... but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves. Whenever people gather together, it is potentially there, but only potentially, not necessarily and not forever.”¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Haacke’s recurring projects of exposing echoes of the Nazi past operates as a regeneration of the space of appearance.

The space of appearance is necessarily a public space (as distinguished from a private one) and, according to Arendt, is brought into effect through speech acts. “With word and deed,” she writes, “we insert ourselves into the human world...”¹⁴⁶ These acts, too, make speech a fundamental aspect of action.

Without the accompaniment of speech, at any rate, action would not only lose its revelatory character, but, and by the same token, it would lose its subject, as it were.... Speechless action would no longer be action because there would no longer be an actor, and the actor, the doer of deeds, is possible only if he is at the same time the speaker of words. The action... becomes relevant only through the spoken word in which he identifies himself as the actor, announcing what he does, has done, and intends to do.¹⁴⁷

Haacke, then, as will be seen, put action into play through the iterations of his works in the public realm, making his project an active one, in which he challenges the constraints that are his targets and effects a certain reclaiming, even as he acknowledges the degree to which they are powerfully entrenched. For him, it is also an interrogatory space, in which propositions can be posed and responses measured.

¹⁴⁵ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 199.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 178-9.

While ideally there might be a strong response from multiple interests, in practice this is not always so, and may suggest the degree to which action and response are already restricted by the interests in question. Indeed, the work is more about posing the question than getting a response. Arendt also affords a perspective on the possibility (or even probability?) that some of Haacke's works in the public realm are in some way destined to "fail," that is, not generate a productive debate, because of the pressures of preexisting constraints. For action, Arendt writes, while the product of an individual, always occurs within an "already existing web of human relationships, with its innumerable, conflicting wills and intentions" so that "action almost never achieves its purpose."¹⁴⁸ Though this might be seen as excusing certain limitations in his works, it rather points to the way in which they reflect the reality of agonistic public space.

To sort out these competing interests it is helpful to consider Jürgen Habermas's classic 1962 text, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, which was written in the context of West Germany's successful social and economic reconstruction.¹⁴⁹ Though flawed by its failure to recognize the inherent conflicts produced by differences of race, gender, class, etc. (which were demonstrated by the responses of other scholars later), it brought a lasting attention to the potential for dialogue and debate in the public realm. Its publication also came at a moment of questioning the strength and authenticity of the democratic system in postwar Germany. As Germanist Peter Uwe Hohendahl writes, "for the young intellectuals, this was the crucial question: Was democracy really rooted in the

¹⁴⁸ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 184.

¹⁴⁹ The English translation did not appear until 1989. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

postwar society, or was it merely a formal system superimposed on an exhausted and passive crowd?"¹⁵⁰ The unwritten corollary, and apposite to Haacke's project, was whether the pre-1945 structures and convictions persisted, too.

Among Habermas's concerns was the weakening of the public sphere since the late nineteenth century as private interests became increasingly aligned with administrative powers. Then as now, public debate was sidestepped as negotiations took place more and more behind closed doors. Haacke's attention to the blurred boundaries between corporate and government interests and domains, and a consequent diminishing of individual participation, reasserted this same issue in the postwar context. As will be discussed further in chapter four, his works encouraged individual participation as a counter to this.

While early environmental projects had been located in public space, Haacke first took up the politics of public space with the Graz project in 1988, while working on the persistence of the Nazi legacy there. Building on his established concern with constraints on free expression, he began to make public space a key term in his practice, as a location in which to represent the players and interests he saw competing for influence and control. Locating his projects at certain sites, whether physical or institutional, had the effect of alternately eliciting and revealing competing claims on and interests in the public realm. Indeed, what was the status of the public sphere first in West Germany and then in the wake of reunification? What were its parameters, its constraints? As Hohendahl observed, Haacke's generation of Germans was characterized in part by a need to defend against a return to repressive politics. "In the eyes of this generation," he writes, "the constitution of a civil society with a functioning public sphere as an arena for democratic discussion has

¹⁵⁰ Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Recasting the Public Sphere," *October* 73 (Summer 1995): 29.

been more important than the restoration of the German Reich.” (This is in contrast to the previous generation—adults during the 1930s and 40s—who, as a group, preferred not to address the Nazi period directly.) This was rooted in the fact that this “generation’s most important experience was the introduction of democracy in West Germany—more specifically, the introduction of a liberal, Western system of government that encouraged the organization of a civil society.”¹⁵¹ He used Habermas, who was born in 1929, as his example. While both West Germany and reunified Germany were dominated by rhetorics of freedom, as compared to either Nazi Germany or the GDR, Haacke’s works revealed the ways in which this was an idealized fantasy that smoothed over the cracks of unresolved history.

His works challenge the mechanisms of erasure that are carried out by the institutions that he critiques. Arendt, too, was concerned by these erasures as an erosion of the arena in which people speak and act with one another, expressing their opinions in the public realm. Writing in 1968, Arendt articulated the threat to this realm in a language that still rings very much true:

If it is the function of the public realm to throw light on the affairs of men by providing a space of appearances in which they can show in deed and word, for better and worse, who they are and what they can do, then darkness has come when this light is extinguished by ‘credibility gaps’ and ‘invisible government,’ by speech that does not disclose what is but sweeps it under the carpet, by exhortations, moral and otherwise, that, under the pretext of upholding old truths, degrade all truth to meaningless triviality.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 29.

¹⁵² Arendt, Preface to *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968): viii.

Haacke's studies at the art academy in Kassel were formative for his concern with free expression in art, for his professors had direct experience of the Nazis' use of art as an ideological and propagandistic tool and attacks on artists and art that did not conform to their beliefs and aesthetic judgments. That history became a constant point of reference over his career, against which he would measure the relative freedom of expression in multiple contexts, most notably with regard to the censorship of his work and others' in Germany and the United States. It became an object to both respond to and warn against. The first Documenta in 1955 was organized in direct response to that history, as an effort to reclaim modern art and reintroduce it to the West German public, which had had wide exposure to the Nazi declarations about art through the Degenerate Art exhibition less than two decades prior.

Documenta, now one of the most significant recurring international exhibitions, was initiated by Arnold Bode (a faculty member at Kassel) and Werner Haftmann, an art historian who had just published *Painting in the 20th Century*, the first postwar art survey to reincorporate the avant-garde.¹⁵³ The exhibition was organized as a component of the *Bundesgartenschau*, the large biennial garden show that had begun in 1951 as part of postwar reconstruction of war-damaged cities, taking place in a different West German city each time, and that year in Kassel. German art historians had begun to address the history of degenerate art as early as 1947, publishing books that included Adolf Behne's *Entartete Kunst* [Degenerate Art], 1947, Paul Ortwin Rave's *Kunst und Diktatur im Dritten Reich* [Art and Dictatorship in the Third Reich], 1949, R. Drew and A. Kantorowicz's *Verboten und Verbrannt* [Banned and Burned], 1947, Walter Mehring's *Verrufene Malerei* [Disreputed

¹⁵³ Werner Haftmann, *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 & 2 (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1954-55).

Painting], 1958, and Franz Roh's *'Entartete' Kunst: Kunstbarbarei im Dritten Reich* ["Degenerate" Art: Art and Barbarism in the Third Reich], 1962. Documenta built on these precedents and presented examples of the works themselves.

The checklist for the first Documenta closely followed Haftmann's *Painting in the 20th Century*, which was itself very similar to a 1926 textbook by Carl Einstein, which the Nazis had used to identify what they believed degenerate.¹⁵⁴ Haftmann's book was also significant in Haacke's education and, by the time he worked as a student guard at the second Documenta, it "served," according to Haacke, "as the only tool with which [he and his] peers... tried to understand what [they] were guarding at the Fridericianum [Documenta's main exhibition venue]."¹⁵⁵

Bode and Haftmann selected many artists who had been labeled degenerate by the Nazis, and the Fridericianum was filled with paintings by artists including Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Franz Marc, Emil Nolde, Max Beckmann, and Oscar Schlemmer, and sculptures by Wilhelm Lehmbruck and Ernst Barlach, as well as postwar works by Picasso, Wols, Joan Miro, and Fritz Winter. Documenta was part of a larger program of reeducating Germans and reforming their political beliefs through new relationships to modern art. This was modernism as cultural policy, as Walter Grasskamp writes, and was also geared toward defining art in West Germany in opposition to Socialist Realism and its related politics in the East. Modern art was equated with freedom. No "official" East German artists were included in Documenta exhibitions, even relatively early into German division in 1955.

¹⁵⁴ Ian Wallace, *The First documenta, 1955* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011), 11. Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1991). First edition published 1926.

¹⁵⁵ Haacke, "Lessons Learned," *Tate Papers: Tate's Online Research Journal* 12 (2009). <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/lessons-learned>. Accessed April 17, 2011.

Grasskamp writes, “It was not only the West German authorities (political as well as aesthetic) that preferred East German art to be excluded; the East German authorities also wanted their artists to stay at home—and in East Germany political and aesthetic authorities tended to be one and the same.”¹⁵⁶ Walter Grasskamp described Germany’s immediate postwar cultural policy as the “cultural policy of the guilty conscience,” and wrote that “[p]ublic resistance to modernist art was regarded as a left-over from National Socialist propaganda, one which would eventually be eradicated by education and the force of habit.... Modern art and architecture were prescribed in Germany like bitter but life-saving pills.”¹⁵⁷

All of this was crucial for Haacke’s early development, and he wrote, “It was the first *Documenta* of 1955 and word that Fritz Winter, one of the best-known abstract painters in Germany at the time [and a student at the Bauhaus in the late 1920s], had just been appointed to join the faculty, that made me apply for admission to the Kassel academy.”¹⁵⁸ Grasskamp makes clear that this reclamation, however, was incomplete and framed by the political climate in West Germany. He sees Haftmann’s curatorial decisions as having “transformed a modernism that had arisen out of difficult conflicts and disruptions into a timelessly valid contemporary art”¹⁵⁹ that “present[ed] modernism only in a conveniently

¹⁵⁶ Walter Grasskamp, “To Be Continued: Periodic Exhibitions (*documenta*, For Example),” *Tate Papers: Tate’s Online Research Journal* 12 (2009).

www.tate.org.uk/download/file/fid/7263. Accessed April 17, 2011.

¹⁵⁷ Walter Grasskamp, “The De-Nazification of Nazi Art: Arno Breker and Albert Speer Today” in Brandon Taylor and Wilfried van der Will, eds., *The Nazification of Art: Art, Design, Music, Architecture and Film in the Third Reich* (Winchester, UK: The Winchester Press, 1990), 233-4.

¹⁵⁸ Haacke, “Lessons Learned,” n.p.

¹⁵⁹ Walter Grasskamp, “‘Degenerate Art’ and Documenta I: Modernism Ostracized and Disarmed” in Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 170.

filtered and partial way.”¹⁶⁰ This dehistoricizing universalization, just one decade after the end of the war, coincided, as Grasskamp points out, with Adenauer’s 1953 election and a concomitant shift toward conservatism and anti-Communism, and so Documenta 1 included very little political art of the 1920s.¹⁶¹ This depoliticization, however, was not merely an effort to whitewash politics, but rather an intentional challenge to the Nazis’ politicization of art. In retrospect, it is clear that such a move was inherently political. It also reveals the extent to which the organizers had internalized the fear of contradicting the German culture’s rejection of modernism, which Grasskamp describes as a “fear of telling the people the whole truth.”¹⁶² Nevertheless, from a larger perspective, Documenta was crucial in reclaiming and reintroducing the art of the avant-garde that the Nazis had mocked, banned, and destroyed.

Initially drawn to Kassel because of the first Documenta, Haacke had become a participant by the second. Working as an art handler and guard, he accessed a backstage view into the workings of this kind of large-scale exhibition. He recently called it, “the loss of my innocence.”¹⁶³ While he was studying painting in school, he undertook a project of photographic documentation of the exhibition, taking some 300 photographs over the course of the exhibition. Photography has remained a regular practice for Haacke ever since, the camera a tool for capturing the world as he perceives it. Grasskamp likened the photographs to “diary entries,” evidence of Haacke’s nascent interest in how the world of art functioned and how viewers responded to works in the exhibition (or didn’t), and framed the series as a foundation for Haacke’s career-long investigation into these

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 176.

¹⁶¹ Otto Dix was included but George Grosz and John Heartfield were not. Ibid., 177-8.

¹⁶² Ibid., 181.

¹⁶³ Haacke, “Lessons Learned,” 6.

questions.¹⁶⁴ They also revealed his attention to matters of postwar social relations in Germany. In *Photographic Notes* (Fraternity Students in Documenta 2), 1959, for example, a pair of young men posed before a Kandinsky in a juxtaposition Grasskamp suggests “formed an accurate miniature of the contradictions that make this Fatherland so problematic (fig 45).”¹⁶⁵ These two men, whose suit jackets and caps manifested their fraternity membership, recalled the conservative student groups that had brought National Socialism into the universities. Another image showed a smartly-dressed older couple sitting a bench before a Mondrian, the woman holding open the exhibition catalogue. They would have been the target audience for the exhibition, those Germans who had lived through the war and the Nazi attacks on modern art (fig 46).

West German publications on the history of art in the Third Reich continued in the 1960s, now on the art the Nazis had championed rather than attacked—and the political uses to which it had put it. Joseph Wulf’s *Die Bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich* [The Fine Arts in the Third Reich] (1963), Hildegard Brenner’s *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* [The Politics of Art in National Socialism] (1963), and Anna Teut’s *Architektur im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* [Architecture in the Third Reich 1933-1945] (1967)

¹⁶⁴ Grasskamp, “Real Time: The Work of Hans Haacke,” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 30. In 2001, Haacke selected twenty-six of the photographs to form a three-edition series. It was also at that time that he gave it the current title. Walter Grasskamp and Hans Haacke, *Hans Haacke: Fotonotizen Documenta 2, 1959* (Siegen: Museum für Gegenwartskunst Siegen, 2011), 23, 35. Haacke did not think of these as art at the time, and Grasskamp discovered one of them by chance in the Documenta archive in 1981. It was unmarked and only identified by a coincidental correspondence with Haacke. See Grasskamp, “Kassel New York Cologne Venice,” in Haacke, *Hans Haacke: “Obra Social,”* 11-23.

¹⁶⁵ Grasskamp, “Kassel, New York, Cologne, Venice,” in *Hans Haacke: “Obra Social,”* 11.

set a stage for Haacke's Frankfurt show.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, these art historical investigations coincided with major political events such as the Eichmann trial in 1961 and the Auschwitz trials in 1963-65, which forced the details of Nazi atrocities into German public consciousness, and made them increasingly difficult to ignore.¹⁶⁷

Two years after the *Manet-PROJEKT '74* incident, Haacke presented a solo exhibition at the Frankfurter Kunstverein. The first time he presented a large number of political works together, the show was a crucial moment in his career. It was a time of polarized politics and culture in West Germany, in particular of constraints on free expression by the federal government. Within a climate of acute uncertainty concentrated around attacks by the Red Army Faction, Haacke's new works pried into the contradictions between the founding myth of West Germany, which asserted a clean break with the Nazi past, and the reality of increasingly repressive government policies. In clear violation of constitutional protections, new laws had begun to limit political freedoms in what was to Haacke and others on the Left a troubling echo of restrictions from the past.

The late 1960s had seen the rise of an "extraparliamentary opposition" in West Germany, which had organized in response to a "Grand Coalition" between the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, the country's two largest political parties, in 1966. Activists believed this had produced an oppositional vacuum in the federal government, and they organized to create one on the outside. Coalescing first in the student movement, it later transformed into more violent action by the radical Left. As Hohendahl points out,

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Wulf, *Die Bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich* (Gütersloh: S. Mohn, 1963); Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963); Anna Teut, *Architektur im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1967).

¹⁶⁷ Arendt famously reported on the Eichmann Trial for the *New Yorker*, and later published her writings as *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

this increase in government control led—despite the authorities’ intentions to the contrary—to an *increase* in public participation, as students and other opposition groups galvanized in the effort to establish a “counter public sphere.”¹⁶⁸ This, then, was the context into which Haacke’s exhibition interjected. The exhibition was organized by Georg Bussmann, the director of the Kunstverein, who had demonstrated his political sympathies two years prior with an exhibition titled *Art in the Third Reich*, a groundbreaking exhibition to, as he put it, “demonstrate the deep entanglement of art in the political and economic reality of the Third Reich,” and part of a gradual increase in attention to the German past.¹⁶⁹

Rosalyn Deutsche sees in Haacke’s investigations a push to continually question government actions, to not be “governed quite so much.”¹⁷⁰ She quotes his statement for his 2005 New York gallery show at Paula Cooper, “Hans Haacke: State of the Union,” which took sharp aim at George W. Bush’s policies in the wake of 9/11: “Experience tells us that one should never leave politics to the politicians.”¹⁷¹ Citing Giorgio Agamben’s term the “state of exception,” under which democratic freedoms have been suspended—historically, as in the 1970s in the FRG, and today—in the interest of “protecting democracy,” Deutsche frames the work as maneuvering to generate a public sphere—“forming the art audience into a democratic public”—that will challenge such attempts at limiting freedoms.¹⁷² More specifically, she continues, it is through a strategy of “direct address” of the viewer that

¹⁶⁸ Hohendahl, 41.

¹⁶⁹ Hans Haacke and Georg Bussmann, *Hans Haacke* (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1976) and Georg Bussmann, *Kunst im 3. Reich: Dokumente der Unterwerfung* (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1975). The latter traveled to Hamburg, Stuttgart, Ludwigshafen, Wuppertal, and Berlin the following year.

¹⁷⁰ Rosalyn Deutsche, “The Art of Not Being Governed Quite So Much,” in Flügge and Fleck, eds., 62-79.

¹⁷¹ Press release for *Hans Haacke: State of the Union*, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, November 5–December 23, 2005, cited in *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 63.

Haacke begins “to form his audience into a public.”¹⁷³ In this way, she sees Haacke’s work as a challenge to the Habermasian public sphere, revealing the limitations of that model in its tendency to conceal difference rather than expose it.

By 1976, when Haacke’s show opened, West Germany was in political crisis. The protest movement, which had organized around the police shooting of an unarmed student during West Berlin protests against the visiting Shah of Iran in June 1967, had spread around the country to university cities including Frankfurt. Emergency Laws had been passed in 1968 by Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger (in office 1966-69)—himself a former Nazi—allowing for the suspension of democratic representation should the government deem necessary for public order. In 1970, the Red Army Faction, whose activities would peak in 1977, was established to expose what it observed as the state’s fundamental repressive tendencies.

In 1972, Chancellor Brandt passed the “Decree Against Radicals” (*Extremistenbeschuß/Radikalenbeschuß*), which became the focus of Haacke’s works in the exhibition. The law targeted civil service applicants, including teachers, in a McCarthy-like investigation into political affiliations based on anti-Communist fears, and was a product of Cold War politics, as Brandt sought to quell attacks from the Right against his program of softening relations with East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Just two years after his famous “Kneefall” at the Warsaw Ghetto, when he dropped to his knees in a supposedly unscripted demonstration of private emotional response, this bow to the Right demonstrated that this Social Democrat’s policies were not always aligned with the Left.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 69, 71.

These limits on democratic freedoms were the focus of Haacke's four new works for the Frankfurt exhibition, including three that used the very documents from investigations based on these policies, in an example of what Buchloh termed the "aesthetic of administration."¹⁷⁴ With their sometimes extensive documentation, they preserved evidence for the historical record. Like the *Manet-PROJEKT '74* and many of Haacke's works since, these works relied on research to tell the stories of those targeted by the new law. Two focused on students who had been caught up in efforts to keep suspected radicals out of public service, and were another instance of Haacke's repetition of projects, but with varying details, in order to demonstrate the reach of the structures he was examining. The lengthy bureaucratic titles of the works echoed the laws that were their subject. Titled *Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie des Gewährbietens, dargestellt am Beispiel des Ausbildungsverbots der Christine Fischer-Defoy* [Prognostic Theory of Cognition for a Guarantee of Security, Demonstrated by the Example of a Ban on Professional Training for Christine Fischer-Defoy] and *Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie des Gewährbietens, dargestellt am Beispiel des Ausbildungsverbots des Gerhard Fisch* [Prognostic Theory of Cognition for a Guarantee of Security, Demonstrated by the Example of a Ban on Professional Training for Gerhard Fisch], both 1976, the works traced the supposed logic that predicted these teachers-in-training would be threats to a secure society, and which ultimately barred them—and some 2,000 others—from civil service positions (fig 47).

The Fischer-Defoy piece comprised nine text panels printed on top of snapshots of Fischer-Defoy that Haacke had taken in a personal meeting with her. The documents from her case, which he reproduced, emphasized the highly bureaucratic nature of the process.

¹⁷⁴ Benjamin Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," *October* 55 (Winter 1990): 105-143.

The official letters she had received from the investigating commission described her former high school membership in the Marxist student organization Spartakus, which, as the transcript of her hearing detailed in the first three panels, raised “serious doubts... about whether she would stand up for the free and democratic order as expressed by the Constitution.” Despite her assurances that she did not support the methods of radical student groups, indeed that she was a pacifist, she was declared unfit for civil service for her refusal to answer—on the grounds that it was irrelevant to her qualifications—whether she was a member of the German Communist Party. As the official detailed in her ultimate letter of rejection, “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.”

At the bottom of each panel, Haacke added citations from the West German Constitution. The second to last panel, for example, reads, “Every German shall be equally eligible for any public office according to his aptitude, qualifications, and professional achievements. ... No one may be disadvantaged, by reason of adherence to a particular religious denomination or political creed,” thereby proving the unconstitutionality of the Emergency Decree. Generally speaking, the Constitution guaranteed the standard freedoms of liberal democracies: freedoms of speech, the press, religion, association, and movement. In postwar Germany, these had assumed added resonance, drafted as they were in the aftermath of the Nazi regime, and the constitution was part of West Germany’s postwar assertion of a new and peaceful beginning. This new suspension of constitutional guarantees, however, paired with an increasingly empowered police force, made Haacke and others on the Left deeply concerned by an apparent retreat toward a police state.

The Fisch version also consisted of nine panels, beginning with his examination certification for teaching high school. In three following documents, one read the government's case against him, which was based on "doubt" as to whether he would "at any time defend the free democratic basic order of the Basic Law and Constitution of the State of Hesse." In his defense, Fisch said he had only belonged to legal political parties and that his candidacy for office in the Communist Party was completely legal under the constitution. Therefore, he argued, it was wrong for it to be held up as evidence that he harbored "unconstitutional intentions." Fisch was found to be ineligible, and the final document in the work is his notice of this decision, acknowledging the legality of his membership but questioning his loyalty.

Haacke's third work was focused on the intimidation of students to discourage their speaking out against the Decree. Titled *Diptychon: Wer Beamter werden will, Krümmt sich beizeiten* [Diptych: If You Want to Become a Civil Servant, You Must Bend in Time], 1976, it played on a German proverb of one who bends to the will of authority in order to find professional success (fig 48, 49).¹⁷⁵ The pair of framed panels reproduced an exchange between a representative of the Bonn Citizens Committee Against the Decree Against Radicals and the school district's student government, superimposed on an image of the German eagle (the official seal of the FRG). Urging students to join the protest, the Committee wrote, "We do not want to become again a country of spineless subjects whose 'civic consciousness' is just sufficient to never attract attention, serve any master, and always represent the opinions of those who just happen to be in power." The students' response, reproduced on the right panel, read, "Are you aware of the fact that any signatory

¹⁷⁵ The original proverb is "Wer ein Häkchen werden will, krümmt sich beizeiten." ["If you want to become a hook, you must bend in time."]

would potentially endanger his professional future? Going beyond the limits of his authority could later be held against him, when he goes for a job interview with a school board. Moreover, by signing he could already be in danger of exclusion from continued enrollment in school.” It closed, “I shall inform the Minister of Culture of this matter.” The scare tactics of the authorities were clearly working, with students afraid to even receive such mailings. Across the bottom of the panels Haacke wrote, “496,724 applicants for the civil service have been screened by the Agency for the Protection of the Constitution between August 1972 and March 1976.” The document suggested that the government’s tightening policies were having an impact on free expression and independent thought, in which Haacke heard echoes of the early development of National Socialism.

The last of the new works shifted the focus to one of the right-wing politicians who was actively stirring up fear. Titled *Aus Liebe zu Deutschland* [Out of Love for Germany], 1976, (one of two slogans of the CDU/CSU’s 1976 campaign, the other, “Freedom instead of socialism”), the piece targeted Franz Josef Strauss, then head of the CSU and a prominent figure in the conservative region of southern Germany (fig 50). Haacke used text from an incendiary speech Strauss had given during a November 1974 campaign strategy meeting in Sonthofen, Bavaria, which had been leaked to *Der Spiegel* and published in March 1975.

The German text read,

But all those dull questions of the internal policies of the state, i.e., planning of an infrastructure, regional planning, etc., for which one needs a lot of experience, all that is not going to decide tomorrow’s election results. However, playing on people’s emotions, specifically fear, anxiety, and the view of a dark future, both internally as well as in foreign affairs, will do it. – Franz Josef Strauss¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Translated in Wallis, 174. Excerpts from the speech appeared in *Der Spiegel* 11/1975 (March 10, 1975): 34-41.

Words alarmingly similar to Hitler's strategies for popular manipulation during the unstable early 1930s, they were complemented by visual and aural cues to draw links to the former Nazi and current East German regimes. The text was made of white cardboard letters and attached to a red curtain that hung behind a small stage platform, which was meant to recall the podium arrangement for official political events in East Germany and the Soviet Union. Above the text, on the left side, Haacke added the profile images of three older men identified as Strauss, Alfred Dregger (the CDU Party Chair of Hesse), and Hans Filbinger (the former Party Chair and then Governor of Baden-Württemberg). Two years after the exhibition, Haacke later wrote, Filbinger was forced to resign after revelations that he had supported the Nazis while working as a Navy judge during the war.¹⁷⁷ In the background, Haacke played a recording of Wagner's *Ring der Nibelungen* in a provocative link to Hitler's favorite composer.

Haacke's comparison of Strauss to the Nazis followed similar links made by the West German Left. MP Kurt Mattick (SPD), for example, cautioned in 1975, "We are now experiencing a general assault by Strauss and [right wing publisher] Springer, whose methods are very similar to the attack that [Alfred] Hugenberg [a Nazi-aligned newspaper publisher and MP] and Goebbels carried out against the Weimar Republic."¹⁷⁸ But even as Haacke's most scathing attacks were aimed toward those on the Right who sought political gain during an unstable political climate, he also maintained distance from the far Left. For while some intellectuals and artists saw radical violence as a necessary counter to the authoritarian tendencies evidenced in policies like the Decree Against Radicals, Haacke

¹⁷⁷ Haacke, "Aus Liebe zu Deutschland" in *Ibid.*, 174-5.

¹⁷⁸ "Den Rechtsstaat retten—blödes Zeug," *Der Spiegel* 11/1975 (March 10, 1975): 21.

remained critical of both sides, suspicious of extreme platforms on both ends of the political spectrum. In 1978, when the works from Frankfurt were included in a group show in Bochum, his catalogue statement pointed to the intensification of the situation in the intervening years, and accused the RAF of engaging in an “unacknowledged collaboration” with Strauss, for providing ammunition for the Right’s program of inciting fear.¹⁷⁹

Back in New York in these years, Haacke was sharpening his critique of the actions of corporations in projects that aimed to reveal their true motivations, no matter their public image. Since his experience at the Guggenheim, he had also become increasingly attuned to the intersections of corporate interests and the world of art, and he channeled this into an examination of that museum’s board. *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board of Trustees*, 1974, was a seven-part installation of lists of their names, framed in brass (a copper alloy) to reference the Kennecott Copper Corporation on whose board three members served (fig 51). As Haacke detailed on the panel about Kennecott (three other panels outlined other corporate relationships of the board members), the multinational had challenged the nationalization of copper mines in Chile, in opposition to President Salvador Allende before his 1973 murder. Haacke’s piece aimed to expose the very deep political entrenchment of the Museum’s board members, in contrast to the demand that politics remain outside the museum. Completed four months before *Manet-PROJEKT '74* and first shown in a group exhibition at the Stefanotty Gallery in New York, it followed a similar strategy of lists of corporate affiliations. Haacke (and the U.S. Senate Committee on

¹⁷⁹ Haacke’s statement in Clara Weyergraf, ed., *Daniel Buren, Victor Burgin, Braco Dimitrijević, Hans Haacke, Red Herring, Katharina Sieverding* (Dusseldorf: M Bochum, 1978).

Foreign Relations) was interested in the role played by U.S. corporations like Kennecott, which had been nationalized in 1971 and eventually compensated \$68 million by Pinochet's government in 1975.

A year later, Haacke made *On Social Grease*, 1975, a set of six 30 x 30" magnesium plaques photoengraved with quotes by powerful individuals in business and government (sometimes one and the same), which revealed clear strategies to advance profitability through exuberant sponsorship of the arts (fig 52). A 1966 quote by David Rockefeller (Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank and Vice Chairman of the Museum of Modern Art) for example, reads,

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

This and other quotes, including Nelson Rockefeller's "I am not really concerned with what the artist means..." and Richard Nixon's "The excellence of the American product in the arts has won worldwide recognition..." suggested little real interest in the arts themselves, but rather in their potential to generate financial reward.

Haacke's work in the 1980s returned again and again to the business of corporations, particularly as they used their support of the arts to detract attention from their less publicity-friendly activities. In Germany, he became interested in Peter Ludwig, who, with his wife Irene, counted among West Germany's art collecting elite, and initiated eleven museums around Europe and in Beijing—all bearing their name, along with

substantial donations of artworks. Ludwig was also a powerful figure in West German business.

By the late 1970s, art had become something of a pawn in political relations between the two Germanys, a turn that Haacke first addressed in *Der Pralinenmeister* [The Chocolate Master], 1981 (fig 53). The installation's fourteen panels were arranged in pairs to suggest the intersections of private capital and philanthropy and the tax incentives in place to encourage generous donations. On the left, Haacke placed a repeating photograph of Ludwig, and on the right, an image taken inside one of his chocolate factories, which were staffed mainly by women. Long texts on each panel told the stories of Ludwig's art collecting activities on one side and conditions in the factories on the other, suggesting the inseparability of Ludwig's art and business dealings. At the bottom of each panel, Haacke collaged a wrapper from one of Ludwig's products. As one panel described, Van Houten, one of Ludwig's subsidiary chocolate companies, distributed chocolate in Europe and North America and, significantly, in 1974 gained access to an otherwise inaccessible East German market, with an agreement to distribute instant chocolate milk in schools. Higher-end chocolates were also sold in the East German stores that dealt only in foreign currency, and were thus limited to international tourists and officials.

A decade prior, in December 1971, East Germany had moved to open up cultural exchanges with the Federal Republic, issuing a call for "broadness and diversity" in its attitude toward art. This was the reference for Haacke's *Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade Ludwig* [Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade], which he made for a solo exhibition organized by the West Berlin Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (NGBK) and

held at the Künstlerhaus Bethanien in 1984.¹⁸⁰ This installation of a billboard and a similarly-scaled painting were hung opposite one another, on either side of a wall meant to echo the Berlin Wall, which was located close to the exhibition space at the edge of the Kreuzberg district (fig 54). The painting was executed in a Socialist Realist style, in a reference to the state-approved style of art in East Germany, depicting Ludwig, his wife, and another female worker in a factory (fig 55). Their proud and determined poses were, however, foiled by the protest signs held by the two women, which demanded “solidarity with our fellow workers in the capitalist part of Berlin” and “9 DM/hour is not enough. Stop the job cuts at Trumpf.” On the opposite side of the wall, Haacke pointed to the extreme contrast in conditions between East Berlin and West, by displaying a West German billboard for the chocolate company, which addressed a different kind of worker, a happy woman in a fashion studio taking a break to enjoy some chocolates (fig 56). Here, Ludwig used the products of East German factories to market to the capitalist West. The wall between the two images made it impossible to see both and was a reference to Berlin’s spatial reality: two polarized worldviews staunchly cut off from one another despite their immediate proximity.

Haacke was fiercely suspect of Ludwig’s maneuvering between art and profit, which Walter Grasskamp called “a double game of art imports and chocolate exports,”¹⁸¹ and his attempts to learn the details of Ludwig’s arrangements with East Germany were thwarted, by what Grasskamp described as

¹⁸⁰ Hans Haacke, *Hans Haacke: Nach allen Regeln der Kunst* (Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, 1984). September 2-October 14, 1984. The exhibition travelled to the Kunsthalle Bern, March 1-31, 1985.

¹⁸¹ Grasskamp, “Survey” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 69.

a peculiar German-German agreement that is virtually beyond public scrutiny. [The arrangements] remain shrouded in the secrecy of a 'German-German alliance.' Its basic tenets seem to be in part that attention be directed from economic to cultural matters, that is, to the art collection. This provides a cultural facade for a backroom version of German unity...¹⁸²

This "German-German agreement" was in fact the Inner-German Trade, which, despite the appearance and sometime reality of high tension between the two Germanys, had existed since the end of the war and quadrupled during the 1950s, when it comprised about ten percent of the GDR's foreign trade. In West Germany, trade with the GDR was framed as an indication of "a pledge of political unity," part of its narrative throughout the period of German division that assumed eventual reunification.¹⁸³ This would become significant after 1989, when publicly-owned East German property was put on the market and eagerly acquired by Western interests in search of a good deal, which was unappreciated by many in the former East who felt their surroundings were being snapped up by outsiders. As the lead administrator of East German privatization put it plainly, "The West Germans knew their East German partners; that meant they could come and buy the minute we decided to sell."¹⁸⁴

Haacke's overall practice during the late 1970s and 80s was often tuned in to questions of corporate power, practice, and influence, particularly as they intersected with art. In the U.S. he took repeated aim at the Mobil Corporation, which had ties to both the

¹⁸² Grasskamp, "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture," *October* 30 (Fall 1984): 21.

¹⁸³ Dietmar Petzina, "The Economic Dimension of the East-West Conflict and the Role of Germany," *Contemporary European History* 3, no. 2 (1994): 206-7.

¹⁸⁴ Birgit Breuel in Michael Muth, "Taking a Whole Economy Private: An Interview with Birgit Breuel, President of the Treuhandanstalt," *The McKinsey Quarterly* 1 (1993): 7.

Guggenheim and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Its Chairman and CEO, Rawleigh Warner, Jr., had recently been appointed to the Guggenheim Board, and was also, as Haacke wrote, Chairman of the Business Committee for the Arts, which had been established by David Rockefeller in 1967.) And in exhibitions across Europe as well as in New York and Montreal, projects between 1978-1987 looked again and again to the situation of South African apartheid, and to the multinational corporations doing business there. Recognizing the astuteness of advertising executives, Haacke observed, "One can learn a lot from advertising. Among the mercenaries of the advertising world are very smart people, real experts in communication. It makes practical sense to learn techniques and strategies of communication. Without knowing them, it is impossible to subvert them."¹⁸⁵ Pragmatically recognizing the power and reach of corporate messaging, he began to use their own strategies to expose their attempts to shape the public sphere in their interests.

In 1987 Haacke was again invited to participate in Documenta, and there made the first of several projects about Daimler-Benz, targeting its investments in South Africa, and establishing a precedent for the 1990 project in Berlin as well as a 1991 piece in Munich. *Kontinuität* [Continuity] was based on photographs and texts that Haacke displayed in a banal corporate setting indicated by a quartet of potted trees (fig 57). The texts were framed in gold, enlarged, and suspended from the ceiling, and exposed Daimler-Benz's sales of diesel engines to South African security forces, in violation of a 1977 U.N. resolution (fig 58). In straightforward documentary terms, it showed a purely business perspective on South African investment. These texts were juxtaposed with photographs that told a different story, superimposed on Mercedes stars. While mimicking the style of a

¹⁸⁵ Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke, *Free Exchange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 107.

corporate annual report, the images showed a funeral procession for black victims of military violence and armed white soldiers patrolling a group of black workers, both branded with the Deutsche Bank logo, which conveyed the brutal consequences of the company's business practices. The text panels, which were presented in English and German, documented the activities of Mercedes-Benz in South Africa, while notices of Deutsche Mark Bond offerings from 1983 and 1984 for investment in South Africa advertised the financial opportunities offered by Deutsche Bank.

The project also addressed Deutsche Bank's interests in art, as *Continuity* was the title of an outdoor sculpture that had recently been installed in front of the company's Frankfurt headquarters. Indeed, contemporary art remains an integral element of the company's program, and each floor of its headquarters is dedicated to the work of one artist. Haacke pointed, too, to Deutsche Bank's 1997 partnership with the Guggenheim in Berlin, from 1997-2013, which has been succeeded by the Bank's own "Kunsthalle," in continued programming from the corporate collection.

By 1990, then, when Haacke made his work on the property of the Berlin Wall, brazen corporate exploitation of cultural capital in the service of profits was one of his primary concerns. In conversation with Pierre Bourdieu in their 1994 book *Free Exchange*, Haacke explained the crux of his corporate critiques: "The American term *sponsoring*... reflects that what we have here is really an exchange of capital: financial capital on the part of the sponsors and symbolic capital on the part of the sponsored."¹⁸⁶ Attending to the extensive web connecting corporations and politics, he addressed the less visible

¹⁸⁶ Bourdieu and Haacke, 17.

motivations for cultural sponsorship, namely, “to create a favorable political climate for their interests, particularly when it comes to matters like taxes, labor and health regulations, ecological constraints, export rules, etc.”¹⁸⁷ Already addressed in the South African context, this would be crucial to the situation in Berlin in 1990, and underlay Haacke’s critique of Daimler’s plans there as well as the West Berlin government’s facilitation of its move.

While legal questions around how reunification would be carried out served as relatively concrete grounds for debate in the months following the Wall’s fall, other interests were shaping events—with more or less transparency—behind the scenes. What might have been a moment of great potential for urban reconstruction and a new political start for the East was interrupted by well-organized interests poised to capitalize on new profit-making opportunities. Big business—corporations and the intricate and far-reaching networks through which they operate—took a swift and influential position in the reunification process. Daimler had claimed the moment, thereby precluding other possibilities for Berlin’s reconstruction and shaping it to its economic advantage. Economic developments were among the most pressing concerns, with an East German economy on the brink of collapse demanding immediate attention. And at the same time that corporations vied for position in the new state, their resources were attractive to politicians in search of solutions for the overwhelming questions about both how to finance reunification and how to integrate two such wildly divergent systems. Berlin, in its fast-transforming condition, was thus both a symbol of the potential of this moment as well as its quick foreclosure through the circumstances of its real estate developments. These local

¹⁸⁷ Bourdieu and Haacke, 18.

transactions had larger implications for the direction of reunification on a national level, as the competing interests in the Daimler story represented the larger forces claiming stakes in the process.

During reunification, semantics were one of the battlegrounds on which the struggles for authority, legitimacy, and meaning took place. The 1990 exhibition's very title, *The Finitude of Freedom*, reflected the ambivalence and uncertainty of the immediate aftermath of the Berlin Wall's fall. Its meaning turned on the difficult-to-translate German word *Endlichkeit*, usually translated as "finitude," but which could intimate either freedom's final arrival or its limits. Heiner Müller, the prominent East German author and staunch critic of the GDR, wrote in a short text for the exhibition catalogue, "The works show the cracks of correction/unification and allow a view into the abyss of freedom, which the plastic smiles, that the media has shown around the world, obscures from the eyes of the majority."¹⁸⁸ Here, "correction" pointed to the contentious assumption of the West German government, wherein East Germany was a historical aberration that was always moving toward failure and reincorporation into the West, and it lay bare Müller's unease with both governments.

Germany's reunification treaty was signed on August 31, 1990. Yet even as official reunification was celebrated on October 3 of that year, in the final week of the exhibition, cracks in the prevailing narrative of redemption were beginning to show. Haacke picked up the exhibition title's equivocal reference to freedom in his own title, *Freedom is Now Simply Going to be Sponsored—Out of Petty Cash*. What freedom, and whose? Since it was the East, according to the mainstream media and politicians, that was ostensibly gaining the

¹⁸⁸ Heiner Müller, "BERLIN TWOHEARTED CITY," in Herzogenrath, Sartorius, and Tannert, 9.

“freedom” long enjoyed in the West, Haacke’s title suggested that the major shifts in the East were to be significantly shaped by a private sector eager to capitalize on the income potential of associating with the idea of freedom—the expansion of Western freedoms eastward—as it swept across Europe. By choosing the word “sponsored,” he linked this new indictment to his history of repeated interrogation of corporate sponsorship over the preceding two decades.

Two years later, in 1992, a competition was held to develop a plan for the whole property now owned by Daimler, which would include buildings for a host of corporations besides Daimler, among them Sony and Deutsche Bahn, the privatized German train company. Daimler’s announcement for the competition made clear its priorities: “the development should be economical, contribute to the growing together of Berlin, and not least become a calling card for the company.”¹⁸⁹ Supporting this “growing together” at the same time as it advanced its own interests revealed the way in which Daimler indeed sought to “sponsor” reunification. This history, which has largely been framed in terms of Western capitalism’s hungry expansion into new Eastern markets, looked different when viewed as part of the longer trajectory of business operations on both sides of the German-German border. While to be sure, corporate support was a larger force in the West, the East German regime had not been completely uninterested in its power.

Haacke’s interrogation of capitalist expansion on the ground of the Berlin Wall, the GDR’s most overt symbol of state control, raised a series of questions about freedom’s limits even after the fall of the Wall. Sited within the no man’s land or “death strip,” which

¹⁸⁹ Mark Münzing, “Die Geschichte des Projekts Potsdamer Platz in zwölf Kapiteln” in Dirk Nishen, ed., *Projekt Potsdamer Platz: 1989 bis 2000* (Berlin: DaimlerChrysler Immobilien [DCI] GmbH, 2001), 127.

the East German government had erected in 1961 in the name of “protecting” its population from threats on the other side, the watchtower counted among the most visible elements of East German repression and control. Haacke’s intervention—minimal, with just a few carefully chosen interventions—transformed this symbol of tyrannical control into a towering billboard, translating the corporation’s designs on the city into what Haacke and other critics saw as its fundamental drive to lay claim to the urban landscape. The work’s title, like many of his works, used language that was both wry and cutting. Suggesting that for a company like Daimler reunification was just one more opportunity for branding and self-promotion (and perhaps the greatest windfall imaginable), he articulated a skeptical perspective on reunification that ran counter to the celebration of 1989 as the triumphant end to the Cold War.

The most glaring element in the installation at the watchtower was the illuminated Mercedes star (the same he used in *Continuity* at Documenta), which replaced the original searchlight. Just below, recently vandalized windows were replaced with mirrored smoky orange glass intended to recall the façade of East Berlin’s Palast Hotel, where official state guests had been accommodated, and which contrasted dramatically against the average East German living standard. (The Palast Hotel, like the East German Intershops in which Peter Ludwig’s high-end candy was sold, only accepted foreign currency, thus targeting an international clientele in a revealing contradiction to the official GDR platform of equal distribution of wealth.) Both star and windows were “protected,” as Haacke described them, by metal grates, which alluded to the defensive armor of West German police cars. His critique, therefore, targeted power systems in both East and West, advancing questions about how they might endure in the post-Wall nation. On two sides of the base, Haacke

posted quotations that Daimler-Benz had used in recent advertising in the *New York Times* and *Der Spiegel*. On one side: “Kunst bleibt Kunst” [Art will always remain art], a citation from Goethe, and on the other: “Bereit sein ist alles” [The readiness is all], a line from Shakespeare.

Haacke’s intervention on the watchtower also gestured to what he called a “readymade” site in the center of West Berlin’s commercial district. The Europa Center, completed in 1965 at the peak of the city’s redevelopment, was Berlin’s first high-rise, and Daimler-Benz had crowned it with a slowly rotating illuminated Mercedes star, transforming it into a massive advertising platform (fig 59). Haacke appropriated this corporate language, which was easily apprehended but, by the context in which he used it, implicitly critical. This use of plain and familiar language was fundamental to Haacke’s attempt to engage a public in the issues exposed in his works, and he is indeed critical of insider language that precludes broad participation even as it bemoans a dearth of public engagement. “Even if it is not the intention of the users,” Haacke writes, “this language serves only initiates, people of ‘distinction.’ It perpetuates their isolation. It would be better to develop strategies and a language capable of inserting their ideas into the general public discourse.”¹⁹⁰ The Berlin installation moved this use of corporate address into public space, where it might engage an audience beyond the confines of the art world.

Sited in public space, the project claimed a space, if only temporarily, for critique and debate over the unfolding path of reunification in its multiple veins—what I have earlier related to Arendt’s space of appearance. And in co-opting the grounds and infrastructure of the former regime, the work implicitly linked the pre-1989 claims on

¹⁹⁰ Bourdieu and Haacke, 105.

space by authoritarian interests to the post-Wall strengthening of corporate influence and the privatization of what had been public. Noting the contemporaneous situation in which the bankrupt East German government was auctioning off pieces of the Wall and watchtowers in an absurd fundraising event, Haacke suggested that the entire zone of former authoritarian control was also likely to become available to the highest bidder. In the wry voice of many of his texts, he wrote, "On June 20, 1990, 81 segments of the Berlin Wall were auctioned in Monte Carlo. It was the joint venture of a GDR government enterprise and a company from West Berlin. Each segment was accompanied by a certificate of authentication."¹⁹¹

By the time the exhibition opened in September, Daimler-Benz had already closed its deal with West Berlin, although Haacke had begun the project before the sale was final. What had started as an investigation into a possible outcome became something of a bitter monument to the allegiances between power structures in the private and public sectors. A line drawing that Haacke made just prior to the exhibition's opening set the Mercedes star in motion as part of the momentum of Germany's economic transformation (fig 60).¹⁹² Through minimal means, *Räder müssen rollen für den Sieg* [Wheels Must Roll For the Victory] portrayed the Mercedes star as a downhill-spinning automobile tire, which referenced a 1942 advertising campaign for the Deutsche Reichsbahn, aimed toward prioritizing the railways for the war effort over public travel, as well as Daimler's involvement in the war economy.

¹⁹¹ Haacke, "Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gesponsert—aus der Portokasse," translated and reprinted in Klaus Bußmann and Florian Matzner, eds., 91.

¹⁹² This unpublished drawing is in the collection of Wulf Herzogenrath, part of a sketchbook to which the artists in *Die Endlichkeit* contributed.

One year after the Berlin exhibition, Haacke received another invitation to make work in a public space in Germany, this time in Munich. Werner Fenz, who had curated the 1988 exhibition in Graz, invited Haacke to join an eight-person show organized around looking into the local history of the city's Königsplatz. Initiated by the City Council in an effort to raise the profile of the city's cultural program and organized by the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, located across the street from the site, the exhibition, titled *ArgusAuge* [Argus's Eyes], ran from September 13—October 10. As Haacke detailed in his text for the project, this grand public square in the center of Munich was the site of repeated stagings of military power. Originally built in 1862 for King Ludwig I of Bavaria, it was expanded by the Nazis in the 1930s with the addition of two “temples of honor” where Party members killed in Hitler's 1923 Munich putsch attempt (in which he had tried to take power in the city, a decade before the Party gained control of the country) were interred. It was also the site of book burnings on May 10, 1933, when Nazi student groups coordinated attacks on “un-German” literature—some 25,000 volumes—in university cities and towns across Germany. Following the war, American troops destroyed the temples as part of the targeted obliteration of the administrative and symbolic sites of Nazi Party power.

Haacke's piece, *Die Fahne Hoch!* [Raise the Flag!], referenced the site's use as a Nazi rally ground and for annual memorial services for those killed in 1923 (fig 61). During honorary “roll calls,” the names of the dead were read and voices within the crowd would respond in their absence. Haacke's three-flag installation enacted a different kind of “roll call.” Recalling photographs of the same site adorned with swastika flags that he had uncovered in his research, three monumental banners—white silkscreens on a black ground—were hung from the square's Propylaeum, a monumental gate with its own

martial origins as a nineteenth-century commemoration of Greece's victory against Turkey in the Greek Revolution under Otto I, the Bavarian-born King of Greece from 1832-62. At center hung a white-on-black banner that announced the terms of the project. The text of the banner, "Zum Appell: Deutsche Industrie im Irak" [Roll Call: German Industry in Iraq], which framed the skull-and-crossbones icon of Hitler's SS, drew lines of association between the current situation in Iraq and the history of the German defense industry. The first line of the Nazi Party anthem (the Horst-Wessel Lied), "Die Fahne Hoch!" was printed in Fraktur. To the left and right of this central "flag," perpendicular to the building façade, hung identical banners listing twenty-one German companies that had sold equipment to Saddam Hussein's military prior to the first Gulf War, among them Daimler-Benz and Siemens, as Haacke uncovered in his research (fig 62, 63). In the text, Haacke also pointed again to Daimler's heavy investment in apartheid South Africa, and about Siemens's and Daimler's aerospace division MBB, writing that "both companies, like many other suppliers of Saddam Hussein's war machine, once provided Hitler with war material. Dachau is a short ride from Munich."¹⁹³

Haacke's attacks on corporations have brought threats of litigation, though rarely going all the way to court. The Munich installation triggered the strongest corporate response, however, when Ruhrgas, one of the twenty-one companies listed, did go to court arguing that it was not Ruhrgas but rather its subsidiary that had done business with Iraq. The court ruled in the company's favor two days before the exhibition ended, and required a catalogue addendum to make this "correction." In reality, however, Ruhrgas helped to make Haacke's point about the reach of corporate power, the sweeping relationships

¹⁹³ Haacke, "Raise the Flag, 1991," in Bourdieu and Haacke, 25.

engendered through mergers and acquisitions, and the consequent lack of accountability. Similar to the way in which he counts the press as a collaborator in his most provocative works, Ruhrgas here unknowingly played into Haacke's mechanism for exposing corporate operations. In the end, likely with some amusement at the company's failure to keep a lower profile, Haacke observed, "the name of Ruhrgas was highlighted in the list of 21 companies on my flags."¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, he interpreted the decision of two city representatives to cancel their scheduled participation in the exhibition's opening following the Ruhrgas lawsuit as presumably related, the city wishing to avoid the appearance of siding with Haacke.¹⁹⁵

While Haacke's work of historical recovery shares ground with other artists in Germany, his focus on the reverberations in the political present makes clear the implications of this legacy now, again challenging a historical narrative of discrete breaks. Here, as in Cologne in 1974, Haacke illuminated the continuities between Germany's Nazi past and present, at the same time questioning inconsistencies in the country's participation in the Gulf War through corporate dealings, despite a defense-only policy that was the direct consequence of World War II. Haacke's research exposed the ways in which businesses could and did maneuver around that policy.

In the United States, meanwhile, the culture wars had been heating up, with Haacke a concerned participant in its debates. This became the prompt for a new body of work on the insidious ties between corporate money and the American government, as the radical

¹⁹⁴ Bourdieu and Haacke, 22-3.

¹⁹⁵ Justin Hoffmann, "Zum Appell: Ein Interview mit Hans Haacke von Justin Hoffmann," *Artis* 12, no. 1 (1991-1992): 14.

right fought for limits on funding eligibility for artists and museums.¹⁹⁶ Robert Mapplethorpe's infamous 1988-89 exhibition, *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment*, (first shown at the ICA Philadelphia December 9, 1988—January 29, 1989), which included his X Portfolio of frank depictions of gay sex and S&M scenes at the peak of the AIDS crisis, brought the stakes and claims of the matter into sharp focus, which for Haacke, sounded clear echoes of the Nazi history. In 1989, North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms led a fight against the National Endowment for the Arts, which had supported both the Mapplethorpe exhibition and a group exhibition at the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art in Winston-Salem, NC, which included Andres Serrano's *Piss Christ*, 1987, the sumptuous red-and-yellow photograph of a crucifix submerged in the artist's own urine. Helms believed these exhibitions to be offenses against "morality" and the church, respectively. The Mapplethorpe show was scheduled to travel to the Corcoran in Washington, DC, but the director Christina Orr-Cahall cancelled it two weeks before, under political pressure. At the last minute, it opened at the Washington Project for the Arts instead. In April 1990, it traveled to the Contemporary Arts Center, Cincinnati, where Director Dennis Barrie was subsequently taken to court after refusing to remove seven of the photographs from view, as ordered by the County Prosecutor. When he refused, Barrie and the museum were indicted on obscenity charges. Amidst protests and threats of boycotts, the museum went to court to get a ruling on whether the photographs were obscene, and on October 5, a jury found Barrie and the museum not guilty, acquitting them of obscenity and child pornography charges.

¹⁹⁶ On the culture wars see Richard Bolton, ed., *Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts* (New York: New Press, 1992) and Brian Wallis, Marianne Weems, and Philip Yenawine, eds., *Art Matters: How the Culture Wars Changed America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

On July 26, 1989 the Helms amendment passed in the Senate, establishing new restrictions on NEA grants and prohibiting the support of “obscene or indecent” art as well as cutting Federal funds to the Philadelphia ICA and the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art for the next five years. In the House-Senate compromise bill that followed, future NEA grants were conditioned by a requirement that artists sign a pledge not to use NEA money for “obscene art,” a provision later ruled unconstitutional.

As in earlier projects, Haacke focused on an individual as a symbol of the movement, and Helms became a frequent target of Haacke’s in artworks as well as texts. In February 1990, Haacke participated in a CAA panel called “The Thought Police are Out There,” which was later published in *Art Journal*. Focusing on the insidious effects of Helms’s kind of legislation, he wrote, “As is often the case in liberal societies such as that of the United States, expression is often controlled through economic sanctions and not through prison and torture.”¹⁹⁷ About Helms, he wrote,

Like Hitler, he knows how to tap the *gesundes Volksempfinden*, the so-called uncorrupted sense of the people. Their resentment against an art they don’t understand—usually through no fault of their own—is always waiting to be exploited by a demagogue.... The already existing self-censorship introduced by the need to please the corporate seducer is now compounded by the self-censorship required to remain on funding terms with the NEA. An application for support from the NEA thus is tantamount to waiving one’s First Amendment rights.¹⁹⁸

First shown in his 1990 show at John Weber, *Helmsboro Country*, 1990, riffed on Pop art’s oversized sculptures of everyday objects, making a box of Marlboro cigarettes into a floor-based installation, with its contents spilling out across the ground (fig 64).

¹⁹⁷ Haacke, “In the Vice,” *Art Journal* 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 49.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-4.

Rather than Marlboro, this brand was Helmsboro (with the same typeface), and Helms's picture filled the oval normally inscribed with P.M. (Philip Morris, the brand's multinational parent company) above. The image was surrounded by the other elements of Marlboro's insignia: a crown at the top, regal horses on either side, and its motto "Veni Vidi Vici," (I came, I saw, I conquered), stretched banner-like below. In place of cigarettes, the box contained "20 Bills of Rights"—replicas of the Bill of Rights, which the company had harnessed in its campaign against smoking restrictions, printed under the heading "Philip Morris funds Jesse Helms"—Haacke's reference to the web of relationships between Helms, Philip Morris, and conservative cultural policy. On one edge of the box, in place of the Surgeon General's warning, Haacke reproduced an excerpt from Helms's statement to Congress on September 28, 1989, quoting,

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.

On the opposite side, Haacke quoted CEO George Weissman from 1980: "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." In 1989, as Haacke wrote in his project description, the company had both paid the National Archive \$600,000 for the right to use the Bill of Rights in a promotional campaign and been a contributor to Helms's election campaigns. Haacke also noted the company's partnership with the Whitney Museum, whose 42nd Street Altria branch at Philip Morris's New York headquarters (then called Altria, as part of its effort to improve its public image by distancing itself from tobacco) staged exhibitions from 1982-2008.

Cowboy with Cigarette, 1990, was also in the John Weber show, and took a different tack in critiquing Philip Morris, this time specifically focused on its program of cultural sponsorship (fig 65). The company's 1989 support of MoMA's *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* exhibition was the basis for his critique—an altered recreation of Picasso's *Man with a Hat*, 1912, a collage of colored paper, charcoal, ink, and newspaper clippings, in the MoMA collection and on view in the exhibition. Haacke remade the Picasso with new segments of newspaper and other documents, and added a cigarette to the figure's lips, borrowing Picasso's technique but updating it to attend to the funding link between Philip Morris and the MoMA exhibition. Haacke incorporated two stories from the *New York Times*: "Smoking's Cost to Society is \$52 Billion a Year, Federal Study Says," and "Tobacco Companies' Gifts to the Arts: a Proper Way to Subsidize Culture?" In this second article, section titles read "Corporate Defense" and "Part of Corporate Identity," and George Weissman, former Chairman of Philip Morris and current Whitney Museum Board member, and by 1990, Chairman of Lincoln Center, was quoted as asking, "Do you take money from banks that do business in South Africa?... Where do you stop? It's the same ethical question."

Weissman had been involved with the company's arts initiatives since its first foray, a 1965 exhibition called "Pop and Op" at the American Federation of Artists gallery, and described the company's particular interest in contemporary art thus, "We wanted to demonstrate to our own employees that we were an open-minded company seeking creativity in all aspects of our business. And we were determined to do this by sponsoring

things that made a difference, that were really dangerous.”¹⁹⁹ By 1990, however, with the company’s strong ties to Helms, its real interest in supporting what and whom could most help their bottom line were becoming increasingly clear.

Haacke also used Philip Morris’s own documents in the collage, including a memo of the company’s \$100,000 contribution to the Jesse Helms Center at Wingate College in North Carolina, the planned repository of the Senator’s papers, and plain language about the company’s aim “to gain further visibility for Philip Morris in the black community and interact with constituents and public officials” and to “interact with issues affecting Hispanics and gain access to Hispanic elected and appointed officials” through targeted sponsorship initiatives.

A second piece about Philip Morris’s exhibition sponsorship, *Violin and Cigarette: “Picasso and Braque,”* 1990, this time based on a Braque collage, quoted *Violin and Pipe: Le Quotidien*, 1913, from the Pompidou collection (fig 66). Again, Haacke remade the original, substituting news clippings about Philip Morris and a sliver of a report by the Philip Morris Political Action Committee (1987-88), which listed contributions to California Republican Congressmen William E. Dannemeyer and Dana Rohrabacher, both of whom had campaigned against free expression in the arts. Haacke’s substituted cigarette-shaped clipping, standing in for Braque’s pipe, was cut from an article mentioning the company’s offer of “free copies of the Bill of Rights that are offered in each advertisement,” as well as the number of smoking-related deaths that might be attributed to the company based on its

¹⁹⁹ Mervyn Rothstein, “Uneasy Partners: Arts and Philip Morris,” *The New York Times* (December 18, 1990).

U.S. market share.²⁰⁰ Underneath that thin strip is an advertisement for the exhibition from the *Times*, touting the “creative partnership between The Museum of Modern Art and Philip Morris Companies Inc.”²⁰¹

At the end of the decade, another flare-up in the culture wars became a new subject for Haacke. As he later recalled, it made the culture wars much more immediate. “Until the year 2000 the New York art world had reason to believe that assaults on the freedom of expression were foreign to their city. The ‘culture wars’ were fought elsewhere, not in New York. We seemed to be secure. And the art market was humming.”²⁰² In the fall of 1999, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani went to battle with the Brooklyn Museum for its decision to present a travelling exhibition from London. *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection* (October 2, 1999—January 9, 2000) became famous for its inclusion of Chris Ofili’s *The Holy Virgin Mary*, 1996, a gorgeous rendering in paint and glitter, which included a small black ball of elephant dung as the Virgin’s breast. Ofili had also collaged magazine images of genitalia from pornographic magazines across the surface of the painting, which were meant to read as small angels surrounding his subject.

Giuliani famously never saw the painting before rendering his judgment, but he followed the lead of conservative critics. In October 1999, he cut the approximately \$500,000 per month with which the city funded part of the museum’s budget, aligning with

²⁰⁰ Dr. William Cahan and Larry C. White, “Marlboro Man Lassos the Founding Fathers,” *The New York Observer* (December 11, 1989). Cited in Haacke, *Obra Social*, 204.

²⁰¹ “Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism” Philip Morris advertisement in *The New York Times* (November 10, 1989). Cited in *ibid*.

²⁰² “Molly Nesbit in Conversation with Hans Haacke,” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 277.

the likes of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Brooklyn. He claimed,

You don't have a right to government subsidy for desecrating somebody else's religion. And therefore we will do everything that we can to remove funding for the Brooklyn Museum until the director comes to his senses and realizes that if you are a government-subsidized enterprise, then you can't do things that desecrate the most personal and deeply held views of people in society. I mean, this is an outrageous thing to do.²⁰³

On November 1, the U.S. District Court in Brooklyn ruled that Giuliani had violated the First Amendment by cutting the museum's budget and attempting to evict the museum from its city-owned property. Judge Nina Gershon wrote, "There is no federal constitutional issue more grave than the effort by government officials to censor works of expression and to threaten the vitality of a major cultural institution as punishment for failing to abide by governmental demands for orthodoxy."²⁰⁴

Haacke was invited to participate in the 2000 Whitney Biennial, for which he made *Sanitation*, an installation of twelve gray plastic garbage bins arranged in rows and columns like a marching formation and lined with black plastic bags (fig 67, 68). Their lids were propped open and a recording of marching boots sounded from inside. On a black wall behind them, three quotes from Giuliani's verbal attacks on the Brooklyn Museum's administration and three from archconservative leaders Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, and Jesse Helms, were silkscreened in Fraktur, on either side of Haacke's recreation of Jasper Johns's 1958 painting *Three Flags* from the Whitney's collection. Haacke's version was made of three actual flags, quoting Johns's three superimposed renderings, but in this

²⁰³ Dan Barry and Carol Vogel, "Giuliani Vows to Cut Subsidy Over 'Sick' Art," *The New York Times* (September 23, 1999).

²⁰⁴ David Barstow, "Giuliani Ordered to Restore Funds for Art Museum," *The New York Times* (November 2, 1999).

version, the one on top was coming detached from the others, its top right corner falling down to suggest the disintegration of the liberties (of free expression, above all) for which it stands. Finally, on the ground lay a long narrow gold frame, which enclosed a reproduction of the First Amendment to the Constitution for the protection of freedoms of religion, speech, and the press, to free assembly, and to petition the government.²⁰⁵

Haacke's title came from what *The New York Times* called Giuliani's "impromptu philosophical discussion" during an October 12 press conference, when he continued his attack on the Ofili with particular attention to the elephant dung. In language almost impossible to believe, he railed,

I would ask people to step back and think about civilization. Civilization has been about trying to find the right place to put excrement, not on the walls of museums. The advance that we had in our civilization was that we figured out how to deal with human excrement, without putting it on walls. So I wonder who are the barbarians, and who aren't?

He then worriedly declared that "it took thousands of years of human development to figure out a sanitary, sensible and civilized way to deal with human excrement." (The *Times* writer noted that in his fury Giuliani mistakenly raged about human excrement, which in fact had nothing to do with the painting.)²⁰⁶

Haacke told the *Times*, "What I'm very upset about is the attempt to dictate to museums what they show, and the statements made by the politicians in Washington that

²⁰⁵ In a gross misinterpretation, a small group of New Yorkers backed by the Anti-Defamation League accused Haacke of "trivializing the Holocaust" by comparing Giuliani to Hitler. See Robert D. McFadden, "A Whitney Drops Museum Support Over New Show," *The New York Times* (March 12, 2000) and Anti-Defamation League, press release. archive.adl.org/presrele/holna_52/3579_52.html. Accessed March 13, 2015.

²⁰⁶ Elisabeth Bumiller, "Civilization, Sanitation and the Mayor," *The New York Times* (October 13, 1999).

have curtailed the freedom of the National Endowment for the Arts.”²⁰⁷ He also described the connection between this issue and the German past: “The sentiments expressed toward contemporary art by Jesse Helms, Pat Robertson, and Mayor Giuliani recall the language used by the Nazis.”²⁰⁸

In a discussion with then Whitney Director Max Anderson about the notion of “community standards” as they were used to define obscenity, as codified in a 1973 Supreme Court decision,²⁰⁹ Haacke explained, “There was a term used in the ‘30s and early ‘40s in Germany: *gesundes Volksempfinden*, ‘the healthy sense of the people.’ It was a Nazi term. And when I hear ‘community standards’ as determining what should be shown or should not be shown, I’m... reminded of that.”²¹⁰ Haacke also addressed his present defense of the Saatchi Collection, though the Saatchis had once been his target.

I found Giuliani’s behavior and comments outrageous. In spite of all my grumbling about certain players in the art world – among them, Charles Saatchi – I fight for that world when I think it matters. Giuliani was trespassing on my turf, so to speak. ... Giuliani’s actions reminded me of the Nazi campaign against “degenerate art”.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Judith H. Dobrzynski, “Work About Free Speech, Not Holocaust, Artist Says,” *The New York Times* (March 13, 2000).

²⁰⁸ Interview with Solomon.

²⁰⁹ The test for obscenity was “whether ‘the average person, applying contemporary community standards’ would find the work taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest, whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law, and whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.” Cited in Isabel Wilkerson, “Test Cast for Obscenity Standards Begins Today in an Ohio Courtroom,” *The New York Times* (September 24, 1990).

²¹⁰ “Hans Haacke ‘Speaking Freely’ transcript, firstamendmentcenter.org (Whitney Museum). In conversation with Max Anderson, recorded February 27, 2001. Accessed May 18, 2010.

²¹¹ In Matthew Higgs, “Politics of Presentation,” *tate: the art magazine* 24 (Spring 2001): 56.

In Berlin three years later, in 2004, Haacke became part of a vocal group protesting the proposed loan of an important private collection owned by Friedrich Christian Flick to the Hamburger Bahnhof. The situation offered Haacke a very ripe context in which to interrogate the connections between art, power, and the Holocaust legacy, and was a very immediate situation in which the past was emerging in the present.²¹² Flick was the grandson of the head of Friedrich Flick AG, whom Haacke had mentioned in his text for *Raise the Flag!* and who had been convicted in the Nuremberg Trials and later reemerged as a leading West German industrialist in coal and steel. The family had amassed a fortune built on industrial slave labor during the war and Haacke and other critics viewed the younger Flick's desire to show the collection as an attempt to obscure that history, replacing it with an image of philanthropic generosity. After being widely criticized for refusing to contribute to restitution funds for former forced laborers, Flick established the "Friedrich Christian Flick Foundation against Xenophobia, Racism and Intolerance" in Potsdam in 2001, which was criticized as a self-serving public relations move. Haacke framed this incident in terms of the wider cultural circumstances of attending to the German past fifteen years after reunification. "In an era of spreading amnesia about atrocities of the recent past and of revisionist history writing, the critics reminded the

²¹² "(De)Facing the Flick Collection: Should Art Replace Political Reparations for Nazi War Crimes?," Panel discussion, Barnard College, New York, March 25, 2005. Participants: Benjamin Buchloh, Rosalyn Deutsche, Isabelle Graw, Hans Haacke, Susanne Leeb. Reprinted in Flügge and Fleck, eds., 308-10.; "Wie viel Moral braucht die Kunst?," *Die Zeit* (September 16, 2004); Alice Creischer, Andreas Siekmann, Hans Haacke, Max Hetzler, Michael Krome, "In der Bahnmeile angekommen," *Texte zur Kunst* 56 (December 2004). <https://www.textezurkunst.de/56/in-der-bannmeile-angekommen/>. Accessed March 19, 2015.

public that among the 120,000 workers in the grandfather's factories were 50,000 concentration camp inmates and prisoners of war."²¹³

Despite widespread protests in Berlin, the collection ultimately went on view in 2004, after Flick had funded the construction of a major annex for the Hamburger Bahnhof, in which the collection would be shown. Writing in *The New York Times*, Michael Kimmelman outlined the presumed motives of the city leadership in its facilitating role in the exhibition: "Berlin is a cultural capital lacking cultural capital when it comes to modern and contemporary art, so the city has become anxious—even desperate, as the Flick loan illustrates—to get its hands on some now."²¹⁴ It was thus an arrangement through which both sides might advance their positions and interests.

²¹³ Haacke in "(De)Facing the Flick Collection," 308.

²¹⁴ Michael Kimmelman, "History's Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show," *The New York Times* (September 27, 2004).

CHAPTER 4
ADVANCING PARTICIPATION

As across much of the globe, the 1980s in West Germany were strongly shaped by Cold War politics, but made exceptionally acute by its location directly on the border with Eastern Europe. When Haacke was invited to participate in Documenta 7, curated by Rudi Fuchs and held from June 19—September 28, 1982, it coincided with peak opposition to the nuclear arms race in West Germany (and elsewhere in Western Europe). The opening fell a week after a massive anti-nuclear demonstration in Bonn following a speech by Reagan in the West German Bundestag on June 9, which aimed to garner support for installing Cruise and Pershing II missiles in West Germany.²¹⁵ The latest in a season of mass demonstrations since the previous fall, between 200,000 and 350,000 gathered to protest the 1979 NATO plan to position American medium-range nuclear missiles in West Germany by 1983. As reported in *The New York Times*, the West German antinuclear movement also raised questions about German autonomy and nationalism, which remained sensitive topics in Western European politics. Some parts of the protest movement argued for an end to the American presence in West Germany.²¹⁶

Haacke again turned to the immediate political context for the exhibition, and the circumstances of Documenta's founding, including its very location close to the inner German border, made the conflict over weapons in West Germany especially apt. His contribution was a two-part installation, *Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers* [Oil

²¹⁵ *documenta 7*, vol. 1-2 (Kassel: D + V Paul Dierichs, 1982).

²¹⁶ John Vinocur, "Bonn Rally During Reagan Visit is a Focal Point of Antinuclear Movement," *The New York Times* (June 3, 1982); John Vinocur, "200,000 are Drawn to a Bonn Protest," *The New York Times* (June 11, 1982).

Painting: Homage to Marcel Broodthaers], 1982, in which he juxtaposed a state-style painted portrait of the President on one wall with a room-sized photomural of an image he had just taken at the protest in Bonn (fig 69, 70). It marked Haacke's first return to painting since his move into a conceptual practice, and harnessed painting as a conceptual tool at a moment when neo-Expressionist painting had heralded a bombastic so-called return to painting after the conceptually-oriented 1960s and 70s. Haacke had studied painting in school, but had long since set it aside. His Reagan painting drew a wry and witty, yet deeply serious, connection between reactionary politics and reactionary painting.²¹⁷ As described in one recent exhibition catalogue, "When viewed in the context of *Documenta 7*, which advanced a return to both pictorial figuration and a nationalistic presentation of German art, Haacke's painting reads as a mocking indictment of this conservative turn in contemporary art."²¹⁸

Presented in the aesthetic of official state portraiture, with a gold frame and attached lamp around a highly realistic oil painting, it was installed behind velvet stanchions that one approached on a red carpet on the gallery floor in a play on Reagan's Hollywood background. Employing multiple mediums to allude to the politics of the opposing sides, Haacke explained that he sought "to emphasize that the image of the protest was employing contemporary means of visual communication such as photography versus a nineteenth-century-style of official portraiture in oil."²¹⁹ The photograph also

²¹⁷ See Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Figuration in European Painting," *October* 16 (Spring 1981): 39-68.

²¹⁸ Meredith Malone, "Hans Haacke" in Stephanie Barron and Sabine Eckmann, eds., *Art of Two Germanys: Cold War Cultures* (New York: Abrams, 2009), 338.

²¹⁹ Kathleen MacQueen, "Face-to-Face: In Conversation with Hans Haacke," *Seachange* (Spring 2010). www.seachangejournal.ca/PDF/2010.pdf. The conversation was held in 2008.

represented the potential and reality of organizing and protest, two keys to participation that Haacke countered to Reagan's position. In subsequent presentations of the piece, Haacke has extended its site-specificity by substituting photographs of anti-nuclear protests that occurred locally, including in New York, Los Angeles, and Bern. When shown in the U.S., he employs a photograph from the massive protest in New York that followed Bonn's by two days.

Haacke extended the bitter critique of Reagan to his attitudes toward the socio-economic consequences of recession in the early 1980s. In works from that period, such as *The Safety Net*, 1982, an illuminated light box proposed for display at Grand Central Terminal, he pointed out the ignorance of the President's perspective (fig 71). He captured Reagan's flippant position with an invented quote based on his out of touch relationship to money: "You want some advice? We got \$800,000 to fix up our place, all tax-exempt. And many of Nancy's designer clothes are donated. Try charity!" The Reagan administration offered plentiful material with which to underscore the dangers of a government getting too distant from the realities of those it represents.

The question of national identity runs through the whole of Haacke's German project, and over time came to focus increasingly on what individuals might do to counter the historical and institutional forces in defining it. Beginning in the 1980s, coinciding with pressures in Germany to relax citizenship laws to be more inclusive toward immigrants, his began to incorporate questions about what it meant to be "German" in the wake of the Nazi past. His works about German politics argued for a government that would allow for and respond to the actions and participation of the people as a guard against a return to

dictatorial repression. A subject that had first emerged in his work in the 1970s, under the growing authoritarianism of the West German government, it reemerged as a strong theme after reunification, as working through the past became a very public priority of a federal government acutely sensitive to international approval and self-legitimation.

In the early 1980s, the political situation in West Germany had shifted dramatically. As in the United States and United Kingdom, the federal government had moved decidedly to the right. When Helmut Kohl was elected Chancellor in 1982, it ended over a decade of SPD leadership, and beginning in 1985, the country entered into two years of very public conflicts over how to historicize the Nazi past.

On May 5, 1985, Kohl and Reagan organized an infamous visit to Bitburg cemetery to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of WWII in Europe and, as it was also the site of an American air force base from 1952-94, to symbolize West German-American friendship. What grew into a massive public relations debacle was in part a product of Kohl's efforts toward normalization—toward West Germany being viewed as a “normal” nation with the same kinds of problems, economic, social, etc, as other Western countries. He began to lay the ground for a new national pride that might set aside the Nazi period as an anomalous detour from the rest of its history, and that suggested all who had died during the war deserved commemoration. Bitburg opened a new chapter in the country's process of working through the past. As historian Charles Maier described, the events “revealed a change in attitude—not a thinking about the unthinkable, but a debate over the hitherto undebatable.”²²⁰ Normalization would mean that Germany could participate in

²²⁰ Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 12. See also Jeffrey K. Olick, “What Does

international affairs like any other country. In opposition to a forty-year postwar history, throughout which the country had been controlled by outside governments to greater or lesser degrees, Kohl called for a new level of independence, with which Germany would no longer be tied to an identity of the guilty perpetrator.

Kohl insisted on a staged commemoration at the Bitburg cemetery, even after it was discovered that forty-nine members of the SS were also buried amidst some 2,000 military graves.²²¹ While not Kohl's original intention to honor members of the SS, he defended the planned visit, saying, "Reconciliation is when we are capable of grieving over people without caring what nationality they are," thus declaring that forty years on, it was time to leave history behind.²²² Though reportedly three-quarters of West Germans supported Kohl's Bitburg visit, it initiated a lengthy and wide-ranging debate.²²³

In response to the public outcry, Reagan added a visit to Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp before continuing on to Bitburg, where, in front of the press corps, he laid a wreath and made a speech, in an attempt to counter the claims of his insensitivity to Holocaust memory. On the way to Bergen-Belsen, Reagan and his entourage had made an unscheduled stop at the grave of Konrad Adenauer in Rhöndorf (across the Rhine from Haacke's Bad Godesberg, near Bonn), the first West German Chancellor who also symbolized a break from the Nazi past.

It Mean to Normalize the Past?: Official Memory in German Politics since 1989," *Social Science History* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1998), 553.

²²¹ Tyler Marshall, "Germans Decry Bitburg Furor," *The Los Angeles Times* (April 30, 1985); reprinted in Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 222.

²²² Quoted in Judith Miller, *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 48.

²²³ Quoted in Susan J. Smith, "Kohl Thanks Reagan; Parliament Argues About German Past," *AP News* (April 25, 1985).

In West Germany, public consciousness of the Holocaust had been growing in the early 1980s. The 1978 American television mini-series *Holocaust: The Story of the Family Weiss* had run in West Germany the following year, where it attracted 20 million viewers.²²⁴ What began with Bitburg developed into the so-called Historikerstreit [historians' controversy] of 1986-87, when academics on the Right and Left debated national identity and responsibility on the pages of major German newspapers, putting the Holocaust firmly into the public spotlight.²²⁵ The first volley was made by members of the neoconservative Right, led by Andreas Hillgruber and Ernst Nolte, when Hillgruber published two separate essays on the war and Holocaust, failing to make a connection between the two. Nolte followed with an essay that argued for the relativization of the Holocaust and the permission to feel national pride (impossible since Hitler) again by comparison to other twentieth-century dictatorships under Stalin and Pol Pot, both of which had taken the lives of millions.²²⁶ On the opposite side, Habermas led the Left in accusing them of rewriting history by minimizing the crimes of the Third Reich, and arguing that indeed the Nazi past *should* be at the center of the German historical narrative, while Martin Broszat argued for the historicization of the Holocaust, arguing that it should

²²⁴ See Jürgen Wilke, "Die Fernsehserie 'Holocaust' also Medienereignis," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 30, no. 4 (114) (2005): 9-17.

²²⁵ See Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*, written in the immediate aftermath of the debate and before 1989, and *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?: Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust*, James Knowlton and Truett Cates, transl. (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993).

²²⁶ The question of German national pride persists, and is punctuated at international events like the 2006 World Cup, which Germany hosted, and during which German flags were seen everywhere, including draped around the bodies and painted on the cheeks of young Germans. That tournament was seen as the first time Germans took such pride without apparent self-consciousness.

not be set apart as a singular event, but rather understood within a larger context as part of a continuous historical narrative.

Haacke's work in Germany continued the following year, with invitations to participate in Documenta 8 (June 12—September 20, 1987) and Skulptur Projekte Münster (June 14—October 4, 1987). Returning to Kassel, Haacke extended his critique of Daimler-Benz in South Africa with *Continuity* (discussed in chapter 3) and again in his proposal for a project called *Hippokratie*, 1987, for Münster, which focused on the company's supply agreements with the South African police (fig 72). This unrealized project meant to use public buses as a mobile platform of critique. They would be painted in camouflage and texts to disseminate the facts. On one side would read, "What do HIPPOS and this bus have in common?" and the other, "Both travel with MERCEDES engines through residential areas." The back of the bus explained, "HIPPOS = South African armored military vehicles used for police operations against black inhabitants." The proposal was rejected by the city's transit administration on the grounds of the project's "political content" and the fear that it might provoke a threat to the security of public transportation.²²⁷

This rejection at Münster while a similar critique in Kassel was permitted suggested that a political critique within the confines of an art institution (a museum building) was more possible than one that made direct use of public utilities. In his text on *Hippokratie*, Haacke pointed to the advertisements that would shortly become the basis for a new installation, *The Saatchi Collection (Simulations)*, 1987, in a solo show titled *Global*

²²⁷ <http://www.lwl.org/skulptur-projekte-download/muenster/87/haacke/index.htm>
Accessed February 27, 2013.

Marketing at Victoria Miro Gallery, London later that year (fig 14).²²⁸ The piece presented advertisements from an international media campaign for the South African government, made by KMP-Compton, a public relations company that belonged to Saatchi & Saatchi. He wrote about the export of German-made Mercedes “Hippos” to South Africa, in violation of the 1977 U.N. weapons embargo against the apartheid government, and how in 1978 the company had made a licensing agreement with the South African Industrial Development Corporation so that production could be transferred to South Africa.²²⁹

A decade later, in 1997, Haacke was again invited to *Skulptur Projekte*, and his contribution was inspired by a memorial at Münster’s Mauritztor, which commemorated the wars of Germany’s 1871 unification, and when dedicated in 1909, was intended to reaffirm a national unity. Titled *Standort [Site] Merry-go-round*, Haacke’s installation mirrored the cylindrical form of the stone memorial (fig 73, 74). He constructed a similarly-scaled structure enclosed by vertical wooden planks, which was topped with a ring of barbed wire. Narrow gaps between the panels allowed viewers to peer inside at a revolving children’s carousel, which was accompanied by a recording of a speeded up rendition of “Deutschland über Alles,” the German national anthem. Meters away stood the official memorial, decorated with classical relief figures and inscribed, “1864 1870-71 1866—wars and victories, and the re-establishment of the Reich,” and the juxtaposition of the two

²²⁸ *Global Marketing*, Victoria Miro, December 4, 1987—January 9, 1988. This was the second time Haacke took aim at the Saatchi brothers, who were major supporters of the arts in London. Charles Saatchi, a major collector of contemporary art, had been on a donor committee at the Tate, and Haacke was critical of the alignment of his private interests as a collector and the exhibition calendar at the Museum. He made *Taking Stock (unfinished)*, which took on this constellation, for his exhibition at the Tate in 1984.

²²⁹ <http://www.lwl.org/skulptur-projekte-download/muenster/87/haacke/index.htm> Accessed March 1, 2015.

posed questions about the intertwining of Germany's national identity and its military history, and the problems of unity that had been initiated with Germany's first unification.²³⁰ Modern Germany's very late unification, compared to other large European countries, is one of the central points in the *Sonderweg* [special path] theory of German history, one attempt to explain the course of events under Hitler.²³¹

Also in 1997, Haacke participated in *Deutschlandbilder: Kunst aus einem geteilten Land* [*German Art: From Beckmann to Richter: Images of a Divided Country*], a group exhibition organized by Eckhart Gillen at the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin. The exhibition spanned the years 1933-1997, and its location, adjacent to the site of the headquarters of the Gestapo, as well as the remains of the Berlin Wall, accentuated its historical connection.²³² Unusually for the time, it included work from both East and West Germany, which was, as one critic put it, "still a delicate affair."²³³ Haacke showed two pieces: *Manet-PROJEKT '74*, and a new site-specific installation in the hall's central space. *Cast Concrete* was a replicated section of the Autobahn, assembled of rows of concrete slabs (fig 75). In

²³⁰ The "Deutschlandlied" was written in 1841 and its lyrics were an argument for unification. It did not become the national anthem until the Weimar Republic. In 1952, Adenauer had it reinstated as the anthem of the FRG, but minus the first verse of "Germany over all." In 1991, Kohl announced that its third verse would be the national anthem of the reunified country. See Michael E. Geisler, "In the Shadow of Exceptionalism: Germany's National Symbols and Public Memory after 1989" in Geisler, ed., *National Symbols, Fractured Identities: Contesting the National Narrative* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2005): 63-100.

²³¹ For a brief summary of the *Sonderweg* see Mary Fulbrook, *A History of Germany 1918-2008: The Divided Nation*, 3rd ed. (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 2-6.

²³² *Deutschlandbilder: Kunst aus einem geteilten Land (German Art: From Beckmann to Richter: Images of a Divided Country)*, ed. Eckhart Gillen (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997). Martin-Gropius-Bau, September 7, 1997—January 11, 1998.

²³³ Peter Hans Göpfert, "Deutschlandbilder" in *Weltkunst* (October 15, 1997): 2181. Since the early 1990s, there has been a fast-growing interest in the art of East Germany. See the bibliography of Stephanie Baron and Sabine Eckmann, eds., *Art of Two Germanys: Cold War Cultures* (New York: Abrams, 2009).

his description, Haacke explained how the Gropius Bau had been destined for postwar demolition, as part of a plan to expand the Autobahn network, while at the same time, it was closely associated with Nazi history, having been markedly expanded in Hitler's war economy. As Buchloh, who was born in Cologne and educated in West Berlin in the 1960s, wrote for the catalogue,

Who, having grown up in Germany in the post war period, would not have heard the parental adage that the Nazis might have committed unspeakable crimes against humanity, but they also built the Autobahn and thereby took care of unemployment? Who, having lived though the sixties and seventies between the two Germanys or in Berlin, would not remember the Autobahn as the precarious passage between the two countries as it acquired a mythical status as a lifeline to 'freedom' from the Stalinist state and its totalitarian control systems to traffic, trade, and communication.²³⁴

With characteristic simplicity, Haacke installed sections of concrete in the atrium, while allowing the historical associations of the site to supply the meaning, putting the history and politics of the museum's environs at the very center of the exhibition.

In 1998, Haacke received the invitation from the Bundestag's Art Advisory Committee (Kunstbeirat) to contribute a project to the Berlin Reichstag building, and thus entered into one of the most provocative—and most protracted—projects of his career. *Der Bevölkerung* (TO THE POPULATION), 2000, became a work that combined his concerns with biological systems, definitions of citizenship, and identity, in a permanent site-specific installation within the new seat of the German Parliament (fig 76). With a stunningly close, deeply contentious, and now largely forgotten vote of 338 to 320, the Bundestag had

²³⁴ Buchloh, "Synchronicities" in Gillen, *Deutschlandbilder*, 414.

decided in 1991 that the government of reunified Germany would be Berlin (and not Bonn).²³⁵ Despite the fact that the reunification treaty had reestablished Berlin as the new capital, the location of the government had not been specified, and a polarized debate ensued. Arguments for Berlin included its historical prominence, the need for economic development in the East, and West Germany's assertion all along that Bonn was merely temporary until a reunited government could resume its seat in Berlin, while arguments against moving were the expense of relocating so many offices and institutions, and the economic loss to Bonn. Some saw the result of the vote as a win for the East and a loss for the West, and it became yet another instance of an entrenched mental divide even if the physical was being erased. But moving the government to Berlin worked to establish something "new" and different from the period of division, even if it was still the West German system being extended to the East, and it also made a symbolic (if not totally effective) gesture of being more inclusive and acknowledging of the former East German population.²³⁶

Moving the government to Berlin meant that a new space was required, and it spurred a competition to renovate the Reichstag building, which had been a symbolic ground through which to assert and express national identity since its 1894 construction. The "new" building, designed by British architect Norman Foster, maintained the shell of its original structure while modernizing its core and retaining some traces of the past. Its greatest feature was a transparent dome that replaced Paul Wallot's original steel and glass cupola, which had been destroyed in the 1933 Reichstag fire. At the same time, however, he

²³⁵ Stephen Kinzer, "Berlin to Regain Full Capital Role," *The New York Times* (June 21, 1991).

²³⁶ See Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 224-8.

incorporated elements of the Nazi era, including the graffiti left by Soviet troops that had commandeered the building in the 1945 invasion of Berlin. The dome's transparency was meant to signify a new commitment to procedural openness, acknowledging the absence of such in the Nazi and Socialist pasts.²³⁷

Haacke was among fifteen artists commissioned to make new works for the renovated Reichstag.²³⁸ Itself symbolic, the list of artists comprised Germans from both East and West—Georg Baselitz, Lutz Dammbeck, Gotthard Graubner, Anselm Kiefer, Markus Lüpertz, Sigmar Polke, Gerhard Richter, Emil Schumacher, Katharina Sieverding, and Günther Uecker—as well as one each from the quartet of Germany's postwar occupiers: Jenny Holzer from the United States, Christian Boltanski from France, Grisha Bruskin from Russia, and architect Norman Foster from the United Kingdom. As Michael Diers has pointed out, there is a noticeable overlap between artists in the Bundestag collection and those who have represented Germany at the Venice Biennale, underscoring the political aims in both locations to represent Germany in a certain light on the international stage.²³⁹ They chose artists with established critical practices with respect to Germany's past, thus suggesting the government's aim to demonstrate an embrace of such critiques, and to both make itself look better and assert a positive new identity for the nation. The objections to Haacke's piece complicated that plan.

Haacke's space in the building was to be its northern central courtyard, located on

²³⁷ See Michael Z. Wise, *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 25.

²³⁸ On the Reichstag as part of Berlin's reconstruction, see Andreas Huyssen, "After the War: Berlin as Palimpsest" in *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 72-84 (first published in *Harvard Design Magazine* [Spring 2000]: 70-75).

²³⁹ Michael Diers, "Germania a margine: The German Pavilion in Venice and the Interventions of Art—An Historical Survey," in Elke aus dem Moore, Ursula Zeller, eds, 52.

the ground floor but open to the roof, from which most visitors encounter it. Members of Parliament can see it from their second-floor assembly hall, while building workers and occasional visitors experience it directly by exiting through a glass door and into the space of the installation. The work takes the form of a wild garden contained in a large raised bed, in a wooden trough measuring about 20 x 68 feet. A wild and diverse collection of plants frames the words “Der Bevölkerung,” which are spelled out in plastic-encased white neon letters.

This phrase, on which Haacke’s intention turned, refers to the exterior inscription long located above the Reichstag’s main entrance, “Dem deutschen Volke” [“To the German People”], and in so doing, touched on multiple aspects of the building’s contentious and layered history (fig 77).²⁴⁰ He used the same font as the original, which had been designed in 1916 as a hybrid compromise between the Fraktur script, which some favored for its “Germanness,” and a more modern Roman lettering, and explained that, “Only then would both the relationship and the fundamental difference in meaning between the two terms be discernible.”²⁴¹ While the dedication had been part of Wallot’s design, Kaiser Wilhelm II had barred its installation because of its democratic connotation, which he viewed as a challenge to the power of the monarchy. By 1916, however, in the midst of Germany’s intense suffering during World War I and the toll it was taking on national morale, he reconsidered that decision, allowing it to be added to the facade in the hope of reviving confidence in the monarchy and soothing resentments among the population.

Pivotal for Haacke was the dedication’s connotative proximity to exclusionary

²⁴⁰ For the history of the Reichstag see Michael S. Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Parliament, Denkmal, Symbol* (Berlin: be.bra Verlag, 1999), which Haacke cited in his project proposal.

²⁴¹ Matthias Flügge, Michael Freitag, and Hans Haacke, “Wem gehört das Volk?,” *nbk 7* (1999): 4. translated in Flügge and Fleck, eds., “To Whom Do the People Belong?,” 297.

ideologies of Germanness, and he pointed to the idea that Germany's very founding was based on a notion of exclusion versus inclusion, us versus them. He wrote, "Unlike England and France, which for many centuries had been unified countries under central rule, Germans identified themselves primarily on the basis of culture and ethnicity."²⁴² At the center was the term "Volk," a decidedly loaded word in German, which, as Haacke pointed out, the Nazis had used frequently in forging a terminology that was both self-aggrandizing and divisive. They called the German people the *Volksgenossen* and ethnic Germans living abroad (in Eastern Europe) the *Volksdeutsche*. They published the *Völkischer Beobachter* [The People's Observer] newspaper and called the Party's Ministry of Propaganda the *Volksaufklärung*, to cite just a few examples. The concept of "das Volk" was at the very center of the Nazi program. Later, after 1945, he wrote that the word took on yet more problematic connotations in East Germany. There, one found the *Volkskammer* (Parliament), the *Volksarmee* (military), and the *Volkspolizei* (police). In 1989, amidst large-scale demonstrations for reform in the lead-up to the fall of the Berlin Wall, protesters chanted "Wir sind das Volk" (We are the people). Haacke closed his list with his often used citation of Bertolt Brecht's "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," which Brecht had written in exile from the Nazis in 1934. "In these times," Brecht wrote, "he who says 'Bevölkerung' (population) instead of Volk... already withdraws support from a great many lies."²⁴³

In 1999, after the project was designed but before it was installed, Haacke referred to a "triumphant and at the same time melancholy" expression coined on the 10th anniversary of 1989, on an eight-story banner at Alexanderplatz, which read, "Wir waren

²⁴² Haacke, "Der Bevölkerung," *Oxford Art Journal* 24, no. 2 (2001): 135.

²⁴³ Haacke's proposal to the Kunstbeirat's first meeting on September 7, 1999, written in August 1999. Published in Flügge and Fleck, eds, 221.

das Volk" (fig 78). It was part of a program initiated by the Mitte district office for the 10th anniversary of the November 4 march for political change on Alexanderplatz. Included in the afternoon's agenda, which was authored by Thomas Flierl, then District Council Chair for Environmental City Planning, Building, and Housing, was a panel discussion titled "Skepticism Remains the First Civic Duty."²⁴⁴ The myriad ways in which East and West remained separate and unintegrated, including economically, culturally, and, perhaps most importantly, psychologically, was clear.²⁴⁵

Haacke first began thinking about the Reichstag inscription while preparing for his 1984 exhibition in West Berlin. He described walking on the grass in front of the building, which was full of picnicking Turkish families, and being aware of the barriers faced by immigrants who had come to Germany as "guest workers," having helped in the postwar reconstruction and played a large role in the so-called "economic miracle" of the 1950s.²⁴⁶ In his discussion of the project, Haacke wrote,

The Nazis eventually applied the new rules governing German citizenship in the most racist manner conceivable. People who had every reason to consider themselves German and whose families had been accepted unquestioningly for generations as German all of a sudden became foreigners with an uncertain status. Whether a person was considered German or not became a matter of life and death.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ "Wem gehört das Volk?," 5. The program for the occasion was posted online: <http://uinic.de/alex/programm.html>. Accessed November 23, 2011.

²⁴⁵ This has been termed "the wall in the mind." See, for example, cpg, "The Wall in the Mind: Easterners Still Feel Like Second-Class Citizens," *Spiegel.de* (December 5, 2008). <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-wall-in-the-mind-easterners-still-feel-like-second-class-citizens-a-594656.html>. Accessed February 23, 2015. Also Peter Schneider, "Tearing Down Berlin's Mental Wall," *The New York Times* (August 12, 2011).

²⁴⁶ Haacke, "Der Bevölkerung," *Oxford Art Journal*, 135.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

He also linked the Reichstag to the origins of German democracy, citing Philipp Scheidemann's famous 1918 declaration of the Republic from one of its windows in the midst of the November Revolution, which forced the Kaiser's abdication, and set the stage for the Weimar Republic's founding the following year.²⁴⁸

By 1998, German citizenship laws were undergoing significant reconfiguration under Gerhard Schröder, who had been elected Chancellor in September of that year. He was the first Social Democratic Chancellor since 1982, and led the first SPD coalition with the Greens. Importantly, the coalition meant that the '68 generation was now in control of the federal government—something inconceivable in prior years.²⁴⁹

Schröder pledged citizenship reforms immediately following his election, but by the time they were enacted on January 1, 2000, they had been watered down under pressure by the CDU. Under the new German Nationality Act [*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz*], *jus soli* ("law of soil") replaced *jus sanguinis* ("law of blood"), in the first change to German citizenship laws since 1913. The link between citizenship and blood had set the grounds for Nazi exclusionary policies in the 1930s, facilitating the revocation of citizenship from some 500,000 German Jews as well as many others who were identified as Jews under the broad sweeping terms of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws.²⁵⁰ In the postwar period, citizenship remained a question of bloodlines, and was one way in which the Nazi past remained very present. In West Germany this policy also became part of political pressures on the GDR,

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁴⁹ Germany's electoral system is famously complicated and the election of the federal leader is determined by the election results for the Bundestag. Given the large number of competitive parties, there is generally never an absolute majority, which requires the winner to negotiate and enter into a governing coalition with at least one other party.

²⁵⁰ See Marc Morjé Howard, "The Causes and Consequences of Germany's New Citizenship Law," *German Politics* 17, no. 1 (March 2008): 41-62.

since any East German who managed to reach the FRG was automatically granted citizenship.

After 1990, all East Germans became citizens of the Federal Republic, and the number of new immigrants applying for citizenship as German descendants grew. As a result, the 1990s saw both new limits on immigration as well as fewer available services and benefits for the recently arrived. The influx of immigrants under *jus sanguinis* also accentuated the inequality of the country's large Turkish population, members of which were still barred from citizenship no matter how long they had been resident (or if indeed they had been born there), or if they were more linguistically and culturally assimilated than the newest arrivals.

At the same time, the German constitution's provision for asylum was another major factor in increased immigration to Germany in the early 1990s (and as now—more on this to come), particularly areas of conflict in Eastern Europe, such as Yugoslavia. A weak economy—especially pronounced in the former East Germany—and a related rise in right-wing extremism, contributed to an increase in anti-immigrant attacks in places like Rostock (Mecklenberg-Vorpommern), Mölln (Schleswig-Holstein), and Solingen (North Rhine-Westphalia) in 1992-93, and made headlines around the world.

Haacke's project started smoothly, beginning with the Kunstbeirat's initial approval of his proposal on November 2, 1999, unanimous except for one dissenting vote from Volker Kauder (CDU), who would turn out to become one of the loudest voices against the project. The Bundestag's Ältestenrat, or leadership, requested a second review of the

proposal by the Kunstbeirat, which approved it a second time on January 25, 2000.²⁵¹ The following day, two members of the CDU leadership, Norbert Lammert and Peter Ramsauer, announced their party's opposition to the project, and on February 17, the Ältestenrat recommended a debate in the full Bundestag.²⁵² It was the first debate on an artwork since Christo and Jeanne-Claude's *Wrapped Reichstag*, 1985.²⁵³ By March 7, 142 Representatives had signed a motion against the project, and on April 5 it was called to debate. After an hour of presentations for and against, variously punctuated by applause and heckling, the project was approved by the narrowest of margins: 260 to 258, with 31 abstentions.²⁵⁴

The Kunstbeirat had roots going back to 1968, when the MP and Professor of the Sociology of Art Gustav Stein initiated the Artothek, a collection of twentieth-century art to be hung in the offices and meeting rooms of the Bundestag. Stein was interested in acquiring both works by artists who had been labeled "degenerate" in the Third Reich as well as contemporary artists from Western Europe. This initial effort was furthered in

²⁵¹ The Ältestenrat is comprised of the Bundestag's President and Vice-Presidents and twenty-three other representatives and is responsible for the overall functioning of the Parliament.

²⁵² Lammert was Spokesman on Cultural and Media Affairs for the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, 1998-2002; Vice-President of the Bundestag, 2002-05; President of the Bundestag, since 2005. Ramsauer was the party's Parliamentary Secretary.

²⁵³ *Wrapped Reichstag*, which charted a twenty-four year process of bureaucratic navigation to finally get permission to turn the Reichstag building into a sculpture and an event just before it began renovations, offers an obvious point of comparison for Haacke's experience with *Der Bevölkerung*. While Haacke didn't set out to make the legislative process and public opinion into elements of his project, they injected themselves into the process and emerged as central concerns. *Wrapped Reichstag* was debated in the Bundestag on February 25, 1994, and permission was affirmed following a vote, setting a precedent for the debate and vote on *Der Bevölkerung* sixteen years later. See Christo, *Christo and Jeanne-Claude: Wrapped Reichstag Berlin 1971-95: A Documentation Exhibition* (Cologne: Taschen, 2001).

²⁵⁴ Some members of the Greens abstained in protest against voting on art. Haacke described how this contributed to the very close vote, nearly costing him the project. In Rosalyn Deutsche, Hans Haacke, Miwon Kwon, "DER BEVÖLKERUNG: A Conversation," *Grey Room* 16 (Summer 2004): 70-1.

1976, with Bundestag President Annemarie Renger's organization of a Kunstkommission tasked with advising on acquisitions for the collection and a 100,000 DM budget. This amount was doubled by Bundestag President Rita Süßmuth in 1990-91. Conscious of the legacy of Nazi attitudes toward art, the Bundestag had resolved that art should not be subject to legislative approval, but rather handled as a special case, and decided on by a committee comprised of select legislators and additional outside art "experts." Also under Süßmuth in 1990, the Kunstbeirat had been organized as an additional committee to organize art for the new plenary hall in Bonn, before the decision to move the Bundestag to Berlin. In 1995, the Kunstkommission and Kunstbeirat were joined into one body, now responsible for both acquisitions and the selection of art for the newly renovated Reichstag.²⁵⁵

As Gert Weisskirchen (SPD, Kunstbeirat member) described, "Before any elections and ballots, democracy is based on acknowledging that some things cannot be voted on. Until recently we shared the conviction and had a consensus that one cannot vote on art. For this reason and for this reason only, the Bundestag created an Arts Committee. ... We [the Kunstbeirat] grappled with this issue and argued about it in long discussions."²⁵⁶ In his reflections on the experience, Haacke drew a line between the Kunstbeirat and the Degenerate Art exhibition. The Nazis, he said, had "attached a tag to each of the works they had pulled from public museums. It reminded the viewer that taxpayers' money had been

²⁵⁵ Haacke describes the history and significance of the committee in Marius Babias and Hans Haacke, "Mein Projekt ist ein Denk-Werk," *Kunstforum International* 151 (July-Sept 2000): 462. See also Andreas Kaernbach, "Kunstsammlung, Kunstkommission und Kunstbeirat des Deutschen Bundestages" in *Ausgewählt: Arbeiten auf Papier aus der Sammlung des Deutschen Bundestages* (Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1999): 97-100.

²⁵⁶ Deutsche, Haacke, and Kwon, 89.

wasted on it (language we have more recently heard in the culture wars of this country),” and described how the Nazis cited the *Gesundes Volksempfinden* as their guidelines for discernment.²⁵⁷

The debate was opened with a move by Lammert to reject Haacke’s project on the basis of both its politics and artistic merit.²⁵⁸ He argued that the Reichstag’s inscription was not out of date, because the German people were “the sovereign power that this Parliament represents and from which it derives its legitimacy.”²⁵⁹ He continued,

The representatives of the people who fulfill their mandate in this historically significant parliament building have long understood themselves—even without this inducement—as the representatives of all human beings [*Menschen*] in this country thanks to a Constitution in which ‘the German people’—I quote and I repeat, ‘the German people’—declares its support for ‘inviolable and inalienable human rights as the foundation for every human community, for peace and justice in the world.’ We don’t need a tutorial from anybody. Whoever basically suspects the term *people* of being nationalistic or mythologizing, as Hans Haacke does, is either consciously or thoughtlessly refusing to acknowledge the sense of our Constitution and this elected representation of the people. In this context he cannot expect to accomplish anything enlightening or liberating, particularly not by an installation of German soil. ... I personally consider Hans Haacke’s proposed idea a political and artistic failure.²⁶⁰

Lammert also raised the banner of fighting an art-world elite, which, “with the authoritarian manner of high priests, consider[s] their artistic opinions to be the only ones

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁵⁸ Document 14/2867. An English translation of the debate was published in 2004. “DER BEVÖLKERUNG: The German Parliamentary Debate,” trans. Sara Ogger, *Grey Room* 16 (Summer 2004): 82-115.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

that count.”²⁶¹ Volker Kauder (CDU) extended this attack to Haacke himself:

He wants to place an artwork in the Reichstag building with the title ‘To the Population.’ However, when someone of the people such as Michael Glos [Vice-Chair of CDU/CSU] expresses his opinion about it, he is told by Hans Haacke that a mill supervisor isn’t able to judge his artwork. What an arrogant response to a man of the people who wants to discuss this artwork!²⁶²

On the other side were Haacke’s defenders, those like Weisskirchen, who said, “This debate... shows that Hans Haacke has hit a nerve. ... Many are concerned about self-image. Whose? The Bundestag’s? The German people’s? Isn’t our self-image, our self-confidence, strong enough to provide a place in the German Bundestag for critical art?”²⁶³ He continued,

This work asks us, ‘How broadly do we understand the definition of citizen?’ ... What kinds of rights and duties belong to those who live among us and who are not German nationals?... Do we want to keep denying that we live in a country with a growing number of people who are not German? We should want to live in harmony with them. Precisely this is what we should always be aware of and remember. That is what the artist wants to say to us. This is why his artwork should find a place here.²⁶⁴

As in many of Haacke’s projects that work to reveal the mechanisms of social systems, *Der Bevölkerung* included a participatory element. In his proposal, he contrasted

²⁶¹ Ibid., 88. This language recalls the terms over which Richard Serra’s *Tilted Arc* was argued in New York in 1985, with similar issues of an art elite versus popular public, government intervention, and public art and public process. See Harriet F. Senie, *The Tilted Arc Controversy: Dangerous Precedent?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002) and Clara Weyergraf-Serra and Martha Buskirk, eds., *The Destruction of Tilted Arc: Documents* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

²⁶² Ibid., 107.

²⁶³ Ibid., 90.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 91.

this against the passivity of taking up parliamentary office.²⁶⁵ “[B]ringing soil from their election districts requires initiative and commitment,” he wrote. “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.” At the same time, he linked participation to the democratic process: “This project... relies on participation—as does a living democracy. It is a dynamic and collaborative work. And it is an unending process.”²⁶⁶ Making yet clearer his interest in participatory democracy, he explained in an interview, “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.”²⁶⁷

Speaking out against the participatory element of the piece, Dr. Antje Vollmer (Alliance 90/Greens and Kunstbeirat member) asserted,

What we need to discuss today is an entirely practical problem: How can an artwork be realized, which requires the participation of the Bundestag’s freely elected representatives in what, in my opinion, is a very strange and even comical soil ritual? I am one of those people who just can’t imagine that, for example, Representatives [... names several including Angela Merkel] will show up here one day with a bucket or a sack of dirt and wait for it to be emptied into the northern courtyard,

²⁶⁵ Haacke, “Supplementary Reflections,” October 1999, reprinted in Flügge and Fleck, eds, 221-2.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 222. Much has been written on participation in contemporary art, but Haacke’s project is something different. He works to encourage participation in political process and other social structures rather than as part of an invented situation, as do many examples of this type of art. On this “other” version of participation, see a section in Alexander Dumbadze and Suzanne Hudson, eds., *Contemporary Art: 1989 to the Present* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2103); Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (New York: Verso, 2012); Claire Bishop, ed., *Participation* (London: Whitechapel, 2006).

²⁶⁷ “To Whom Do the People Belong?” in Flügge and Fleck, eds., 296.

in order to purge themselves, as it were, of nationalistic ideas and convictions....*I want to make perfectly clear I don't think we should submit to this kind of examination of our beliefs* [emphasis added].²⁶⁸

Vollmer made this more personal than Haacke intended. Indeed, he was expressly *not* concerned with the identities of individual participants, but rather their roles as representatives of the people.

Kauder framed his objection in terms of Germany's normalization, resurrecting the same arguments that had featured in the Historikerstreit fifteen years prior. In his view, Haacke's project would

reduce Germany, its history and its people, to the terrible twelve years of National Socialism; throw in some sinister terms like *Volkssturm*²⁶⁹ and *Volksgerichtshof*²⁷⁰; then distort everything to make it look really evil, horrible, and negative. Finally, define an opposing term like *population* that can be offered to the Germans as a quick, purifying solution, and everything will be okay. ... [Haacke] spins a tale about the disastrous role of the German people in the twentieth century, in the course of which the positive developments of the past fifty-five years and everything that has changed in this country don't seem to have occurred to him.... When, my dear colleagues, will we Germans learn to behave normally, as normally as the French and the British? They have achieved a way of life based on liberty for the sovereign people of their states and still manage to treat residents of the country who don't belong to that people with dignity. Here in Germany, though, there are still some who believe that you have to portray the German people in a negative light in order to be a good person.²⁷¹

In advance of the Art Committee's second vote on the project, Haacke submitted another text in which he addressed the question of soil, and his understanding of it—from

²⁶⁸ "DER BEVÖLKERUNG: The German Parliamentary Debate," 93.

²⁶⁹ The "people's army" created by Hitler in the desperate last months of the war.

²⁷⁰ Hitler's "People's Court," which tried people for "political" crimes against the Nazi state.

²⁷¹ "DER BEVÖLKERUNG: The German Parliamentary Debate," 108-9.

its current implications for German citizenship law to creation myths, from global food production to the greening of urban space—in an attempt to neutralize and expand the terms of the debate,²⁷² “because, as so much else, Hitler had contaminated the symbolism of soil. It was important to point out that before the Nazis and in other countries, earth had and still has a symbolic significance that is totally unrelated to the use to which it was put during their twelve-year dictatorship.”²⁷³ Haacke had used soil many years earlier, in *Grass Grows*, 1967-1968, *Bowery Seeds*, 1970, and *Topographic Contour Project, Proposal for Fort Greene Park Brooklyn*, 1968, which, never realized, called for a topographic segment of the park to go untended (fig 79). These were all biological systems projects that did not make direct reference to political circumstances.

Yet some Parliamentarians, demonstrating an extreme misunderstanding of Haacke’s practice, perceived an echo of the Nazi “*Blut und Boden*” theme, which defined Germanness through blood and landscape.²⁷⁴ While Haacke’s critique of Nazi history would be obvious to anyone familiar with his work, some worried about any possible association with such symbolism, and their extreme sensitivity was indeed a small but clear example of the kind of failure to substantially deal with the legacy of Nazism. Hanna Wolf (SPD) affirmed her support for art in general and cited her appreciation of Christo and Jeanne-Claude’s *Wrapped Reichstag*, while opposing Haacke’s project on the basis of hypersensitive political correctness, unable to discern that Haacke’s project worked against the risk of such tendencies at its very core. She said, “I am all the more disturbed that he makes the

²⁷² Haacke, “Supplementary Reflections,” reprinted in Flügge and Fleck, eds., 221-2.

²⁷³ In *Deutsche*, Haacke, Kwon, 79.

²⁷⁴ See “Blut und Boden: Germany and Nazi Genocide” in *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 416-454.

earth-cult symbolism of the Nazis the basis of his installation. After all, the Nazis carted earth from each of the *Gauen*, as they were called at the time, to the Olympic games in Berlin. I can and will not participate in another earth cult.”²⁷⁵

Haacke’s invitation from the Kunstbeirat was indeed expected to generate a critical project, which Heinrich Fink (SPD) entered into the proceedings. He asked,

Wasn’t Haacke invited to design a work for the courtyard precisely because we could expect him to introduce something unusual into our stern, Prussian setting? My dear colleagues, everyone who heard the name Haacke mentioned in connection with art in the Reichstag surely knew that it would be a provocation, and this debate proves it.²⁷⁶

Franziska Eichstädt-Bohlig (Alliance 90/Greens, Kunstbeirat), who supported the project’s approval at the same time that she declared she would not participate, because she had “some issues with the earth ritual,” confirmed that the committee anticipated and indeed welcomed Haacke’s criticality, saying,

we discussed at length commissioning Hans Haacke to present us with a proposal, we all knew what we were doing, across party lines. We knew we had engaged an artist who provokes politicians and challenges them to enter into a dialogue with art, an artist who wants to bring about an intricate and mutual relationship between art and politics.²⁷⁷

At the same time, she expressed the view of many opposers to Haacke’s attention to the language at the heart of the project, stating,

I don’t agree with all the answers that Haacke has offered with his project description. For one thing... I am not of the opinion that the inscription ‘to the German people’ has been so disgraced forever by fascism that the term *German people* cannot be uttered any more. I think that we have developed such a democratically committed political culture that we can

²⁷⁵ “DER BEVÖLKERUNG: The German Parliamentary Debate,” 98-9.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 104-5.

stand behind our German identity again.²⁷⁸

Letters of invitation and pairs of burlap sacks were sent to all Representatives on July 3 and the opening ceremony on September 12 was heavily covered by the press, which had followed the project throughout the controversy and vote. Wolfgang Thierse, who represented Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg district, was the first to deposit soil, which had been collected from one of Berlin's Jewish cemeteries. In accepting the invitation to contribute fifty kilos (approx. 100 pounds) of soil from their home districts, Thierse and the other participating Representatives turned what until then had been primarily a rhetorical project into one of participation and action.

Aware of the historical link between typescripts and German national identity, Haacke has repeatedly chosen fonts for their symbolic value. Precursors to Fraktur (a "fractured" script characterized by short angular lines) were considered distinctly German as early as the fifteenth century, and Germany's comparatively late unification in 1871, gathering formerly independent cities and states, relied on language as key in defining common identity. Typeface was a tool in this project.²⁷⁹ While Fraktur and Roman types were used simultaneously for centuries, Fraktur took on added symbolic value at moments of heightened nationalism. With Hitler's rise to power, certain versions of Fraktur, including Tannenberg, which Haacke used, became the official typeface, heralded as the "German type" and used for all official printed matter. Exhibition materials for both the Degenerate Art show and the Great German Art Exhibition were written in Fraktur.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 105.

²⁷⁹ See Peter Bain and Paul Shaw, eds., *Blackletter: Type and National Identity* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998).

At the same time, however, the assertion of Fraktur as “German” was complicated, by both Hitler’s own preference for Roman type and the January 1941 ban on Fraktur as a “Jewish type,” based on a fallacious argument of a historically Jewish control of printing.²⁸⁰ After 1945, Fraktur was among the symbols of Nazism that largely disappeared from public view,²⁸¹ except for its uses by neo-Nazi groups.

In engaging the very government in a debate over the terms of national identity and the Nazi legacy, Haacke extended his argument for participation to those who had been elected to represent the population. While many of them refused to participate in the end, his prompt brought the issue into relatively broad public consciousness, at least as far as the audiences of the German-language newspapers and television. Boxes upon boxes of press articles chronicle the protracted process of the project’s realization, and as Haacke reflected three years after the project, “The Bundestag Art Committee charged the invited artists to address the history and the political significance of the site. I think I did that. ... Taking politicians at their word turned out to be provocative.”²⁸²

In 2003, three years after *Der Bevölkerung* was finally realized, Haacke submitted a proposal for a competition in Leipzig to memorialize the site of the “Monday demonstrations,” which had been held weekly at the Nikolaikirche, and were key in the

²⁸⁰ The official letter announcing the ban is reproduced and translated in Hans Peter Willberg, “Fraktur and Nationalism” in Bain and Shaw, 48. Willberg argues that the true reason for the shift in policy was the success of the German military in 1941 in spreading across Europe, and that the Nazis were looking ahead toward a global domination that would need to adopt a more universal text. The fact that Fraktur remains indelibly linked to the Nazi period, a fact on which Haacke relied when using it, suggests the failure of the attempt to abandon it midway through the war.

²⁸¹ Yvonne Schwemer-Scheddin, “Broken Images: Blackletter between Faith and Mysticism” in Bain and Shaw, 57.

²⁸² “Molly Nesbit in Conversation with Hans Haacke” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 23.

GDR protest movement leading up to 1989. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Protestant church had grown into a relatively protected space for dissenters to gather because of its protected semi-autonomous status. People concerned with human rights, the environment, and—most significantly for the eventual revolution of 1989—peace, came together in grassroots organization and community. Originating as “peace prayers” in 1982, in the midst of growing Cold War tensions, they grew steadily until on October 9, 1989, some 70,000 demonstrators challenged the heightened police presence, which unexpectedly retreated, serving to embolden the protest movement in other East German cities. The chant of “Wir sind das Volk” [we are the people] filled the streets, and as Haacke wrote, “the accent was on the ‘we’, a challenge to the government’s claim that it represented the people.”²⁸³ On the next two Mondays, 150,000 and then 300,000 marched in Leipzig, and on November 4, 500,000 gathered at East Berlin’s Alexanderplatz.²⁸⁴ The Leipzig project extended the question of “das Volk,” which had become so politicized with the Reichstag project, to focus on the role of the grassroots opposition in the 1980s. Indeed, the protesters’ call for democracy was an example of what participatory democracy could produce, of the revolutionary potential of “das Volk.”

Noting that the same chant had also been appropriated by members of the radical right as part of a racist platform of exclusion, Haacke added *Alle* to his title to assert its distance from their position. Again, Haacke tied his project to the terms of the German Constitution, pointing to the Third Article, which he cited in his text: “No one may be

²⁸³ Haacke, “Wir (Alle) sind das Volk (We [All] Are the People),” in Grasskamp, Nesbit, Bird, 80.

²⁸⁴ Andrew Curry, “Before the Fall,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (Autumn 2009), 16-25.

discriminated against or given preferential treatment because of their gender, origins, race, language, homeland and ancestry, beliefs, religious or political views.”²⁸⁵

Haacke’s design was inspired by the movement’s candlelight vigils, and proposed the installation of 600 small lights among the cobblestones around the church. Three to four meters apart in their densest configuration at the church’s main entrance and becoming more dispersed around the square, they would gradually dim and illuminate like flickering candles, memorializing the protests and reminding viewers of this history. *Wir (Alle) sind das Volk* [We (All) Are the People], the project title, would be written in handwritten script, and projected in blue light onto the façade of one of the church towers, also cycling from bright to dim (fig 80). Further, to acknowledge the activist component of the demonstrations and to promote participation in the present, human rights groups including Amnesty International would be invited to work in the square on Monday afternoons. Candles would also be available for visitors to make their own memorial tributes. Connecting all these components was Haacke’s prompt for participation to counter the risk of the memorial losing meaning over time.

While the Leipzig project was not realized, the following year Haacke was invited to participate in another public memorial competition, this time in Berlin. In 2001, a new and unusual configuration of Berlin state politics had opened up the possibility of commissioning a new central memorial to Rosa Luxemburg, a long-discussed idea that had been politically impossible due to the highly charged stakes of the communist

²⁸⁵ Haacke, “Wir (Alle) sind das Volk,” in Florian Matzner, Hans-Joachim Manske, and Rose Pfister, eds., *No Art = No City!: Urban Utopias in Contemporary Art* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2003): 67-8.

revolutionary's legacy. While Berlin lacked a central memorial to Luxemburg, Haacke's project became no less than the eleventh smaller-scale memorial to her in the city. Titled *Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg*, 2006, the work is indeed not a memorial in the traditional sense (fig 81). The term *Denkzeichen* was invented for the occasion, as a comparable term to countermonument, and both aim to counter the ineffectiveness of many traditional, easily-forgotten memorials, of Robert Musil's assertion that "there is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument."²⁸⁶ The *Denkzeichen* was intended to be alive and provocative rather than predigested and fixed in meaning.

When the Social Democrats (SPD) joined forces with the Democratic Socialists (PDS), the post-reunification successor to East Germany's official Social Unity Party (SED), in a five-year "Red-Red" coalition, it meant a rare term of relative freedom from opposing interests from the Right. Plans for a memorial were written into the coalition agreement, and the idea was initiated by Dr. Thomas Flierl, who had worked in the GDR's culture ministry from 1987-90, remained in city government after reunification, and by 2002 was the city's Minister for Science, Research, and Culture.

Rosa Luxemburg's (1871-1919) legacy has been contested ever since her death at the hands of the Freikorps in 1919. Ultimately becoming one of the leaders of the German Communist Party (KPD), she had come to Berlin from Poland in 1898, adopted German citizenship, and become a leading figure in leftist politics in Berlin during WWI, above all championing and defending the working class, and authoring a large and varied number of texts. She was a member of the Social Democrats before co-founding the Spartacus League

²⁸⁶ Cited in James Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 13. On the countermonument see Young's chapter "The Countermonument: Memory against Itself in Germany," 27-48.

with Karl Liebknecht in 1914, in protest against the SPD's declaration of support for the war effort.

The murders of Luxemburg and Liebknecht occurred in the course of the chaotic unrest in the months following Germany's defeat in November 1918, following an unraveling brought about by military losses, extremely difficult conditions on the fronts, and consequent strikes by workers and revolts by soldiers. The so-called November Revolution, two years after the Russian Revolution, saw the Emperor's abdication but left the Army and government officers (other than the Emperor) in place, so that changes were limited. The Spartacus League became the German Communist Party (KPD) in January 1919, and the two were murdered on January 15 in the notorious wave of street terror and political chaos. Their funeral procession assembled at Bülowplatz, which eventually was renamed after Luxemburg.

In the near century since her death, Luxemburg's memory has been claimed by many groups, including feminists, the GDR opposition movement, and others on the Left, and Haacke made this sense of competition for her memory into the center of his proposal by using citations from different elements of her writings, presenting the incongruences in her memory rather than assimilating them into an integrated whole. Haacke's text-based project was built around short excerpts from Luxemburg's writings, which were inscribed onto the streets and sidewalks around the square.²⁸⁷ He conceived of the memorial as a mental exercise and phenomenological experience. Non-representational, Haacke's design—like many other contemporary memorials—allowed space within which to

²⁸⁷ Gregory Sholette, "Rose Is a Rose Is a Rose: Gregory Sholette on Hans Haacke's Memorial to Rosa Luxemburg," *Artforum* 45, no. 3 (November 2006): 99-100.

grapple with the contradictory aspects of her memory, and incorporated these ambivalences.

As the announcement set forth, the competition aimed to explore Luxemburg's biographical inconsistencies and the continuing conflicts over the interpretation of her work and legacy.²⁸⁸ Twenty-one artists and/or teams were invited to submit proposals in August 2003, and Haacke was included in the competition's second round in December 2004. A twelve-member jury of artists, academics, politicians, city authorities, and the director of the Volksbühne, Frank Castorf, selected him as the winner. Flierl wrote that the process was intentionally participatory and intended to allow for public input.²⁸⁹

Once again, Haacke began with research, and found the kernel of the project in a book of Luxemburg's collected writings. Struck by contradictions in the different contexts in which she had written, he decided to use her own words to recreate a sense of her life and self that were more complex and nuanced than the icon that she has become. Forty citations, including excerpts from her letters (both personal and professional) and political and theoretical texts, were inscribed on strips of concrete with brass letters, set in typeface that recalled Weimar-era newspapers, and installed directly into the pavement around the square. Unusually for a permanent installation by a prominent contemporary artist, the project is unlabeled and unsigned.²⁹⁰

Because Luxemburg's legacy had been contested since her death, this major episode in the tumultuous and politically complex years between WWI and the rise of Hitler

²⁸⁸ "Auszüge aus der Auslobung" in *Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg: Der Wettbewerb* (Berlin: Land Berlin, Senatsverwaltung für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur, 2005), 8.

²⁸⁹ Thomas Flierl, "Vorwort," in *ibid.*, 7.

²⁹⁰ Indeed, while many Berlin residents are familiar with the memorial, most I spoke with did not know it was Haacke's project.

remained unassimilated into a national narrative, and the process of the memorial's development reveals some of the terms by which memorials get created. Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz is one of the many sites in Berlin that have been renamed multiple times in the vicissitudes of the city's shifting political orientation and control.²⁹¹ Known as Bülowplatz throughout World War I and the Weimar Republic, it was renamed Horst-Wessel-Platz by the Nazis in 1933, at the same time that they commandeered the neighboring buildings including the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus, draping them in Nazi flags. Wessel, an SA commander who had written the lyrics to "Die Fahne hoch!," which would become the Nazis' official anthem (and after which Haacke had named his 1991 project in Munich), had been murdered by Communists in Berlin in 1930, and was later made a symbolic martyr by the Party. In 1945, now part of the Soviet zone of occupied Berlin, it became Liebknechtplatz for two years, then Luxemburgplatz until 1969, and then finally Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz. It is bordered on one side by the Volksbühne, which opened in 1914, was destroyed in the war, and rebuilt between 1950-54 (and where *Ernst Jünger* had played in 1994), and on another by Karl-Liebknecht-Haus, built in 1926 for the headquarters of the KPD, and also destroyed in the war. In 1946 this Haus became the property of the SED, which oversaw its reconstruction. In 1990 it became the headquarters of the PDS, and in 2007, its successor Die Linke.

Flierl argued that this location would allow for considering Luxemburg's legacy in a wider historical context, once no longer limited to the sites of her imprisonment, death, and burial (though it was not wholly detached from her biography, since her funeral procession

²⁹¹ For an overview of this history see Maoz Azaryahu, "German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin," *Political Geography* 16, no. 6 (August 1997): 479-93.

began there).²⁹² While previous memorials to Luxemburg were located in more peripheral parts of the city, this one was to occupy a location in the Mitte district, right at the center of now-reunified Berlin. The earliest memorial was commissioned by the KPD and designed by Mies van der Rohe between 1924-26, in the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery where Luxemburg and Liebknecht had been buried with other victims of the January Spartacist uprising. This brick modernist structure, a Monument to the Revolution, was devoid of imagery except for a hammer-and-sickle emblazoned star on its face; it was destroyed by the Nazis in 1935 and then rebuilt with a new design in 1951, under authority of the SED, as a Monument to the Socialists. In 1928, the KPD proposed individual memorials to Luxemburg and Liebknecht at the sites of their deaths in the Tiergarten, but these were denied by the authorities. A central memorial to Luxemburg had been proposed in the GDR as early as 1974 and was discussed through 1988, but never realized for reasons ranging from the competing demands for building sites in the city to the GDR resistance movement's use of her memory in their protests. Meanwhile, in the West, a Luxemburg memorial had been "politically impossible" in the context of Cold War politics that demanded distance from all things that might suggest support for Socialist positions.²⁹³ In 1987, coinciding with the 750th anniversary celebrations for the city, memorial markers designed by architects Ralf Schüler and Ursulina Schüler-Witte (both of Haacke's generation) were finally dedicated at the (now West Berlin) Tiergarten sites: for Luxemburg, simply her name in bronze letters, jetting up diagonally from the pavement, and for Liebknecht, a brick column, with his name

²⁹² Thomas Flierl, "Grußwort" in Senatsverwaltung für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur Berlin, *Dokumentation des Verantstaltungswochenendes 9. Bis 11. Mai 2003*. (Berlin: Senatsverwaltung für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur, 2003), 8.

²⁹³ Thomas Flierl, "Rot-Rot—Berlin setzt Rosa Luxemburg ein Denkmal in der Innenstadt," *Die Landeszeitung* (January 17, 2002). <http://www.die-linke-berlin.de/index.php?id=488>. Accessed November 5, 2013.

extending across its height. After 1989, Luxemburg's memory remained contentious and in 1994 the PDS voted at their convention to support a new monument to her, as a protest against the destruction of Socialist monuments around the city. In 1999, the "Anteiszeitkomitee," a group within the PDS comprised primarily of artists working to defend the figurative aesthetic of Socialist Realism, installed a bronze figure of Luxemburg by Rolf Biebl in front of the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus on the Platz. They did so without the permission of the PDS leadership and in spite of an agreement the previous November between the SPD and PDS to commission a new memorial. The work remained there only a short time before the PDS demanded it be relocated to the entrance of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Friedrichshain—well out of the city center—where it was installed with a pair of ceramic reliefs depicting Luxemburg's secretary and Karl Liebknecht by Ingeborg Hunzinger, and where it remains today.²⁹⁴

After 1989 and in the wake of the Socialist past, figurative sculpture was doubly problematic. The form of choice for Socialist Realism, it was inextricably linked to the state-sponsored art of the GDR. It was also a form inclined to freeze a person or event in time, rather than posing questions and promoting discussion. Without naming it so, the Denkzeichen's organizers sought a conceptual approach, one that would come from "Western" artists and contemporary strategies, and Haacke's practice seemed an obvious fit.

²⁹⁴ See Thomas Flierl, "Vorangegangene Konzepte des Gedenkens an Rosa Luxemburg im Berliner Stadtraum" in Elfriede Müller and Martin Schönfeld, eds., *Ein Zeichen für Rosa Luxemburg: Deutungsmuster eines politischen Lebens. Diskussionsprozesse 1998-2000: Dokumentation*. (Berlin: Initiativkreis Ein Zeichen für Rosa Luxemburg. Berlin: Büro für Kunst im öffentlichen Raum der Kulturwerk GmbH des BBK Berlins, 2000). and Jack Rodriguez, "Denkzeichen für Rosa Luxemburg," *Neues Deutschland* (May 13, 2003).

With its focus on texts, the project highlighted the contradictory nature of biographies and individuals, illuminating what often gets collapsed in an effort to cast a tribute in stone. Haacke chose citations, which, while they might seem fully at odds with one another, attended to the ways in which her biography has been claimed by multiple political interests. While some lines iterated her political side, others were personal and private. Haacke's proposal explained,

Misjudgments and opinions that do not correspond to the present understanding of democracy will be included as well as positions that have not lost their relevance for the present and remain path-breaking. It will not be attempted to reconcile the sometimes contradictory positions of Rosa Luxemburg. In 'Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg' one moves—almost literally—through the complex thought world of the one murdered in 1919.²⁹⁵

Both the word *Denkzeichen* and Haacke's selections and installation were intended to stimulate viewers *to think* (*denken*), and in encountering these citations, unexpectedly and by chance, they might stop to consider what they were, their meaning, and how they fit together—or don't. The intention shares many elements with Günter Demnig's *Stolpersteine* memorial stones that have multiplied across Berlin and other German and European cities, in an unsigned network of individual memorials to victims of the Holocaust.²⁹⁶ Publicly sited and absent an institutional frame, the project requested the participation of viewers in negotiating the interpretation of Luxemburg's legacy.

²⁹⁵ Haacke, Project Proposal, in *Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg: Der Wettbewerb*, 23.

²⁹⁶ The *Stolpersteine*, 1996-ongoing, are brass memorial stones to Holocaust victims that are inserted into sidewalks to mark the places where individuals lived, worked, and studied. See my essay "The Unexpected Encounter: Confronting Holocaust Memory in the Streets of Post-Wall Berlin" in Anne Teresa Demo and Bradford Vivian, eds., *Rhetoric, Remembrance, and Visual Form* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 33-48.

The idea for a new memorial was first broached in 1994 by a group of PDS delegates at the party's annual convention, in part motivated by the recent removal of many of East Berlin's Socialist monuments.²⁹⁷ Most dramatically and symbolically, the six-story red granite Lenin Memorial at Leninplatz was dismantled and buried on the outskirts of East Berlin in November 1991.²⁹⁸ In 1998, the "Initiative for a Symbol for Rosa Luxemburg" formed as a cross-party citizens' group to organize a more contemporary memorial than existed to date.²⁹⁹

As plans for a new memorial progressed after 2001, the process became increasingly politicized, and its organizers were suspected of using the Luxemburg story to maintain sympathies with the GDR system, despite the coalition's efforts to distance itself from that past.³⁰⁰ Stefanie Endlich, one of the jury members, wrote that "Hardly any other memorial project in recent time has met with so many preconceptions, misunderstandings,

²⁹⁷ Thomas Flierl, "Denkzeichen für Rosa Luxemburg," unpublished essay (October 2006). http://archiv2007.sozialisten.de/politik/publikationen/disput/view_html?pp=1&n=13&bs=1&zid=34350. Accessed November 18, 2013.

²⁹⁸ Evelin Wittich, "Debatte um ein Denkmal für Rosa Luxemburg" in *UTOPIE kreativ* 162 (April 2004): 302. See also John Tagliabue, "Berlin Journal: In Unified Metropolis, Lenin Icon Still Divisive," *The New York Times* (November 2, 1991). Some 150 monuments, including Lenin's head from the GDR (now reported by the city of Berlin to be lost as of August 2014), Nazi period, and others going back to the 18th century, will be shown again in the near future, when the permanent exhibition "Unveiled: Berlin and its Monuments" at the Spandau Zitadelle opens in Spring 2015 after repeated delays. Breker's *Decathalete* will also be on view. The question of what to do with obsolete markers of GDR political ideals has been one area in which the articulation of national identity has played out most publicly and concretely, and Berlin has been an exceptional case for the study of how competing narratives overlap on single sites. See Kristine Nielsen, "Gestures of Iconoclasm: East Berlin's Political Monuments, from the Late German Democratic Republic to Postunified Berlin," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010.

²⁹⁹ See Elfriede Müller, "Einleitung" in Müller and Schönfeld, eds., 7.

³⁰⁰ Thomas Flierl, "Grußwort," in *Dokumentation des Verantstaltungswochenendes 9. Bis 11. Mai 2003.*, 8.

and sometimes even aggressive repudiations” as this one.³⁰¹ Objectors questioned many things: Luxemburg’s conception of democracy and whether she was worthy of a memorial, the political motivations of the PDS in initiating the process, and the “possibilities and limits” of memorial projects in the present time. Existing Luxemburg memorials were variously cited as evidence of the redundancy of a new project or the need for a new centralized project that would better focus public attention.³⁰² The CDU Chairman of the Berlin (State) House of Representatives, Nicolas Zimmer, claimed that the project was an illegal use of public funds in the midst of a budget crisis in the city.³⁰³ Meanwhile, the head of the FDP (Martin Linder) critiqued wryly, “another memorial to Rosa Luxemburg in this city is about as unnecessary as installing a sewage lighting system.”³⁰⁴ Frank Castorf also protested against Haacke’s design as one that would have viewers bending toward the ground, in contradiction to how “Luxemburg preached from an upright position.”³⁰⁵

Flierl’s committee privileged public involvement as fundamental to a successful outcome, and organized a weekend event to disseminate information and raise awareness at the site in May 2003, even before the competition was announced.³⁰⁶ A program of talks, films, readings, and an exhibition about the site and Luxemburg’s life encouraged the public to become involved, and was an example of the kind of public documentary installation of photographs and texts that has become common in post-Wall Berlin, where the pasts of

³⁰¹ Stefanie Endlich, “Vorgeschichte, Ablauf und Ergebniss des Wettbewerbs,” in *Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg: Der Wettbewerb*, 12.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ WED, “Braucht Berlin wirklich ein fünftes Rosa-Luxemburg-Denkmal?,” *Bild-Zeitung* (January 14, 2005).

³⁰⁴ Johannes Freund, “Rosas Freiheitszitat in Beton,” *Neues Deutschland* (September 7, 2005).

³⁰⁵ Tina Hüttel, “Der zerstreute Rosa Luxemburg,” *die Tageszeitung* (November 30, 2005).

³⁰⁶ *Dokumentation des Veranstaltungswochenendes 9. Bis 11. Mai 2003*.

many local historical sites are brought to public awareness by either the government or private organizations. The whole process of the competition worked to engage a debate over questions of identity and historical interpretation.

Two citations in particular aligned with Haacke's ongoing priorities with respect to present-day politics. Calling for political participation, Luxemburg had written in 1918, "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." And that same year, she had commented on the limitations of the current political structure and the absence of a unified *Volk*, writing, "The National Assembly is a surviving heirloom of [bourgeois] revolutions, a shell without content, a prop from the times of bourgeois illusions of '[unified] *Volk*,' from the 'freedom, equality and brotherliness' of the civil state."

The timing of the official opening of the memorial was as shaped by politics as had been its initiation. The Red-Red Coalition was clearly to end in the coming election, for Die Linke had lost electoral ground, and so Flierl presided over the yet-unfinished memorial's opening three days before the Berlin state elections. The history and politics of the Weimar Republic clearly remained contentious and unresolved, and figured in claims by politicians for how to define national identity during the second decade of reunification. For its part, the FDP countered the memorialization of Luxemburg with a provocative proposal for a memorial to Gustav Noske, the Weimar Republic's first defense minister, who had supported the violent suppression of the Socialist and Communist uprising in 1919.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Werner van Bebber, "Thomas Flierl auf den Spuren Rosa Luxemburgs," *Der Tagesspiegel* (September 15, 2006).

The process by which the memorial came into being revealed the process by which certain histories and figures get publicly remembered. Making this memorial had been as impossible in East Germany as in West, and the process brought to light the complexity of this situation particularly with respect to the history of the GDR. The concept of the countermonument provided a means to make the questions around memory and competing allegiances into the very subject of the memorial.

In 2006, the Berlin Akademie der Künste and Deichtorhallen Hamburg co-presented a large-scale double venue retrospective of Haacke's work, on the occasion of his 70th birthday.³⁰⁸ The Hamburg installation centered on Haacke's investigations into the interplay of business, money, and art, while Berlin's focused on his projects about history and politics.³⁰⁹ The choice of the Berlin venue was intentional, and indeed, the Akademie's own history revealed layers of the city's past. It was taken over by the Nazis in 1933, and the Academy was displaced by Albert Speer's office in 1937, and forty members of the Academy were expelled on political and anti-semitic grounds. Heavily damaged during the war, the original building was used in the GDR as both an art space and border prison during the period of division, while a second Akademie was established in West Berlin in 1954. The two reunified in 1993, and the new building, with its five-story glass front opening onto Pariser Platz and the Brandenburg Gate, opened in 2005, on the heels of the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the war's end. When Haacke's exhibition opened in November 2006, all of this history was very near at hand.

³⁰⁸ The idea to make a two-part exhibition was Haacke's own. Matthias Flügge and Robert Fleck, "Foreword" in Flügge and Fleck, eds., 20.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

In keeping with his practice, Haacke made a project for the exhibition, taking on the grave topic of anti-immigrant violence that had grown in the years since reunification. Taking its title from a traditional German folk song, “Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit” [There is no country more beautiful today], reflective of the deeply embedded love of the landscape in German culture, *Kein schöner Land* [No Country More Beautiful], 2006, was a group of eleven black-and-white banner strips, installed on the Akademie’s façade. With his characteristic mix of reserve and critique, Haacke made brief notations documenting each of forty-six racially-motivated murders committed in Germany since reunification (fig 82). He listed the victims’ countries of origin throughout Eastern Europe and Africa, Italy and Portugal, and their ages, as well as the dates, places and means of their murders. Through the center of the banners ran a line of text that read: “because they didn’t look German.” It was a grim accounting of neo-Nazi violence between 1990-2006. The final banner was half the length of the others, which suggested that the project might be extended indefinitely with future attacks. Inside the entrance, Haacke papered a wall with a monumentally-scaled photograph of a vintage doll from the collection of the Museum of Childhood, London, which he had found in the course of curating an exhibition for the Serpentine Gallery in 2001.³¹⁰ Called an “exchange doll,” and dating to 1916-22, it included two sets of heads and limbs—one brown and one white—so that it was flexible according to the wishes of the one playing with it (fig 83). Haacke recycled this image for the new Berlin project, in an additional gesture to the extent to which racial conflicts had exploded into a Europe-wide crisis of anti-immigrant violence. That he installed it on Pariser Platz, where the Nazis had marched through the Brandenburg Gate in January 1933 following Hitler’s

³¹⁰ Haacke, *Give and Take: 1 Exhibition 2 Sites* (London: Serpentine Gallery, 2001).

appointment as Chancellor, gave it the element of a clear warning against the fact that the racially-motivated attacks of the present were not so far off from the early history of the Nazis' rise to power.³¹¹ It also illuminated the dire consequences of the exclusionary thinking Haacke had elicited in the Reichstag debate concerning citizenship and belonging, and evidenced the extent to which race-based thinking continued to shape sectors of German opinion and identity.

Current events in Germany demonstrate that Haacke's warnings remain as acute as they were in 2006, with the organization and large-scale rallies of the group PEGIDA—"Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West"—since the fall of 2014.³¹² The group has redefined "Wir sind das Volk" in terms of the very thing against which Haacke has been working in all of these projects: an exclusionary racist ideology that bears direct relationship to the Nazi history. Indeed, Lutz Bachmann, one of its leaders, posted a photograph of himself online dressed up as Hitler. Initiated in Dresden in 2014, the group claims to be defending Germany against "Islamization," responding to the fact that in 2014 the country received more than 200,000 applications for asylum, many a result of the Syrian civil war and other conflicts in the Middle East and Africa. The emergence of the movement, many members of which would not identify as right-wing extremists, suggests that as much work as the country has done to come to terms with the history of the Third

³¹¹ Max Liebermann, who had figured in *Manet-Projekt '74*, had watched the march from his home on the opposite side of Pariser Platz.

³¹² See, for example, Alison Smale and Melissa Eddy, "Anti-Immigration Movement in Germany Reignites Debate Over National Identity," *The New York Times* (January 6, 2015) and Maik Baumgärtner, Jörg Diehl, Frank Hornig, Maximilian Popp, Sven Röbel, Jörg Schindler, Wolf Wiedmann-Schmidt, and Steffen Winter, "Neue deutsche Welle," *Der Spiegel* 51, no. 2014 (December 15, 2014): 23-6.

Reich, there remains a small but vocal minority convinced of the legitimacy of their calls for a commitment to “German” culture (including German language) that is threatened by the recent influx of immigrants.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In November 2005, Haacke opened his first solo gallery exhibition in New York since 1994, now represented by Paula Cooper Gallery.³¹³ Titled *State of the Union*, it offered a bleak assessment of the sociopolitical climate in the United States one year into George W. Bush's second Presidential term, in the continuing aftermath of 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Bush's disastrous handling of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast in August 2005.³¹⁴ Meditating on the dismal state of civil liberties both domestically and abroad, which were under attack by the so-called Patriot Act of 2001, and actions by parts of the U.S. Military overseas, he took the stars and stripes of the American flag as the starting point for new works. In a series of large-scale photographs and an installation, the flag signified the recent and growing restrictions on freedoms at Guantanamo Bay, in military tribunals, and at Abu Ghraib.

Haacke had begun these works a year earlier, when he was part of a group show at Paula Cooper's 192 Books (prior to joining the gallery). *Stuff Happens*, 2003, which he showed there, was a digitally printed graphic of a section of the flag, in which all but a couple of stars had fallen from their regular positions, lying in a chaotic pile at the foot of the blue field (fig 84). The piece took its name from the infamous remark of Defense

³¹³ November 5–December 23, 2005.

³¹⁴ Haacke also displayed his proposal for the World Trade Center Memorial, 2003, which he had submitted to the international competition for the design of Ground Zero. It combined elements of some of his other public projects: a wild garden made from soil contributions as at the Reichstag and slowly illuminating lights in the ground to name the individuals who had been killed as in his proposal for Leipzig. Haacke had watched the attacks of September 11 from the roof of his studio building in SoHo.

Secretary Donald Rumsfeld on April 11, 2003 to questions about the looting of the Iraq National Museum following the U.S. Military's invasion of Baghdad. Rumsfeld had said to reporters, in what read as a clear provocation for Haacke,

Stuff happens! ...it is a fundamental misunderstanding to see those images [of looting] over and over and over again of some boy walking out with a vase and say, "Oh, my goodness, you didn't have a plan." That's nonsense... And [the U.S. soldiers are] doing a terrific job. And it's untidy. And freedom's untidy.³¹⁵

In the 2005 show, Haacke's new works communicated his deep concern for the direction the American government was taking, and he chose very direct means through which to convey this. In the photograph *Star Gazing*, 2004, a figure appeared in a red t-shirt, whose head was wrapped in a triangular-shaped blue-and-white-starred section of a flag; it mimicked the hoods in the infamous photographs of prisoner abuses at Abu Ghraib, which had been released by CBS's 60 Minutes in April 2004 (fig 85).³¹⁶ Elsewhere in the space, *State of the Union*, 2005, was a ceiling-height swath of the flag's starred section, which was suspended from above and ripped down the center, half collapsed on the floor (fig 86).

With this response to the first years of the new millennium, Haacke took on the web of official confusion, misinformation, and justification that in retrospect defined much of the Bush administration, and brought the same critical mind to the circumstances of United States politics in the early 2000s as he had to the aftermath of Germany's wartime history. Rumsfeld's comments and the general political tenor in Washington D.C. in these years

³¹⁵ Excerpts from Rumsfeld's comments were published in "Rumsfeld's Words on Iraq: 'There Is Untidiness'," *The New York Times* (April 12, 2003).

³¹⁶ This was first shown in a group exhibition titled "Election" at American Fine Arts gallery in New York in October—November 2004, just before the Presidential election.

were examples of precisely the dangers that Haacke had been warning against in his works in Germany since the early 1970s. Haacke's response demonstrated his work's continued relevance in a present shaped by competing claims to power and filled with violent conflict.

Despite its basis in critique, Haacke's is ultimately a constructive practice, gesturing toward his concerns as a warning and an attempt to guard against moving any further toward repetitions of the past. It is a call to pay attention and, with its emphasis on questions rather than answers, to be alert to the insidiousness of threats to free expression. It is at once about the Nazi history and Degenerate Art, the Culture Wars, the extension of corporate reach, and at the same time, none of these. For while he is stirred by the details of particular circumstances, his work is fundamentally inspired by the aim to help reveal the world as it is, peering into the dark corners that powerful interests would rather keep obscured.

FIGURES

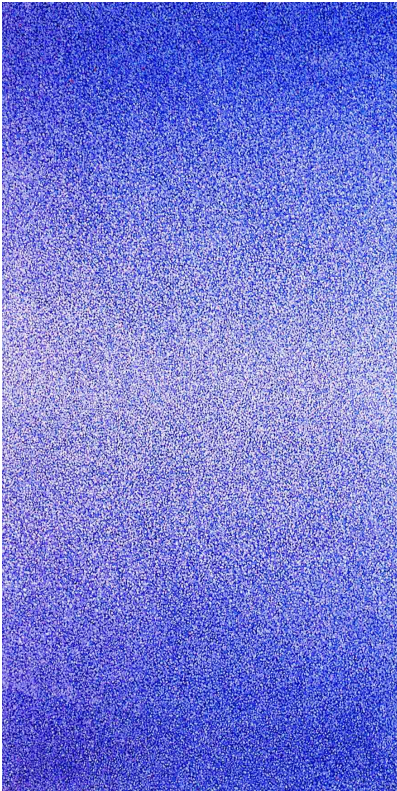


Figure 1. *Ce n'est pas la voie lactée* [This Is Not the Milky Way], 1960

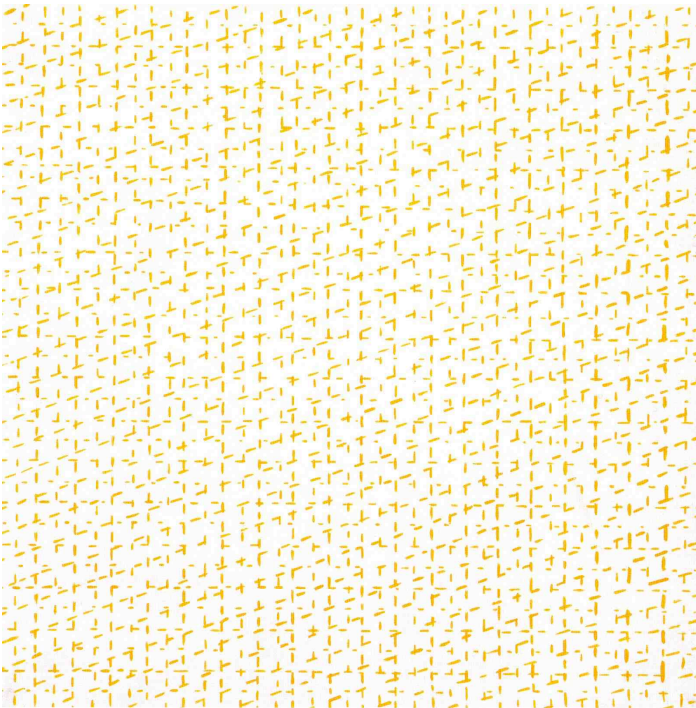


Figure 2. *B1-61*, 1961

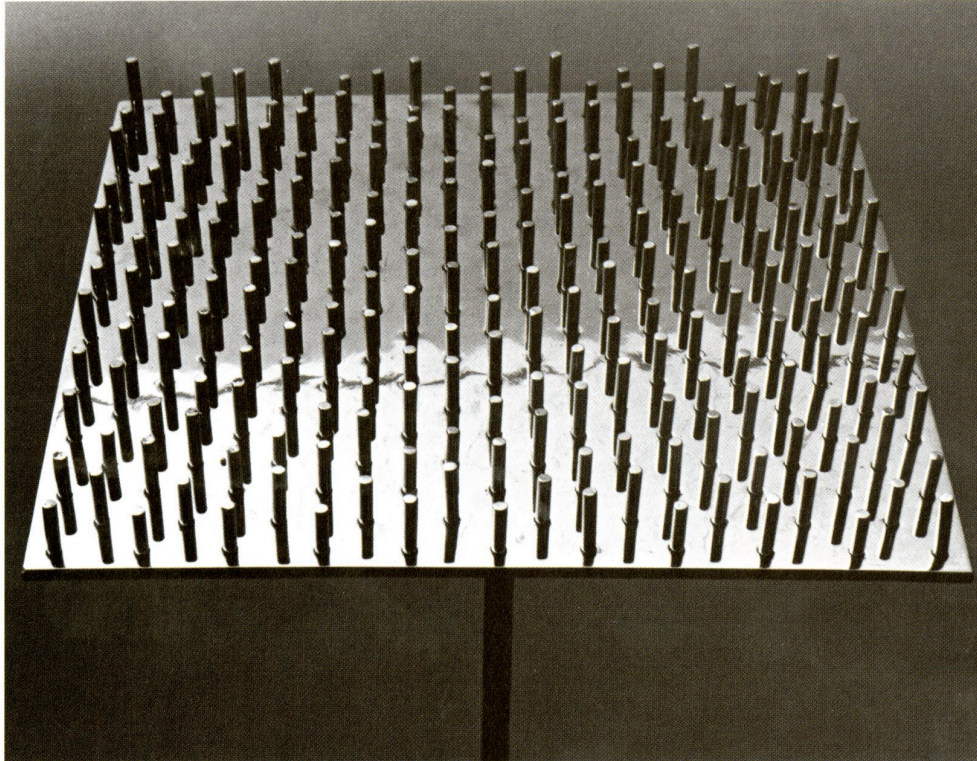


Figure 3. *La Bataille de Reichenfels* [The Battle of Reichenfels], 1961

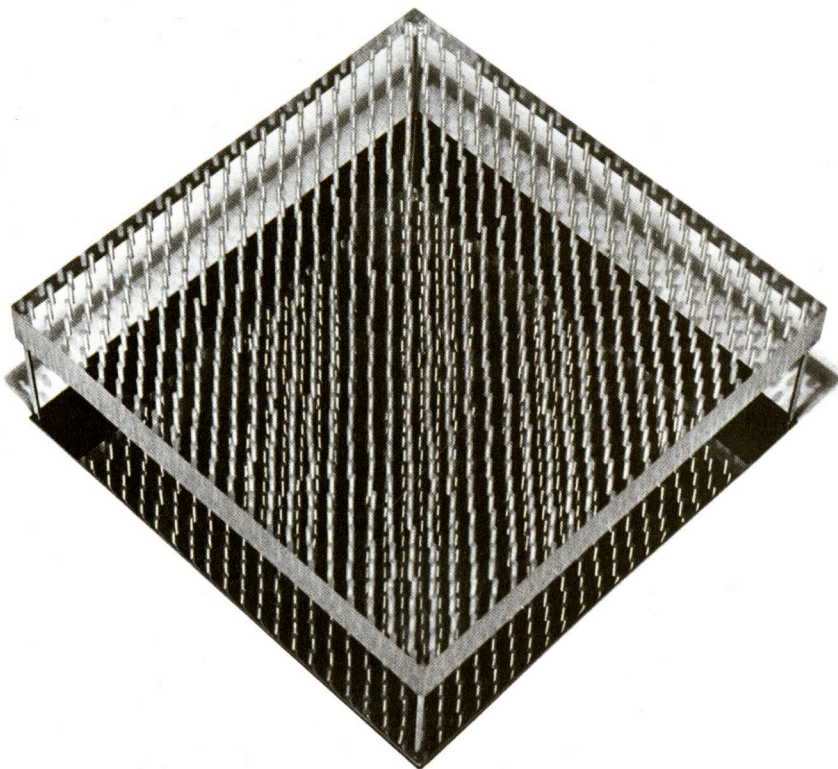


Figure 4. *Les couloirs de Marienbad* [The Corridors of Marienbad], 1962

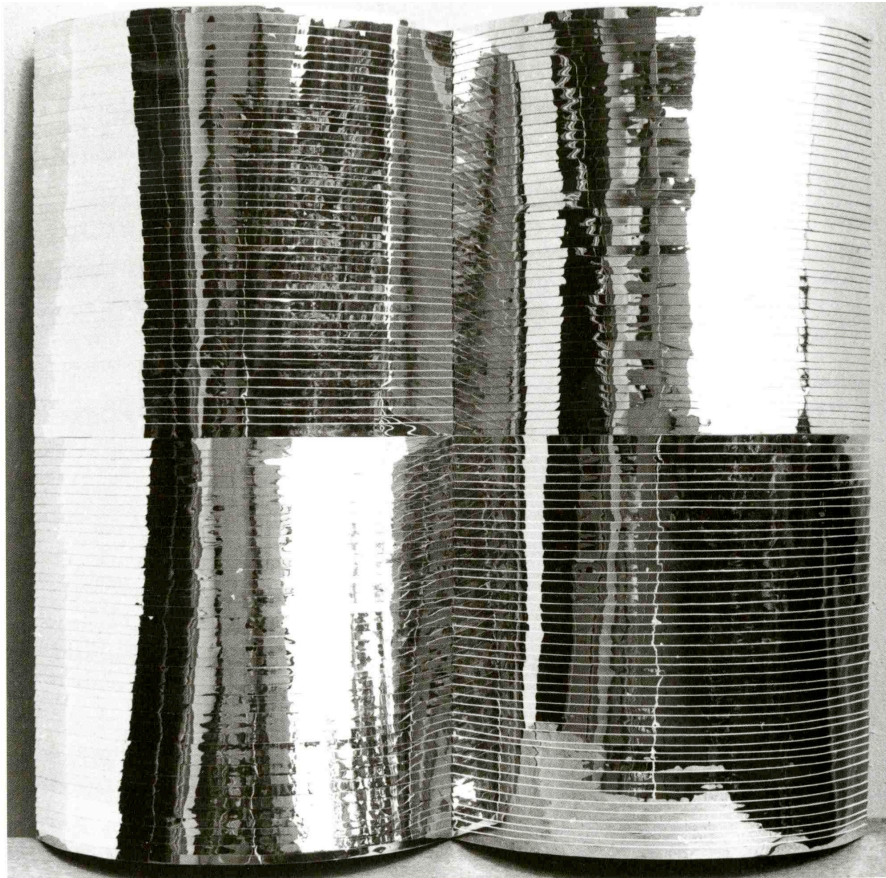


Figure 5. *A8-61*, 1961

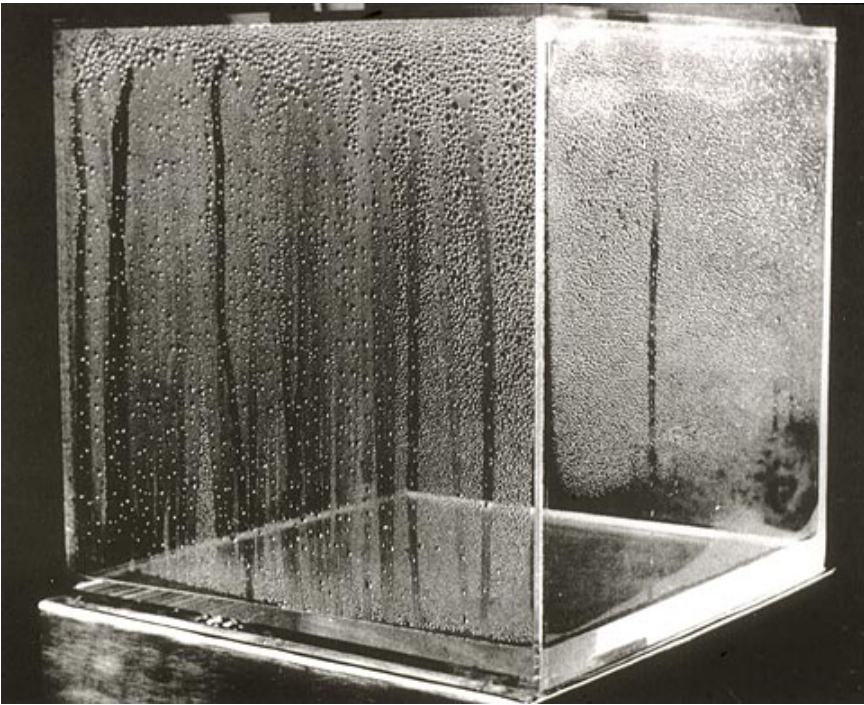


Figure 6. *Condensation Cube*, 1963-65.

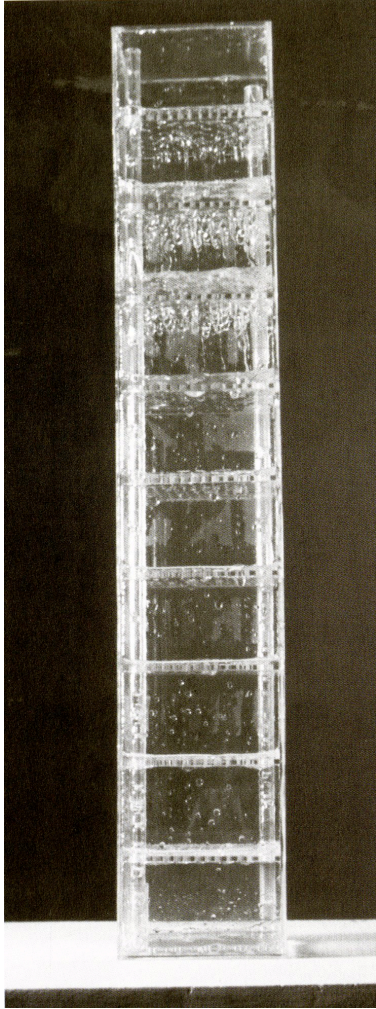


Figure 7. *Rain Tower*, 1962

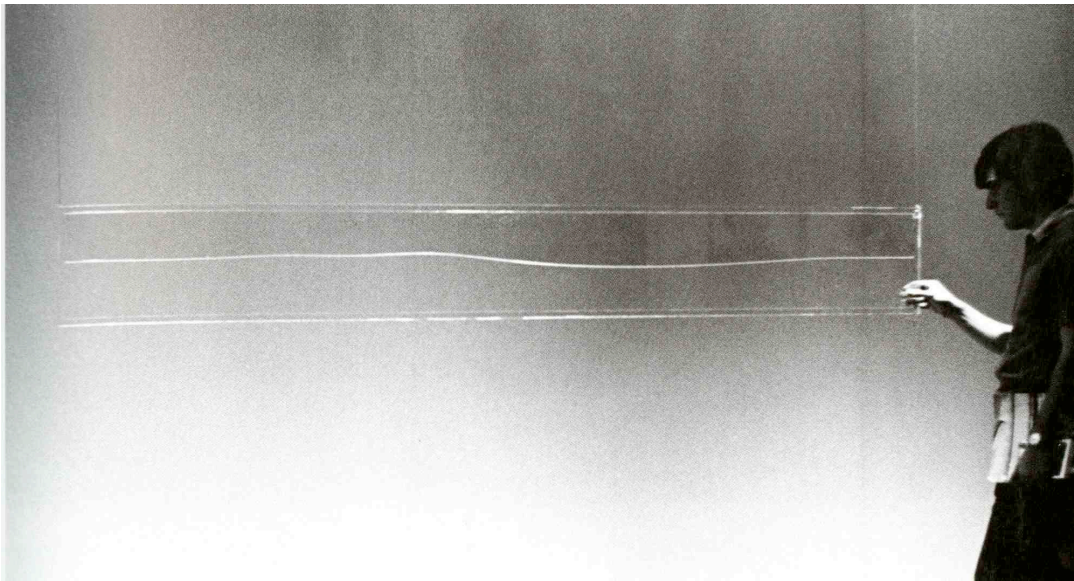


Figure 8. *Welle* [Wave], 1964



Figure 9. *Grass Grows*, 1967-69

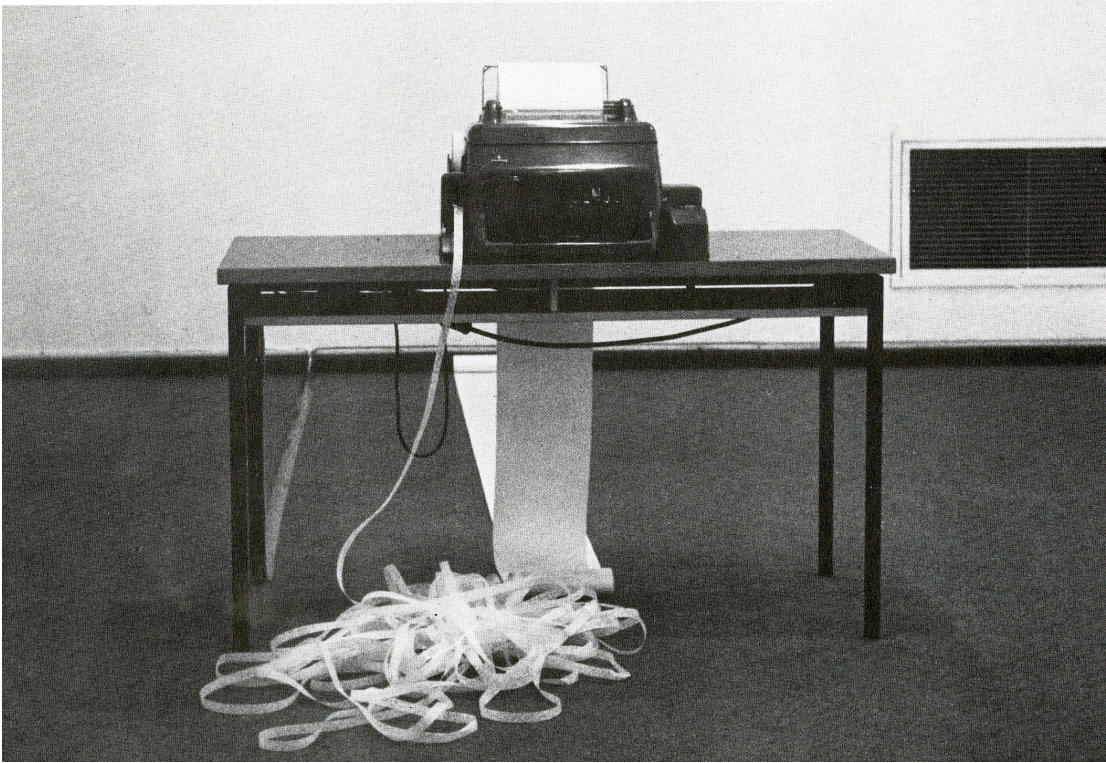


Figure 10. *Nachrichten* [News], 1969-70



Figure 11. *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part I, 1969*

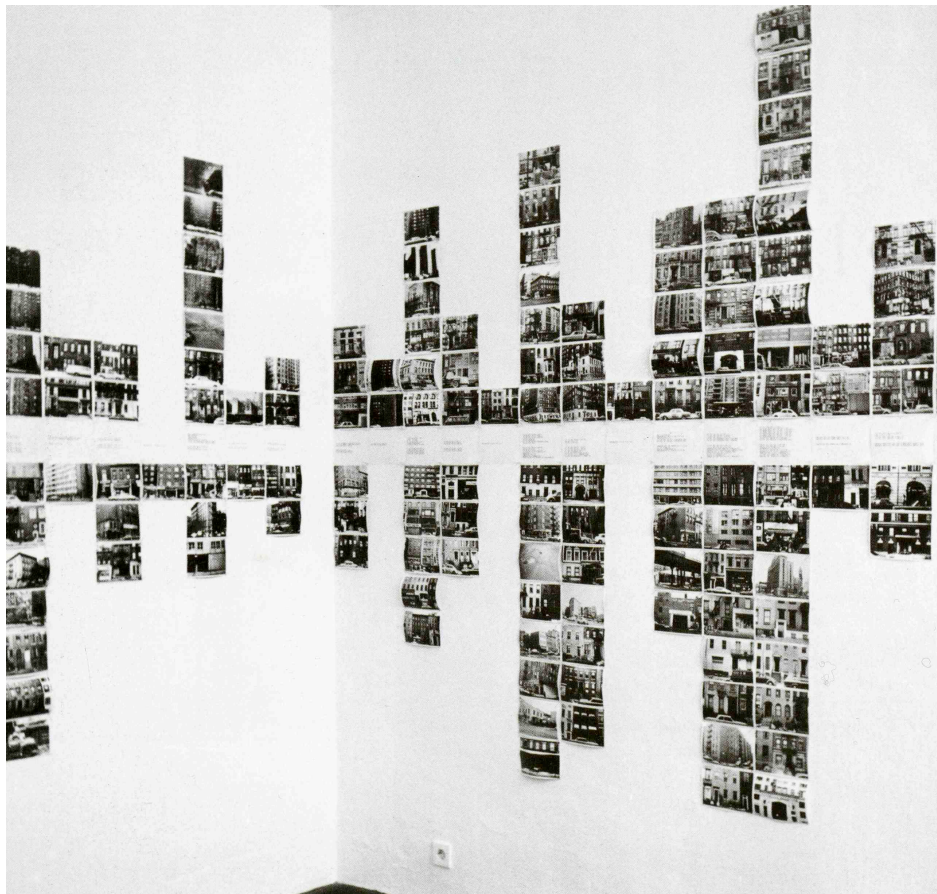


Figure 12. *Gallery-Goers' Residence Profile, Part 2, 1971.*

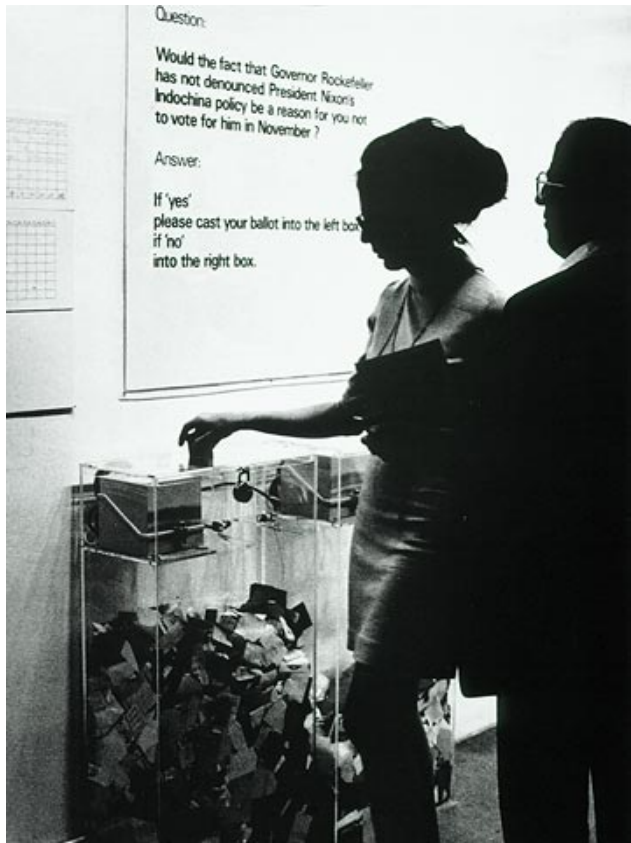


Figure 13. *MOMA-Poll, 1970*



Figure 14. *The Saatchi Collection (Simulations), 1987*



Figure 15. *Blue Sail*, 1964-65

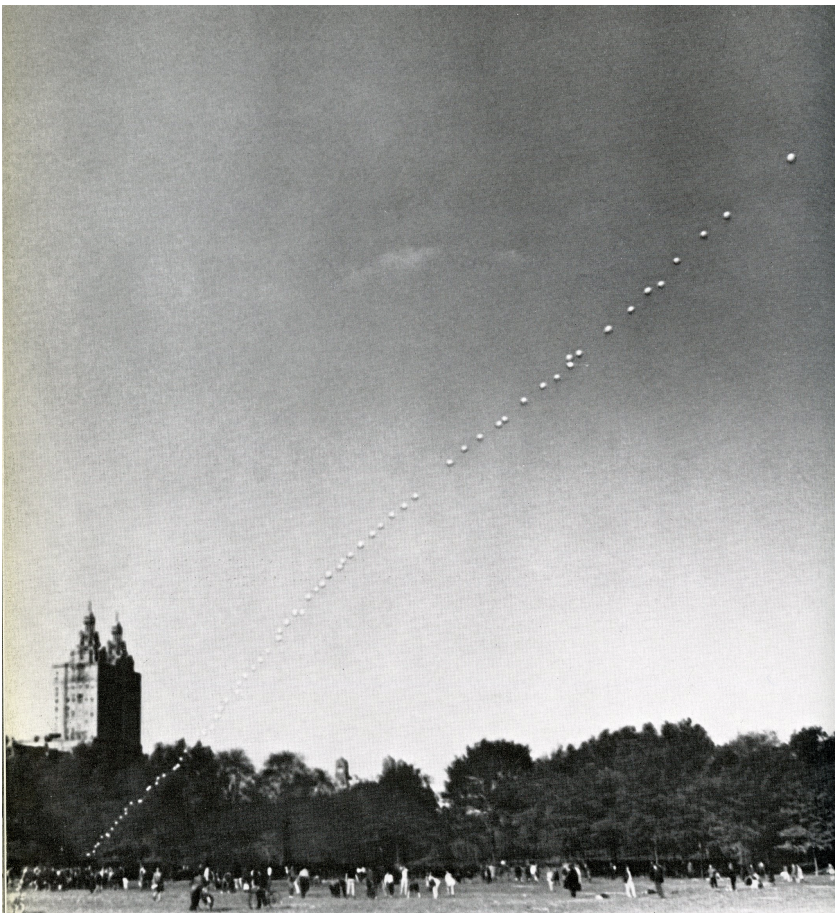


Figure 16. *Sky Line*, 1967



Figure 17. *Guggenheim Beans*, 1971



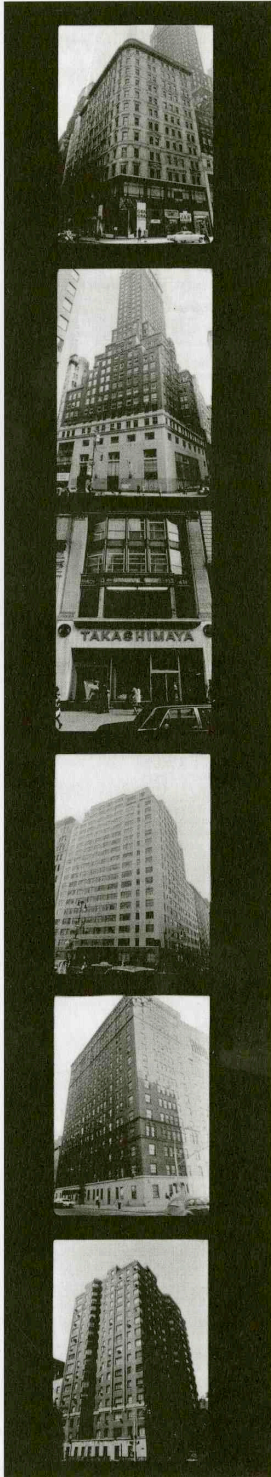
Figure 18. *Guggenheim Rye in the Tropics*, 1971



Figure 19. Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 (detail)



Figure 20. Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 (detail)



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

Figure 21. Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 (detail)



Figure 23. Daniel Buren, *Untitled*, 1971



Figure 25. *Gerichtetes Wachstum* [Directed Growth], 1970-72



Figure 26. *Rheinwasseraufbereitungsanlage* [Rhine Water Purification Plant], 1972

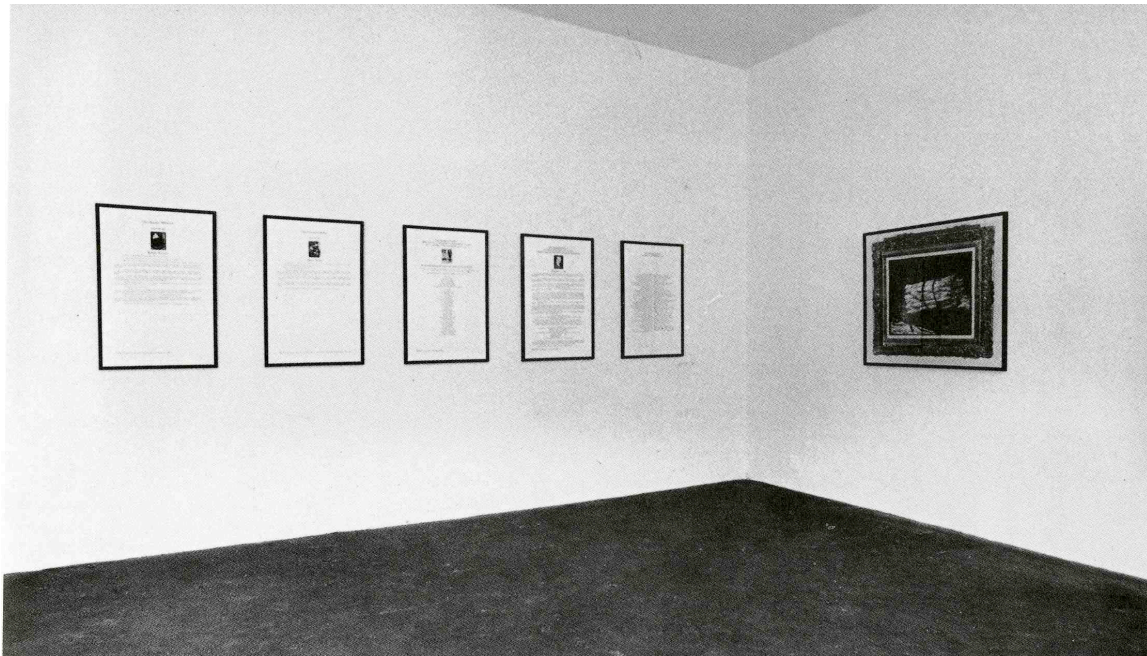



Figure 27. Manet-PROJEKT '74, 1974

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



Hermann J. Abs

Geboren 1901 in Bonn. - Entammt wohlhabender katholischer Familie. Vater Dr. Josef Abs, Rechtsanwalt und Justizrat, Mitinhaber der Hubertus Braunkohlen AG, Brüggem, Erftr. Mutter Katharina Lückersath.

Abitur 1919 Realgymnasium Bonn. - Ein Sem. Jurastudium Universität Bonn. - Banklehre im Kölner Bankhaus Debrück 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 Neveu du Mont. Schwester verheiratet mit Georg Graf von der Goltz. - Geburt der Kinder Thomas und Marion Abs.

Mitglied der Zentrumspartei. - 1929 Prokura im Bankhaus Debrück, 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 Aufsichtsrats- und Verwaltungsräten großer Unternehmen. Mitgliedschaft in Gesellschaften zur Wahrung 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 CIDU.

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 - Pfitzer Maschinenfabrik AG, Langen (Hessen)
Dahlbusch Verwaltungs-AG, Gelsenkirchen - Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart-Untertürkheim - Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt - Deutsche Luftbus AG, Köln - Philipp Holzmann AG, Frankfurt - Phoenix Gummiwerke AG, Hamburg-Harburg - RWE Elektrizitätswerk AG, Essen - Vereinigte Glanzstoff AG, Wuppertal-Eibfeld - Zellstoff-Fabrik Waldhof AG, Mannheim

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

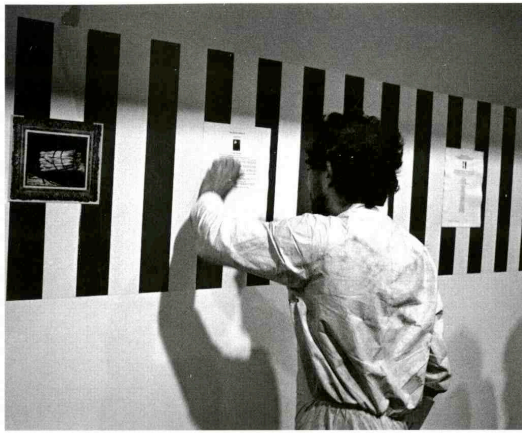
Großes Bundesverdienstkreuz mit Stern, Päpstl. Stern zum Komturkreuz, Großkreuz Isabella die Katholische von Spanien, Cruzeiro do Sul von Brasilien. - Ritter des Ordens vom Heiligen Grab. - Dr. h. c. der Univ. Göttingen, Sofia, Tokio und der Wirtschaftshochschule Mannheim.
Lebt in Kronberg (Taunus) und auf dem Bentgerhof bei Remagen.

Photo aus Current Biography Yearbook 1970 New York

**Das Spargel-Stilleben
erworben mit Stiftungen von**

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

Figure 28. Manet-PROJEKT '74, 1974 (detail)



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 FARSE DE LA LIBERTÉ ACCORDÉE AUX ARTISTES EXPOSANT LE SYSTÈME MORIBOND, ACCUÉ DANS SES CONTRADICTIONS, CONFIRME AINSI ET OSEÏTA CE QUI ÉTAIT ICI MÊME ANNONCÉ AVANT LA CENSURE.

DANIEL BUREN
COLOGNE LE 6 JUILLET 74

Die DIRECTION 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 FARSE IST. DAS TUKRANKE SYSTEM, DURCH SEINE WIDERSPRUCHE IN DIE ENGE GETRIEBEN, BESTÄTIGT UND BEFOLGT DAMIT, WAS AN DIESEM ORT VOR DER ZENSUR ANGEKÜNDIGT WURDE.

DANIEL BUREN
KÖLN, 6. 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 unsettle 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 benutzt zu machen.

Daniel Buren
Oktober 1970
Ausgang aus "Limits", Cologne

THE DIRECTORS OF THE COLOGNE MUSEUM 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 FARSE. THIS TOTALLY MORIBOND SYSTEM, TRAPPED WITHIN ITS OWN CONTRADICTIONS, THUS CONFIRMS AND CONFIRMS 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 ANELA, TRA L'ALTRO, LA FARSA DI LIBERTÀ PERMESSA AGLI ARTISTI ESPOSITIVI.

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

DANIEL BUREN
COLOGNA 6 LUGLIO 1974

PROJEKT '74
Kölischer Kunst
Kunsthalle Köln

Manet-PROJEKT '74. Daniel Buren 'PROJEKT '74,' 1974

Figure 29,30. Daniel Buren, *Kunst bleibt Politik* [Art Remains Politics], 1974



Figure 31. *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt* [And You Were Victorious After All], 1988



Figure 32. *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt* [And You Were Victorious After All], 1988



Figure 33. *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt* [And You Were Victorious After All], 1988

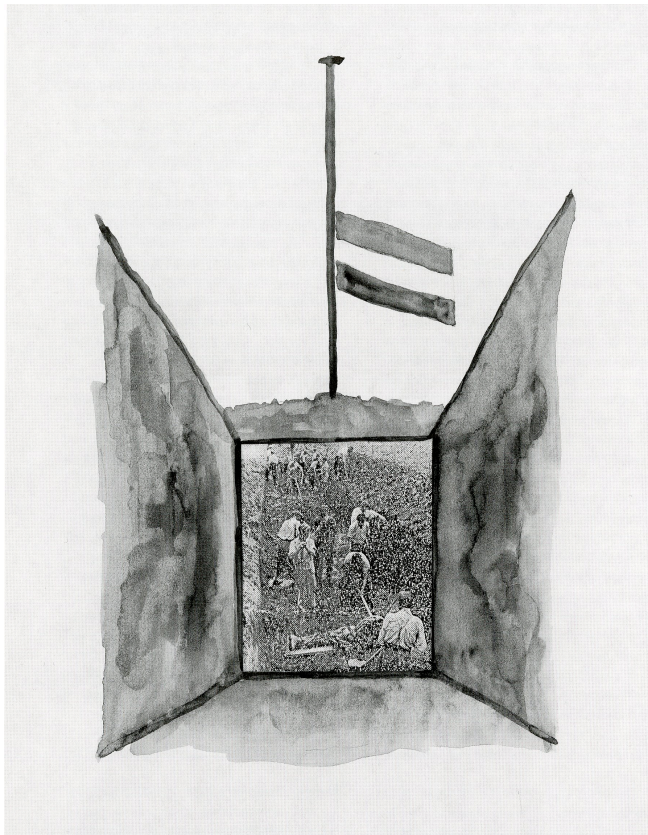


Figure 34. *Memorial to the Victims of National Socialism at the Military Practice Range "Feliferhof" in Graz*, proposed 1996



Figure 35. *Mia san mia* [We Are Who We Are], 2001



Figure 36. *Mia san mia* [We Are Who We Are], 2001 (detail)



Figure 37. *GERMANIA*, 1993



Figure 38. *GERMANIA*, 1993 (detail)



Figure 39. *GERMANIA*, 1993 (interior)

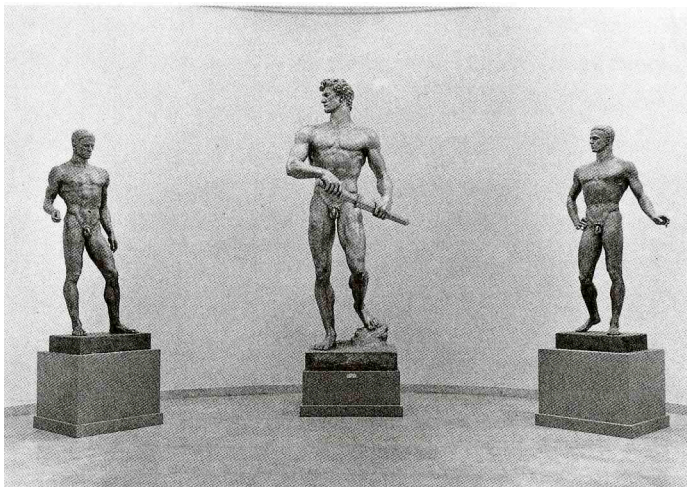


Figure 40. Arno Breker, *Readiness* [center], Venice Biennale, 1940

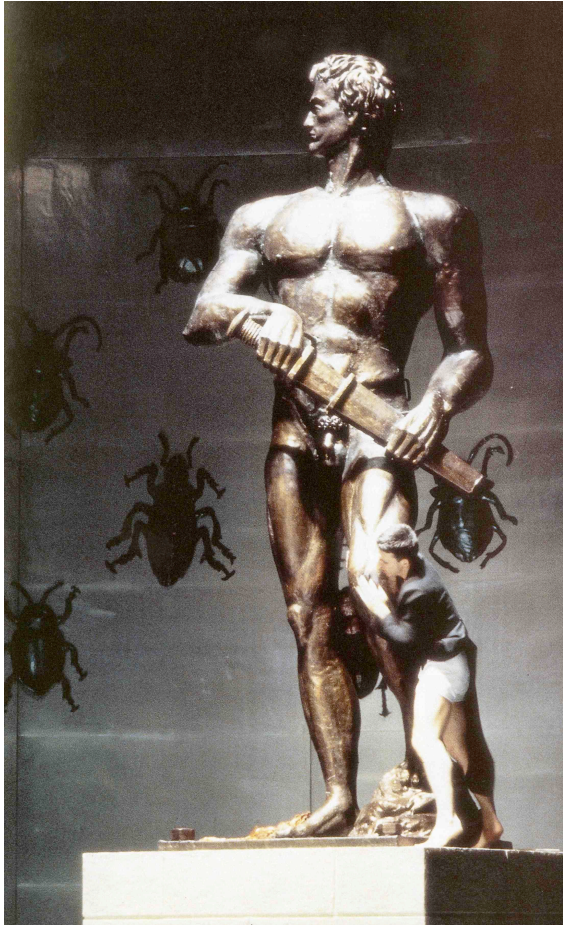


Figure 41. *Ernst Jünger*, 1994

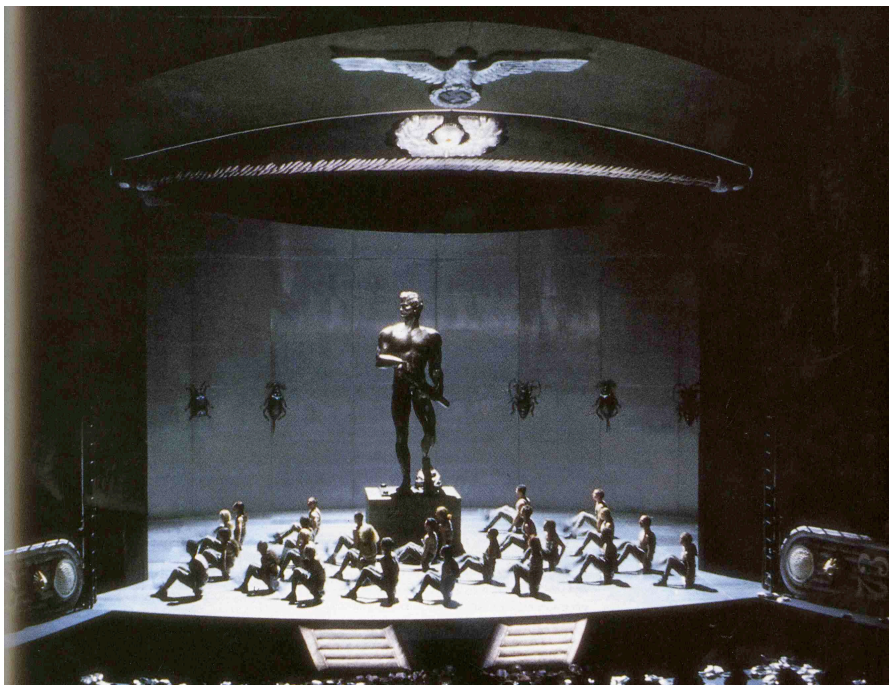


Figure 42. *Ernst Jünger*, 1994



Figure 43. *Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gesponsert—aus der Portokasse* [Freedom is Now Simply Going to Be Sponsored—from Petty Cash], 1990



Figure 44. *Die Freiheit wird jetzt einfach gesponsert—aus der Portokasse* [Freedom is Now Simply Going to Be Sponsored—from Petty Cash], 1990

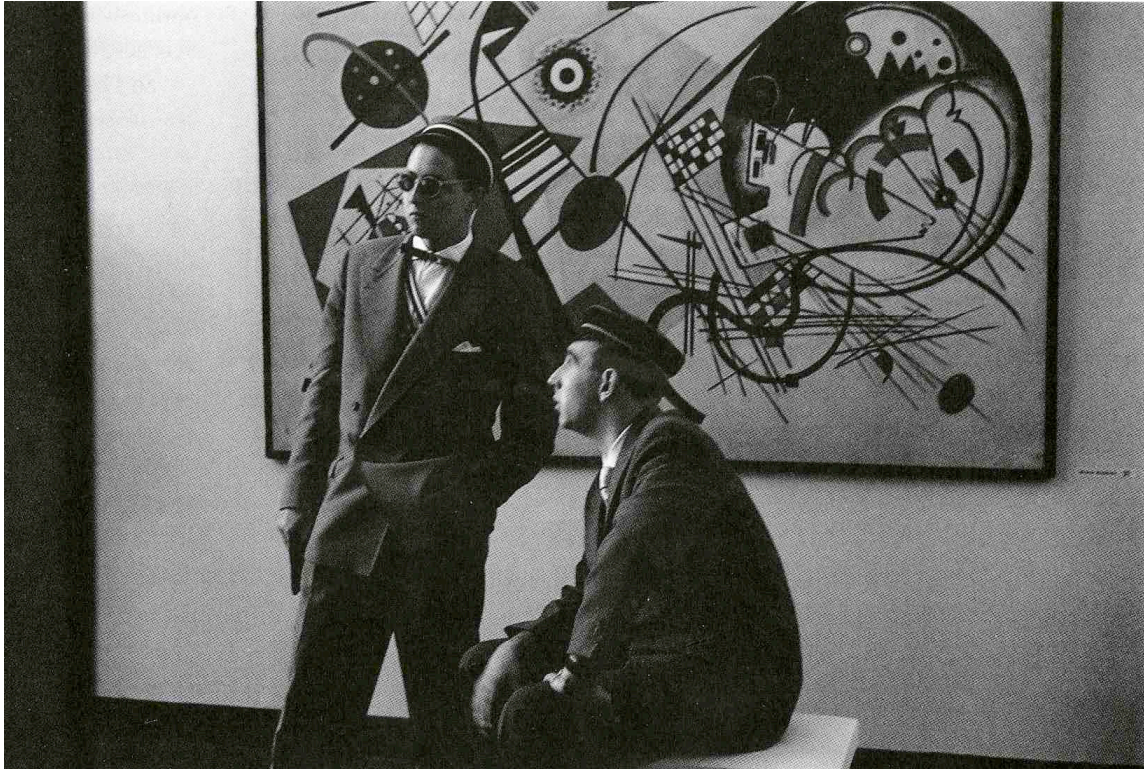


Figure 45. *Photographic Notes* (Fraternity Students in Documenta 2), 1959



Figure 46. *Photographic Notes*, Documenta 2, 1959

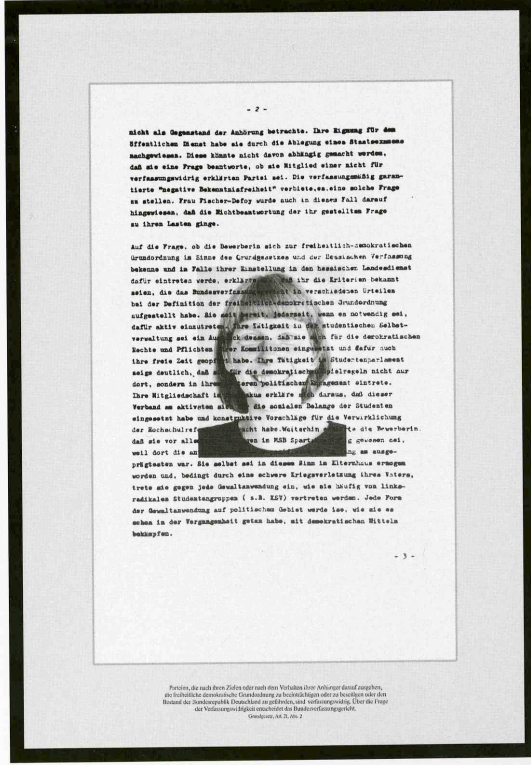
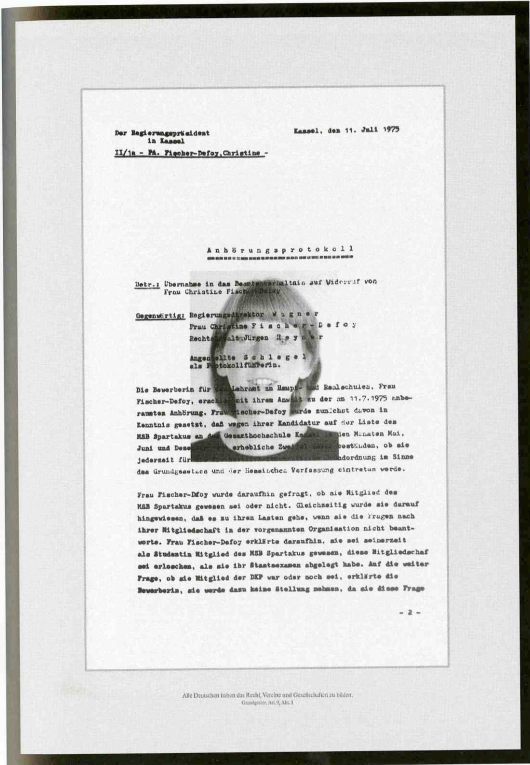


Figure 47. Die prognostische Erkenntnistheorie des Gewährbietens, dargestellt am Beispiel des Ausbildungsverbots der Christine Fischer-Defoy [Prognostic Theory of Cognition for a Guarantee of Security, Demonstrated by the Example of a Ban on Professional Training for Christine Fischer-Defoy], 1976 (detail)

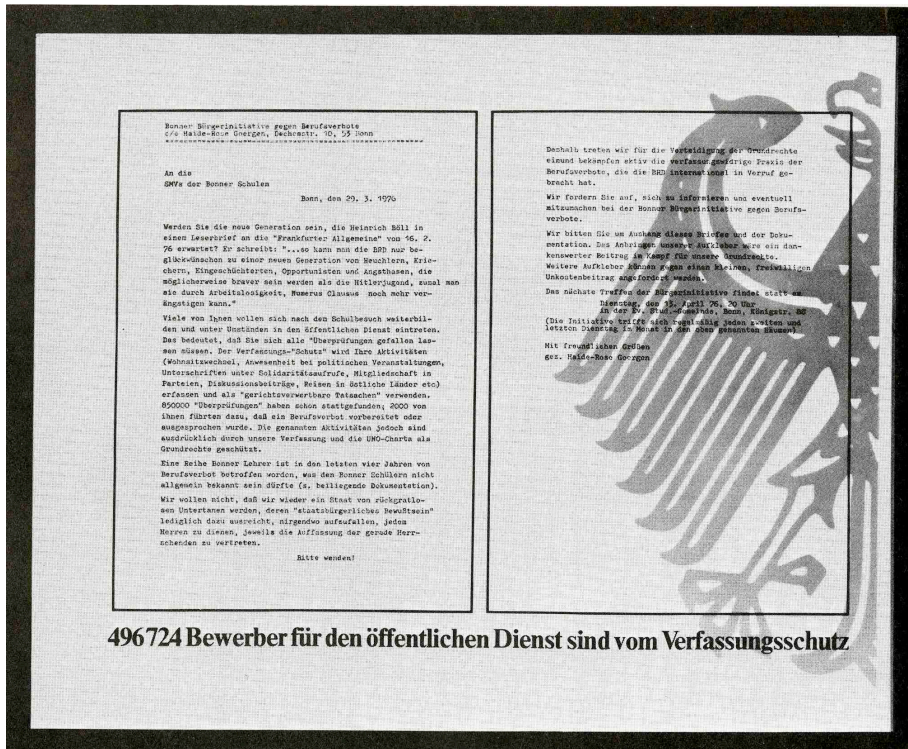


Figure 48. *Diptychon: Wer Beamter werden will, Krümmt sich beizeiten* [Diptych: If You Want to Become a Civil Servant, You Must Bend in Time], left, 1976

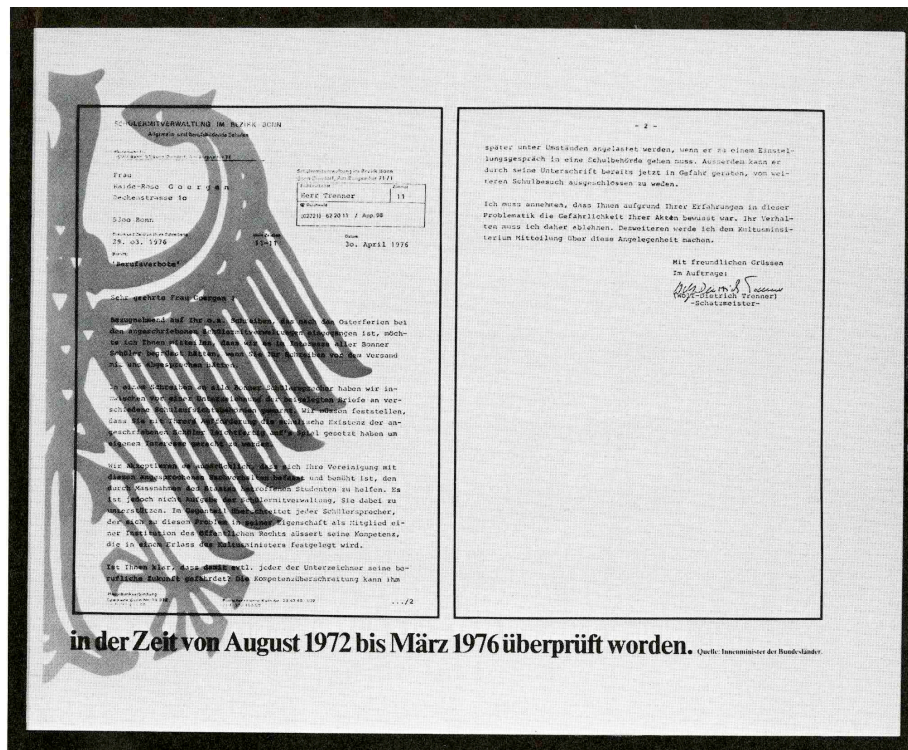


Figure 49. *Diptychon: Wer Beamter werden will, Krümmt sich beizeiten* [Diptych: If You Want to Become a Civil Servant, You Must Bend in Time], right, 1976



Figure 50. *Aus Liebe zu Deutschland* [Out of Love for Germany], 1976

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.

Figure 51. *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board of Trustees, 1974 (detail)*

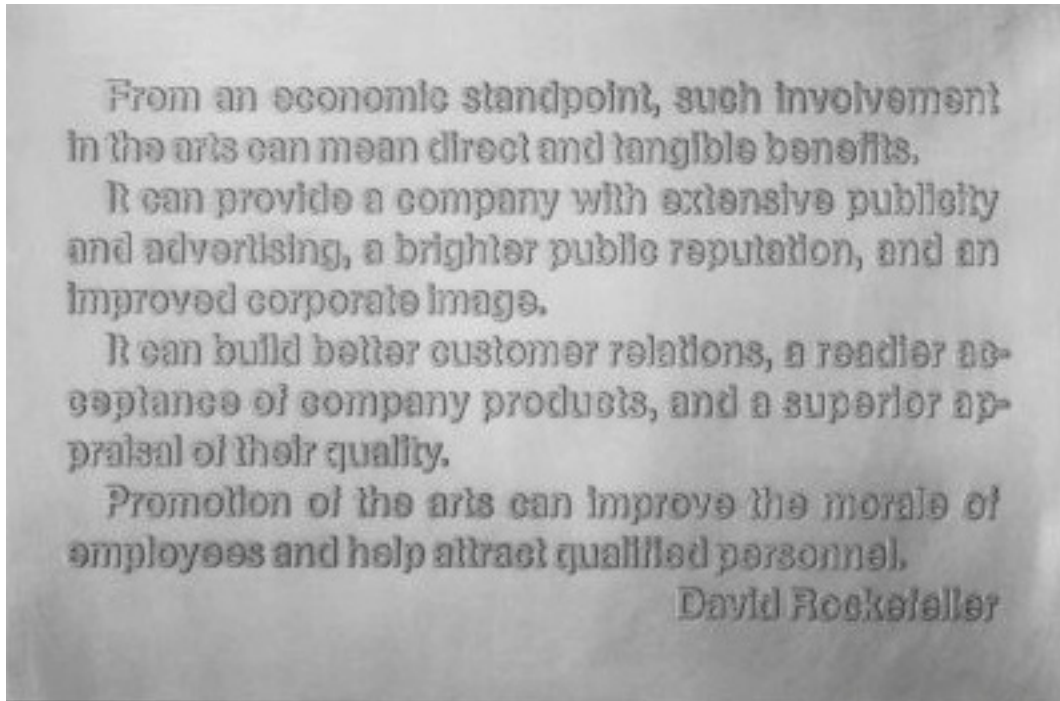


Figure 52. On Social Grease, 1975 (detail)



Figure 53. Der Pralinenmeister [The Chocolate Master], 1981 (detail)



Figure 54. *Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade Ludwig* [Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade], 1984



Figure 55. *Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade Ludwig* [Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade] (detail)



Figure 56. *Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade Ludwig* [Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade] (detail)



Figure 59. Europa Center, West Berlin, 1990

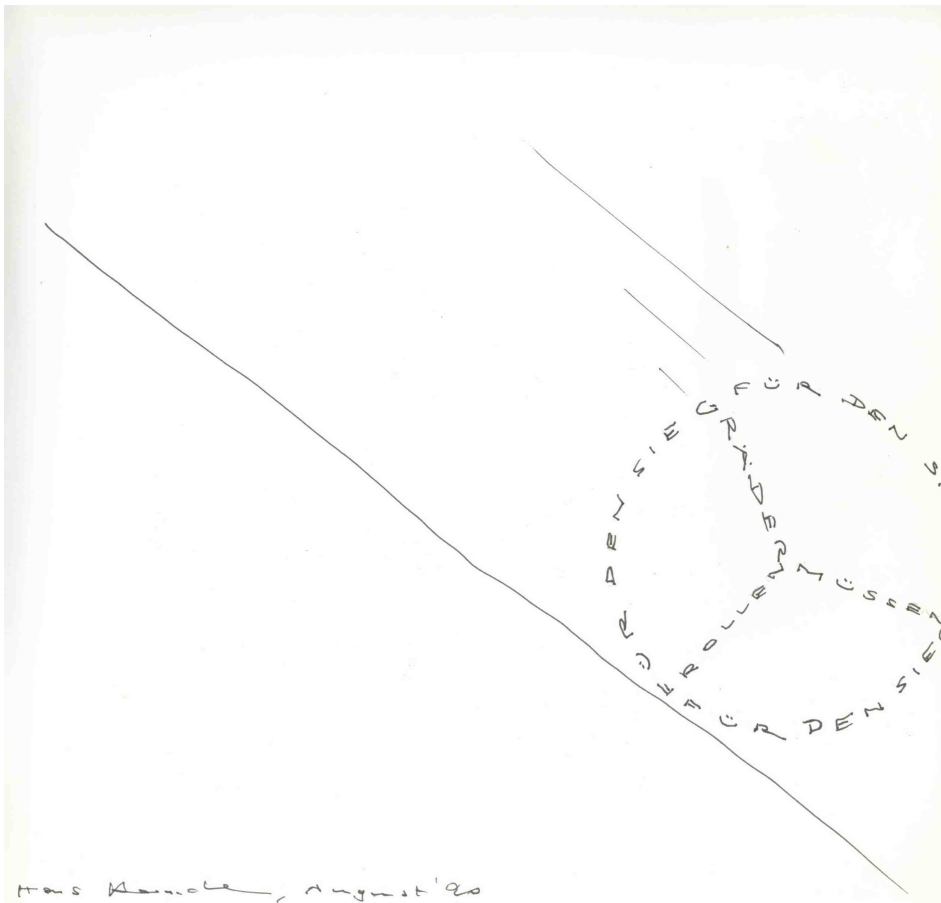


Figure 60. Räder müssen rollen für den Sieg [Wheels Must Roll For the Victory], 1990



Figure 61. *Die Fahne Hoch!* [Raise the Flag!], 1991



Figure 62. *Die Fahne Hoch!* [Raise the Flag!] (detail)

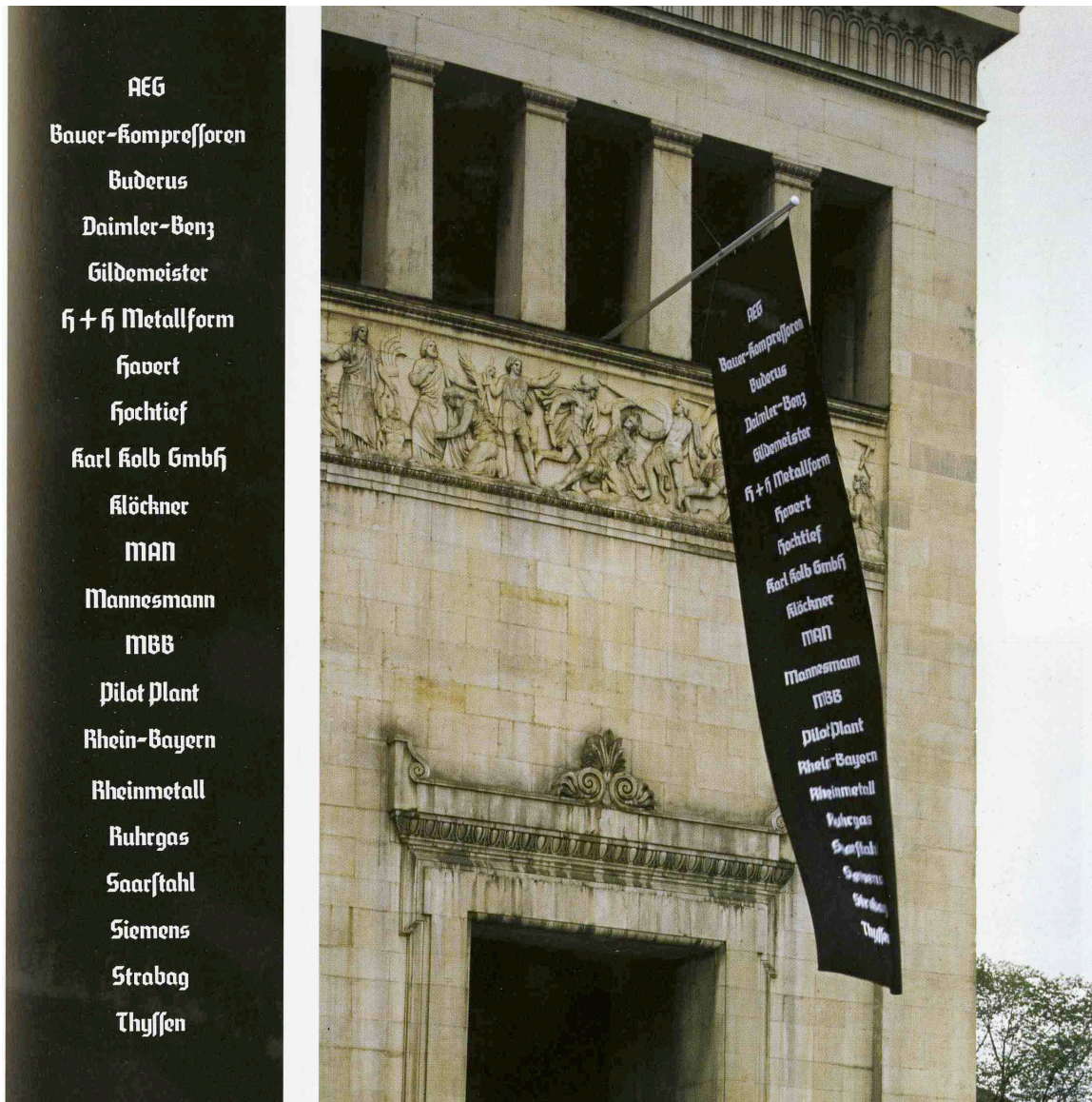


Figure 63. *Die Fahne Hoch!* [Raise the Flag!] (details)



Figure 64. *Helmsboro Country*, 1990



Figure 65. *Cowboy with Cigarette*, 1990

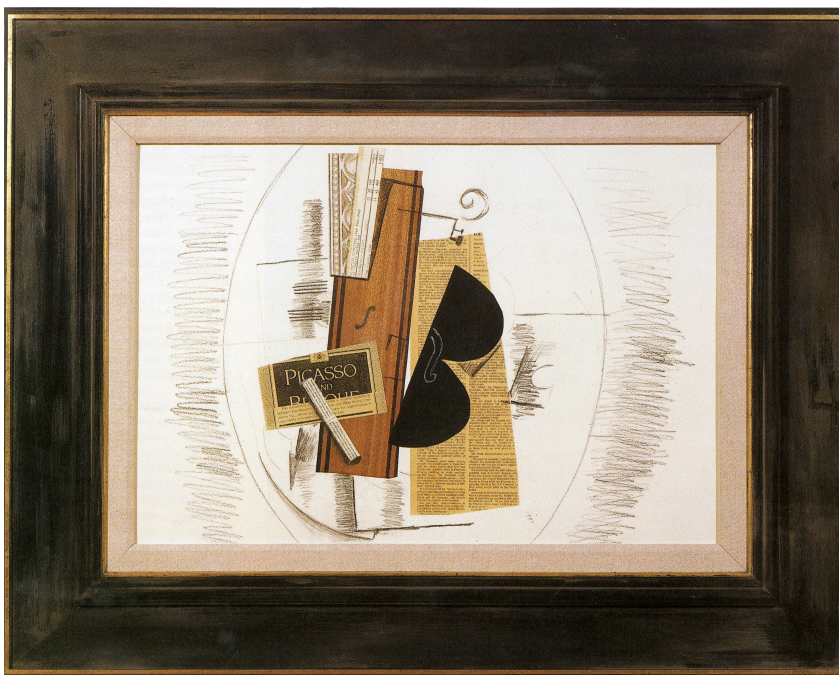


Figure 66. *Violin and Cigarette: "Picasso and Braque,"* 1990



Figure 67. *Sanitation*, 2000

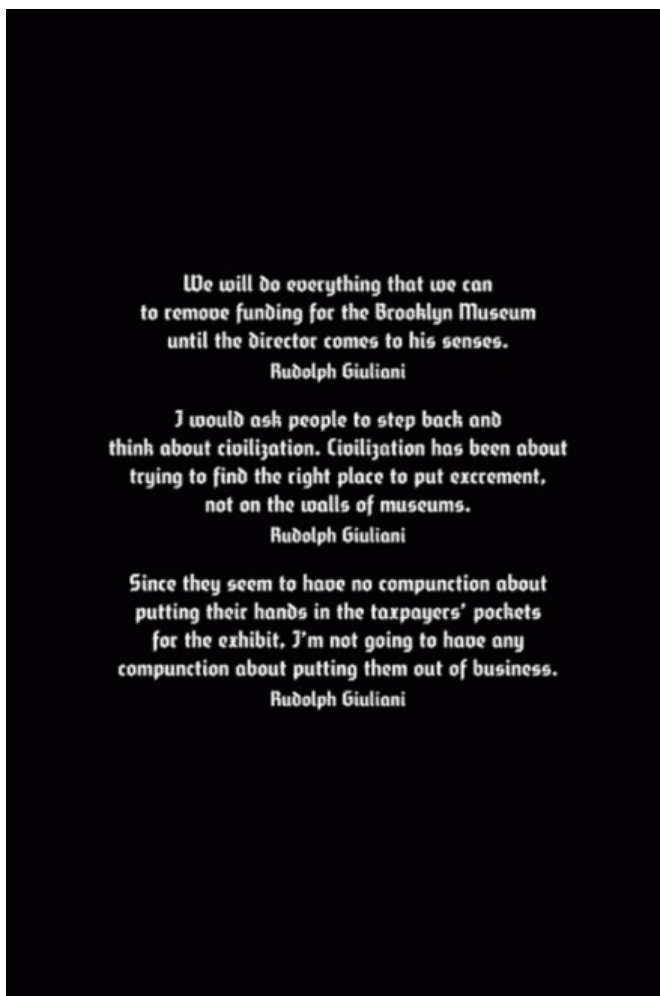


Figure 68. *Sanitation*, 2000 (detail)



Figure 69. *Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers* [Oil Painting: Homage to Marcel Broodthaers], 1982

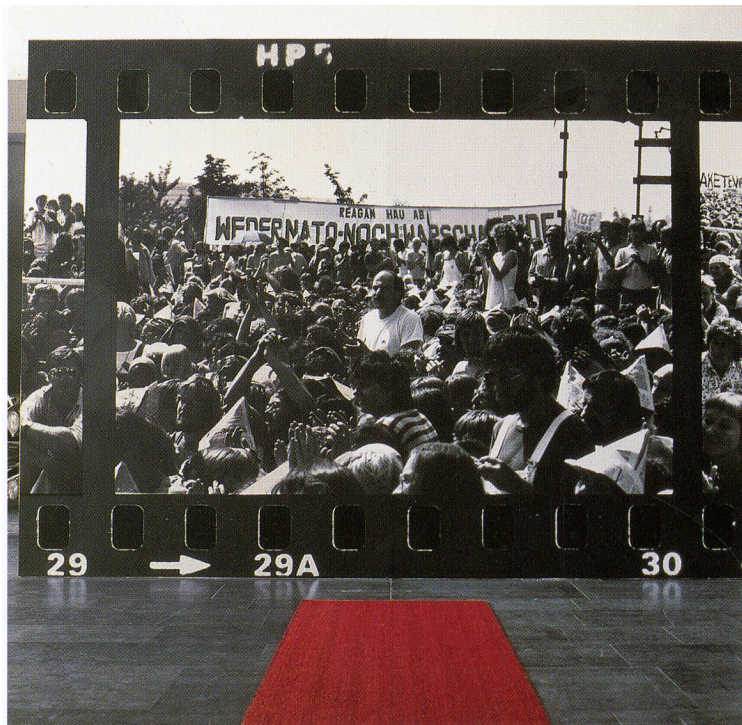


Figure 70. *Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers* [Oil Painting: Homage to Marcel Broodthaers], 1982

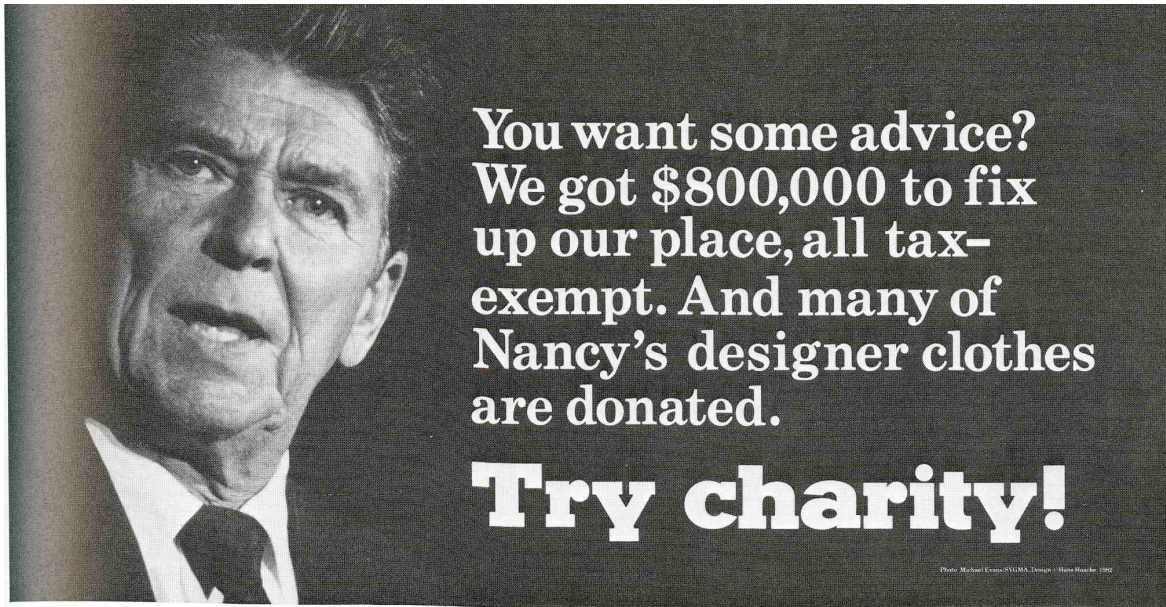


Figure 71. *The Safety Net*, 1982



Figure 72. *Hippokratie*, 1987



Figure 73. Standort [Site] Merry-go-round, 1997

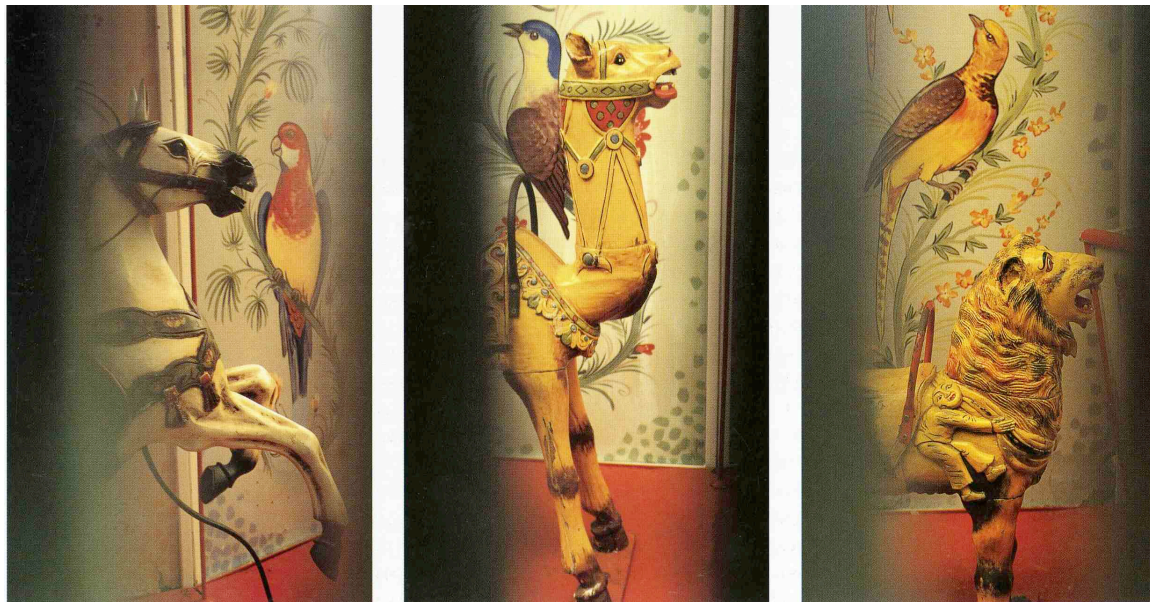


Figure 74. Standort [Site] Merry-go-round, 1997 (interior)



Figure 75. *Cast Concrete*, 1997



Figure 76. *Der Bevölkerung* (TO THE POPULATION), 2000



Figure 77. Reichstag Building, Berlin



Figure 78. "Wir waren das Volk," Alexanderplatz, Berlin, 1999

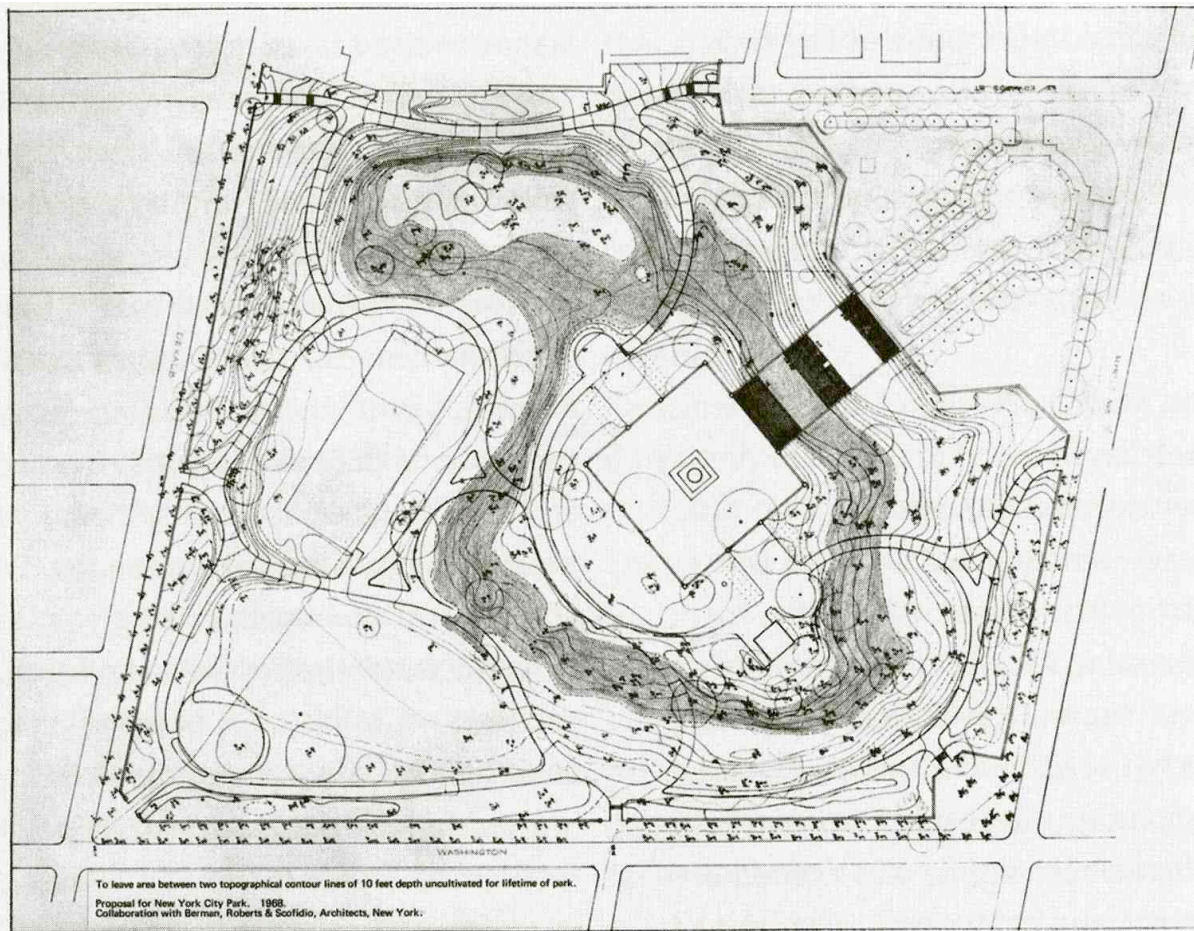


Figure 79. *Topographic Contour Project, Proposal for Fort Greene Park Brooklyn, 1968*



Figure 80. *Wir (Alle) sind das Volk* [We (All) Are the People], proposed 2003



Figure 81. *Denkzeichen Rosa Luxemburg*, 2006

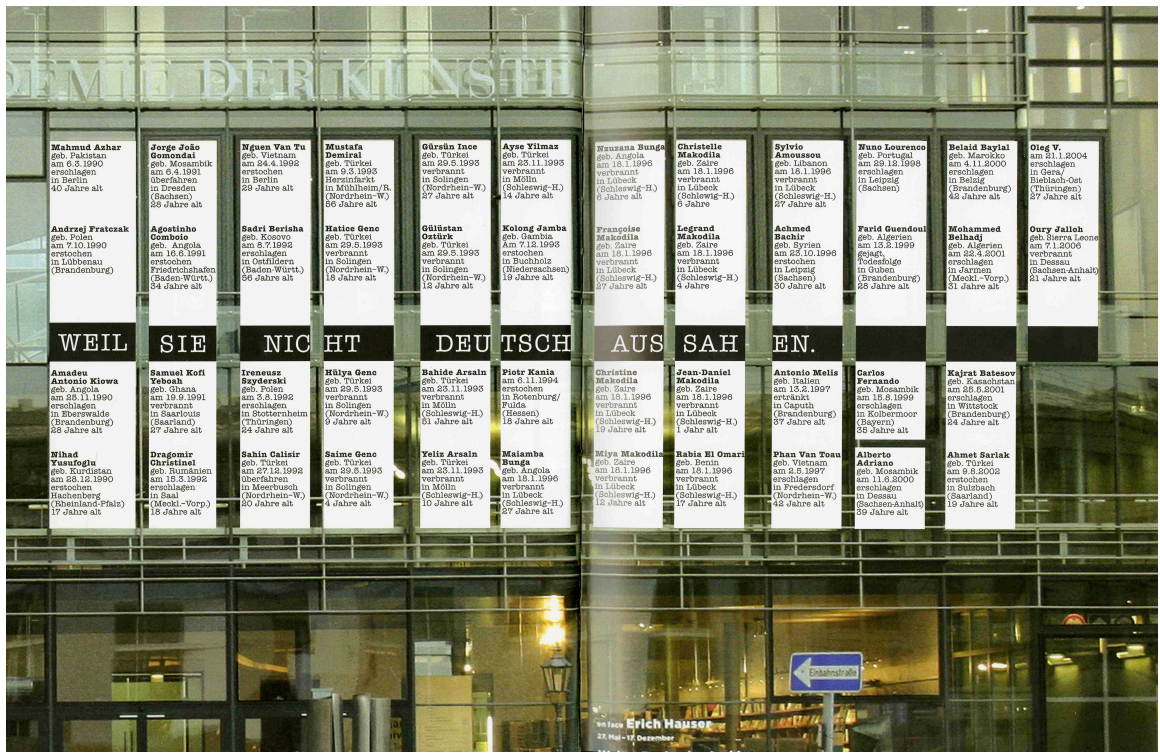


Figure 82. *Kein schöner Land [No Country More Beautiful]*, 2006



Figure 83. "Exchange Doll," 1916-22

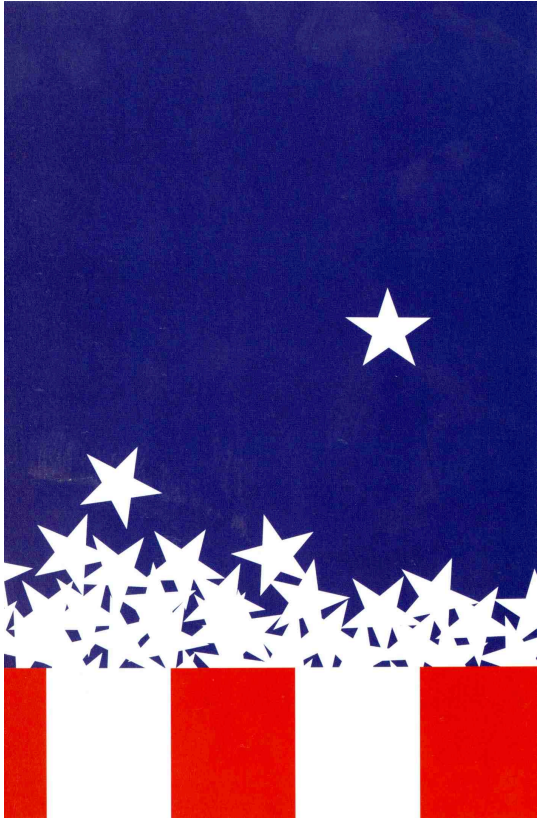


Figure 84. *Stuff Happens*, 2003



Figure 85. *Star Gazing*, 2004



Figure 86. *State of the Union*, 2005

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