HANS HAACKE: AN INVESTIGATION OF FOUR SITE-SPECIFIC WORKS THAT INCORPORATE PAINTING AS A MEANS OF REVEALING INTERRELATED CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN SOCIETY, 1982-1984

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Suzanne M. Weaver, B.S.
Denton, Texas
August, 1992

HANS HAACKE: AN INVESTIGATION OF FOUR SITE-SPECIFIC WORKS THAT INCORPORATE PAINTING AS A MEANS OF REVEALING INTERRELATED CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN SOCIETY, 1982-1984

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Suzanne M. Weaver, B.S.
Denton, Texas
August, 1992

SP

Weaver, Suzanne M., Hans Haacke: An Investigation of Four Site-Specific Works that Incorporate Painting as a Means of Revealing Interrelated Cultural, Economic, and Political Systems in Society, 1982-1984. Master of Arts (Art History), August, 1992, 186 pp, 22 illustrations, bibliography, 171 titles.

Four site-specific works produced between 1982 and 1984 in which Hans Haacke utilized the traditional medium of oil on canvas were examined in conjunction with an overview of the underlying and interrelated principles and concepts that have guided his approach to art from 1958-1988.

For three decades, the strength and direction of Haacke's work was based on his continuous application of theory to the production of art; practice and theory have related dialectically. Whether investigating physical and biological systems, provenances, or corporate patrons, Haacke has revealed how context and the viewer define and disseminate a work of art.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For nearly three decades, Hans Haacke, a German artist living and teaching in New York since the mid-1960s, has been investigating the framework that guides the viewer's interpretation and experience of a work of art. In the tradition of Marcel Duchamp and other Dadaists, Haacke has used machine-produced or technical materials (assisted ready-mades) to expose underlying dynamic and dialectical social, political, and economic forces in society that define and disseminate a work of art. Both Duchamp and Haacke appropriated everyday objects to demystify the art process and to reveal how the viewer collaborates in the creative act. This thesis addresses four works produced by Haacke in the 1980s that raise issues directly related to these questions even though they appear to use a traditional media--oil on canvas. These four works that incorporated painting--Oil Painting-Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, 1982, Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom, 1983, Taking Stock (unfinished), 1983/84, and Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade, 1984--are the focus of this thesis.

Although strong similarities can be drawn between Haacke's works that focus on specific social and political

conditions in contemporary society and other artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries--Francisco Goya, Honoré Daumier, John Heartfield, George Grosz, and Otto Dix, for example-- this thesis will not attempt to fit his work into an art historical category. Likewise, it will not attempt to apply post-modernist critical theory to Haacke's work.

Although Haacke's artistic strategies such as appropriation, parody, site-specificity, and demystification are often used to describe postmodern artists, the purpose of this thesis is not to decide whether he is a postmodernist. When asked if he was a postmodern artist at a lecture at the University of Texas, Austin, September 29, 1988, Haacke stated "I don't know...that is a provisional definition, somewhat sociological one by a certain group...but nothing in the work can substantiate it."[1] Rather, this thesis examines the layers of references in the four works of the 1980s against the background of his earlier work.

In the 1960s, Haacke focused on "the production of systems, the interference with, and the exposure of existing physical, biological, and social systems."[2] Through investigating these systems, he was able to reveal those underlying and motivating structures that "instigate real change"[3] and transformation in all aspects of life. In other words, through this exploration of existing systems,

Haacke "rendered 'visible' what was structurally 'invisible.'"[4]

Haacke's approach to art as an investigation of existing systems and their underlying structures could be called a structuralist approach to art. Structuralists, who have directly or indirectly influenced Haacke such as Karl Marx, Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Jack Burnham,[5] have in common

> the conviction that surface events and phenomena are to be explained by structures, data, and phenomena below the surface. The explicit and obvious is to be explained by and is determined--in some sense of the term--by what is implicit and not obvious. The attempt to uncover deep structures, unconscious motivations, and underlying causes which account for human actions at a more basic and profound level than do individual conscious decisions, and which shape influence, and structure these decisions.[6]

Applying the principles of the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy in his General Systems Theory,[7] Haacke developed a working definition of a system as:

> a grouping of elements subject to a common plan and purpose. These elements or components interact so as to arrive at a joint goal...I believe the term system should be reserved for sculptures in which a transfer of energy, material, or information occurs...I use the work 'systems' exclusively for things that are not systems in terms of perception, but are physical, biological, or social entities which, I believe, are more real than perceptual titillation.[8]

Before 1969/70, Haacke revealed the "continual flux and transformation"[9] of two types of interrelated and interactive systems: "1) Physical or inorganic systems: processes based on heat and cold (condensation chambers,

freezing and evaporation systems) and processes involving physical forces (wave motions and the flow of wind, rain, and mist); and, 2) Biological or organic systems: processes involving plant and animal growth (hatching of chickens, growth of grass under specific conditions, and interaction between organisms)."[10]

Then, at the end of the 1960s, parallel with the general social climate of increasing disillusionment with government and institutional authority of any kind, Haacke began investigating interactive social systems, or "interactions between human organisms"--processes involving information and communication (newspaper wire services, election returns, statistical analyses of controlled events).[11] Haacke has described these social systems as real-time systems because they "operated in a literal sense at the time of the exhibition and in a place that can be geographically and/or socially determined."[12] For Haacke, real-time systems deal with actual time and replace the "illusionary, mystical time proposed by painting."[13]

Long before the 1989 controversy surrounding NEA funding of works of art which may seem offensive, indecent, and immoral, and the cancellation of Robert Mapplethorpe's retrospective at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., Haacke's method of revealing the cultural and ideological constraints continuously at work in the art world led to the censorship of his work in 1971. Thomas Messer, then

Director of the Guggenheim, rejected two works scheduled for a one-person exhibition at that institution. These pieces documented, from material obtained from public records, the property holdings and investment activities of two separate real estate groups in New York. The first piece, Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social Systems, as of May 1, 1971, provided a map of Manhattan with designated locations and photographs of the property with their appraised values owned by the partnership; the second piece, Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971, provided a map of the Lower East Side and Harlem, 142 photographs of building facades and empty lots with their data, which included their mortgages, of the property held by Shapolsky, who is "one of New York's most notorious rent gougers and one of a dozen slumlords hiding behind the obscurity of corporate names."[14] Regarding the cancellation of Haacke's exhibition, Messer wrote in a letter to Haacke on March 19, 1971:

> 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 suing political means to achieve political ends.[15]

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Haacke continued his investigation of interrelated and transforming social, economic, and political forces by researching multinational organizations who are patrons of the art. In his essay "Institutions Trust Institutions," published in Haacke's catalogue accompanying his exhibition at The New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York in 1986/87, Brian Wallis stated:

> In 1967 American corporations spent only about $22 million on the arts; today, that figure tops $600 million and by the end of 1987, the figure will be close to $1 billion annually.[16] To the extent that this increase in corporate support has coincided with the expansion of multinational or global corporations, it should be noted that a large proportion of this sponsorship has come from just a handful of multinationalists: IBM, Exxon, Philip Morris, Mobil, and a few others.[17]

In two works of art produced a decade apart, On Social Grease, 1975 and MetroMobilitan, 1985, Haacke appropriated the commercial advertising materials and techniques, the slick and impersonal look and feel of the corporate sector, to reveal how and why business and art are connected. With the six large photo-engraved magnesium plaques mounted on aluminum that comprise On Social Grease, Haacke quoted "pronouncements on the arts by business and political leaders in a helvetica, bold typeface, the type many banks use when printing their annual reports."[18] On one of the plaques was a quote made by David Rockefeller, vice-president of the Museum of Modern Art, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank Corporation, 1969-81, and co-founder and

director of the Business Committee for the Arts, a national, nonprofit organization to promote involvement of business leaders in the arts.[19] As quoted by Haacke, Rockefeller summarized how art generally serves business and yields high dividends:

> From an economic standpoint, such involvement in the arts can mean direct and tangible benefits. It can provide a company with extensive publicity and advertising, a brighter public reputation, and an improved corporate image. It can build better customer relations, a readier acceptance of company products, and superior appraisal of their quality. Promotion of the arts can improve the morale of employees and help attract qualified personnel.[20]

With MetroMobilitan, Haacke addressed the relationship of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Mobil Corporation; he combined signs and symbols, the language of the art world and the business world to expose their connections, linking art to economics and politics.[21] In this installation, (Fig. 4) Haacke presented a scaled down entrance of the Metropolitan Museum with two large hanging Mobil-blue "Thomas Hoving banners"[22] on each side a banner that advertises the exhibition "Treasures of Ancient Nigeria;" behind the banners is a black-and-white photomural depicting the funeral procession for black victims shot by the South African police at Crossroads, near Cape Town, on March 16, 1985."[23] On a plaque above the banners is an excerpt from the a leaflet published by the Metropolitan Museum under the title "The Business Behind Art Knows the

Art of Good Business--Your Company and the Metropolitan Museum of Art":[24]

> Many public relations opportunities are available through the sponsorship of programs, special exhibitions and services. These can often provide a creative and cost effective answer to a specific marketing objective, particularly where international, governmental or consumer relations may be a fundamental concern.[25]

Haacke continued to address the connection of art, economics, and politics with the use of machine produced or technical materials not associated with traditional means even when he included oil paintings in his art in the 1980s. The term site-specific is particularly appropriate to Haacke because his works "relate not only aesthetically to the space in which they are shown, but also, and above all, to the "cultural and political context of the exhibition site."[26]

But why did Haacke incorporate painting? He had not used the medium for over twenty years; since art school and right after, in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[27] In fact, as in other works in the 1980s, Haacke clearly demonstrated his concern for the physical, cultural, and political context with these four site-specific works that are the focus of this thesis. By investigating these works in which Haacke incorporated painting in the 1980s, the continuity of this issue of context as well as other concerns will be explored.

Hans Haacke is one of only a few contemporary artists who have been able to dissolve the barriers between art and society. Haacke believes that art, in many ways, has become "ghettoized, socially and political irrelevant phenomenon."[28] An examination of Haacke's work not only reveals his ability to connect art and society, it also raises ethical and moral questions surrounding the production, interpretation, and dissemination of works of art in society. For Haacke, the making of art is not only a means to comment on cultural and socio-political issues, it is a means to understand life itself:

> Because art is part of those elements that in one way or another create values, shape beliefs, form goals...have an effect on the understanding of oneself and one's role in the social environment; as the press does, as the priest does, as the judge does, the movie industry and so forth. All these agents have an effect on how we see ourselves in the world.[29]

Statement of the Problem

In order to bring new insights to Haacke's artistic process, this thesis will investigate his production of four site-specific works that utilize painting as a means of commenting on the cultural, economic, and political aspects of society. These four works are: Oil Painting-Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, 1982; Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom, 1983; Taking Stock (unfinished), 1983/84; and, Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade, 1984.

Methodology

Primary data was accumulated by: 1) Conducting a phone interview with Haacke, 30 October 1988; 2) Conducting an interview with Haacke, New York City, 14 October 1989; 3) attending a lecture given by Hans Haacke and meeting him at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 29 September 1988; 4) Conducting an interview with John Weber, John Weber Gallery, New York City, 13 October 1989; 5) Viewing a ten-year survey of Haacke's works at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne, Galeries contemporaines, Paris, 5 May 1989; 5) Viewing a comprehensive exhibition of works (1964-1976) by Marcel Broodthaers at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 17 August 1989.

Secondary data was accumulated by: 1) corresponding with the Janice Seline, Acting Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 2) reviewing correspondence, curatorial statements, related newspaper articles on the Canadian aluminum company Alcan, and reviews regarding the exhibition and subsequent purchase by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa of Haacke's two works: Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom, 1983 and Voici Alcan, 1983; 2) reviewing exhibition catalogues; 3) reviewing published interviews with Haacke and published essays and statements by Haacke; 4) evaluating published criticism of Haacke's work; 5) reviewing the New York Public

Library Artist's File at the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas; and) reviewing records and documentation in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Organization of the Thesis

As previously stated, the purpose of this thesis is not to apply a method or theory to Haacke's work, but to investigate four site-specific installations that utilize painting to comment on the cultural and political aspects of society. The results from this investigation are twofold: 1) to determine the aesthetic, philosophical, and political issues or concerns that have motivated and guided Haacke's artistic development, and 2) to determine whether there has been a change or break in these concerns. The thesis is divided into seven chapters: Chapter I includes a brief introduction, statement of the problem, methodology, organization of thesis, and review of literature; Chapter II provides an overview of Haacke's artistic development; Chapter III through Chapter VI focus on one of the four works of art; and Chapter VII is a summary. Because each of the four works is site-specific and relates to the cultural, social, and political context in which it is exhibited, a description of the historical background and social context is included in each chapter. The physical characteristics, historical background, and social context of each work are not always divided into distinctive sections in each chapter

because, for Haacke, these aspects are interrelated elements, contributing to the conception and process; in other words, for Haacke, the cultural and socio-political context, like oil on canvas, is a media:

> By context, I mean the physical characteristics and the social/symbolic meaning of the exhibition site as well as the general historical and cultural parameters of the moment...For a good number of years I have produced works mostly for particular occasions. The context in which a work is exhibited for first time is a material for me like canvas and paint.[30]

Finally, comments and responses to the work made by Haacke and various critics are directly quoted throughout each chapter because of the complex, multilayered meanings of his work. Furthermore, the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the person who is responding or commenting on the work become part of the work. Criticism of Haacke's work not only adds to the understanding of his work, but also reveals the framework in which the viewer functions when defining the works and determining their effect.

Review of Literature

There are no traditional art-historical monographs or catalogue raisonnés on the work of Haacke. But, there are a few excellent alternatives. Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works, 1970-1975 offers an analysis of Haacke's artistic development in terms of his exploration of physical, biological, and social systems. Hans Haacke: Volume I (The Museum of Modern Art, Oxford and the Stedlijk Van

Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, 1978/79) is a survey of his work of the 1970s and was conceived when the two museums who published the catalogue held exhibitions of his work in 1978/79. Hans Haacke: Volume II accompanied an exhibition of work created between 1978 and 1984 at the Tate Gallery in 1984;[31] it includes an essay, "Working Conditions," by Haacke and interviews with Haacke by Walter Grasskamp and Tony Brown. The third and most comprehensive survey of Haacke's work (1969-1986) is the catalogue Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, which accompanied a one-person exhibition at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York in 1986/87; it includes essays by Brian Wallis, Leo Steinberg, Rosalyn Deutsche, Frederic Jameson, and Haacke. Regarding the inclusion of a cross-section of cultural and social as well as art critics, Marcia Tucker, Director of the New Museum of Contemporary Art, wrote in the foreword:

> The catalogue essays make clear that art has never been autonomous or separate from society at large. Indeed, this critical disavowal of 'the autonomy of art' (Jameson) and of 'modernist assumptions about the museum's status as a neutral arena' (Deutsche) are central to any debate today about the value of art and the institutions that house it; they suggest that there is an effective means by which art can reach beyond aesthetics and to a wider social context.[32]

With his solo exhibition at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf, Germany and the inclusion of one of his Condensation Cubes in the group exhibition "nul" at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in 1965,[33] reviews and critical writings on his work began appearing in national

and international art magazines and journals. Although there are several reviews and critical writings on Haacke's early kinetic and environmental systems, Bitite Vinklers's essay in Art International (1969), which includes nineteen illustrations, is one the most comprehensive articles on Haacke's central concepts and underlying principles that motivated his exploration of meteorological and biological systems. Some critics such as Jonathan Benthall[34] and George Jappe[35] connect and differentiate the work of Haacke from Group Zero and Kinetic artists. In essays published in various art journals, parallels between Haacke's use of organic and inorganic materials and Duchamp's ready-mades have been explored by Rosetta Brooks,[36] Jack Burnham,[37] and Benjamin Buchloh.[38]

Reviews and critical writings on the work of Haacke increased in the mid-eighties because of his the exhibitions at The Tate Gallery in 1984 and The New Museum in 1986/87 and because strategies in art criticism and theory changed in the 1980s. In the last two decades, art critics have been influenced by the use of Structuralism, Post-Structuralism or Deconstruction in literary criticism. One survey of contemporary critical discourse, Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation, illustrates the ideas, concepts, and theories influencing and changing art criticism in the 1980s. In the foreword, Marcia Tucker stated:

> The critical climate of the 1980s, as represented in this anthology, is substantially different from that of the previous two decades...There is an increasing implementation of interdisciplinary thought and study; work in other fields--philosophy, linguistics, anthropology, applied and behavorial sciences...serves as a point of reference, a model, or becomes itself incorporated into the fabric of critical dialogue.[39]

Along with Post-Modern, Post-structural or Deconstruction theory, some art critics have tried with varying degrees of success to apply Marxist theory of dialectical social and economic history to all art forms. Haacke's investigation of the interrelatedness of cultural, economic, and socio-political forces, and his ability to demystify art, to expose powerful systems that define and use art, have made his work a popular subject with Marxist critics.

In fact, Haacke's work is the primary focus in an issue of October (1984). One chapter, Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Bridage, is an essay by Haacke on the cultural, social, and political context of this site-specific installation. In the same issue of October, the interview with Haacke by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss addressed the context of several other works, including the other three site-specific works that incorporated painting in the 1980s. The October essays and interview, though, are more easily understood when the reader has some background or recognition of terminology used in a Marxist approach to art history and theory.

There are other interviews that are invaluable when investigating those concepts and principles that have motivated Haacke's artistic direction for the last three decades. The most insightful interviews with Haacke are by Margaret Sheffield in Studio International (March/April 1976) and reprinted in Hans Haacke: Volume I, (Oxford: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978), Tony Brown in Parachute and reprinted in Hans Haacke: Volume II, Works 1978-1983 (London: The Tate Gallery, 1984), Catherine Lord in Cultures of Contention, and Jeanne Siegel in Arts Magazine, May 1972 and Arts, April 1984; the last interview includes an in-depth discussion by Haacke on the context and iconography of Taking Stock (unfinished). These interviews provide the reader not only with an better understanding of Haacke's creative process, but also they give the reader a greater appreciation of his intelligence, profundity, and subtle, but sharp wit.

In summary, each of the four works, which are the subject of this thesis, have been examined or mentioned in interviews and catalogues; furthermore, Haacke has provided an in-depth description of the context, most particularly the historical and political aspect, of each of these site-specific works in Unfinished Business. But, there is not a publication devoted explicitly to the four works that incorporated painting in the 1980s. This thesis will place

the four works in the context of an overview of Haacke's artistic direction and motivating concepts.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF HAACKE'S ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT, 1958-1988

In determining that Haacke's production of four paintings in the 1980s represented any kind of break in his concern with the physical, cultural, and political context of his earlier works, one must determine consistent underlying principles and concepts that have motivated and guided his overall approach to art. Although there have been the elements of wit and irony in his work over the years, his work has always shown an unwavering commitment to raising serious questions surrounding the production, exhibition, and interpretation of a work of art. From an early point in his artistic career, Haacke has approached art as a way to investigate profound political, philosophical, and moral issues. Art, for Haacke, has not only been the means to investigate issues, it has been the means to understand life itself:

> With his grandfather, a Sunday painter, as a role model, Haacke was further inspired by a 'hard-working' art teacher in high school, 'who made me understand that art didn't just copy the world, but that ideological and philosophical ideas went into making of it.[1]

Haacke was born in Cologne, Germany in 1936 and spent his childhood there and in a suburb of the city of Bonn. His family moved to Bonn when his father, a follower of

Anthroposophy, a "synthesis of mystical beliefs banned by the Nazis," lost his job with the City of Cologne because he refused to join the Nazi Party."[2] According to Jack Burnham in his essay in Framing and Being Framed,

> survival under such circumstances meant that Haacke was taught from his earliest years to be completely discreet about his family's views among his school friends and with adults. This has engendered in Haacke a certain natural secretiveness and anonymity. Haacke still refuses either to sign his art works or to allow photographs to be taken of him.[3]

Even though Haacke has always distanced himself from the tradition of the hand of the artist in a signature style and any new work to be included in an upcoming exhibition cannot be easily predicted (he will not discuss what he is currently working on), there is a basic underlying consistency in his artistic direction. The strength and direction of his work has been based on his continuous application of theory to the production of art; practice and theory relate dialectically. According to Haacke, "Practice and theory alternated in determining the course, influencing each other respectively."[4]

Although Haacke has been associated with the most intellectual, innovative, and provocative groups in the last three decades, he is neither trendy nor easy to categorize. Furthermore, although he has addressed topical socio-political situations in his work since the early 1970s, he does not want his work to be called "political art," and he stated, "Every time I hear it, I cringe. The term reduces

the works...to a crude, one-dimensional reading. Worse, however, it implies that works which are not called 'political' have no ideological and therefore no political implications."[5] Regarding the various labels that have been attached to his work, Haacke stated:

> I don't consider myself a naturalist, nor for that matter a conceptualist, 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.[6]

Haacke's general approach to art is similar to and greatly influenced by the work and writings of Bertolt Brecht and Marcel Duchamp, two artists who dissolved the barriers between the esoteric world of art and everyday life in this century. Similar to Brecht, who "sought to banish trance, illusion, magical effects, and orgies of emotion" in the theater,[7] Haacke wanted to get away from the mystical, illusionary world proposed by painting;[8] and, similar to Duchamp who "wanted to get away from the physical aspect of painting...to recreate ideas in paintings...to put painting once again at the service of the mind,"[9] Haacke has approached art as an investigative, intellectual, and interdisciplinary process, a means to understand and express life. For all three artists, the art and life are not separate entities. When reflecting on his strategy for making art, Haacke has often quoted Bertolt Brecht's 1934 essay "Five Difficulties in Writing the Truth":

> They are the need for the courage to write the truth, although it is being suppressed; the intelligence to recognize it, although it is being covered up; the judgement to chose those in whose hands it becomes effective; the cunning to spread it among them.[10]

Understanding Haacke's artistic development depends on examining underlying principles that motivated him to leave painting to become a sculptor in the early 1960s, and then, twenty years later, return to painting in the four works that are the subject of this study. These underlying and guiding principles are interrelated; "each one more or less affected by all the others."[11]

From the beginning of Haacke's artistic development, the most important concept and the ideological foundation for his approach has been the idea of change. According to Haacke, "all the way down there's absolutely nothing static...nothing that does not change, or instigate real change."[12] He has attempted from the beginning to "isolate and articulate natural phenomenon"[13] that is continuously connected, interactive, and changing.

Several key interrelated ideas in addition to change such as the effects of the environment and viewer participation and context in defining a work of art not only directed Haacke's progress from physical and biological systems to social systems at the end of the 1960s, they also guided him from working two-dimensionally to working three-dimensionally in the early 1960s. A statement made by Haacke and printed in the catalogue accompanying the "nul"

exhibition in 1962 at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam encompasses poetically these motivating ideas:

> ...make something, which experiences, reacts to its environment, changes, is nonstable...make something indeterminate, which always looks different, the shape of which cannot be predicted precisely...make something, which cannot 'perform' without the assistance of its environment...make something, which reacts to light and temperature changes, its 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 it...make something, which lives in time and makes the 'spectator' experience time...articulate something natural...[14]

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Haacke tried to articulate the flux and transformation that occurs in nature in paintings. For instance,

> ...around 1958/59, [paintings] were reminiscent of abstract expressionist and tachist modes. They exhibited traces of movement and imitate the look of withering tissue, old walls, and the effects of long time exposure of weathering...a convincing record of past movement...The weathering effects were mere deception of the viewer. Something was made to look older than it actually was.[15]

The paintings that followed around 1960 were "simple compositions in one main color, with identical elements, such as dots, dispersed either in a field or in a symmetrical arrangement; these functioned optically and appeared to vibrate."[16] According to Haacke, these paintings were unsatisfactory because the motion, or vibrations, were caused by trickery; they were optical illusions.[17]

After receiving a Master of Fine Arts degree from the Staatlische Hochschule fur Bildende Kunst, Kassel in 1960, Haacke studied printmaking for a year at Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17 in Paris. Similar to his paintings that were simple compositions, his prints during this time were "inkless intaglios with regular patterns of dots, relying on the angle of light and viewer's position to become visible."[18] Furthermore, like his paintings, his prints also produced, for Haacke, unsatisfactory and "illusionary motion."[19] But, with his paintings and prints during this time, the motivating idea of viewer participation in the artistic process becomes apparent.

It was during his year (1960/61) in Paris that Haacke's interest in light and movement brought him into association with Le groupe de recherche d'art visuel (GRAV), a group founded by the Argentinian Julio Le Parc.[20] In his article "Hans Haacke and The Aesthetics of Dependency Theory," David Craven summarized GRAV's principles: "the cult of the personality" around artists, "the dependency of art on the marketplace," and "all mystification" of artwork.[21]

> Good intentions aside, GRAV generally went from spectator engagement to spectacles of the entertainment in the increasingly grass, mass-cultural terms of the Op Art it spawned in the mid-1960s. As an expression of the 'society of the spectacle,' Op Art featured an emphasis on illusionistic, visual movement, which required the motionlessness of the spectator, thus further consolidating viewer passivity in contradistinction to GRAV's original aims.[22]

In 1961/62 Haacke attended the Tyler School of Art in Philadelphia on a Fulbright Fellowship. It was during this time he began using aluminum foil, stainless steel, and plastics, all reflective media:

> the room in which these reflecting objects (they are not really paintings any more) were displayed became part of them simply by being reflecting in them. In fact, the objects could not be seen isolated at all...Actual, not illusionistic, changes were taking place, changes that could be recorded by a camera...The viewer, being part of the surroundings, participated in this dialogue.[23]

In a brief time, these flat panels of reflecting materials "became deep reliefs, protruding up to one foot into the room, until they finally asserted themselves as free standing sculptures.[24] Frustrated with these static objects that only reflected outside movement, Haacke replaced reflective materials with materials that actually moved; he replaced aluminum foil, stainless steel, and acrylic plastic with water in motion.[25] Haacke stated, "I finally had left illusions and simulations of motion, artificiality, and make believe."[26]

It was during this time in the United States that Haacke began to explore more actively real movement and viewer participation. Based on the principle of the hour-glass, he made a series of dripper boxes in which the viewer caused water to flow through the holes of an interior grid by inverting the box.[27] According to Haacke,

> other containers were designed on the principle of the water-level, letting air-bubbles wander back and forth,

> break up and reunite. Or, I had air injected on the bottom or water filled containers and rise to the surface like the bubbles of aerated aquariums. Again, others, suspended from he ceiling and swinging in pendulum fashion, made enclosed water perform wave configurations.[28]

From these "dripper boxes" Haacke began to experiment with "water in motion, by developing dripping water systems and condensation boxes."[29] Basically, Haacke was exploring real changes in physical systems that could be observed and recorded. In two condensation boxes, Rain Tower, 1963, and Condensation Cube, 1965, (Fig. 2) Haacke articulated the effects of the light and temperature and subsequent change and movement; through the process of evaporation and condensation, droplets of water collected and dripped down the sides of these enclosed acrylic boxes. In this way, he investigated the change in state between gas and liquid. He investigated the change of liquid to solid with his Ice Stick, 1964 and Spray of Ithaca Falls: Freezing and melting on a rope, February 8-10, 1969. In the former work, a metal rod was kept cold by a refrigerated device at the base and the water in the air became frozen, accummulating on the stick; in the latter work, a rope was placed near falling water in cold weather, the spray from the fall collected and melted on the rope.

With only a limited knowledge of physics, Haacke made numerous mistakes before arriving at satisfactory results.[30] These investigations of the dynamics of liquids did lead him

to experiments into the principles of aerodynamics. Parallel to Haacke leaving the static, reflective panels for actual water in motion, the medium of liquid was soon replaced by the medium of air. Haacke stated,

> Early during my hydrodynamic experiments, I realized that the flow of gasses is not unlike liquid flows; in other words aerodynamics and hydrodynamics are related. This revived old dreams of making things light, airy, take off the ground, and fly. It seemed only consequent to move from visually light-weight, transparent, but solid material, to liquid and to finally arrive at air. I then proceeded on a double track with the manipulation of liquid as well as air motion.[31]

The movement of air was articulated by the use of floating spheres and sails. For example, a balloon In Floating Sphere, 1964-1966 and chiffon in Sail, 1965-1967, are affected by the movement of the air; the former had a stationary column of air, and the latter had changing air currents from an oscillating fan. According to Haacke these experiments into principles of aerodynamics "proved to be an extremely inaccessible field for laymen....The difficulties were great in harnessing the movement of air and predict its effect on light-weight bodies and fabrics, so as to arrive at aerodynamically viable designs."[32]

Haacke's "moving sculptures" brought him into association with Kinetic artists--both in the United States and Europe--and artists connected with Group Zero who originated in Düsseldorf, Germany. The difference between Haacke and other Kinetic artists, according to Jonathan

Benthall, was that Haacke "used the transformation processes inherent in nature, rather than motors and machinery."[33]

Group Zero was a loosely knit organization of artists who explored the possibilities of combining light events with happenings and performances. Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, and Gunter Uecker established the group in 1957 with a series of one-evening manifestations in Piene's Düsseldorf studio; they chose the title Zero to denote an empty space, a zone of silence before a new beginning.[34] According to Craven, although Group Zero was less militant than GRAV, they were "also concerned with visual instability, spectator involvement perceptually, and a sense of formal open-endedness."[35] They also "believed in the reification of light, shadow, repetition, and reflection."[36] In his essay "Kinetic Art in Germany," Georg Jappe noted the main difference between the work of Zero artists and Haacke:

> But, while Zero used artificial means to evoke and transpose nature, Haacke, concentrated on rendering visible the essence of nature...Haacke set out to show that natural movements in time effect the nervous system in a completely different way from mechanical movements, a distinction which corresponds to that between the contemplative and active lives.[37]

During the mid-1960s, as Haacke's overall "belief of the world as something that is dynamic, something that constantly changes," developed, his overall approach to art as "dynamic systems" also developed.[38] These early systems of Haacke are on-going processes, "natural in their fundamental reliance on natural laws, and environmental in

their interdependence," have been divided by Bitite Vinklers into two basic groups: "meteorological (the action of wind, water, snow and ice, gravity, and electricity); and, biological (plant and animal life)."[39] Basically, these meteorological and biological systems "cannot 'perform' without the assistance of its environment."[40] For example, Haacke's Condensation Box, 1965,[41] Grass Cube, 1967, and Grass Mound, 1969, depend on the cyclical effects of natural elements such as light and temperature; Floating Sphere, 1964-1966, Flight, 1967, Sail, 1965-67, and White Flow, 1967, man-made objects and materials (balloons, silk parachute) change through the use of man-made technical and mechanical means (fans) in the environment.42 In summary, these physical or biological systems can be catalyzed by natural means, a machine, a spectator, or another system.

The manifestations, or visual analogues of Haacke's ideas, such as Condensation Box or Grass Cube have been analyzed formally and associated with Minimalism. In his article "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Benjamin Buchloh pointed out "an esthetic semblance...and mutual interest and support" of Haacke's work of the mid-1960s with those of Minimalists artists such as Andre, Morris, and LeWitt, who "like Haacke were concerned with the revelation of process and structure rather than ideation and representation."[43] Haacke has always been interested in the work of these Minimalist artists and his acrylic boxes have

often been called Minimalistic. In fact, he made U.S. Isolation Box, Grenada, 1983 (Fig. 3) in part as a comment on the "determined aloofness" of Minimal art.[44] Haacke pointed out that the most important difference is that minimal work often denies change:

> They were interested in inertness whereas I was concerned with change...Things claim to be inert, static, immovably beyond time. But the status quo is an illusion, a dangerous illusion politically.[45]

Furthermore, according to Haacke, a work of art is not a fixed object; instead it is a "process, situation, or open system that communicates with its environment and does not fit a particular stylistic mode."[46] In Ursula Meyer's Conceptual Art, a reprint of "Statements" by Haacke in February of 1969 summarizes his attitude toward formalistic concepts in relationship to a systems approach to art.

> ...consider snow as part of a large meteorological systems determined by humidity, temperature, air pressure, velocity, and direction of winds as well as topographical characteristics of the earth. All these factors are interrelated and affect each other. Taking such an attitude would lead to working strategies that could expose the functioning and the consequences of these interdependent processes. For a formalist the resulting situations might appear as just another black-and-white drawing or three-dimensional composition to be judged according to standard rules of formal accomplishment. However, formal criteria bypass the systems concept and are therefore irrelevant.[47]

Near the end of the 1960s, Haacke became more interested in the effects of the environment on and actual change of organic instead of inorganic systems--growth and interaction of living organisms.[48] With Grass Mound, 1969,

Chickens Hatching, April 14, 1969, and Ten Turtles Set Free, July 20, 1970, Haacke was able to record the environmental effects and actual change of organic systems. The exact dates in the titles illustrate Haacke's belief in a work of art as an on-going process or system that is in flux and transformation. Changes, therefore, can be observed only at a particular point in time. Parallel to his physical systems in which he investigated changes in states of water--gas to liquid to solid--he investigated the changes in biological systems. He traced and documented growth of chickens by placing them into eight incubators and a sectioned brooder; in this way, the viewer could observe actual changes in these biological systems.

In 1969/70 Haacke shifted to social systems from animal and plant systems. This shift was logical in light of his concern with the effects of the environment and, like other people of his generation, he became politicized in the late 1960s.[49] John Weber, who has represented Haacke since 1972/73, when the Howard Wise Gallery closed, pointed out that Haacke's concern with social systems was not that different from his concerns with ecology; these environmental issues naturally led him to a global perspective.[50] Although Haacke began reading the political sections of newspapers in high school, he did not "see the need or the means to incorporate politics in his art."[51] Furthermore, even if Haacke has not reflected on his early

experiences in Germany in interviews, his sensitivity to the interaction of social and political forces in society must have begun much earlier, as a youth witnessing the destruction, both physically and morally, of Germany before and during World War II. Haacke was born three years after Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, and he was nine years of age when Hitler committed suicide in 1945.

In several interviews he has mentioned events and circumstances that led to his politicization and shift to social systems at the end of the 1960s. For Haacke, the most galvanizing events were the Vietnam War and race riots in the U.S. He was horrified with the assassination of Martin Luther King, and he wrote in a letter to Jack Burnham on April 10, 1968,

> Last week's murder of Dr. King came as a great shock...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...Not a single napalm bomb will not be dropped by all the shows of 'Angry Arts'...No cop will be kept from shooting a black by all the light-environments in the world...I am also asking myself, why the hell am I working in this field at all...I still have no answer, but I am no longer comfortable.[52]

Other events that motivated his shift related to his involvement in the art world. His activity in the Art Worker's Coalition in New York and incidents with art institutions, nationally as well as internationally, reinforced his direction toward addressing political issues

in his work. According to Haacke, the Art Worker's Coalition pushed for artists' rights, on the one hand, and at the same time attempted to remove barriers between the general public and the traditional museum audience, opening up museums to a less select and elite audience.[53] They did force museums to offer one free day for visitors.[54]

Other incidents with the political powers at work in the art world during this period were his involvement with the boycott of U.S. artists of the 10th Sao Paulo Bieñal in Brazil in the summer of 1969 because of "repressive nature of the military dictatorship ruling Brazil;"[55] the inclusion of his MOMA Poll in the group exhibition "Information" at MOMA in 1970; and, of course, the cancellation of his solo exhibition by the then Director Thomas Messer and board of trustees of the Guggenheim in 1971.

With these last two interactions with museums, Haacke began to aggressively explore and expose the hidden ideological underpinnings of the institutions and individuals who share in the control cultural power.[56] With these experiences in the political aspects of the art world, he stated: "I came to the realization that when you are dealing with museums, you are in effect dealing with in one fashion or another, the social and political powers of the country."[57]

In MOMA Poll, 1970, (Fig. 4) Haacke asked this 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." By focusing on one of MOMA's most powerful board members--Nelson Rockefeller--Haacke was able reveal the interconnectedness of art and politics. Of course, most educated museum visitors, especially in New York, would not be unaware or deny the interrelatedness of art and politics; but, with this question, he attention to how powerful this connection can be:

> Haacke not only gauged the anti-war sentiments of the Museum's visitors, he tested the political tolerance of the museum itself. To the Museum's credit it did not forbid the poll. By the end...there were 25,566 YES tallies and 11,563 NO tallies, clearly a 2 to 1 ratio.[58]

With the cancellation of Haacke's Guggenheim exhibition in 1971 because of the "three major works that dealt with specific social situations,"[59] not only was the "political tolerance" of Messer and members of the board "tested," but also the purpose and function, the ideology of a museum was brought into focus. In an interview with Barbara Reise, Messer made it clear that art is deemed art by being contexted by museum walls and that good art, worthy to behind the museum walls, can only deal with issues "symbolically and metaphorically."[60] Furthermore, regarding the two real estate pieces--Sol Goldman and Alex DiLorenzo Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971 and Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate

Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971--two of the social systems to be included in the cancelled Guggenheim exhibition, Messer finds that if artwork no longer deals with "situations symbolically" as did Goya's war paintings or Picasso's Guernica "but with specific topical situation, it losses its immunity as a work of art."[61] According to Edward Fry, the curator of the exhibition who was later fired because he publicly objected to the cancellation on philosophical grounds:

> each work was based entirely on an objective presentation of verifiable information (public records, photographs of sites, list of addresses) without subjective evaluations of the landlord's practices, and the rejection of these works demonstrated the character of the cultural establishment within which artists have been forced to function. This delineation of the invisible yet operative limits for art and society, is perhaps the essence of Haacke's recent works as well as its most important consequence.[62]

These real estate pieces along with polls and profiles conducted in galleries and museums between 1969-1973,[63] are categorized by Haacke as real-time social systems because they deal with real, actual events and time that can be observed and recorded. Just as Haacke was able to trace and document change and growth of biological systems, he was able to trace and document changes of social systems with these works. In her essay, "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum," Rosalyn Deutsch pointed out that the "as of" before the designated date in the titles of the real-estate pieces referred to continuously altering

real-estate holdings and to Haacke's belief "that a work's meaning is always incomplete, changing 'as of' different temporal situations."[64]

According to Haacke, real-time "means that something is recorded without interruption and then played back without editing, without condensing and additions, so that there is a one-to one relationship; recording time is identical with time of representation."[65] His idea for these real-time systems was

> taken from a concept first developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s by the designers of the computer systems network for the United States Air Force Strategic Air Command, who developed a world-wide monitoring-network that would provide minute-to-minute response to any sign of a missile or bomber attack on any point of the globe and applied in time-sharing computer systems.[66]

Real-time deals with the real world and not with the "fictional, idealized, and imaginative."[67] And for Haacke, when dealing with the real world not only is there an actual "transfer of information, energy, and/or material,"[68] but actual changes can take place. According to Haacke,

> ...Information presented at the right time and in the right place can be potentially very powerful. It can affect the general social fabric. Such things go beyond established high culture as it has been perpetrated by a taste-directed art industry. Of course, I don't believe that artists really wield any significant power. At best, one can focus attention. But every little bit helps. In concert with other people's activities outside the art scene, maybe the social climate of society can be changed. Anyway, when you work with the 'real stuff' you have to think about potential consequences. A lot of things would never enter the decision-making process if one worked with symbolic representations that have to be weighed

> carefully. If you work with the real-time systems, well, you probably go beyond Duchamp's position. Real-time systems are double agents. They might run under the heading 'art,' but this culturization does not prevent them from operating as normal. The MOMA Poll had even more energy in the museum than it would have had in the street--real socio-political energy, not awe-inspiring symbolism.[69]

Although these real-time social systems were an avenue for Haacke to investigate real changes in real life, they provided him with the means to explore the effects of context and viewer participation in greater depth. As previously mentioned, Haacke had been interested in the effects of the viewer for a number of years; with his reflective materials in which the viewer could observe changes and with his physical and biological systems in which the viewer could intentionally or intentionally activate change. The context, for Haacke, is more than just the gallery wall or museum or the viewer; instead, it is the dynamic and dialectical relationship of the two. Furthermore, Haacke is interested in exploring the mythological connotations and symbolic attributes of physical structures. For Haacke, the meaning and aesthetic value of a work of art is contingent on the context "rather than immanent, universally given, or fixed."[70] In his essay "Working Conditions" Haacke stated:

> The meaning does, indeed, depend a great deal on the social and historical context in which it is viewed. The interpretation of a work of art, as much as the admission of an object to the realm of art, and its relative ranking there, can change radically, depending on who does the decoding and where and when the

> encounter takes place. The circumstances in which art is viewed, and the viewers' particular biographies and set of unquestioned beliefs and values, naturally determine also the sociopolitical effect it will have.[71]

With these polls and profiles--real-time systems--there are different levels of viewer participation in the artistic process. According to Haacke,

> There is the immediate one of casting a ballot. And there is a more indirect participation, when people are provoked to rethink positions and then act upon them, a bit like Brecht thought about this theater. It's like throwing a stone into the water--the ripples widen and may eventually have an effect where it is difficult to trace them to the source.[72]

With the use of assisted ready-mades, Duchamp was the first to explore how the viewer participates in the artistic process. According to Duchamp, the viewer determines the meaning and aesthetic value of a work of art:

> To avoid a misunderstanding, we must remember that this art coefficient is a personal expression of art <u>à l'état brut</u>, that is still in a raw state, which must be refined as pure sugar from molasses, by the spectator; the digit of this coefficient has no bearing whatsoever on this verdict. The creative act takes another aspect when the spectator experiences the phenomenon of transmutation; through the change from inert matter into a work of art, an actual transubstantiation has taken place, and the role of the spectator is to determine the weight of the work on the esthetic scale.[73]

Although Haacke's three types of systems can be called assisted ready-mades in the tradition of Duchamp, Haacke cautions against a simplistic interpretation. In fact, he distrusts the current practice of trendy "simulationists" artists who appropriate the "look" and assume the "gesture"

of Duchamp.[74] Two pieces--Broken R.M..., 1986 (Fig. 5) and Baudrichard's Ecstasy, 1988 (Fig. 6)--"refer to Duchamp's standing, absorption, and misuse in contemporary art."[75] In the last twenty to thirty years, according to Haacke, there has been an "inflation of the technique of the ready-made; in a new fashion, it has been taken for a free-ride and is pretty used up."[76] The meaning of the former one, with its broken gilded shovel and blue enameled plaque with the white letters "ART & ARGENT A TOUS LES ETAGES" (a reference to Duchamp's enamel plate Eau & Gaz å Tous Les Étages (Water & Gas on Every Floor), 1958) can be interpreted as "Readymade: In Advance of the Broken Art."[77]

Haacke does agree that his systems could be called "assisted ready-mades" because "physical and biological systems rely on natural laws which are ready-made and the social ones sometimes use data that are readily available."[78] And with a change of context, there is a change of meaning. But the important difference, pointed out by Haacke, is that "real time systems are obviously not objects but ongoing processes."[79]

In a way, Haacke's investigation of interconnected processes continued where Duchamp had left off. For Duchamp, the ready-made ironically satirized art and taste. For Haacke, it is important to go beyond Duchamp's playful attack on the notion of art and to go further into the mystification or contextual process. The question of

whether or not it is art, is a moot point and would depend on the framework of the individual or group. According to Haacke, "art is a sociological phenomenon, the consensus of a certain group of people who happen to be in a privileged position to impose their ideas, their consensus as to what art is at a particular moment."[80] For Haacke, it is the means of mystification that needs to be isolated and articulated.

Haacke wanted to go beyond simply showing how a change of context changes connotations. He wanted to investigate and reveal the larger context--the framework--in which the aesthetic value and meaning of a work of art is dependent. As stated previously, the context for Haacke is more than the museum or gallery wall. The context is the beliefs, values, and experiences of the viewer; it is the physical, historical, and symbolic attributes of the site; and, it is the cultural, economic, and political circumstances.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Haacke not only revealed the context that confers aesthetic meaning and value, but he also revealed how this contextualized social product, art, becomes a powerful and useful commodity:

> An item deemed to be a work of art by a cultural power elite is a commodity, an ideological token, and the source for intellectual and emotional gratification, all in one. Although these constitutive qualities relate to each other, their relationships are not proportional or fixed. The value of each, moreover, depends on the ever-changing beliefs, values and need

> of the individual or the social set by which it happens to be judged.[81]

Haacke investigated how a work of art becomes a commodity by tracing the ownership of two Impressionist paintings--Manet's Bunch of Asparagus, 1880 and Seurat's Les Poseuses (small version), 1881. In both these provenance pieces--Manet-PROJEKT '74, 1974 and Seurat's Les Poseuses (small version) 1881-1975, 1975--Haacke presented the socio-economic history of the different owners of each painting; the information was individually framed in simple black frames and installed chronologically after a color reproduction of the specific painting. When available, Haacke had a small photograph of each owner on the panel and the purchase price above the text; headings or titles for each panel (Manet-PROJEKT included ten panels and Seurat's "Les Poseuses" included fourteen panels) were the date the owner either purchased or inherited the painting. In this way, Haacke went beyond the traditional definition of provenance as simply tracing the origin and ownership of a work of art. By attaching the background of each owner, he brought into play how the social, economic, and political context determines the aesthetic as well as the monetary value.

Manet-PROJEKT was made for a particular exhibition. In 1974, in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, an international art

exhibition was organized and promoted with the slogan, "Art Remains Art." Three years after the cancellation of Haacke's exhibition at the Guggenheim, Manet-PROJEKT was censored. What disturbed Dr. Horst Keller, director at the time, and certain members of the organizing team was the listing of Hermann J. Abs's positions on boards of German banks and corporations by Haacke. According to Haacke, Abs, who was Chairman of the Wallraf-Richartz Kuratorium (Friends of the Museum) and who helped the museum acquire Bunch of Asparagus in 1968, is well known for his role in the economic development of Germany during and after the Third Reich; in fact, he "represents the smooth transition from the Nazi period to postwar Germany."[82] Upon the rejection of Manet-PROJEKT,[83] Keller stated in a letter to Haacke:

> It would mean giving an absolutely inadequate evaluation of the spiritual initiative of a man...A grateful museum...must protect initiatives of such an extraordinary character from any other interpretation which might later throw even the slightest shadow on it...A museum knows nothing about economic power; it does indeed, however, know something about spiritual power.[84]

With both these provenance pieces Haacke revealed the underlying economic and socio-political systems that help to increase art's "spiritual power." Parallel with his early physical and biological systems and real estate pieces in which he traced and documented the effects of the environment over time, he was able to record the effects of these interrelated systems on the value of these two

paintings. Seurat's "Les Poseuses" (small version), 1888-1975

> traces a brief history of the owners and the escalating cost...It begins as a gift from Seurat to a friend. It becomes a personal risk for early collectors. At an auction, sixty years later, a bid is offered for over a million dollars...What has been done to Les Poseuses has affected it. The experience of the work is changed due to the gradual way it has been handled as a means of exchange...As the relationship of the painting to its owner changes, how it is experienced and valued changes...We experience art today due to the way those who manage it have allowed themselves to experience it...[85]

When investigating these underlying systems which define and disseminate works of art, he also established that "the history of culture is always part of social and political history."[86] With Seurat's Les Poseuses, though, Haacke discovered a new type of collector in this century--the corporate collector. Ironically, he learned that through corporate collecting l'art pour l'art became art for investment sake:

> In the course of the research I discovered that this painting by Seurat had been acquired by a newly formed international investment company with the beautiful name Artemis. I then followed its history in the same way as I had with the Manet, and I discovered a number of interesting things. The painting leads you to anarchist circles in Paris and their friends in established galleries, and to wealthy Parisian art groupies. Eventually it is sold across the Atlantic, where there is the Stieglitz circle, John Quinn, representing the legal establishment, and again socialites dabbling in art. During the Depression, the painting was picked up as a bargain by someone whose family fortune apparently was immune to the financial chaos of the time. He eventually offered it up on the auction block, because he needed money to add a period ballroom to his house on Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia. Artemis is indirectly linked to the

> fortunes that were made in the Belgian colonies. By way of a company director, there is also a presence at the Museum of Modern Art...I have learned a lot about the underpinnings of high culture from it.[87]

After the two provenance pieces, Haacke explored not only the commodification of the art object, but its marketability; its use as a powerful "tool for the seduction, integration, and legitimacy of corporations."[88] In order to reveal how art is gainfully employed by corporations, Haacke had to play their way:

> This reminds me of a quote by Marx who said: "These petrified (social) conditions must be forced to dance by singing to them their own melody. Obviously I presented not only the words of those individuals but I also quoted the visual style in which their organizations present themselves to the public. The typography is an integral part of the message.[89]

His skillful strategy was to borrow and quote corporate words, symbols, and style; to work within their framework. Not only has Haacke appropriated the logos and language of corporate patrons such as Mobil (Mobilization, 1975), Chase Manhatten Bank (The Chase Advantage, 1976), and Allied Chemical (The Road to Profits is Paved with Culture, 1976), he also displayed them with the same cool, commercial slickness. Of course, Haacke found that this strategy was quite expensive:

> It cannot be done with a typewriter on cheap paper--it has to have that 'corporate look'. It is not only the verbal message, it is also very much the appearance, the look of authority, power, and expertise with which corporations impress their views on the public. And that costs money. I once scrapped a piece simply because I could not match the perfection of the corporate style, and my sarcasm would have been flat.[90]

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Haacke investigated how corporations "impress their views," and "seduce the opinion" of the public.[91] His strategy has been to work within their framework, but to short-circuit their message. He was able to do this by changing the normal corporate context--from the media to a frame on a museum or gallery wall--and by making puns of their seducing messages; often, the titles of his works are direct quotes from corporate advertisements (i.e., "Alcoa: We can't wait for tomorrow," 1979 "Thank you, Paine Webber," 1979)

Corporate messages are also decoded by his ironical juxtapositions of their words and activity. With one of his pieces on Mobil Oil--Upstairs at Mobil: Musings of a Shareholder, 1981, Haacke not only short-circuited Mobil's positive message with a few puns and humorous juxtapositions, but he also commented on several other issues, cultural as well as corporate. Upstairs at Mobil was comprised of ten panels, each a photoetched facsimile enlargement of a tenth part of Haacke's Mobil stock certificate (he bought ten shares); on each panel the corresponding segment of the original certificate was collaged; handwritten text was taken from Mobil's advocacy advertisements in the New York Times and other newspapers with titles such as "Musings of an oil person (of a confused oil person, a proud oil person, etc.)."[92](Fig. 7) Haacke explained some of the allusions of Upstairs at Mobil:

> It refers to Mobil's sponsorship of the popular series "Upstairs Downstairs" on the Public Broadcasting Service...The title also implies that Mobil occupies the position of the master, whereas the rest of us are busy in the servants' quarters...the correspondending segment of the original certificate...accomplishes several things. It authenticates the facsimile enlargements and it plays on the magic of a piece of paper which represents part-ownership of a multinational corporation...The funny thing is, however, that irrespective of the certificate's mutilation, my title to the ten shares is not put into question...In case the piece is sold, the collector would become the owner of the the cut-up parts of the certificate, but he would not become the beneficiary...Then, of course, there is my legitimation for speaking as an 'enthusiastic' stockholder...My inversion of private motivations and corporate policy as it is discussed only among peers into a publicly pronounced position undercuts the image of the responsible corporate citizen that Mobil spends so much to project...The text itself is full of intriguing allusions, puns, and invitations to extrapolate...An art world in-group joke: like other instruments that are to represent property, the Mobil stock certificate incorporates some impressive precursers of pattern painting.
> I chose handwriting rather than printed lettering for my own text in order to give it the character of a personal testimonial. It also pokes fun at all those handwritten confessional messages in recent 'conceptual' art. The scribbling further violates the original stock certficate. It also 'ruins' the rather impressive etchings. (The facsimile had to be done as an etching because this is the medium of the originals)...[93]

Through humor, Haacke has drawn attention to the manipulation of culture by corporations and raised serious questions about the consequences. Although he is concerned with the fact that corporations do benefit from supporting the arts with tax breaks and increased sales, he is more disturbed about what is suppressed and hidden behind their improved image. In other words, for Haacke, it is the the

suppression of the reality and truth behind messages such as "Tiffany Cares" (Tiffany Cares, 1977/78) and "We Bring Good Things to Life" (We Bring Good Things to Life, 1983) that is the danger to society. For example, in We Bring Good Things to Life, (Fig. 8) Haacke revealed some of the hidden realities behind General Electric's well-known slogan. A gilt bust of Ronald Reagan with his face straining upwards, perhaps gazing towards "Star Wars," was on top of a Mark 12A nuclear warhead--a gold icon of political power perched on top of an icon of military power; a copper plaque engraved with the message "We Bring Good Things to Life" was attached near the fins. Haacke stated:

> In the 1950s, Ronald Reagan appeared regularly in television commercials as a spokesman for the products and political views of General Electric. The company is widely known for its consumer goods, including light bulbs and fluorescent tubes, but it is also the fourth largest military contractor in the U.S. Among the company's most important nuclear weapons contracts was the production of 300 nuclear warheads of the Mark 12A type.[94]

In his essay Artfairisme, the catalogue accompanying his exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Haacke addressed not only the issue of corporate patronage, he raised a much broader, global issue--power of multinational corporations. Haacke quoted the goals for patronage, as described by Alain-Dominique Perrin, CEO of Cartier International, in his report "French Patronage:

> First of all it is the affirmation of an image to dominate a market.

> It is the evolution of the image to conquer a new segment of the market.
> It is the integration of the socio-cultural environment in search of a legitimacy that is indispensable to its vigor.
> It is the geographic implantation to develop a new market.[95]

According to Haacke, it is this third statement that reveals the danger of corporate power. With the help of the media and the arts, who have relied heavily on corporate support, global practices of corporations have become legitimate, credible, and accepted.[96] Furthermore, as Haacke pointed out, using the exact words of Perrin, "with a positive image, the business climate is guaranteed and consumerist and ecological critics have become neutralized."[97] And, according to Haacke, not only are the critics neutralized, but also "counter-publicity due to conflicts in the workplace, corruption, and contacts with despicable regimes like South Africa" is neutralized.[98]

In the 1970s and 1980s Haacke produced several works that dealt with "counter-publicity." In The Right to Life, 1979, (Fig. 9) he presented the wholesome, smiling Breck girl found in the advertisements of American Cyanamid with a statement on the company's sterilization policy for women in the workplace. There are several pieces Haacke produced that addressed both the enhancement of a positive corporate image and their connections in South Africa--A Breed Apart, 1978 (British Leyland), But I think you question my motives, 1978/79 (Philips), MetroMobiltan, 1985 (Mobil), and Les must

de Rembrandt, 1986 (Cartier), for example. Parallel with the provenance pieces, in which Haacke demystified a work of art by linking its value to the social, economic, and political background of its owners, he has demystified corporate patronage; in short, he has short-circuited their positive image and message by linking it with their real economic and political practices.

The danger Haacke has shown, according to Robert Morgan in his essay "Hans Haacke: Working From the Inside Out," is that corporations, "by associating their name with worthwhile humanitarian and ecological interests," they have manipulated the truth.[99] Morgan stated,

> The 'private sector' should not be confused with the 'corporate sector', but it is. And it happens in a very deliberate way. By associating the 'private sector with corporate interests it is implied that advanced capitalism and democracy are virtually the same thing, that they share the exact same goals, beliefs, and values. What is good for corporate enterprise is therefore good for all of us.[100]

For the last twenty or so years, whether Haacke was investigating biological systems, provenances, or corporate patronage, the concept of context overrode his other motivating principles or concepts. "In retrospect," according to Haacke, "it becomes clearer and clearer that I am often concerned about frames...literal...as well as the frame, the circumstances, the context in which something takes place."[101] But, Haacke does not see himself as a

saint or seer, separate from the the context, or framework he continuously investigates and exposes.

> There are no 'artists', however, who are immune to being affected and influenced by the socio-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...'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.[102]

CHAPTER III

OELGEMAELDE, HOMMAGE A MARCEL BROODTHAERS OIL PAINTING (HOMAGE TO MARCEL BROODTHAERS), 1982

Homage to Marcel Broodthaers was first exhibited at the international exhibition Documenta 7, held in Kassel, Germany in 1982. In this installation, the viewer stood on a long red carpet, a runner, which was approximately twenty feet in length; at one end was a large black-and-white photomural of an antinuclear demonstration, and at the other end, was an oil painting of Ronald Reagan, which had a gold frame, a brass label, and a small, brass lamp attached. This traditional, realistic portrait of Reagan appeared important because of the brass stanchions and red velvet rope, which were placed a few feet in front of it, keeping the viewer at a safe distance. Colors of nobility and power, red and gold, heightened the conflict between the everyday and exalted.

The ideas that precipitated Haacke to incorporate painting in the installation Oelgemaelde, Hommage a Marcel Broodthaers (Oil Painting-Homage to Marcel Broodthaers), 1982 and pay homage to the Belgian poet, critic, and artist Marcel Broodthaers (1924-1976) are multilayered. Meanings are at times direct and literal, and at other times, quite

obscure and open-ended. Rather than a break with his earlier work, the focus of this installation with an oil painting was the concepts of viewer participation and context:

> With the Reagan piece in Kassel, at documenta, there were a couple of things I knew beforehand: Reagan was visiting Germany to promote the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles, almost simultaneous to the opening of documenta; painting was to play a particular role in that exhibition, as it does in the art world in general today. And I knew a bit about the public of documenta, which is really very large, some two to three hundred thousand people. It's not just an inside art world event.[1]

The oil painting of Reagan is thus a response to the philosophical and physical framework of the exhibition. And in terms of the oil painting itself, it was a continuation of his concerns with cultural, historical, and political context. Although Haacke had produced paintings two decades earlier, this portrait of Reagan was different and conceptually related more to his work of the 1970s.

As mentioned in the overview, Haacke tried to articulate real movement and change in his "weathered" abstract paintings and "optical" compositions in the early 1960s.[2] Although the realistic style of this portrait of Reagan is entirely different from these earlier works, Haacke actually did the painting from a photograph of Reagan, which he found at a picture agency:[3]

> There were, in fact, a good number of people who thought that my portrait of Reagan was a photograph, or that I'd paid somebody to paint it for me. It was therefore very important that I painted it myself.

> Normally, I have no qualms about paying someone to execute something I can't do, as long as I can afford it.[4]

In Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, the viewer is intentionally forced to participate in this work on different levels. Directly, the viewer is "literally on the red carpet"[5] between an enormous blown up photograph of a demonstration protesting nuclear arms in Germany, (Fig. 10) which was taken by Haacke,[6] and a portrait of Ronald Reagan, President of the United States.(Fig. 11) Haacke set up the distance between the photomural and the portrait in such a way so that the viewer felt tension generated from a kind of crude, raw power from the enormous crowd presented in an uncut, rough version on one side and a refined, subliminal power presented symbolically and allegorically on the other side; the viewer was forced to think about their interrelatedness. In Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, Leo Steinberg poetically describes the portrait and the tension generated when standing on the red carpet:

> Haacke must have spent many hours rummaging for the right image of Mr. Reagan. What he produced was a bust portrait in glamorous contrapposto: head tossed defiantly over one shoulder, like the head of the Emperor Caracalla, or the kingly peruke of Louis XIV in Bernini's marble bust at Versailles--commanding portraits in the heroic vein, their 100-yard stare slightly skyward, o'erleaping remote horizons and assuring the plebs of the leader's superior vision. Nor was this all. Tastefully framed, the portrait of Mr. Reagan had a picture light overhead, a brass label beneath, and before it a velvet rope suspended from shiny stanchions such as museums use to direct visitors to what counts.[7]

What Mr. Steinberg needed to add is that stanchions not only "direct visitors to what counts," they also distance the viewer from the object, making it unapproachable and inaccessible; and more importantly, it separates the viewer, common philistine, from a sanctified object. Schuldt, who linked the work of Broodthaers and Haacke in his essay in Artforum, pointed out that the "rope in particular refers to the chains that kept people out of Broodthaers' Propriété privée, shown at Documenta 5 in 1972.[8] Actually, "private property" was included in the second of two parts of Broodthaers's final Musée d'Art Moderne; the Section Publicité consisted of photographs, documents, catalogues, empty frames, and a selection of plaques en plastique and the Section d'Art Moderne, which was Broodthaers's contribution to a special Documenta exhibition, Personal Mythologies, included "private property", stenciling on the window, and directional labels on the walls.[9](Fig. 12) According to Broodthaers,

> 'Private property'--the presentation of this inscription can be understood as a satyre on the identification of Art with Private property. One can also see here the expression of my artistic power as it is destined to replace that of the organizer--Szeemann from documenta 5--(Personal Mythology Section).
> The second aim, finally seemed to me not to have been attained, and on the contrary, the inscription reinforces the structure put in place.
> Whence the change,--for one of the roles of the artist is to attempt, at least, to carry out a subversion of the organizational scheme of an exhibition.
> Is it any better this time?[10]

In Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, Haacke has appropriated art historical signs, constructed a framework that makes the traditional oil painting of Reagan into art. With Haacke's playful game of changing contexts, Reagan is shown in an unusual annoyed, emotional state instead of his usual controlled and affable self; his expression is also in sharp contrast to the serious, stately atmosphere created by the stanchions and gold frame. Ironically, too, Reagan faces the photomural--the media.

As stated in the brief description of this installation, red and gold, colors of royalty and power, are prominent. Reagan is portrayed in a nineteenth century realist style, elegantly framed in a solid gold frame with a brass picture lamp attached above; attached on the bottom of the frame is a small brass "museum-style, title plate"[11] engraved with "Oil Painting Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers." This framework--red carpet, a red velvet rope and brass stanchions, a gold frame, and dramatic lighting--confers auratic status on this portrait. Aura, like the viewer and context, is another media for Haacke to work with;[12] he borrows and manipulates the various signs and symbols that confer auratic status on a work of art. In this way, he is "demystifying the art object by using the very means of mystification."[13] Haacke remarked on this practice:

> I believe this aura is part of the materials with which I am working, it provides the 'energy' on which my things ride, while at the very same time, my work is

> putting this peculiar sociopsychological phenomenon into critical perspective...in a truly dialectical sense there is an unavoidable contradiction. The impact these things may have relies to a considerable degree on the mythical power of the context in which they appear.[14]

In this installation, Haacke has forced the viewer into contradictory positions and debates. On a simple level, he entraps the viewer between the everyday, commonplace of journalism--a technically produced image--and, the higher, spiritual realm of art--a divinely produced image. And, he forced the viewer to think about the different truths and realities purported by the medium of painting and photography. On another direct level, the viewer standing on the red carpet between a demonstration protesting Reagan's militarism and a painting of Reagan, the viewer is also forced to think about the interrelatedness of art and politics. According to Haacke, the demonstration was staged specifically against Reagan's support for the stationing of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Germany.[15]

Of course, with his social systems of polls and profiles, which began in 1969, Haacke had already forced the viewer to think about the interconnectedness of art and politics. Haacke compared his strategy employed in Homage to MOMA-Poll, 1970:

> My MOMA-Poll at the Museum of Modern Art was probably the most aggressive work I had done up until then. It referred to the Vietnam War, Nelson Rockefeller's bid for reelection as Governor of New York State, and his relationship with the Nixon policies in Indochina. Because of the site of the exhibition, it also

> implicated the Museum of Modern Art, which is dominated by the Rockefeller family. And it took the title of the show literally: it produced "Information." The Reagan piece (Oil Painting-Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers) equally dealt with a highly charged political situation: the deployment of a new generation of nuclear missiles with potentially horrendous consequences. In the subtext you find allusions to the myths of power and art and the wave of conservative painting engulfing Documenta...The media employed in the two cases obviously differ; in essence, however, I believe I'm on the same track.[16]

Notwithstanding Haacke's intentions, which are never one-sided, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers indirectly brings the viewer into two theoretical debates on the image (media, photography, and film) that are currently popular in postmodern discourse. These are based on the critical writings of Jean Baudrillard and Walter Benjamin.

The French post-structuralist Jean Baudrillard characterized contemporary society as controlled by codes, the third order of simulacra. Simulacra is hyperreality, substituting signs of the real for the real itself; in short, accepting the illusion as reality. In contemporary society, which is so greatly influenced by media, illusion has become accepted for reality. In Simulations, Baudrillard summarizes "The Precession of Simulacra" and "The Orders of Simulacra":

> So it is with simulation, insofar as it is opposed to representation. The latter starts from the principle that the sign and the real are equivalent...Whereas represenation tries to absorb simulation by interpreting it as false representation, simulation develops the whole edifice of representation as itself a simulacrum. This would be the successive phases of the image: it is the reflection of a basic reality; it

> masks and perverts a basic reality; it masks the absence of a basic reality; it bears no relation to reality whatever, it is its own pure simulacrum.[17]

The other debate centers around the auratic presence of art. This twentieth-century discourse had its beginnings in the writings of the German critic Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) who stated in his most famous essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," that:

> The nineteenth-century dispute as to the artistic value of painting versus photography today seems devious and confused. This does not diminish its importance, however, if anything, it underlines it...When the age of mechanical reproduction separated art from its basis in cult, the semblance of its autonomy disappeared forever.[18]

In the essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin discusses how photography and film undermined painting's aura by presenting a reality disconnected from context, traditions or ritualistic functions.[19] As previously mentioned, Haacke examined the means that determines auratic presence, and, at the same time, he questioned Benjamin's basic premise "that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art."[19] Actually focusing more on films in this essay, Benjamin found that originality, uniqueness, or authenticity, defining characteristics of a modern work of art, is undermined by the photograph.

> The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition...We know that the earliest art works originated in the service of a ritual--first the magical, then the religious kind. It is significant that the existence of the work

> of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function. In other words, the unique value of the 'authentic' work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value.[21]

Benjamin, a Marxist, felt that photography freed art from the ritual. For Benjamin, the function of art became reversed, "instead of being based on ritual, it began to be based on another practice--politics."[22] According to Ron Hunt in "For Factography," Benjamin never carried his critique of photography far enough and did not recognize how its origins were connected with fine art and can be commodified in the same way.[23] In his essay "Bayreuth '86," Craig Owens recognized the interrelatedness of photography and painting in Homage to Marcel Broodthaers and stated:

> Haacke not only stages the contradiction between power (associated with painting) and its opposition (associated with photography), he also reveals their mutual interdependence--this is the point of the red carpet that links the two elements.[24]

On a less theoretically and indirect level, Homage to Marcel Broodthers related directly to the cultural ideology of Documenta 7. The curators, most particularly the artistic director Rudi Fuchs, of Documenta 7 wanted the exhibition as a "Return to Painting"[25]--symbolic, sacred, and moral. Fuchs wanted Documenta to be connected to a "tradition of taste and discrimination...disentangled from the diverse pressures and social perversions it has to bear."[26] Furthermore, he wanted to create a reverent

atmosphere, one in which art offers a calm, tranquil sanctuary from the real world:

> We did everything to avoid a nervous exhibition: an exhibition that is, caught up (a trapped animal) in the petty wars of style and manner. The times are nervous enough already...Thus, because we did not want a nervous exhibition but one which would honor the dignity of art, we have to creat conditions of tranquility...Once inside the museum a work of art needs to settle down and come at rest like a ship after a voyage.[27]

Fuchs wanted, according to Douglas Crimp, to ignore the political history of Kassel, once the center of Germany and one of Hitler's strategic ammunition depots; he wanted, instead, to "locate his Documenta within the grand tradition of the eighteenth-century when the artistocrats of Hess-Kassel built their splendid palace."[28] Documenta has another connection to the Nazi period. The first documenta was created by Dr. Bode, after World War II, to support the artists who were rejected by the Nazi Regime.

Ironically, Fuchs created an atmosphere of tension and unrest. Tension was created when Fuchs's traditional and idealistic viewpoint of art came into conflict with those artists whose approach was conceptual, contextual, and political.[29] According to some critics, Fuchs solved these conflicts of interest and intent through the actual installation of works in the three buildings--Fridericianum, Orangerie, and Neue Galerie--that are used for each Documenta. In the essay "Stalling Art," Edit deAk

humorously described the "curatorial procedure as fixed roulette," and found:

> The work of each artist was not grouped together but spread out and juxtaposed with the work of others. Work may gain support from its connections with nearby varying situations, or it was bowled over or merely exhibited...in the Fridericianum, the focus...the art was gilded...A giant wall component of Kounellis' installation was gold-leafed...Down the garden path, the Neue Galerie...the gala visual effects distracted us from detecting the methods. Here they were more barren and pedestrian and showed real evidence of the bricolage curation. Except for a limited few--Jonathan Borofsky and Hans Haacke, to name two--the material here read mostly as the leftovers from what the curators really wanted to deal with.[30]

In the essay "Documenta 7: The Dialogue and a Few Asides," Frackman and Kaufmann supported this claim of the the central importance of the Fridericianum, and stated:

> It was in the Fridericianum that the poetic, philosophical, and historical thrust of the show was established, even if it became obscured in other parts of the exhibition. The ideas informing the exhibition were immediately stated by the choice of artists and the deployment of their works on the first floor of this building. It was here the most important artists, three-quarters of whom were European, and all of whom were mature, were shown...The works of these mature artists---conceptual and installation artists as well as painters--all of whom were searching for the means of renewal of society, man, nature, and art, were intermingled. Indeed, artists of very differing visual tendencies were purposefully juxtaposed in order to create interactions between the different mediums and expressions...In other words, the viewer was to be freed from the strictures of geography and 'isms.' In general, the artists who were shown in the Fridericianum were assigned more cohesive primary space (every artist's work was divided to some extent) and therefore offered an opportunity to have enough works shown together to have an impact. Thus not only did the more mature artists often look better because their maturity did, indeed, show, but they were made to look better by more privileged installation. In the other two buildings given over to Documenta, the Orangerie

> and Neue Galerie, some of the young artists, many of whom were Americans, had their pieces so dispersed they went almost unnoticed.[31]

Frackman and Kaufmann also pointed out that the favored artists in Documenta were seven German Artists--Georg Baselitz, Marku Lüpertz, Antonius Höckelmann, Anselm Kiefer, A.R. Penck, Jörg Immendorff, and Sigmar Polke. Baselitz, the most favored, shared the most important installation space in the Fridericianum with Jannis Kounellis.[32] According to Haacke, the German Neo-Expressionists such as Baselitz, Lüpertz, and Penck were the most popular because their work was "monumental--art with a big A."[33]

> ...Painters were given a lot of room in order to make it not too apparent...in a way, to restore the status of painting which had been under attack in the 60s and 70s. Documenta was a big reconfirmation of painting as a leading art form. There was very little sculpture, no video, no performance...[34]

Haacke's Homage to Marcel Broodthaers was "relegated to the Neue Galerie rather than given pride of place in the Fridericianum."[35] According to Douglas Crimp, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers strongly opposed Fuch's idea of art as a sanctuary. He described Haacke's installation:

> Haacke's work consisted of a confrontation: on one wall was a meticulously painted oil portrait of President Reegan; on the opposite wall was a gigantic photomural of a peace demonstration. The portrait was surrounded by the museological devices traditionally used to enhance the art work's aura, to designate the work of art as separate, apart, inhabiting a world unto itself, in conformity with Fuchs's doctrine. With this parodying of museological paraphernalia Haacke paid tribute to Broodthaers's museum fictions of the early '70s while simultaneously mocking Fuchs's desire to elevate and safeguard his masterpieces.[36]

Broodthaers's two-part installation Decor: a conquest of Marcel Broodthaers, which was exhibited at Documenta 7 posthumorously (Broodthaers died of a liver disease in 1976 at the age of 52), mocked Fuch's idea of art as a higher spiritual realm--a sanctuary from societal pressures. Ironically, it was centrally featured on the second floor of the Fridericianum.[37] According to Craig Owens, Decor subverted Fuchs's mission of recovering the modernist ideal of an art that is esthetically autonomous, separated from its historical and social context.

> In a letter to participating artists, dated September '81, Fuchs writes: 'Art and the artist, with their different ideas and dreams, need a space of their own; a space which should not be defined by society or by architecture, but which art must define for itself.' Such independence from 'society' and 'architecture' is, of course, the modernist illusion.[38]

Decor: a conquest of Marcel Broodthaers was in two sections: "The Nineteenth-Century Room" consisted of "Napoleonic"[39] canons, a large stuffed snake, and palm trees and "The Twentieth-Century" room consisted of lawn furniture and a shelf with rifles.(Fig. 13) At the time of his 1975 exhibit at Institute of Contemporary Art, London, Broodthaers described the theme as "the relationship of war to comfort."[40] Owens pointed out that Décor was a part of Broodthaers's works in the 1970s that focused on what Broodthaers found to the fundamental motive underlying all artistic production--a conquest of space:

> The constant search for the definition of space serves only to cover the essential structure of art--a process of reification. Every perception of space is an appropriation of space, in either mental or economic terms, especially when the perception is a convincing one...Space can only lead to paradise.[41]

Haacke's Homage to Broodthaers is similar to Broodthaers's Decor in that both installations placed the viewer between two frames of symbols, signs, and codes. According to Catherine Lacey in the brochure that accompanied Haacke's exhibition at the Tate Gallery in 1984, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers "suggested Broodthaers's interest in metonym--or the substitution of an attribute for its holder (red carpet=world leader etc.). The President appears to stand accused in this image of him."[42]

With Homage to Marcel Broodthaers and Décor, the viewer was confronted by the social and political realities of the twentieth-century and the idealistic, traditional ideals of the previous century. According to Schult, "Reagan is thus shown in 19th-century splendor, echoing Broodthaers's practice of selecting 19th-century forms and dwelling on their persistence in the present."[43] With both installations, Haacke and Broodthaers have confronted the viewer with the interconnectedness of all aspects of society and have also forced the viewer to question those societal attitudes, beliefs, and values underlying cultural and political power.

Although they met for the first time at Documenta 5 in 1972,[44] Broodthaers was aware of Haacke's work. At the time of Broodthaers's inclusion in the exhibition "Paris-Amsterdam-Düsseldorf" at the Guggenheim in 1972, Broodthaers wrote an open letter to Joseph Beuys, who was also in the same exhibition, under the name of Jacques Offenbach,

> Dear Wanger: I just put a finishing touch to the Grand Duchess von Gerolstein. How far I am from Tristan and Isolde! And I know that I shall move further. King Louis II had Hans H. ejected from his castles. His Majesty prefers you to this specialist of compositions for the flute. I can understand it is matter of artistic choice. But is not the enthusiasm that His Majesty displays for you motivated by political choice as well? I hope that this question disturbs you as much as it does me. What end do you serve Wagner? Why How? Miserable artists that we are. Vive la Musique.[45]

The last manifestation of Broodthaers's fictional, or invented museum, Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section Publicité amd Section d'Art Moderne, was exhibited at Documenta 5. These fictional museums began in 1968 with Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section XIXème Siècle at Broodthaers's apartment in Brussels. Remaining in place for one year, this Musée d'Art Moderne included crates formerly used for shipping artwork, postcards of nineteenth-century French paintings, and, during the opening and closing, an empty transport truck parked outside, but no artwork; throughout the year, there were events, lectures, and performances.[46] The invented museum before the final one at Documenta 5, Musée d'Art

Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section des Figures (Der Adler vom Oligozän bis Heute), included over 300 different images of eagles from different periods ("From the Oligocene to the Present") that were borrowed from museums and private collections throughout Europe and were installed on the wall, in wood cases, and on pedestals; in response to Magritte's work, Ceci n'est pas une pipe (This is Not a Pipe), 1928/29, next to each image was a label stating "This is not a work of art!" For Haacke, with the exhibition "The Eagle from the Oligocene to the Present," Broodthaers

> equated in so many ways the authoritative and mystical image and concept of the eagle with that of art...[he] demythologized it and demonstrated that the eagle as well as art depends exclusively on the viewer's projection onto them when it comes to their power.[47]

Before these invented museums and the Décor series of installations that followed, Broodthaers had begun to explore the commodification and marketability of art. His transformation from poet to visual artist took place in 1963 when he imbedded copies of his book of poems Pense-Bete, which is a pun: 'think animal'-'think stupid',[48] in plaster in 1963. He discovered, as he later did with his beautiful assemblages of ubiquitous mussels and eggshells, that the content, or what was formerly inside, was no longer important; it was the status of the object as a commodity that was important.[49] Once an object becomes a commodity or merchandise, for Broodthaers, it can be marketed and "sustained by the commercial system without being

questioned."[50] According to Broodthaers, the art world is a commercial system, and he stated:

> What is Art? Ever since the nineteenth century people have been asking that question of the artist, as well as of the museum director and the art lover. I doubt, in fact, that it is possible to give a serious definition of art, unless we examine the question in terms of a constant, I mean the transformation of Art into merchandise.[51]

Although Haacke and Broodthaers both drew attention to the commodification and merchandising of art, the most constant and striking similarity has been their in-depth exploration of the ideological and institutional framework of art. For these two artists, the framework, or context, not only defines art, but it also determines its socio-political impact.

CHAPTER IV

ALCAN: TABLEAU POUR LA SALLE DU CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION (ALCAN: PAINTING FOR THE BOARDROOM), 1983

Alcan: Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'adminstration (Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom), 1983 is is the second of the four paintings Haacke completed in the 1980s. He chose to paint in oil an impressionistic, aerial view of Alcan Aluminum's smelter plant in Arvida.(Fig. 14) The model of this image is from a color photograph from the company's 1979 promotional brochure "Voici Alcan."[1] Located above the image of the smelter plant, are the letters ARVIDA, an acronym for Ar.thur Vi.ning Da.vis, who was the first chairman of Alcan.[2] Below the acronym ARVIDA is the text:

> Usine ALCAN à Jonquiere au Saguenay. Le travail dans les salles de cuves permet aux ouvriers de contracter certaines maladies respiratoires ainsi que la fibrose osseuse. Leur chance de cancer augmente et ils ont la possibilitie de souffrir de 'plaques de pot', des taches rouges couvrant le corps.

In his New Museum catalogue, Haacke translated the text,

> Work in the smelters allows workers to contract various respiratory diseases as well as bone fibrosis. They have an increased chance to develop cancer and there is a possibility that they will get plaque de pot ('smelter's blotches'), red patches that cover the entire body.[3]

In preparation for the exhibition of Painting for the Boardroom, which was included with the three-panel Voici Alcan, 1983 at the Galerie France Morin, Montreal, Canada, Haacke researched Alcan's cultural, economic, and political activities. As with Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, the research as well as the context is considered by Haacke as a medium.[4] Sources for his thorough and indepth research include annual reports, church groups that monitor violations of human rights, and organizations that examine coporate activities.

> Aside from the church groups that conduct valuable research work, some of the research organizations from whom I obtain my material have leftist sympathies. However, they usually have reliable source material. They have every clipping that The Wall Street Journal, for instance, has on a given subject. And they subscribe to most bona fide capitalist publications. Sometimes I have to double-check something. It is not wise to rely on interpretative articles; they are good to get you into the subject, but when it comes to the veracity of certain facts, it's good to check.[5]

For other international sources Haacke reads various "newsletters of such organizations as the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa in London, and the Financial Mail, located in the library of the United Nations.[6] His diligence and patience for conducting research was obvious early on when he read the files of the City Registrar's office for the two real estate pieces.[7]

Along with the context of the site, Haacke was motivated to paint in oil an impressionistic image of Arvida because the medium suggests associations with a widely

accepted and traditional viewpoint of art. He stated, "It is almost synonymous with what is popularly viewed as Art--art with a capital A--with all the glory, the piety, and the authority that it commands."[8] For Haacke, both the style (Impressionism) and medium (oil on canvas) command authority; they indicate the authority of art at the same time they parody the authoritarian role of the corporation. Haacke stated: "You don't put photographs in a boardroom, you put an oil painting."[9] In her justification for the purchase of Voici Alcan, 1983 and Painting for the Boardroom, Ann W. Thomas, Assistant Curator of Photographs at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, remarked

> Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'adminstration mimics the typical corporate boardroom painting in its scale, style and banality of vision. Such paintings do, on occasion, include with some pride a line of text identifying the plant and its location, a fact, with all of its obvious implications that Haacke has chosen to incorporate in Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'adminstration.
>
> On another level Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'adminstration is an ironic comment by the artist on the art system itself and the way in which much contemporary art has retreated into self-referential, traditional pictorial styles, imitating without irony or critical commentary, the art of the past.[10]

Both Voici Alcan, which includes three panels (two sepia photographs and one color photograph) and Painting for the Boardroom have aluminum frames. The choice of frames indicate Haacke's interest in the literal and metaphorical act of framing; the actual frame for the object and the context.[11] The aluminum frames refer to Alcan Aluminum

Limited of Canada, which is "one of the largest producers of aluminum ingot in the world through its subsidiaries and affiliates."[12] According to Haacke, "Alcan operates large aluminum facilities in some thirty-five countries and throughout the world it has approximately 66,000 employees, and it is the largest manufacturing employer in Quebec."[13] Alcan's influence on the production and sales of aluminum throughout the world and its management style and practices has been both condoned and applauded. In his article "Alcan Shakes the Aluminum Market," Andrew C. Brown stated:

> Among the Big Four North American aluminum producers, Alcan has kept its output highest. Aluminum Co. of America (Alcoa) scaled back to 70% of its average U.S. capacity in 1982, while Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical and Reynolds Metals cut even further. As a result aluminum men have something besides the weak economy to gripe about. They believe that Alcan's high output has depressed aluminum prices in an already down market. Many metals analysts on Wall Street are calling Alcan's operating rate a major blunder that's made the recession worse for all producers, including Alcan.[14]

Although Alcan exports heavily, it holds a strategic position in the economic and industrial development of Canada and other countries as well. In the same Fortune article, Brown summarized how Alcan quietly became a leading exporter:

> ...in 1928 to avoid trustbusters, Alcoa, then the sole U.S. Aluminum producer, spun off most of its non-U.S. Business. Arthur Vining Davis, Alcoa's longtime chairman, spun off his brother, Edward K., to run the new company. Edward's son, Nathaniel Vining Davis, succeeded him in 1947. By the end of World War II, Davis pere had built a hugh complex of hydroelectric generators and aluminum smelters in Quebec as an international selling organization...Today Alcan has

> about 1.5 million metric tons per year of smelting capacity. Some one million metric tons is in Canada, with the rest in Europe, India, Australia, and Brazil. The overseas smelters primarily serve local markets, while the Canadian plants, powered entirely by company-generated hydroelectricity, are Alcan's base for exports. The U.S. is the largest export market, accounting for over $1 billion in annual revenues. In an average year Alcan sells two-thirds of its worldwide tonnage as products, processed in company plants in more than 30 countries. The rest goes out the door as ingot to outside manufacturers.[15]

Alcan's connection with the United States is strenghtened by the fact that as of 1981 "48% of the common shares were held by residents of Canada, 45% by residents of the U.S."[16] Its connection is even more direct and personal. Haacke pointed out that the chairman of the board, Nathaniel V. Davis, a U.S. citizen, controls a "considerable block of shares."[17] In her article "Alcan's Big Gamble Pays Off," Laura Reid explained how Alcan has attained an advantage over the U.S. manufacturer Alcoa:

> Low, fixed power costs in Canada and a strengthened base in Brazil, which also boasts low-energy costs and an accessible supply of bauxite...For three years now, Alcan, with 1982 sales of $4.7 billion, has maintained a slight revenue edge over Alcoa, which had 1982 sales of $4.67.[18]

In the same 1983 article, Reid pointed out that along with low, fixed energy costs from Alcan's Canadian hydroelectric stations, Alcan's operating policy and aggressive management style also contributed to its slight edge:

> Most important, a controversial operating decision Alcan made last year, to operate at a rate 30% higher

> than the North American average, seems to have paid off. During the recession the majority of North American aluminum producers shut down capacity, laid off workers, ultimately lost millions and still wound up 1982 with massive inventories. While Alcan lost money last year--$58 million--it operated at 88% of its rated 1.5 million-tonne capacity, kept its work force intact, and held inventories to 1981 levels.[19]

In response to the criticism of Alcan's operating policy, the chief executive, David M. Culver, who joined the company after Nathanael Davis retired in 1979, replied, "It seems to me that we did nothing but what was totally logical...but it was different from our past behavior, and that's perhaps why people got so upset with us."[20] According to Reid, "Culver also defended the decision to operate at 88% of capacity through a recession that saw Alcoa pull back to 70% and Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. of Oakland, California, to 35%."[21]

Alcan's management and operating policies have drawn criticism from other groups other than economic analysts. In 1983, at Alcan's annual meeting, four church groups "demanded information about the company's links with arms sales in South Africa."[22] Representatives of The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the United Church of Canada, the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, and the Redemptorist Fathers, which own 75,000 Alcan shares, were "concerned that Huletts of South Africa, an aluminum company owned 24 percent by Alcan, was supplying products to the South African military, and requested that Alcan inform

Huletts that it opposes sales of military goods to South Africa."[23] According to the church report,

> Huletts trains company militia units and stores weapons on its premises in preparation for racial unrest...Discrimination against blacks under the South African apartheid system is increasing. The government has renewed its policy of stripping 22 million blacks of rights and citizenship, restricting them to impoverished 'homelands.'[24]

According to Haacke these four church groups "requested the board of directors to establish a South African review committee to 'examine the company's activities in South Africa, including the sale of its products to the South African military, the status of Huletts's chairman on the Defense Advisory Board, and the storage of weapons on company premises, as well as the training of militia units of Huletts employees.'"[25] In response, one of Alcan's shareholders states in a letter that the resolution, "is an unjustified and unproductive attempt to interfere in matters of corporate policy in South Africa...and Huletts materials for military equipment do not represent a significant proporation of its sales."[26]

The Anglican Diocese of Ottawa enacted guidelines for corporations in which they have investments and "asked individual church members to examine their personal holdings in light of new guidelines for an investment policy that reflects Christian social teachings."[27] In the Ottawa Citizen, Louise Crosby stated:

> The financial counselling firm Spectre Investment Counsel now handles the diocese's $3.7-million trust fund, investing in such firms as Alcan, Inco, General Foods, Gulf Oil and General Motors...The guidelines, developed by the diocese's public social responsibility unit, made up of nine clergy and lay people, including a scientist, economist and educator, were based on theological and moral issues...Factors to be considered include how firms treat their employees, their marketing approaches and contributions to the economic, social and environmental development of the community.[28]

In Voici Alcan, Haacke clearly investigated and exposed Alcan's practices and policies in South Africa. Although with both works, Voici Alcan and Painting for the Boardroom, he explored the parallels and interrelatedness of art and corporations, with Voici Alcan he specifically addressed Alcan's patronage of the arts in Canada and its affliations in South Africa. Three panels are framed in aluminum window frames with the logo of Alcan above; left and right sepia photographs are of the opera productions "Lucia de Lammermoor" and "Norma", produced by the Montreal Opera Company and funded by Alcan; and, the central panel is a color photograph of Stephen Biko, who died as a result of beatings in prison.(Fig. 15) Haacke translated the inscriptions on the three panels:

> (First panel) LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR, produced by the montreal Opera Company with funding from Alcan. Alcan's South African affiliate is the most important producer of aluminum and the only fabricator of aluminum sheet in South Africa. From a nonwhite work force of 2,300, the company has trained eight skilled workers.

> (Second panel) STEPHEN BIKO, black leader. Died from head wounds received furing his detention by the South African police.
> Alcan's South African affiliate sells to the South African government semifinished products which can be used in police and military equipment. The company does not recognize the trade union of its black voters.
>
> (Third panel) NORMA, produced by the Montreal Opera Comany.
> Alcan's South African affiliate has been designed a 'key point industry' by the South African government. The company's black workers went on strike in 1981.[29]

In his extensive research for this work, Haacke "went to picture agencies in New York and looked through every picture they had of South Africa until he found slides from the morgue showing Steven Biko bashed up."[30] He gave some background on Biko in Unfinished Business:

> Stephen Biko was the co-founder and central figure in the Black People's Convention, the South African black consciousness movement. He was arrested without charges by the Special Branch of the South African Police on August 8, 1977, and detained in Port Elizabeth. The police admitted having forced Biko to spend nineteen days naked in a cell before he was interrogated around the clock for fifty hours while shackled in handcuffs and leg irons. During his detention he suffered severe head injuries. In a semiconscious state he was taken naked in a Land Rover to a hospital in Pretoria, about fourteen hours away from Port Elizabeth. He died from his injuries on September 12.[31]

In 1986 Voici Alcan was included in a group exhibition "Cross Cultural Views" at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. At this time, Diane Nemiroff, The Associate Curator of Contemporary, asked Alcan to supply a statement that would be included on the wall label, "to set the record straight as it were, to update the story."[32] Of course, any

type viewer participation would be favorable to Haacke, and he stated: "that this was part of the process of the piece, that his intention was not to misrepresent Alcan, but to make art which has both a social and an esthetic function."[33] Because the text of the labels for Haacke's pieces on exhibit are so integral to the work, he will revise, update, or add any new information to the label each time the piece is exhibited; therefore, the work is an open-ended process that is "never finished."[34] Alcan asked the gallery to add this statement to the label: "Alcan sold its' 25% interest in its' South African affiliate in early 1986, and no longer has any investments in South Africa."[35] Until 1988, this information was incorporated into the label. Presently, the label for Voici Alcan includes this information:

> Alcan sold its 24% interest in its South African affiliate in early 1986. Notwithstanding this divestment, Alcan continued business relations with this and another South African company, providing technical assistance and retaining supply agreements with the one and purchasing from the other.
> -as reported by the Investors Responsibility Research Centre, Washington, October 1987.[36]

Reminiscent of the numerous articles, letters, and interviews ensuing Haacke's cancelled exhibition at the Guggenheim in 1971, the exhibition of Painting for the Boardroom and most particularly Voici Alcan at the Inaugural exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa in 1988 generated several articles and editorials in Canadian

newspapers and even one in The Wall Street Journal. According to Haacke, the "Wall Street Journal tipped off the Canadian Press, who got in touch with Alcan."[37] Jean-Guy Thibault, who was Alcan's advertising and sponsorship manager, vehemently responded to the exhibition of this work at the National Gallery of Canada and was "particularly offended by the juxtaposition of the company materials with an autopsy photograph of slain South African activist Steve Biko."[38] Thibault stated that this exhibit,

> portrays the company as a bunch of murderers and thugs. We have been betrayed, by a pseudo-artist trying to make his reputation at our expense and by our own National Gallery which, knowingly or not, has gone along with this libel...This is not a matter of freedom of speech. It is not artistic expression...This goes beyond all boundaries for such matters and becomes a slander on Alcan, a black mark...The conclusion is inescapable...Alcan kills (blacks). It's a horrible misstatement of the truth. Our involvement in South Africa ended in 1986, and it was completely honorable for the time it was going on.[39]

In an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal, William Mathewson contacted Fernand Leclerc, an Alcan spokesman, regarding the exhibition at the National Gallery. Leclerc felt that since Alcan had divested its South American holdings, the piece should be removed, and he stated: "It's no longer pertinent--unless we have to pay for the 'sins' of our forefathers."[40] Furthermore, Leclerc admitted, "I would have preferred Andy Warhol to have chosen Alcan. Look what he did for Campbell's."[41]

With an up to date investigation of Alcan's current practices in South African, Haacke responded to this Wall Street Journal article with a letter, dated June 30, 1988, to The Editor of The Wall Street Journal and a letter, dated 21 July 1988, to Shirley L. Thomson, Director of the National Gallery of Canada. In both letters he provided information from Investors Responsibility Research Center in Washington that told another story. According to Haacke, "Alcan does indeed collaborate substantially with its former affiliate."[42] Below is an excerpt from Haacke's letter to The Editor of The Wall Street Journal:

> Aside from the strange notion that artworks should not be exhibited, if the historical conditions they allude to no longer exist, Mr. Leclerc's statement is disingeneous and should not go unchallenged. In July 1987, more than a year after its divestment, Alcan admitted to the Washington-based Investors Responsibility Research Center that it has agreements with its former South African affiliate 'to provide technical assistance on fabrication of aluminum' and to supply it 'with aluminum coil for canning sheet and rod for wire and cable production.' Alcan also purchases manganese under a contract with a South African company.[43]

In Haacke's letter to Thomson, he requested that wall-label be changed because "It implies, at least for a politically unsuspecting person, that Alcan has cut its ties to South Africa completely."[44] Attached to Thomson's letter was a copy of the Investors Responsibility Center, which stated:

> Alcan told IRRC in July 1987 that it retains an agreement with Hulett to 'to provide technical assistance on fabrication of aluminum for commerical

> purposes.' The company also retains supply agreements to provide 'Hulett with aluminum coil for canning sheet and rod for wire and cable production.' In addition, Alcan purchases manganese under a contract with a South African company. (Finally, Alcan retains a dormant holding company in South Africa, with no employees, which 'is in the process of being wound up...(to) be completed very soon.')[45]

In another article on Voici Alcan, "Too Much Ado About Artist's Pot Shots at Alcan," John Bentley Mays attacked the aesthetics of Haacke's work and his methods. Mays stated,

> It is not an impressive work of socially critical art, either in terms of craft or of artistic intelligence... Like the work of all one-idea artists with axes to grind--like kitschy public art on a busy street--Haacke's Here is Alcan is newsworthy only because someone is kicking up a fuss over it...Were a writer to come into any editorial office or newsroom in the Western world with Here is Alcan's unsupported innuendoes and veiled, undocumented allegations of wrongdoing...he'd be laughed out the door. Investigative journalism is about revealing the truth, cutting through lies and obfuscation, and challenging the powers that be. In comparison to that project, Haacke's work is gossip. And in comparison to Woodward and Bernstein, Haacke is Hedda Hopper...the very idea that art can mobilize effective political thinking or action may be self-deception--or worse, an instance of art-world envy of the power of the press, which has historically proven it can shade up and bring down things a lot bigger than Alcan Aluminum.[46]

In a letter, dated June 30, 1988, to the Editor of The Globe and Mail, Haacke saw "no need to react to Mays art criticism;" but he felt Mays's accusations that Voici Alcan contains "unsupported innuendoes and veiled, undocumented allegations" should not go unchallenged.[47] According to Haacke, Mays's quality of journalistic reporting of Voici Alcan was lacking.

> The texts are based on documents published by Alcan, by research organizations monitoring apartheid, as well as the international press and business literature available in any major library...Mr. Mays could have found additional background information on Voici Alcan in the catalogue Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business...Had Mr. Mays not been so obsessed by his dislike for my work, he might have done some checking on the current relations of Alcan with South Africa...Mr. Mays suggests in this article 'were a writer to come into an editorial office...with Here is Alcan's unsupported innuendoes...he'd be laughed out of the door.' Had I been Mr. Mays' editor and been offered his sloppily researched diatribe against Voici Alcan, I might have been tempted to follow his prescription. It would have saved him from becoming an unwitting public relations agent for Alcan.[48]

In a letter to the Editor of The Globe and Mail, Ann Thomas, Assistant Curator of Photographs at the National Gallery, defended Haacke's artistic methods and integrity with a brief overview of Haacke's artistic career and concerns.

> Mr. Haacke's message is clear and his research well done. He is a serious artist whose work has always been lined to the formal traditions, the conventions, the venues and the systems of the visual art world. He has never aspired to be a journalist, as a quick overview of his long career will reveal. His view of art in his words: 'Art is part of those elements that...create values, shape beliefs, form goals and...have an effect on the understanding of oneself and one's role in the social environment...or how we see ourselves in the world.'
>
> There has been a clear and logical line of progression in Haacke's work from the early pieces which reveal environmental systems...up to the photographic assemblages, beginning in 1970, which reveal systems of political and corporate power. The cratfting of all his works has been done with a strong visual and conceptual sense of the symbolic presence as well as the functional features of the objects which represent the particular system which he as an artist, is currently investigating. In the environmental works they are crafted as functional, elemental objects,

whereas those that deal with corporate interests employ the formats and modes of corporate marketing. The roots of Haacke's art can be traced back to the acerbic, forthright social commentary of German artists of the 1920s and 30s, such as George Grosz and John Heartfield.

Mr. Bentley Mays may be disturbed by the message contained in Voici Alcan but he owes this artist far greater consideration than his recent treatment of him would suggest.[49]

CHAPTER V

TAKING STOCK (UNFINISHED), 1983/84

Taking Stock (unfinished), 1983/84, like Painting for the Boardroom, was a site-specific painting; both were included in an exhibition of Haacke's work made from 1978 to 1984, at the Tate Gallery, January 25-March 4, 1984. Homage to Marcel Broodthaers and Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade are more appropriately called site-specific installations because they include certain elements that interact with and affect the exhibition space structurally as well as symbolically.

This precise and realistic oil portrait of a poised and powerful Margaret Thatcher was a complex allegory with several layers of meaning. Taking Stock was a Victorian painting about Victorian subjects--Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and advertising executives and art collectors Maurice and Charles Saatchi--in the twentieth century; the style of painting and the setting was Victorian.(Fig. 16) With this painting, Haacke was "taking stock" of the roles Thatcher and the Saatchis have played in affecting the cultural, economic, and political climate.[1] Parallel to Haacke's early systems that were interdependent and nonstatic processes, their roles are continuously changing

and affecting society; the consequences cannot be fully determined. And, like Haacke's real estate pieces in which the holdings of corporate landlords were continuously altering and could only be determined "as of" a particular date, Haacke was "taking stock" of their roles "as of" the time of exhibition; Haacke's job of "drawing the bottom line" is an on-going process that will always be "unfinished."[2]

Haacke's ironic juxtaposition of literal and symbolic objects and contexts in Taking Stock is similar to photomontage. In fact, one reason Haacke did a painting was to play around with the labels such as conceptualist and photomontagist that have been attached to him over the years.[3]

Actually, Taking Stock could be called a "paintmontage." Photomontage is a strategy that consists of constructing or assembling photographs or text from various contexts. Through juxtaposing and overlaying recognizable objects and symbols out of context, deeper meanings and allegories develop. An excellent example and one that is similar to Taking Stock, is Peter Kennard's Maggie Regina, 1983.(Fig. 17) Haacke and Kennard, an English photomontagist, have much in common beside these two ironic portraits of Margaret Thatcher. Both became politicized in the late 1960s and changed their strategy and approach to making art;[4] both are critics of the sociopolitical

environment and art, particularly the form they are using; and, both appropriate images from the media. And in both Kennard's and Haacke's portraits of Thatcher, she is the Queen of England. In Kennard's Thatcher piece,

> The portrait of Queen Victoria is taken from the Illustrated London News, but Queen Victoria's head has been replaced by that of Margaret Thatcher, who had been calling for a return to 'Victorian values' (hard work, duty, self-reliance). The montage was reprinted in Time (20 June 1983) when Thatcher was elected.[5]

As with Painting for the Boardroom and Homage, Taking Stock addressed current issues in the world of art, politics, and business in a traditional, nineteenth-century style of painting; all three paintings are oil on canvas because, according to Haacke, "acrylic doesn't have an aura."[6] And all three works addressed not only current issues, but also addressed specific nineteenth century beliefs, values, and attitudes that are heldover by those particular individuals empowered to affect the present the socio-political environment.[7]

When researching the cultural and political climate in and around the Tate for the exhibition, Haacke discovered that that the Saatchis were the advertising agents for Thatcher's election campaigns in 1979 and 1983. When the Saatchis ran Thatcher's campaign, they helped to "transform her from lowering dowdiness into royal rigor mortis, softened the shrillness of her voice, crowned her with a less terrifying hairdo, and taught her to carry herself like

a queen--rather, like the queen."[8] In Taking Stock, Haacke has drawn attention to the queenly mannerisms of Thatcher, and he remarked:

> In order to accentuate her rivalry with Queen Elizabeth and also to strengthen the period look, I seated her on a chair with the image of Queen Victoria on its back. It is a chair that I found in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum. Thatcher would like to rule an Imperial Britain. The Falklands War was typical of this mentality.[9]

Haacke also discovered powerful parallels as well as direct connections between Thatcher and the Saatchis. Both, according to Haacke, are Victorian in their attitudes and actions.

> As you know, she (Thatcher) expressly promotes Victorian values, nineteenth-century conservative policies at the end of the twentieth century...in their way, the Saatchis are also Victorians. They match the young bourgeois entrepreneurs of the nineteenth century, relatively unfettered by tradition, without roots in the aristocracy, and out to prove themselves to the world. Their conquests are the brash takeovers of advertising companies around the world. After successful forays in the U.K., a few years ago they gobbled up Compton, a big Madison Avenue agency with an international network. And last year it was the turn of McCaffrey & McCall, another New York agency. By now the Saatchi empire has grown to be the eighth largest peddler of brands and attitudes in the world.[10]

In Taking Stock, there is a symbolic pulling back of the red velvet curtain to reveal, among many things, the faces of Maurice and Charles Saatchi on "broken plates, like Victorian knicknacks,"[11] and their advertising acquisitions (their clients are the titles found on the leatherbound books). According to Haacke, "a golden palm leaf motif with their initials MS and CS on the plates gives them a halo and

so elevates the pair to patron saints of Margaret Thatcher."[12] An interesting correlation can be drawn between between the late eighteenth century American painter Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827) and his painting, An Artist and His Museum. In this self-portrait, Peale is pulling back the curtain to reveal acquisitions and holdings of his anthropological and natural history museum. As Peale took stock of his acquisitions, Haacke has taken stock of the art and business practices of the Saatchis.

Similar to Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, a well known political leader is framed in gold, surrounded by symbols and signs of cultural and political power. For Haacke, the most striking similarity between these two world leaders, is that both Reagan and Thatcher "directly affect the way we live...the 'great communicator' and his partner in London shape the consciousness of their respective nations.[13]

Reagan was perturbed and emotional, Thatcher in her formal turquoise gown seated on a Victorian chair was regal and poised. According to Haacke, she was "adopting a particular posture."[14] In Homage to Brooadthaers, Reagan's facial expression was not congruent with his media image as an unshakeable world leader. Thatcher's arrogant expression, although not congruent with her old image as the "Headmistress of the Nation," does reflect her new image as the "Queen of England," which was created by Saatchi & Saatchi public relations firm.[15] According to Haacke, "she

is being cast strategically in the role of the Queen, even adopting the queen's style of clothing, and he stated: "No wonder that the people of Buckingham Palace don't particularly care for Thatcher."[16]

Colors of royalty and power, such as gold and red, are prominent in these depictions of world leaders and add to the auratic status as works of art. In Homage, the assembling of signs and symbols associated with cultural and sociopolitical power are obvious, but in Taking Stock, they are combined with subtlety. The varied meanings and associations are not readily accessible. Taking Stock is at once a traditional portraiture and a parody. The faces of the Saatchis on the broken plates are certainly meant to be caricatures. With this ironical and playful mixture of high art and caricature, Haacke has created a more complex, and perhaps more humorous, puzzle to solve than Homage. He stated on the use of humor when dealing with weighty social and political issues,

> I hope the comical, sarcastic, ironical--or whatever you want to call it--helps to make the work accessible and interesting. It also alleviates what can easily turn into melodramatic seriousness. I don't like the raised finger. There should also be fun. Usually, people get hung up on the political seriousness (the assumption is that poltiics is very seriuos--which it is, of course). But one can also deal with it in a way that is funny and seriuos at the same time. Bertolt Brecht, for example, is someone who was able to combine the two. His work is luxurious and hilarious and funny, and it also drives the point home. But politics, for some odd reason, has this church seriuosness about itself. That's devastating; it turns people off.[17]

Gold classical columns, Iconic capitals, and a decorative cornice context this dynamic relationship of economics and culture, money and art. Subjects, symbols, and signs are playfully and humorously juxtaposed. In Taking Stock, a wealth of information was literally framed in an elegant, gold neoclassical frame, the type that was popular during the Victorian period. Haacke did have the frame built.

> For the design, I followed the example of frames around paintings by Frederick Leighton and Burne-Jones at the Tate. In effect, these frames elevate their contents to the status of altarpieces, endow the paintings with religious connotations. I don't have to tell you what gold represents. As with the frame, I tried to mimic, as best I could, the love for genre detail and the paint style of the Victorian era.[18]

In essence, Haacke has made a Victorian portrait of Thatcher, "properly within the spirit of the 19th century, every detail tells a story."[19] His details came from several photographs of Victorian art and life.

> The objects in the painting are Victorian, that is to say, the spines of the books have Victorian typefaces, the curtain and column comes from photographs of Victorian interiors, the bookcase comes form Victorian picturebooks, the table comes from a catalogue of Victorian furniture, the sculpture on the table was made by a British artist, the carpet, a Persian rug, comes from a collection of carpets that were popular during the Victorian era in England, the chair is a Victorian chair with Queen Victoria on the back and it is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[20]

Even the composition and the placing of the statue of Pandora's Box by Bates on the table next to Thatcher alludes to the interest in symbolic, mythological, and erotic love

during the Victorian era, especially painters of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in England. Haacke pointed out that the sculpture is in the collection of the Tate and was on display in the entrance rotunda of the museum at the same time of his show at the Tate.[21] There are other meanings to position of the sculpture near Thatcher in painting, and Haacke has given a few:

> I don't think one can give it just one meaning. It is open to a number of interpretations. One, of course, is that one can identify Pandora with Mrs. Thatcher. One can also associate Pandora with that part of the painting in which it appears--the right part--and in that part of the picture almost all the information is about the Saatchis. One can also look--and his is in a way very peculiar, very funny and ironic--at the confrontation of two women; one that is promoting Victorian values located in the same historical period as a Victorian sculpture; one with a rather prudish appearance juxtaposed with the other which suggest that rather sheepish Victorian eroticism. One can go from there and follow all sorts of thought.[22]

Also, Haacke pointed out that most of the details--the two broken plates, the leatherbound books in the bookcase, and the papers, which were at Thatcher's foot and falling off the table--on the right side of the painting referred to the business and art practices of the Saatchis. The broken plates parody the Neo-Expressionist artist Julian Schnabel, who is "known for his paintings that incorporate broken plates" and is collected by Doris and Charles Saatchi.[23] According to Haacke,

> In 1982, Schnabel had an exhibition at the Tate Gallery. Nine of the eleven paintings were owned by Charles and Doris Saatchi. It was the first exhibition the museum organized in collaboration with the Patrons

> of New Art of the Tate Gallery, a group which had been established the same year. Charles Saatchi was the driving force behind its establishment and an infuential member of its steering committee.[24]

The Saatchis also extensively collect works by other Neo-Expressionists artists such as Baselitz and Kiefer, who were favored by Fuchs in Documenta 7. Fuchs contributed an essay in a catalogue of the Saatchi collection, which is numbered more than 500 paintings and sculptures.[25] Coincidently, both Taking Stock and Homage to Broodthaers addressed the popular Neo-Expressionistic painting style. When asked why he did not choose a Neo-Expressionistic style of painting when commenting on the popular style, Haacke stated:

> But if I had concentrated on the style of current painting, the political comment would have been left out. I would have been dealing exclusively with an art-world affair. The art world is not that important. Moreover, the attitudes associated with much of the retro type of painting favored by the Saatchis amounts to a gold-frame celebration of a romantic individualism of a bygone era, which clearly predates and differs essentially from the attitudes of the original expressionists. Much of the current painting is coy naughtiness.[26]

The titles of the leatherbound books on the shelves of the neclassical bookcase are the many advertising clients, which are from the art world as well as the business world, of Saatchi & Saatchi. Haacke described their powerful position in the advertising world.

> The titles on the spines, in Victorian typeface, identify them as advertising accounts of the Saatchis. The company is the largest British advertising agency. Through a merger with Compton and McCaffry and McCall

> here in New York, it now ranks as the 8th largest agency in the world. It trades its shares publicly here and in London. Saatchi and Saatchi became a household word in England when it ran Mrs. Thatcher's election campaign in 1979. They did it again last year, a very clever and vicious campaign, full of the demogogic tricks of the trade. In the advertising world it is generally assumed that the successful selling of Margaret Thatcher prompted her government to reward the agency with the lucartive British Airways account. They also handle the accounts of many other enterprises of the British Government. And they do political business outside of Britain. Last year their South African affiliate ran the government party's campaign for the passage of a constitutional change, which many observers believe consolidated the apartheid system in South Africa. The British press has even mentioned the company as a possible agency to handle the reelection campaign of Ronald Reagan. Back in in the art industry: Saatchi and Saatchi now does advertising for a good number of the major British art institutions. Among them are the British Arts Council, the British Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, the Royal Academy, the Serpentine Gallery, the Victoria & Albert Museum, and, of course, the Tate Gallery.[27]

According to Haacke, one can realize the power of the Saatchis in the art world by reading the information, which was obtained from annual reports, on the papers at Thatcher's foot and falling off the table. "Their influence, of course, unavoidably extends to the production, distribution, and evaluation of art works in general, and therby by design or unwittingly it affects contemporary consciousness."[28] Haacke stated in an interview with Jeanne Siegel:

> The paper that's about to fall off the table tells the viewer that a Saatchi-controlled company, in 1977-78, sold art works valued at 380,319 pounds. According to its annual report this company (Brogan Developers Ltd.) was formed in 1972 specifically to 'deal in properties and Works of Art.' In the same report one can read:

> 'During the period the company entered into the art market by acquiring a portfolio of well known contemporary paintings. These were acquired on behalf of the company by the individual director [Charles Saatchi] responsible during the course of a number of visits to leading American and European galleries and collectors.' The paper at Mrs. Thatcher's foot, which you have to read by tilting your head, tells you that Saatchi and Saatchi Company PLC listed in 1982 among its fixed tangible assets 'Furniture, equipment, works of art and motor vehicles' with a gross replacement cost of 15,095,000 pounds. Net after depreciation is provided for art works.[29]

Aggressive takeovers earned the Saatchi brothers the nickname of "Snatchit and Snatchit."[30] Sons of an Iraqi-born textile merchant, the Saatchis began their advertising agency in the Soho section of London in 1970 with only three clients, and then "gobbled up advertising agencies like the American firm Dancer, Fitzgerald, Sample that produced the famous Wendy's "Where's the Beef?" in the 1980s."[31] Haacke gave an overview of their advertising acquisitions:

> In 1982, the Saatchis acquired Compton Communications, an important New York agency. It provided them with a worldwide network and, as a client, Procter & Gamble, the world's largest advertiser. In rapid succession other U.S. agencies were bought up: in 1983, McCaffrey and McCall of New York; the following year, Yankelowitch, Skelly & White, a New York-based market research firm, and the Hay Group of Philadelphia, a management consulting firm with an international network of offices. Added in 1985 were Roland Co., the fifth largest public relations concern of the U.S.; Siegel & Gale of New York, specializing in corporate identification work; the Marlboro Group (sales promotion); and the Kleid Co., which concerns itself with direct marketing. By 1985, business in the U.S. generated 62% of the revenue of the holding company, Saatchi & Saatchi PLC. The pace and volume of takeovers quickened in 1986 with the acquisition of Backer & Spielvogel in New York and the addition of two international networks, through the acquisition of Dancer, Fitzgerald, Sample (now DFS-Dorland Worldwide)

> and Ted Bates Worldwide. The buy-out of Ted Bates for $450 million topped the 'big bang merger' of three giant U.S. agencies within weeks and made Saatchi & Saatchi the world's largest advertising agency.[32]

According to Newsweek, their "go-for-the-throat political ads for Thatcher in 1978 and 1979 helped bring the Tories back to power; one ad featured an unemployment line stretching for miles with the words "Labour Isn't Working."[33] In his New Museum catalogue, Haacke pointed out that New York Times found their political advertisements "simple to the point of brutality," and he stated:

> One of the ads suggested that the Labour Party platform was identical with that of the British Communist Party. Another ad, directed to the Asian and West Indian population of London, showed a black man with the caption 'Labour Say He's Black; Tories Say He's British.' Because of the Conservative Party's poor record in race relations, several West Indian publications rejected the ad as insulting. Saatchi & Saatchi was also in charge of the Tory election campaign for the European Parliament. After the Conservative victory of 1979, Thatcher handed the British Airways account, worth $25 million in billings, over to the Saatchis, thereby breaking a thirty-six-year relationship with the U.S. agency Foote, Cone & Belding.[34]

In the last decade, the Saatchis "expanded into areas beyond advertising, such as public relations, market research, and management consulting."[35] In the 1980s, the Saatchis wanted to be a "business-services supermarket of tomorrow--a store for the global village that would help corporations with everything from consulting to market research to public relations; in other words, be a one-stop stopping."[36] This idea, along with "globalization, or the

notion that the world has become a small enough place to market the same products the same way,"[37] directed their investment choices. In his 1985 article "Saatchi & Saatchi Go Public," Don Hawthorne estimated that the personal stock of the Saatchi brothers to be more than $40 million.[38] According to Haacke, the Saatchi brothers "personally own 10% of the company, a stake valued in 1985 at upwards of $55 million."[39]

Haacke continued to investigate the globalization of the Saatchis' cultural, economic, and political power. As he has done with other multinational corporations, Haacke has also examined the Saatchis' connection in South Africa. Through their subsidary KMP-Compton, which is the South African office of Saatchi & Saatchi Compton Worldwide, they have been able to affect the socio-political climate in South Africa; of course, to what degree they have affected the socio-political environment and what are the consequences of their connection in South Africa cannot be fully determined.

Two works Haacke made in 1987--The Saatchi Collection (Simulations), 1987 and Who Does What in South Africa? 1987--addressed Saatchi & Saatchi links in South Africa. Ironically, Who Does What in South Africa? was an advertisement ("artvertorial")--Saatchis's framework--in the financial magazine Manhatten, inc. Manhatten, inc. actually invited Haacke to create a work for one page (Fig. 18) of

their January 1987 issue, which included an excellent overview of Haacke's investigation of institutional and corporate power by Mary Anne Staniszewski. They were pleased with the results, and Staniszewski stated,

> Who Does What in South Africa? is the kind of Haacke piece that causes his critics to charge that his work is more journalistic than artistic. But it is also the kind of piece that best demonstrates why such a charge is unfounded. Its impact depends more on its concept and execution than on the facts it presents--which are all that a journalist would have to work with. And the facts alone would not allow a reporter to make as strong statement about Saatchi & Saatchi as Haacke can make in a work of art. yet even in an aggressive piece like Who Does What, Haacke avoids a mad-dog approach. Wit and visual eloquence are the most persuasive characteristics of his best projects. Who Does What impishly uses the standard 'turn the page upside down to find the answers' format of children's quiz book, thereby making the political message all the more pointed.[40]

According the Staniszewski, Saatchi & Saatchi see their relationship with the South African agency, KMP-Compton, as a loose one, an affiliate that only sets up referrals, and not a subsidiary; Saatchi & Saatchi do not have equity in it.[41] But Haacke discovered information that contradicts their claim of a loose relationship. For example, he found:

> 1) in their 1985 annual report they listed KMP-Compton under the heading 'Offices-Communciations Division' of Saatchi & Saatchi Compton Worldwide; 2) an interview with the CEO and chairman of Ted Bates Worldwide (acquired by Saatchi & Saatchi), who stated that his company had enjoyed profits from its business in South Africa in the past and will continue a presence there; and 3) a full-page advertisement ('How Maurice and Charles gold at the end of Jorissen Street') that ran in the Financial Mail, a South African business weekly, with the slogan 'KMP-Compton: A Saatchi & Saatchi Compton Worldwide Agency.'[42]

The Saatchi Collection was a wall installation comprised of three cereal boxes with facsimiles of advertisements by KMP-Compton, a bucket containing samples of KMP-Compton's advertising campaign for the Nationalist Party's 1983 "pro-apartheid referendum," and a chrome-plated bust of Lenin on top of a orange, white, and blue formica shelf; in the center, above the shelf, was a photograph of Charles Saatchi with a quote ("As Lenin said, "everything is connected to everything else") taken from the Saatchi & Saatchi's 1985 annual report.[43](Fig. 19) Haacke described why the 1983 referendum only appeared to be a reform measure of the apartheid system.

> In 1983, the South African office of Saatchi & Saatchi Compton Worldwide was hired by the governing Nationalist Party of Pieter W. Botha to promote the adoption of a proposed change of the South African constitution in a national referendum. This change established a tri-camera system, which gives the 3.4 million 'colored' and Asian inhabitants a nominal representation, while, in effect, it reserves power to the white minority (16% of the population). As in the past, South Africa's 21 million blacks (72% of the population) remain totally disenfranchised. The new consitution was designed as a political smokescreen.[44]

The shelf was a "mock-up of a Haim Stenbach, the bust of Lenin was a Homage å Koons,"[45] and the bright blue and orange ends of the shelf mocked Peter Halley's hard-edged abstractions of vibrant and intense colors. Similar to Broken R.M..., 1986 and Baudrichard's Ecstasy, 1988, Haacke was commenting on the current simulations who appropriate past artists and artistic styles. Based on the writings of

Walter Benjamin, who felt that mechanical reproduction detaches a work of art from its ritualistic tradition and deflates its aura, these simulationists have "renounced originality as an outmoded concept and have tried to produce art without 'aura'."[46]

The present situation of the Saatchis is not very good. According to Newsweek, "after 19 years of continous profits, the company lost a whopping 58.5 million pounds ($98.9 million) in 1989."[47] By 1990, "with 1987 stock-market crash, overextension into consulting businesses, declining stock price, and a mounting debt burden, their expansionist game was over."[48]

Before their expansionist game was over in the 1990s, it provided Charles Saatchi and his wife Doris the opportunity to become powerful players in the art market game. Art, as shown in their annual reports, is "fixed tangible assets."[49] In 1969, at the age of 26 years, Charles Saatchi began to collect art by purchasing a Sol Lewitt; in 1973, his art collecting activities became a joint project when he married Doris Lockhart, "an American graduate of Smith College, whose enthusiasm for collecting and knowledge of the contemporary art scene rivaled that of her husband."[50] Doris Saatchi has written art criticism for The World of Interiors, Artscribe, and Architectural Review, and is the London editor of the American House and Garden.[51]

They began collecting Minimal works and then in the 1970s, they "broadened the focus of their collection to include examples of contemporary American figurative art, from Philip Guston and Eric Fischl to Jennifer Bartlett...and of European Neo-Expressionistics...such as Georg Baselitz."[52] Charles and Doris Saatchi have one of the "most complete and impressive records of the art activity of the past 20 years...including eleven by Judd, twenty-one by Lewitt, twenty-three by Kiefer, twenty-four by Clemente, twenty-seven by Schnabels,"[53] and "nineteen by Baselitz."[54]

Doris and Charles Saatchi are "aversive to publicity and have never consented to be interviewed and quoted in the press."[55] They do not make studio visits, but do their buying through galleries and art fairs in Europe and America.[56] Although it is difficult to find many dealers and friends that will talk about the Saatchis' collecting practices, Hawthorne found a few revealing characteristics:

> ...'they have a very specific, discriminating taste, a specific sense of connoisseurship'...The most characteristic feature of the Saatchi Collection is the depth in which each artist is represented...a single work is rare...notes Castelli, 'there is no museum in the whole wide world that has as many pieces'...A second Saatchi trademark is a readiness to purchase works too large for many collectors and unsuitable for domestic exhibition...From the beginning, the collection was never intended to adorn domestic walls; long before the gallery [Saatchis' private museum north of London] was conceived, the size and scale of the Saatchis' collecting would have befitted a good-sized museum.[57]

The collecting practices of Doris and Charles Saatchi have definitely affected the art market and artists' careers. "According to Castelli, whose first sale to the Saatchis was an Artschwager (they own nineteen), 'Artschwager has become considerably more famous for being included in that collection.'"[58] "Norman Rosenthal of the Royal Academy in London agrees: 'If he sold...the whole market for that kind of art would crash.'"[59] According to Haacke, "Sandro Chia, so far, has been the most well-known victim of this mechanism."[60]

The Saatchis' cultural power extends to art institutions as well. Through positions on boards and committees of museums, Charles Saatchi has influenced the curatorial direction of the Tate Gallery and the Whitechapel Gallery, also in London. As previously mentioned, Charles Saatchi was a leading force behind the establishment of the Patrons of New Art of the Tate Gallery, a group that collaborated with Tate on exhibitions; the first exhibition organized as a collaboration was of works by Julian Schnabel, and nine of the eleven paintings were lent by the Saatchis. According to Haacke, the Patrons are:

> a private association with the stated goal of acquiring and donating contemporary art works to the Tate Gallery (the museum is operated by the British government). Its membership includes many collectors and nearly all London art dealers; the New York art dealer Leo Castelli is an associate member. There have been complaints that the Saatchis have never donated a work to the Tate Gallery. A disillusioned Friend of the

> Tate is quoted in Harper & Queen, saying: 'The group is a vehicle for power, prestige, and social climbing.'[61]

At the time of Haacke's exhibition at the Tate Gallery, Charles Saatchi was also a member of the board of trustees of the Whitechapel Gallery, which exhibits contemporary art.[62] Being on the board would give Saatchi "insider information on upcoming exhibitions, and allow him to buy works at a favorable moment."[63] Conflicts of interest continually arise in many museums, which are in a precarious and vulnerable position because the money from corporations and private collectors for acquisitions and exhibitions is shrinking. Of course, trustees lending to exhibitions has been a common occurrence in all museums; museum officials hope that these works will eventually be donated.

> Yet such arrangements present possibilities for conflicts of interest that are only beginning to come to the attention of museums and public authorities. Museum officials and legal experts have become aware of the legal and ethical dangers in trustees using their influence to encourage the organization of exhibitions that would increase the value of their collections. According to guidelines published by the American Association of Museums in 1981, 'The trustee who collects could be liable to the museum for profits he makes as a provable consequence of actions taken by the museum if his participation was a major influence in the institution's decision to take those actions.'[64]

Around the time of Haacke's exhibition at the Tate, "Saatchi withdrew from the board of trustees of the Whitechapel in December of 1983 and left the steering committee of the Tate's Patrons of New Art in February 1984."[65] Supposedly, Saatchi withdrew from these positions

because of the pressures of running the advertising business.[66]

Although Taking Stock has been very popular[67] and purchased by a private collector, reviews and criticism of Haacke's oil painting of Thatcher were mixed. Haacke, himself, had no delusions that he created a great painting, and he stated:

> I did a lot of painting in art school and for awhile afterwards. But, I never learned this kind of painting, with figures, perspective, and so forth. So, I listened around, looked into painting manuals, and went to museums to study how such paintings are done...I hope it is good enough for a passing grade. For my purpose, this is all it needs. But it was fascinating, and I had fun doing it.[68]

In her review of Haacke's exhibition, which included Taking Stock, at the John Weber Gallery in 1985, Vivien Raynor agreed that the painting was not very good in the traditional sense. But, it should be appreciated on another level:

> Haacke's work is not art even when it tries to be--the Thatcher painting is pretty awful. But, it is as much about art as it is about the money that buys art, and though anyone could ascertain the same facts, probably only an artist--and one as obsessive as Haacke--would want to...No one who really pays attention to the show can feel comfortable with it, much less get a political high from it. But it's nice, once in a while, to see a well-oiled mind work.[69]

In her 1985 review, Jane Bell found this painting of Margaret Thatcher much less successful than Haacke's Voici Alcan and MetroMobilitan.

> ...a satiric portrait of Margaret Thatcher is in fact thumpingly bad as an artwork by any standard. The

> effect is of a work created by a Stalinist social realist thrown back into Holbein's time. Its overall clumsiness detracts from Haacke's intent, which was to illuminate the link between Thatcher, the advertising agency of Saatchi and Saatchi and the reputations and fortunes of collectors Doris and Charles Saatchi and of such artists as Julian Schnabel. Unethical, surely; deplorable, probably--but in the final analysis as dull as the proverbial teapot...Yet compared to Voici Alcan and MetroMobilitan, which deal with life-and-death issues, this salon painting becomes little more than an in-joke. Haacke's dogged commitment and brilliant engagement of deadly serious issues can do better than this banal exercise in art-world gossip.[70]

In "Hans Haacke: Kunsthalle," Wechsler found Taking Stock subtle, not superficial. For Wechsler, Haacke commented on the interrelated cultural, economic, and political context in a complex and allegorial way, thereby involving the viewer more profoundly. In the end, the message was stronger.

> In his earlier works a dogmatic rhetoric often seemed to take over the picture, but in the recent pieces here (Tate) it recedes into the background, integrating itself discreetly in the pictorial discourse. The message ends up stronger, the image more ambiguous and rich in meaning. This seems appropriate to the complexity of the political and corporate relations that Haacke explores, and it also encourages viewers toward a more-than-superficial interpretation. Their deciphering of the work duplicates Haacke's analysis of the tricky mystifications in the relationships among art, politics, and industry and trade.[71]

CHAPTER VI

WEITE UND VIELFALT DER BRIGADE LUDWIG (BROADNESS AND DIVERSITY OF THE LUDWIG BRIGADE), 1984

Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade was the fourth and last site-specific installation in which Haacke incorporated painting in the 1980s. Similar to Painting for the Boardroom, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, and Taking Stock, Broadness and Diversity had several layers of meaning, which were simple to complex, or literal to allegorical; it was both topical and transcendent. And parallel to the previous three works, the Ludwig Brigade was made for a specific cultural, historical, and political context. The installation was included in Haacke's exhibition "Nach allen Regein der Kunst (According to/after the Rules of the Game/Art, a pun on a German proverb)" at the Künstlerhaus Bethanien, which was only 100 or so yards from the now fallen Berlin Wall.[1]

> From the third floor of the bulding one has a good view over the meandering fortifications, erected in 1961 by the German Democratic Republic, which physically divide the city and encircle West Berlin with two unscalable concrete walls. In between is a 'deathstrip' complete with watchtowers, tank barriers, and all-night illumination...The GDR calls its Western border 'the border of peace' and has proclaimed that 'actually existing socialism' has been established on its territory.[2]

With the Ludwig Brigade, Haacke addressed how the chocolate manufacturer and art collector Peter Ludwig was able to easily cross the "border of peace." In the last forty years, Ludwig became a powerful manager in art and industry. Through shrewd practices in business and art in East and West Germany, he not only crossed the border, he connected culture and commerce, capitalism and socialism, thereby increasing his power and profits in both worlds.

Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade was comprised of a large oil painting of Peter Ludwig, his wife Mrs. Irene Monheim Ludwig, and Erika Steinführer, an East German worker, on one gallery wall; a slick and seductive billboard advertising Ludwig's Trumpf chocolate on the opposite gallery wall; and, a barrier of masonite and wood beams was constructed between the painting and billboard.(Fig. 20) By placing the painting (high art) and the billboard (mass media) directly opposite from one another, the viewer was confronted by their connectedness, which could not be suppressed by the barrier. Haacke has shown that both art and advertising are powerful modes of promotion and seduction.

The billboard was an unaltered Trumpf advertisement of a dressmaker, a working woman, surrounded by mannequins in various stages of dress.(Fig. 21) She was taking a break from her sewing, enjoying chocolate nougets, and licking her fingers with pleasure.

> The phrase located at the top right stated: "...so viel Zeit muss sein...(...there must be time for this);" on the Trumpf ChoCo Time box it was stated: "Nougat-zarte (nougat-delicate), Genüsse in Choco (pleasures in Choco), frisch versiegelt (freshly sealed), Der 200 g Genuss (The 200 gram pleasure).[3]

The style of the oil painting of Ludwig was Socialist Realism and the composition was derived from sources found in photography and painting.[4](Fig. 22) According to Haacke,

> The portrait of Peter Ludwig was painted after a photograph taken by Ulrich von Born at the opening of the exhibition Durchblick (Seeing Through), in June 1985...Ludwig's posture is modeled after August Sander's 1928 photograph, The Confectioner. The image of Mrs. Irene Ludwig (to the left in the painting) is derived from the double portrait of the Ludwigs, which they commissioned in 1976 from the French photorealist painter Jean-Olivier Hucleux. On the right is Erika Steinührer, a celebrated East German worker, as she appears in a painting by the East German Walter Womacka (now in the Ludwig collection).[5]

Durchblick was the title of the first exhibition of the Ludwig's collection of East German art, organized by the Ludwig-Institut für Kunst der DDR at the Städtische Galerie Schloss Oberhausen, West Germany.[6] According to Walter Grasskamp, "Durchblick literally means 'a look through' as, for example, through a wall. But figuratively, it means 'seeing through,' as through a deception, or simply 'shrewdness.'"[7] In his article in October, Grasskamp considered Broadness and Diversity with its combination of painting and photography to be an agitprop picture and an ironic imitation of Socialist Realism.[8]

> In confronting his agitprop picture with an advertising poster of the Monheim Corporation, Haacke also

> introduces the questions: should we regard socialist realism as comparable to our own advertising photography--that is, as nothing but utterly artificial world of images whose historical and poltical power of expression has been drained, leaving only come-ons?[9]

There were several layers of irony in Haacke's "spoof of socialist realism."[10] One of the most poignant ironies was the depiction of a capitalist in a style that developed from Marxist theory of the ideal society--classless. Socialist Realism is the preferred term of sanctioned Marxist art in Communist countries; it includes all the arts--literature, criticism, and the visual arts. In literature, "the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic portrayal must be in harmony with the objective of the ideological alteration and education of the workers in the spirit of socialism."[11] Officially, a Socialist Realistic work of art must: "(a) veridically depict phenomena significant to the development of Marxist socialism; and, (b) serve a propaganda function of promoting progress towards the classless society."[12]

In the early 1970s, according to Haacke, the tenets of Socialist Realist art, as they were practiced in the Soviet Union after World War II and imposed on the Germans under its rule, were interpreted more liberally and enforced with greater latitude. Officially an era of 'broadness and diversity' was proclaimed.[13] This era of "broadness and diversity" not only brought more opportunities for East German artists to exhibit, but it also facilited Ludwig's

collecting of art from the GDR and eased his negotiations with the State Art Trading Agency of the GDR, the organization that handled all sales of art work in the GDR and determined the prices.[14]

The subject matter of works of art by members of the Artists Association of the GDR "did not criticize the policies of the GDR, whereas attacks on the 'class enemy' in the West are a standard part of the repetory of subjects."[15] The president of the Artists Association, Willi Sitte, stated:

> the tasks and functions of art can be reduced to basically two: 'They have to foster harmony of men with themselves, their country, and their history, and they must give them strength, courage, and hope. And, where it is necessary, they have to disturb, to caution, and to admonish.[16]

Haacke pointed out that in a speech Willi Sitte gave at the opening of Ludwig's collection of art from the GDR, he not only praised Ludwig, but he also questioned the "integrity and artistic achievement of artists who had left East Germany."[17] Coincidently, the exhibition of Ludwig's collection, which was organized by the Ludwig-Institute for Art of the GDR in Oberhausen, West Germany, opened at the Kunsthalle Berlin a few days before Haacke's exhibition at the Berlin Kunstverein. In 1983, the Ludwig-Institute for Art of the GDR was formed in order to catalogue and promote the Ludwig collection of East German art, which Ludwig began to collect in the 1970s.[18] According to Haacke,

> the institute does not fulfill the promise of scholarship that its name might imply. It is widely assumed that the insitute is obliged to present the collection in accordance with official East German views, so as not to impair the business interests of Peter Ludwig.[19]

Signs, symbols, and statements found in the painting were clues to Ludwig's interrelated practices in art and business in East and West Germany. Although a "wall" in this installation separated the painting of Ludwig from the advertisement, the real Wall was never a hinderance for Ludwig. The "'border-crossing' activities of Ludwig occurred under a peculiar German-German alliance that is beyond public scrutiny."[20] According to Haacke, Ludwig, like other West German businessmen, has profited from a previously divided Germany, and stated:

> The Leonard Monheim AG, of which he is chairman and, together with this wife, control the majority of shares, produces chocolate, chocolate candy, cocoa, and semifinished products in Germany, Belgium, Canada, and the United States. By way of licensing and other agreements with the East German authorities, Ludwig's products are also made in the GDR. He provides know-how, modern production facilities, and semifinished products to East Germany. Finished products from this low-wage country are assumed to be imported to West Germany. A key role in these transactions is played by Trumpf Schokolade- und Kakaofabrik Berline GmbH in West Berlin. The plant has been established with the generous infusion of public money and, like other companies in West Berlin, enjoys preferential taxes as compared to those levied on enterprises elsewhere in West Germany. Legally, the Berlin plant is independent and can therefore take advantage of the lower taxation even in its dealing with the parent company.[21]

With the bright, bold red logo of Trumpf in the background, Ludwig, leading a brigade of women, was smiling

and stirring a bowl of his chocolate. The inscriptions on the signs that were held by Mrs. Ludwig and Erika SteinfÜhrer, on the carton of chocolates located in the lower right side, and on the bowl of chocolate Ludwig was stirring refer to his business practices associated with The Monheim Group.

> Mrs. Ludwig was holding a sign that stated: "DARITÄ MIT/N KOLLEGEN IM/PITALISTISCHEN/EIL VON BERLIN (Solidarity with our fellow workers in the capitalist part of Berlin); Steinführer was holding a sign that stated: 9 DM/STD.IS/ZU WENIG/STOPPT ARBEITS/PLATZKÜRZUNGEN/BEI TRUMPF (9 DM/hour is not enough. Stop the job cuts at Trumpf; the inscription on the carton of chocolate bars in front of Steinführer was: SCHOCARRÉS/VEB (VEB [Volkseigener Beitreib]=People's Owned Enterprise; and, the inscription on the bowl of chocolate being stirred by Ludwig was: VEB Dresdner SÜsswarenfabriken Elbflorenz (Candy Factory of Dresden, Florence on the Elbe, People's Owned Enterprise).[22]

As stated previously Schocarrés and Schogetten are produced by Trumpf; the former was sold in East Germany and the latter was sold in West Germany. With licensing agreements, East German production Trumpf chocolates began in 1974.[23] Schocarrés is a type of flat chocolate candy like Hershey bars with bite-sized squares and its packaging is identical to that of Schogetten.[24] In 1981, East Germany Trumpf products were "available almost exclusively in 'Intershops' (foreign currency outlets) and 'Delikatläden' (special stores for high-priced luxury items."[25] Ironically, Trumpf was sold in East Germany in exclusive type stores and sold in West Germany in chain stores.

According to Haacke, "Monheim handled the distribution for all products of Trumpf Berlin GmbH (a.o. Schogetten). Aside from department stores, Trumpf items were sold in large quantities through Aldi (low-priced chain stores)."[26]

Ludwig joined Leonard Monheim KG, Aachen, the business of his father-in-law in 1951 when he married Irene Monheim.[27] The Monheim Group produced chocolate bars, Schogetten, assorted chocolates, hot chocolate powder, seasonal articles, and chewing candy through subsidiaries in cities in West and East Germany; these were distributed under the house label of "Trumpf."[28] According to Haacke, in 1984 Trumpf was the leading brand of Ludwig chocolate products. Through the acquisition of subsidaries, controlling shares, and licensing agreements with other chocolate and candy manufacturers in other countries as well as Germany, Ludwig has been able to globalize his chocolate products; in essence, his interests have been wrapped up and distributed under a number of labels, some of which are well known such as Swiss Lindt. In 1981, Lindt products were made at Leonard Monheim KG, Aachen, the company's headquarters.[29]

With the infusion of public money, changes in location and modernization of Trumpf plants brought about the elimination of jobs throughout the early 1980s. In 1981, Trumpf products were made by "subsidiaries in Aachen, Quickborn near Hamburg, Saarlouis, and the Trumpf

Schokolade- und Kakaofabrik Berlin GmbH, which has been operating independently since 1979 under this new name."[30] The Trumpf Berlin GmbH became independent in 1979 with the selling of 51% of the shares of the Berlin plant, which was established in 1953 and owned totally by Monheim; but, Monheim continued to handle the distribution for all products of Trumpf Berlin GmbH (a.o. Schogetten).[31] According to Haacke, "the new company financed this acquisition by issuing atypical non-voting stocks to private investors. Monheim thus received in 1979, an infusion of approximately DM 100 million which was used by the company in a 'tax-neutral' way (Ludwig)."[32] In the early 1970s before Monheim sold the shares to the new formed Trumpf Berlin GmbH in 1979, the Berlin plant was modernized and updated through special tax advantages given to businesses in Berlin,

> Monheim benefited from the special advantages of the aid for Berlin: 75% depreciation in the first year for investment in plant and equipment (West Germany 3%), outright public grants of 10% or more for investment in plant and equipment, the deduction of 4.5% of the sales tax for sales to West Germany, and other tax advantages.[33]

Then, in 1983, further modernization at the Trumpf Berlin GmbH plant led to layoffs. According to Haacke,

> The majority of the Trumpf employees in Berlin were unskilled or semiskilled, low-wage workers. Over 60% are foreigners, mostly Turks, and a large proportion are women. Many of Ludwig's production centers have received public subsidies for the modernization of their plants, often fear of or in response to an implied threat that the company would otherwise move to

> a region with a better business climate. After the introduction of new machinery the work force was reduced in several instances. A streamlining program at the Trumpf plant in Berlin recently led to the reduction of the number of employees from 1,000 to 920.[34]

In 1981 one-fourth of the jobs were eliminated at Ludwig's Quickborn plant with new investments through public grants. In 1983, at the same time of the reduction of employees at the Berlin plant, there were 400 jobs eliminated at the company headquarters in Aachen due to a move to new production facilities on the outskirts of the city. Ironically, the construction of the new plant was stimulated by grants, which totaled nearly DM 40 million, from the city and state. In 1986, according to Haacke, the sale of the license to produce and distribute Lindt chocolate products in Germany also included the sale of the new facility in Aachen; probably 300 to 400 jobs would be eliminated.[35]

> In June 1986, the Leonard Monheim AG sold its license to produce and distribute Lindt chocolate products in Germany and the Netherlands (sales, approximately DM 235 million) back to the Swiss Chocolate concern for a reported DM 100 million. Ludwig's recently completed Lindt production facilities in Aachen were included in the sale to the newly formed Swiss Chokoladefabriken Lindt & Sprüngli GmbH, Aachen, in which Ludwig retains a 20% stake. The Trumpf label will no longer be made in Aachen.[36]

The inscription on the crate referred to Ludwig's art practices, which are more interwoven with his business practices than the Saatchis. In fact, according to Don Hawthorne in his article "Saatchi & Saatchi Go Public,"

> Ludwig is the Saatchis' only other rival. But where the Saatchis follow artists through their careers and collect in great depth. Ludwig is more electic. 'Ludwig,' says Castelli, 'has a little bit of everything. He is, you know, omnivorous.'[37]

The letters on the crate were:

> STAATLICHER KUNSTHANDEL DER DDR (State Art Trading Agency of the GDR) and LUDWIG STIFTUN FÜr KUNST UND INTERNATIONALE VERSTÄNDIGUNG (Ludwig Foundation for Art and International Understanding), c/o TRUMPF-SCHOKOLAD-U.KAKAOFABRIK GMBH/1 BERLIN 44/GRENZALLEE 4 (c/o Trumpf Chocolate and Cocoa Factory, Inc., 1 Berlin 44, Grensallee 4).[38]

At the time of the installation, the State Art Trading Agency determined prices and handled the sales of works of art by GDR artists. Purchase of these works by Ludwig were made by the Ludwig Foundation for Art and International Understanding in Aachen. This Foundation was established for the purpose of acquiring art, organizing exhibitions, giving loans and grants, and producing publications. According to Haacke,

> one of the major activities of the Foundation has been the promotion of art from the GDR, the Soviet Union, and Bulgaria, all countries where Peter Ludwig has or is suspected of trying to establish a favorable climate for his chocolate business.[39]

The Foundation is an excellent example of how Ludwig has interwoven his dealings in art and business. Haacke pointed out that the "capital from the Foundation was invested in Monheim AG, in which Ludwig and his wife held 53% of the shares and he served as chairman until the company was sold in 1986; the income from the Foundation's

investment in the chocolate business was tax-exempt.[40] The managing director of the Berlin Trumpf company, Wolfgang Schriner, is also the managing director of the Ludwig Foundation for Art and International Understanding.[41]

In 1983, the Foundation was created with the proceeds from the controversial sale of Ludwig's collection of 144 illuminated manuscripts to the J. Paul Getty Museum in California for an estimated price of $40 to $60 million. Haacke described the background of the sale, which raised a number of ethical issues.

> Ludwig had led the city of Cologne to believe that these manuscripts would eventually be donated to Cologne's Schnütgen Museum to work on a scholarly catalogue of the collection. Four lavishly illustrated volumes have been published. It is assumed that the art-historical work performed by the two experts considerably raised the value of the material, which was sold for an estimated price of $40 to $60 million. Questions were raised as to whether the sale conflicted with laws preventing the export of national treasures. However, it appears that the collection had been kept in a vault in Zurich, and therefore at least the letter of the law was not violated. Shortly after the sale to the Getty Museum, perhaps to assuage the furor in Cologne, Ludwig donated his Pre-Columbian collection to the municipal Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, where it had been cared for and researched over many years.[42]

There are several other examples of Ludwig's masterful weaving of art and business. Through his knowledge of law, art history, and business, he has become a powerful force in both the world of art and business. There is no doubt that he has affected the overall cultural and business climate of Germany. With his interweaving of art and business, knowing how to make one work for the other, he has proved, as The

Metropolitan Museum of Art's brochure targeting corporate supporters stated: "The Business Behind Art Knows the Art of Good Business." Ludwig began his development as an aggressive cultural and economic manager almost forty years ago.

> After his military service (1945-45), he studied law and art history. In 1950, he received a doctorate with a dissertation on 'Picasso's Image of Man as an Expression of his Generation's Outlook on Life'...In 1951, Peter Ludwig married fellow student, Irene Monheim, and joined Leonard Monheim KG, Aachen, the business of his father-in-law. In 1952, he became managing partner; in 1969, president, and in 1978, chairman of Leonard Monheim AG, Aachen...Peter and Irene Ludwig have collecting art since the beginning of the 1950s. At first they collected primarily ancient, medieval, and Pre-Columbian art. Since 1966, they have been concentrating on modern art: Pop Art, Photorealism, Pattern Painting, art from East Germany, and the 'New Expressionists'...Permanent loans of modern art are located at the Museum Ludwig, Cologne, the Neue Galerie-Sammlung Ludwig and the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum in Aachen, the national galleries in West and East Berlin, the Kunstmuseum Basel, the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, and the state museums in Saarbrücken and Mainze. Medieval works are housed at the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne, the Couven Museum in Aachen, and the Bavarian state gallery. The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne has Pre-Columbian and African objects, as well as works from Oceania...In 1968, Peter and Irene Ludwig gave the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne a collection of modern art (which consisted mainly of Pop Art) on permanent loan. In 1976, this collection was donated to the city of Cologne on the condition that the city build a museum for the art of the twentieth century. The museum was to be called Museum Ludwig.[43]

Ludwig benefited, as do lenders to museums in the United States, from the standard provisions in most loan agreements. The lender does not have to pay for insurance coverage and proper storage. Furthermore, while these works

are on loan, scholarly research can be conducted by curators, these works can be exhibited and reproduced for catalogues, thereby increasing their value. Different from loan agreements in the U.S., loans to German museums are "exempt from property taxes as long as they are accessible to the public."[44]

The construction of the museums in Cologne and Aachen that bear his name are other examples of his knowledge and expertise in the business aspect of art. Parallel to the use of public money to modernize and relocate his chocolate plants, public money has been used to build museums in his honor and to house his collections. This may be an easier task in Germany to subsidize the arts and build museums with state and municipal money than in the U.S. A 1989 article in the New York Times on different countries and their support and censorship of the arts, found West Germany to be very supportive and open.

> While the federal government provided $213 million in arts subsidies in 1988, it deliberately has little say about how the funds are used. According to Wilhelm Wemmer of the Finance Ministry, 'Article Five of our constitution says, 'Art is free.' This was seen as essential because of the terrible misuse of the arts under Nazi rule. Federal support is just a drop in West Germany's deep bucket of arts subsidies. The nation has 82 symphony orchestras, 58 opera houses and music halls and about 280 legitimate theaters. These are more than 83 percent subsidized by state and local governments in the amount of $1.6 billion annually. West Germany's roughly 2,400 museums are mainly subsidized by states and cities.[45]

Ironically, in the same article, it was stated that corporate sponsorship in Germany "is considered a possible threat to the independence of the arts. But recently, because of budget cuts by state and municipal governments, some companies have begun to be sponsors.[46]

In 1986, the same year Monheim AG sold its license to produce and distribute Lindt chocolates in Germany and the Netherlands back to Swiss Lindt, the city of Aachen agreed to create The Ludwig Forum for International Art. As stated previously, the new plant in Aachen was included in this 1986 sale and the Trumpf label would no longer be made in Aachen and elimination of jobs was expected. Therefore, at the same time Ludwig was expanding his cultural business, he was eliminating jobs. To establish The Ludwig Forum, devoted exclusively to rotating exhibitions of work from Ludwig's growing collection, demanded a large amount of public money. The conversion of a 1928 umbrella factory into a museum cost the city of Aachen $20 million; the city also pledged an annual contribution to its operating budget. According to Haacke, "leading members of the City Council felt hoodwinked."[47] But, with Ludwig promising to return many great works on loan to over 30 museums around the world and mount continuing exhibitions, the City Council decided they could not let slip an opportunity to put Aachen on the international art map."[48]

In 1986, also, The Ludwig Museum opened in Cologne. Near the Cathedral, it is part of complex that includes the Wallraf-Richartz Museum and a concert hall. Ludwig began negotiations with the city ten years before with the donation of his large collection of twentieth century art (mostly Pop Art) on condition that the city would build a museum.[49] Haacke described several controlling conditions spelled out by the Ludwig Foundation:

> Independent from the building plans, all works of art from 1900 to the present, including all donations from Cologne collectors, were immediately to be removed from the adminstration of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and incorporated into the newly founded Museum Ludwig...New acquisitions of modern art are also to become part of the Museum Ludwig.[50]

Ludwig has say in the hiring and firing of the director and other professional staff. He and his wife must be consulted on a regular basis regarding acquisitions, exhibitions, and publications. According to Haacke, revamping of the area and construction of the complex costs the city of Cologne about DM 273 million.

The opening of The Ludwig Museum caused controversy and brought to the surface a moral and aesthetic dilemma many Germans in the art world have had to face since the end of World War II. At the opening, busts of Ludwig and his wife by the sculptor Arno Breker were revealed.

> Breker was the most celebrated sculptor of the Nazi period. His musclemen, The Party and The Armed Forces, guarded the entrance to Hitler's chancellery in Berlin...In 1939, the year Hitler began the war, Breker unveiled a statue of a naked Nordic youth drawing his

> sword--a Germanic version of Rambo--entitled Readiness.[51]

What to do with the thousands of works by Nazi artists produced during the Third Reich and now stored in German museums remains a difficult issue to resolve. Most museum personnel do not exhibit these works because they have no artistic merit.[52] According to Haacke, "Ludwig criticized the German museums for not exhibiting art of the Nazi period and accused them of a 'lack of liberality.'"[53] In a resolution, a group of 180 artists, gallery owners, and museum directors demanded members of the art community to "stop the advance of the appeasers and minimizers of the Nazi past."[54] And they "reminded Ludwig and the public that artists who did not subscribe to the precepts of the Nazi ideology were not allowed to work in Hitler's Germany, that their works were destroyed, and the artists driven in exile."[55]

In 1990, Siegfried Gohr, director of the Ludwig Museum publicly rejected exhibiting Ludwig's collection of sanctioned East German art.[56] He resigned the following year. According to Haacke, Gohr replaced Karl Ruhrberg in 1984:

> Ruhrberg has been quoted saying that he 'was often close to tears' when he thought about the 'high quality works one could have acquired' with the money Ludwig spent on massive art purchases around the world.[57]

Ludwig's practices and policies in business and art were thoroughly researched and documented by Haacke in a

previous work, Der Pralinmeister, 1981. The work consisted of seven pairs or diptychs of multi-colored silkscreens with a small photograph of Ludwig on one side and a small photograph of female workers at the Monheim chocolate factory on the other side; between the photographs and collaged packages of assorted chocolates at the bootom of each panel, Haacke provided information related to Ludwig's business and art practices. Like his provenance pieces, the information was presented straightforwardly in simple frames. And, as Haacke had previously done when examining corporate patrons in the past, he borrowed or quoted Ludwig's actual words and products. Ironically, the "collaged chocolate packages at the bottom of each panel represented the true masterpieces of Monheim's Pop Art."[58] Haacke desribed his appropriation of Ludwig's products in Der Pralinenmeister:

> In my works I often use quotes originating from the target of my attacks. These can be verbal or visual. When one hear Ludwig's name mentioned in the art world one normally thinks of Pop Art or generally of modern art. This, however, I left out very deliberately. Instead, I quoted something that alludes to Pop Art in an ironic way, that is 'Pop Art' produced and sold by Herr Ludwig himself...these packages call up all sorts of unconscious desires. They appeal to notions of value, which are roughly speaking, very traditional and conservative. I did not want to make a flashy Pop Art piece. That would have been cheap pamphleteering. My model was the style of Lindt. Through its Lindt packages, Monheim clearly tries to project a distinguished, reliable and rather old-fashioned image, 'quality through conservatism'. This has nothing to do with the content of the packages: the assorted candies are pretty miserable. When titles appear like Royal, Reverence, or Symbol, in old-fashioned lettering with

> the picture of a golden mirror reflecting a red rose, then all of this looks quite genteel. The colours of chocolate are brown and beige, and then there is also red, and gold is often used, particularly with assorted chocolates. Trumpf has three or four packages with gold and beige. Trumpf also has noble titles such as Classic, Tradition, Armorial Class; not wonder that the Noble Nut Drops also belong to nobility...I don't like beige, but I thought it was necessary to refer to the content through the choice of colours. For the chocolate headlines I chose a pompous typeface full of flourishes with a golden halo such as you find on Trumpf packages. The text underneath, in the same brown, is set in Garamond, rather more like the high kitsch of Lindt.[59]

For Haacke, the diptych format of these panels could best display Ludwig's dialectical development of cultural and economic power, and he stated:

> It was also clear to me that it would not be sufficient to show only the 'artistic' side of the collector Ludwig. There is, also, the other side: the chocolate enterprise, which provides the wherewithal for the 'artistic' activities.
> I also wanted to bring into the focus the parallel development of both areas, the almost characterological parallelism of his procedures: Ludwig's business acumen and the hunger for power, with which he is testing the structures of present society to their limits--all absolutely within the law--in order to gain personal or business advantages. Implicit in this is also a questioning of those very structures which have been established and sanctioned by the legislature. As you know, the chocolate business is in fact subsidized on a large scale by us, through the tax advantages of federal aid to Berlin. In return we are generously offered a few bites of the fruits of these subsidies, although with hard conditions...[60]

These pairs of panels also showed the "disparity between the public claims of Peter Ludwig, the cultural benefactor, and the economic reality of the interests of Ludwig the chocolate tycoon."[61] Parallel to his practice of linking a corporate patron's supposedly humanitarian causes

with their connections in South Africa, Haacke revealed the contradictions and hidden realities behind Ludwig's humanitarian claims; he has presented counter-publicity of Ludwig. In these panels, Haacke directly quoted Ludwig and presented facts on his art dealings and business operations.

> ...as a headline--there are his persistent, and therefore all the more suspect, disclaimers regarding his drive to gain power over arts policy, and his impetuous denial of having used threats, although it is expressly stated, in the conditions I quote from the agreement with the City of Cologne on his donation that 'if you haven't put up this museum by the time of my birthday, I am going to pack up my stuff and take it home'. These contradictions are indeed stated in my piece. I have also quoted extensively from the draft of the contract for the Foundation, in which his lust for power becomes apparent and is identified as such by the critical observers that I cite.[62] (Grass, p. 98)

There have been other works in which Haacke has shown the discrepancies between the promoted, positive image and the hidden, harsh realities. For example, in the work The Right to Life, American Cyanamid's unfair treatment of the women who make Breck products sharply contrasts with the image of the innocent, sweet Breck Girl. In Der Pralinenmeister, Haacke described the working conditions for women in Ludwig's factories (ten years ago).

> ...of some 7,000 employees...5,000 are women...The overwhelming majority of the 2,500 foreign workers are women...The company maintains hostels for its female foreign employees on its fenced-in factory compound in Aachen, as well in other locations. Three or four women share a room (the building of hostels for foreign workers is subsidized by the Federal Labor Agency). The rent is automatically withheld from wages...The press office of the Aachen Diocese and the Caritas Association judged the living conditions as follows: 'Since most of the women and girls can have social

> contacts only at the workplace and in the hostels, they are practically living in a ghetto.'[63]

In essence, Ludwig built his global chocolate business through the employment unskilled, low-wage, and foreign workers, especially women, "who, by their labor, generate the surplus value which allows Ludwig to act as a cultural benefactor in the first place."[64] Regarding the large scale use of low-wage earners to build Ludwig's chocolate and art business, Haacke stated:

> One can say of course that these are wages which were negotiated by the union and, therefore, he should not be blamed for them. However, in the end, the background to these wages is irrelevant. It remains a fact that he built his chocolate empire and, as a consequence, also his art empire on low wages. These wages range from approximately DM 6 to DM 12.30 per hour [1981], as the highest wage for a highly skilled worker. That means that highly skilled people don't get more from him than a cleaning woman, or perhaps even less.
> The Monheim industrial empire is based essentially on the exploitation of low wage workers. And then it so happens that in the chocolate industry, traditionally a lot can be done by unskilled labour and by seasonal workers (particularly women), which helps him a great deal. The majority of the workers are indeed women, who are disadvantaged when it comes to wages. For obvious historical reasons they also do not have clout when it comes to union power. Moreover, a large contingent are foreigners, who, almost by definition, can rarely influence their working conditions. All this social fuss he makes is really without justification, if you look behind the scenes.[65]

Compared to Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade, which has many humorous and ironic visual clues, the amount of text in Der Pralinenmeister makes the message somewhat inaccessible. When comparing his work of the

1970s, which used text extensively such as the provence pieces, Haacke stated:

> If you have a lot of writing, it reaches only an audience that has the time and patience to read. Exclusively visual communication, on the other hand, often remains obscure. As we know, a photograph without caption can be interpreted in many ways--the caption directs the interpretation. The box captures people's imagination and provides the reader of its inscription with an immediate, visceral experience. Words alon would not have the same impact. On the other hand, without the verbal explanation, the box can easily be mistaken as a bad minimal sculpture.[66]

Since the 1970s, Haacke has tried to reduce the verbal information. The Ludwig piece was an exception, and he found no other way to "convey to an uninformed audience what the Ludwig phenomenon represents."[67] And, he stated:

> But, I do try more than in the past to reduce the amount of text. I know from my own experience how uncomfortable it is to read long stories on the walls of galleries. It's not an ideal way of communicating. It also risks making the work dry and unsensuous, almost bureaucratic. The less text, the more you have a chance to make it 'juicy.'[68]

In her review of Haacke's exhibition at the Berlin Kunstverein, Ursula Frohne found that Broadness and Diversity contradicted the "cold aesthetics" of his previous works with so much text. And, she found his work more compelling and convincing than the curators' application to his work recent critical theory.

> Exhibition curators tried to establish a further motive for critical awareness on the part of the public by showing the close relationship between the aesthetical aspect and theoretical reflection found in Haacke's works. The curators trace behind the decision for painting, aside from the general political impact of the subject, also a kind of a contribution to the

> 'opportunistic and fashionable debate on zeitgeist and the postmodern.'
> And yet all this concern for presenting Haacke's works in a new light gives one the impression of a subtle and shameful attempt at reconciliation. The attempt to include Haacke's work with elegant paraphrases in an up-to-date trendiness fails, at the end; for the tendency for caricature, in spite of all, wins out over the imposed critical posture. The 'singular opposing stance' 'within the framework of all the new art-evolution' has been, above all, wiped out by Hans Haacke himself.[69]

An interesting footnote, Haacke had direct dealings with Ludwig in the past. When Haacke's Manet-PROJEKT '74 was rejected by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, but was exhibited at the Paul Maenz Gallery in Cologne, Ludwig came by and considered buying it. Haacke has learned that the sale probably did not go through because of the artist's agreement he has any collector, institution or private, sign. The contract was designed by Seth Siegelaub, an art dealer who oranized some of the first Conceptual art exhibitions, and Robert Projanksy, a lawyer, in the early 1970s.[70] Basically, it insures an artist's rights after a sale; but, it also contains a means for the artist to obtain aesthetic control and be part of the curatorial process--where the work will be exhibited and for what reason.

> The contract stipulates that the artist is paid 15% of the profit if the work is re-sold. It certainly should not be problem for Herr Ludwig to sign this. Furthermore, the artist has the right to borrow the work for an exhibition every five years. Neither should this be a problem. In the event of repairs or changes, the artist must be consulted. And then there is a paragraph which was probably the bone of contention: according to the contract the artist's consent is required whenever his work is to be

> exhibited publicly; not when it hangs at home on your own walls, but whenever it is to be exhibited in museums or other public insitutions.[71]

This contract certainly would have been too restrictive for Ludwig. After thinking about the loss of the sale, Haacke stated:

> Now, that I have mulled over the Ludwig saga a bit, it has become clear to me why; he would have lost exclusive control and freedom which is important for him, to move this work as he does the works of other artists, like a chess piece wherever he chooses. To have complete discretion is obviously crucial for him. Neither the artist nor the recipient of his largesse should be able to interfere with his moves on the art-political chess-board. What is so crazy is that this is precisely the point to which he attaches such great importance in all his gifts and foundations. Even when he doesn't own the works anymore, when he has donated them or endowed a foundation, he still wants to determine for ten years where and how they are exhibited, to when they are lent, etc. He reserves for himself exactly what he doesn't grant to the artist who has produced his chess pieces. A nice patron![72]

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Haacke's production of four traditional oil paintings was not a disruption or break from the principles and concerns that have guided his approach to art for the last three decades. Although Haacke returned to painting in the 1980s, a medium he had not worked with since the early 1960s, he had no desire to pursue painting. In fact, the same principles and concepts that motivated him to leave painting for sculpture were the same ones that motivated him to incorporate painting in Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers, Taking Stock (unfinished), and Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade.

Since the early 1960s, the interrelated concepts of context and viewer participation have been two of the most important concerns for Haacke. They have been deciding factors in his choice of media. Whether investigating physical and biological systems, provenances, or corporate patrons, he has continued to explore how these two concepts define a work of art and determine its effect. Furthermore, although he no longer discusses General System Theory in relation to his work in the 1980s, he still believes in the

interconnectedness of all aspects of life. For Haacke, everything in life is in constant communication with its surroundings; there is a dynamic and dialectical relationship between all matter. For the last three decades, he has articulated the underlying, hidden, or suppressed factors that instigate real changes in life.

His choice of painting style, whether it was nineteenth-century Impressionism or Realism or twentieth-century Social Realism, was motivated by the cultural, social, and political context in a complex way. Context, for Haacke, is just another material like paint and canvas.[1] Concisely, with the traditional, Impressionistic oil painting in Painting for the Boardroom, Haacke was motivated by the conservative attitudes, beliefs, and values of the corporate world. With the realistic style of Reagan in Homage to Marcel Broodthaers and Thatcher in Taking Stock (unfinished), he was motivated by certain nineteenth-century ideals held by those currently in positions of power; the former commented on the glorification of painting by the curators, especially the artistic director Fuchs, of Documenta 7, and the latter commented on Thatcher's Victorian image and politics and the Saatchi's Victorian way of amassing art and advertising clients. In using a Social Realist style in Broadness and Diversity, Haacke was motivated by the irony of a capitalist, who was collecting government-sanctioned East German art, and the inherent

irony of the style itself--its ideological basis and its real effect.

His choice of form as well as style was always circumstantial. It depended on specific cultural, social, and political issues. In essence, the issues, or content, have directed his choices. In her interview with Haacke, Siegel stated that Haacke has "used style in the service of content."[2] For Haacke, form and content are closely linked. Whether Haacke quotes, appropriates, or borrows the language, signs, and codes of commerce or culture, he has been motivated by the content and the message he wants to get across.[3] According to Haacke, "It's really the nature of the message which determines what form the work should take."[4] In short, form follows content. Similar to Louis Sullivan's philosophy that the form of a building should articulate and express its functions, Haacke has used the form that best conveys his message. But, he cautioned against trying to distinguish between message and form because form, according to Haacke, "is always an integral part of the message."[5] The form for Haacke is often the message. Or, as Marshall McLuhan stated in his 1964 book, Understanding Media, "The Medium is the Message."

Although Haacke's messages deal with serious issues surrounding the use and misuse of power and authority, they are conveyed with humor and wit. There is a playful side to his serious side. Haacke stated:

> My work is not done with a clenched fist nor, I hope, is it so dry that it isn't fun to look at. I like to have enought of a 'culinary' element--in the sense that Brecht used the term--so that it provoking critical thought while being pleasurable.[6]

From a traditional aesthetic perspective of beauty based on formal relationships, the aesthetic merit of Haacke's topical, content oriented work will be always be debated.[7] The four site-specific paintings leave that classical idea behind. They, like Duchamp's Nude Descending a Staircase, which was not well received critically when it was exhibited at the 1913 New York Armory Show, served Haacke's purpose. Duchamp's desire to "return painting once again to the service of the mind"[8] has been fulfilled by Haacke. These four paintings merely acted for Haacke as a means of revealing and demystifying the aesthetic framework.

For nearly three decades Haacke has produced works of art that have provided an alternative to the broadly accepted idea of the aesthetic experience as separate from life. His work reaches the intellect first, challenging perceptions, personal frameworks, and value systems. It stimulates a different emotional response than those associated with the enjoyment of pure form, color, and texture. Instead, the pleasure from Haacke's work is derived from making intellectual discoveries not only about art, but about oneself and life. Like Brecht's "epic"

theatre, his work has been an avenue for seeking and spreading the truth. For Haacke, like Brecht, there are different emotions that should be evoked from a work a art. Near the end of his life, Brecht stated:

> The 'epic' theatre in no way renounces emotion. Least of all emotions like the love of justice, the urge to freedom or justified anger: so little does it renounce these emotions, that it does not rely on their being there, but tries to strenghten or to evoke them. The 'critical attitude' into which it is trying to put its public cannot be passionate enough.[9]

Haacke, like Brecht, has made art that is socially and politically relevant. For nearly thirty years, Haacke not only has integrated form and content, he has also integrated art and life--our hearts as well as our minds are roused.

ENDNOTES

Chapter I: Introduction

[1]Hans Haacke, lecture at The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 29 September 1988.

[2]Bitite Vinklers, "Art and Information: 'Software' at the Jewish Museum," Arts 45 (September 1970): 46.

[3]Hans Haacke, "An Interview with Hans Haacke," interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts Magazine 45 (May 1971): 19.

[4]Jack Burnham, "Steps in the Formulation of Real-Time Political Art," in Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-1975 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; New York: New York University Press, 1975), 135.

[5]Nicholas Calas finds Burnham's application of Structuralism, or "linguistic schemes first devised by Ferdinand de Saussure and later used as models by Lévi-Strauss in anthropology and Roland Barthes in literature," to a critical analysis of art unsuccessful. "The Raw and the Rotten," Arts 46 (September/October 1971), 27.

[6]Richard T. and Fernande M. De George, ed., The Structuralists From Marx to Lévi-Strauss (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972), xii

[7]In Framing and Being Framed, Jack Burnham states that "some of Haacke's thinking derives from Bertalanffy's summation of his philosophy in his book, General Systems Theory: Foundations, Development, Application (1968)." According to Burnham, "Bertalanffy's thinking represents a major departure from the mechanistic biology and physics of the past fifty years...Beginning with static and purely mechanical structure, Bertalanffy sees man's symbolic systems (e.g., language, mathematics, logic, art, music, etc.) as spanning the upper ranges of the systems hierarchy." 132.

[8]Haacke, interview by Jeanne Siegel in 1971, 18.

[9]Bitite Vinklers, "Hans Haacke," Art International 13 (September 1969): 44.

[10]Barbara Reise, "A Tale of Two Exhibitions: The Aborted Haacke and Robert Morris Shows," Studio International 182 (July/August 1971): 31.

[11]Ibid., 31.

[12]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: An Interview with John Anthony Thwaites," interview by John Anthony Thwaites, Art and Artists 7 (November 1972): 33.

[13]Hans Haacke, Unpublished manuscript of lecture given at the Annual Meeting of the International Color Council, New York, Spring of 1968, New York Public Library Art Prints and Photographs File, Microfiche, p. 9.

[14]Hans Haacke, Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 92-93.

[15]"Gurgles Around the Guggenheim," Studio International 181 (June 1971): 249.

[16]William H. Honan gives an overview of the complex reasons of declining support for the arts since 1986 and suggestions for alternative supportive programs in two articles--"Arts Dollars: Pinched As Never Before" and "Money Answereth All Things: But How To Find It?" New York Times (28 May 1989) In the former article, he states that "for a variety of unrelated reasons, the three traditional financial supports of the arts--the Federal and state governments, corporations and individuals--have cut back at the same time. Federal spending for the arts has effectively decreased by 24 percent over the last eight years; corporate contributions fell by as much as 10 percent in the most recent year for which figures are available, and donations from individuals appear to have been adversely affected a number of government actions. According to one study, contributions to the arts by corporations throughout the United States fell from a high of $547 million in 1986 to $496 million in 1987. Probably the major reason for the leveling off or decline of corporate giving is widespread concern about takeovers and mergers." 1, 20.

[17]Brian Wallis, "Institutions Trust Institutions," in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: Contemporary Art, 1986), 51.

[18]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: An Interview," interview by Margaret Sheffield, Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 121.

[19]Lorraine Glennon, "The New Patrons," Art & Antiques (May 1986): 97.

[20]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 152.

[21]Wallis, 54.

[22]Ibid., 51.

[23]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 274.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Walter Grasskamp, "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture," October 30 (Fall 1984): 171.

[27]Hans Haacke, "A Conversation with Hans Haacke," interview by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, October 30 (Fall 1984): 34.

[28]Haacke, interview by Sheffield, 118.

[29]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: An Interview," interview by Robin White, View 1 (Oakland, California: Crown Point Press, 1978), 15.

[30]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 111.

[31]According to Haacke, the publication of Volume II was delayed for one year when the Mobil Oil Corporation "charged that its property rights had been violated by the use of their logo in three incriminating works--Mobil: On the Right Track, 1980; Creating Consent, 1981; Upstairs at Mobil: Musings of a Shareholder, 1981--and that the art works, and that of the privacy rights of its officers had not been respected." In Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, 272.

[32]Marcia Tucker, foreword to Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 6.

[33]Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Artforum 76 (February 1988): 106.

[34]Jonathan Benthall, "Haacke, Sonfist and Nature," Studio International 181 (March 1971): 95.

[35]Georg Jappe, "Kinetic Art in Germany," Studio International 180 (October 1980): 127.

[36]Rosetta Brooks, "Please, No Slogans," Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 157.

[37]Jack Burnham, "The True Readymade," Art and Artists 6 (February 1972): 29-30.

[38]Benajamin H. D. Buchloh, "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art," Artforum 21 (September 1982): 46.

[39]Brian Wallis, ed., Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), viii.

Chapter II - Overview

[1]Grace Glueck, "A Polemicist Who Aims at Political and Corporate Target," New York Times, 25 January 1987, sec. 2, 28.

[2]Jack Burnham, "Steps in the Formulation of Real-Time Political Art," in Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-1975, (Halifax, Nova Scotia; Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; New York: New York University Press, 1975), 129.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Hans Haacke, unpublished manuscript from lecture given at the Annual Meeting of the International Color Council, New York, Spring of 1968, New York Public Library Art Prints and Photographs File, Microfiche, p. 5.

[5]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 110.

[6]Hans Haacke, "An Interview with Hans Haacke," interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts Magazine 45 (May 1971): 18.

[7]Martin Esslin, Brecht: A Choice of Evils, 4th ed. (New York: Methuen, 1984), 125.

[8]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 9.

[9]Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson, ed., The Writings of Marcel Duchamp, (New York: Da Capo Press, Inc.), 125.

[10]Hans Haacke, Art into Society--Society into Art, October 30-November 24, 1974 (London: Institute of Contemporary Art), 63

[11]Haacke, interview by Siegel_in 1971, 18.

[12]Ibid., 19.

[13]Nan Rosenthal, "Frame Works," in Hans Haacke: Four Recent Works, September 10-October 22, 1977 (Santa Cruz, California: Mary Porter Sesnon Art Gallery, College Five, University of California, 1977), n.p.

[14]nul, April 15-June 8, 1965 (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1965), n.p.

[15]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 6.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Bitite Vinklers, "Hans Haacke," Art International 13 (September 1969: 46.

[19]Haacke, Unpublished manuscript, 6.

[20]H. H. Arnason, History of Modern Art, 3rd ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 669.

[21]David Craven, "Hans Haacke and The Aesthetics of Dependency Theory," Arts 61 (March 1987): 7.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 7.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., 8.

[26]Ibid., 9.

[27]Catherine Lacey, Hans Haacke, Tate Gallery, 25 January - 4 March 1984, brochure (London: Tate Gallery, 1984), n.p.

[28]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 11.

[29]Vinklers, "Hans Haacke," 46.

[30]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 11.

[31]Ibid., 12.

[32]Ibid., 13.

[33]Jonathan Benthall, "Haacke, Sonfist and Nature," Studio International 181 (March 1971): 95.

[34]In Zero (Boston, Massachusetts: The Massachusetts Institute Technology, 1973) Piene states: "The title Zero was the result of months of search and was finally found more or less by chance. From the beginning we looked upon the term not as an expression of nihilism--or a dada-like gag, but as the word indicating a zone of silence and pure possibilities for a new beginning as at the count-down when rockets take off--zero is the incommensurable zone in which the old state turns into the new...My utopia has solid foundation: light, smoke, twelve searchlights...I reach large spaces with articulated lights as media." xx.

[35]Craven, 7.

[36]Jack Burnham, "The Clarification of Social Reality," in Hans Haacke: Recent Work, February 4-March 10, 1979 (Chicago, Illinois: The Renaissance Society at The University of Chicago, 1979), 1.

[37]Georg Jappe, "Kinetic Art in Germany," Studio International 180 (October 1970): 127.

[38]Haacke, unpublished manuscript, 3-5.

[39]Vinklers, "Hans Haacke," 44.

[40]Ibid.

[41]The first model of Condensation Cube was made by Haacke in 1963. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Artforum 76 (February 1988), 106.

[42]Vinklers, "Hans Haacke," 44-45.

[43]Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Artforum 76 (February 1988): 104-105.

[44]Hans Haacke, "A Conversation with Hans Haacke," interview by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, October 30 (Fall 1984): 28-29.

[45]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1971, 19.

[46]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interview by Catherine Lord in Cultures of Contention, ed. Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985), 205.

[47]Ursula Meyer, Conceptual Art (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1972), 132.

[48]Barbara Reise, "A Tale of Two Exhibitions: The Aborted Haacke and Robert Morris Shows," Studio International 182 (July/August 1971): 31.

[49]Haacke, interview by author, 14 October 1989, tape recording.

[50]According to Weber, "Howard Wise was involved in a very specific direction of art that Hans was involved in during a particular period of time--Kinetic work. And when Hans turned more political, he was bound to leave even if Howard didn't retire." John Weber, interview by author, 13 October 1989, tape recording, John Weber Gallery, New York.

[51]Hans Haacke, "Artist as Corporate Critic: An Interview with Hans Haacke," interview by Tony Brown Parachute (Summer 1981): 13.

[52]Burnham, Framing and Being Framed, 130.

[53]Haacke, interview with author, 14 October 1989, tape recording.

[54]Burnham, "The Clarification of Social Reality," 2.

[55]Burnham, Framing and Being Framed, 130-131.

[56]Haacke, Art into Society--Society into Art, 63.

[57]Haacke, phone interview by the author, 30 October 1988, tape recording.

[58]Burnham, "The Clarification of Social Reality," 3.

[59]Hans Haacke, letter to "All interested parties" on the "Cancellation of Haacke one-man exhibition at

Guggenheim," 3 April 1971, Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth Library, Fort Worth, Texas, 1.

[60]Reise, Barbara, "'Which is in fact what happened': An Interview with Thomas Messer," Studio International 182 (July/August 1971): 35.

[61]Ibid., 36.

[62]Edward Fry, "The Post-Liberal Artist," Art & Artists 6 (February 1972): 34.

[63]Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 82.

[64]Rosalyn Deutsch, "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum," in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 22.

[65]Ralph Emmerich, "Interview with Hans Haacke," in No Title: The Collection of Sol Lewitt, October 21-December 20, 1981, ed. and introduction by John T. Paoletti (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Art Gallery, 1981), 62.

[66]Burnham, Framing and Being Framed, 133.

[67]Emmerich, 62.

[68]Bitite Vinklers, "Art and Information: 'Software' at the Jewish Museum," Arts 45 (September 1970): 46.

[69]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1971, 21.

[70]Hans Haacke, "Working Conditions," Artforum 19 (Summer 1981): 59.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1984, 112.

[73]Yves Arman, Marcel Duchamp (Paris: Marvel, galerie Yves Arman, galerie Beaubourg, galerie Bonnier, 1984), 51.

[74]Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988.

[75]Haacke, lecture given at The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 29 September 1988.

[76]Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988.

[77]Haacke, lecture given at The University of Texas.

[78]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: An Interview with John Antony Thwaites, Arts and Artists 7 (November 1972): 33.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke on the Inside," interview by Michael Archer, Studio International 197 (1984): 42.

[81]Hans Haacke, "The Agent" in "Radical Attitudes in the Gallery," by Tony Rickaby, Studio International 195 (1980), 37.

[82]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 36.

[83]In 1988, though, a more violent protest against the work of Haacke took place in Graz, Austria. He was included in the exhibition "Points of Reference 38/88," which marked the German-Austrian Anschluss 50 years before. Artists from different countries were asked to make temporary installations in sixteen locations that had played significant roles during the Nazi period. Haacke's "point of reference" was the city's Column of the Virgin Mary. He encased the monument with an obelisk and drapped it with a red fabric that had the Nazi eagle and swastika, in reference to the covering of the Column with an obelisk as Nazis had done; on the fabric was the inscription UND IHR HABT DOCH GESIEGT ("And You Were Victorious After All") for the ceremony on July 25, 1938, which conferred on Graz the honorary title 'Stadt der Volkserhebung' ("City of the People's Insurrection"); he added to the original design on the black base with white letters: "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. On November 2, Haacke's work was firebombed, the top of the obelisk burned and the statue of the Virgin underneath was severly damaged when the soldered joints of the copper sculpture melted. Hans Haacke, "Und ihr habt doch gesiegt, 1988," October 48 (Spring 1989): 79-87.

[84]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 130.

[85]Tara Collins, "Hans Haacke," Arts 50 (October 1975): 6.

[86]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 36.

[87]Ibid., 37.

[88]Hans Haacke, "Communication," in Artfairismes (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne, 1989), 6.

[89]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: An Interview," Margaret Sheffield, Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 121.

[90]Haacke, interview by Brown, 16.

[91]Haacke, "Communication," in Artfairismes, 6.

[92]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 238.

[93]Haacke, interview by Brown, 14-15.

[94]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 256.

[95]Haacke, "Communication," in Artfairismes, 6.

[96]Ibid., 7.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Robert C. Morgan, "Hans Haacke: Working from the Inside Out," Arts 60 (October 1985): 24.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Haacke, interview by Catherine Lord, 215.

[102]Haacke, Art into Society--Society into Art, 63.

Chapter III - Oil Painting, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers

[1]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interview by Catherine Lord in Cultures of Contention, ed. Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985), 214.

[2]Hans Haacke, Unpublished manuscript of a lecture given at the Annual Meeting of the International Color Council, New York, Spring of 1968, New York Public Library Art Prints and Photographs File, Microfiche, p. 6.

[3]Hans Haacke, interview by author, 14 October 1989, tape recording.

[4]Hans Haacke, "A Conversation with Hans Haacke," interview by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, October 30 (Fall 1984): 34.

[5]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 112.

[6]Hans Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988, tape recording.

[7]Leo Steinburg, "Some of Hans Haacke's Works Considered as Fine Art," in Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986): 12-13.

[8]Schuldt, "Hans Haacke: Marcel Broodthaers," Artforum 21 (October 1982): 86.

[9]Marcel Broodthaers (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989), 192.

[10]Ibid., 193

[11]Schuldt, 86.

[12]Hans Haacke, "Artist as Corporate Critic: An Interview with Hans Haacke," interview by Tony Brown, Parachute 23 (Summer 1981): 13.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 242.

[16]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1984, 110.

[17]Jean Baudrillard, Simulations (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 11.

[18]Berel Lang and Forrest Williams, ed., Marxism and Art: Writings in Aesthetics and Criticism (New York: Davin McKay Co., Inc., 1972), 288.

[19]Ibid., 286.

[20]Ibid., 284.

[21]Ibid., 286.

[22]Ibid., 287.

[23]Ron Hunt, "For Factography!" Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 98.

[24]Craig Owens, "Bayreuth '82," Art in America (September 1982): 191.

[25]Schuldt, 86.

[26]Documenta 7, Volume I (Kassel, Germany: b D + V P. Dierichs, 1982), xv.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Douglas Crimp, "The Art of Exhibition," October 30 (Fall 1984): 58.

[29]Kate Linker, "Grimm Fairy Tales," Artforum 21 (September 1982): 62.

[30]Edit deAk, "Stalling Art," Artforum 21 (September 1982): 72.

[31]Noel Frackman and Ruth Kaufmann, "Documenta 7: The Dialogue and a Few Asides," Arts Magazine (October 1982): 91-92.

[32]Ibid., 95.

[33]Haacke, interview by author, 14 October 1989.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Crimp, 55.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Owens, 136.

[38]Ibid., 133.

[39]Marcel Broodthaers (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989), 205.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Owens, 136.

[42]Catherine Lacey, Hans Haacke, Tate Gallery, 25 January - 4 March 1984, brochure (London: Tate Gallery, 1984), n. p.

[43]Schuldt, 86.

[44]Haacke, interview by author, 14 October 1989.

[45]Nicolas Calas in collaboration with Elena Calas, "Human Comedy," in Marcel Broodthaers (Paris: Galerie Isy Brachot, 1982), 18.

[46]Broodthaers, 180.

[47]Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988.

[48]Michael Compton, "Marcel Broodthaers," in Marcel Broodthaers (London: Tate Gallery, 1980), 16.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Anne Rorimer, "The Exhibition at the MTL Gallery in Brussels, March 13-April 10, 1970," in Broodthaers: Writings, Interviews, Photographs, ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1988), 122.

[51]Ibid., 121.

CHAPTER IV: Alcan: Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'administration (Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom), 1983

[1]Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 250.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Mary Anne Staniszewski, "Corporate Culture," Manhattan, inc., January 1987, 148.

[5]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interiew by Catherine Lord in Cultures in Contention, eds. Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985), 234.

[6]Staniszewski, 148.

[7]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 111.

[8]Hans Haacke,"A Conversation with Hans Haacke," interivew by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, October 30 (Fall 1984): 23.

[9]Hans Haacke, interview by author, 14 October 1989. tape recording.

[10]Ann W. Thomas, Assistant Curator of Photographs, "Justification for Works of Art for Purchase Consideration for the Collection of Non-Canadian Contemporary Paintings," dated May 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[11]Haacke, interview by Lord, 215.

[12]Haacke, Unfinished Business, p. 250.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Andrew C. Brown, "Alcan Shakes the Aluminum Market," Fortune, 21 February 1983, 124. Copy in the curatorial files, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[15]Ibid., 126.

[16]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 250.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Laura Reid, "Alcan's big gamble pays off," Financial Times, 11 April 1983, 1. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[19]Ibid., 13.

[20]Ibid., 1.

[21]Ibid., 13.

[22]Jacquie Miller, "Four churches with shares in Alcan to protest arms deals with South Africa," Ottawa Citizen, 22 March 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Haacke, Unfinished Business, p. 252.

[26]Miller, Ottawa Citizen.

[27]Louise Crosby, "Social responsibility to be guide to Anglican business investments," Ottawa Citizen, 31 May 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 252-254.

[30]Haacke, interview by Lord, 215.

[31]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 252.

[32]Diana Nemiroff, interviewed by reporter of the CBC/CBO Radio Station, 8 June 1988. Transcript by Media Tapes and Transcripts Ltd., Ottawa, Canada. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Staniszewski, 152.

[35]Jeffery A. Skelton, Vice-President, Government Relations of Alcan, letter to Diana Nemiroff, Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, dated 24 October 1986. Original letter in curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

[36]Label copy, dated March 1989. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[37]Hans Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988. tape recording.

[38]Norman Provencher, "Alcan attacks 'offensive' museum exhibit," Ottawa Citizen, 8 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[39]Ibid.

[40]William Mathewson, "Shop Talk: They Wish They Could Decline the Honor," The Wall Street Journal, 3 June 1988, p. 21. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Hans Haacke, letter to Shirley L. Thomson, Director, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, dated 21 July 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[43]Hans Haacke, letter to The Editor of The Wall Street Journal, dated 30 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[44]Haacke, letter to Thomson.

[45]Ibid.

[46]John Bentley Mays, "Too much ado about artist's pot shots at Alcan," The Globe and Mail, Ottawa. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[47]Hans Haacke, letter to The Editor of The Globe and Mail, dated 30 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ann Thomas, letter to The Editor of The Globe and Mail, dated 20 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

CHAPTER V: Taking Stock (Unfinished), 1983/84

[1]Hans Haacke, phone interview by author, 30 October 1988, tape recording.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Hans Haacke, "A Conversation with Hans Haacke," interview by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, October 30 (Fall 1984): 34.

[4]David Evans and Sylvia Gohl, Photomontage (London: Gordon Frasher Gallery, Ltd., 1986), 230.

[5]Ibid., 98.

[6]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 24.

[7]Ibid., 25.

[8]Gary Indiana, "Art Objects," Village Voice, 21 May 1985, 109.

[9]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 28.

[10]Ibid., 24.

[11]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 112.

[12]Ibid., 113.

[13]Ibid., 112.

[14]Hans Haacke, lecture given at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 29 September 1988.

[15]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1984, 112.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interview by Catherine Lord in Cultures in Contention, ed. Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985), 214.

[18]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 24.

[19]Caroline Collier, "Hans Haacke: Tate," Flash Art 117 (April/May 1984): 39.

[20]Haacke, phone interview by author.

[21]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1984, 113.

[22]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke on the Inside," interview by Michael Archer, Studio International 197 (1984): 42.

[23]Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 260.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Don Hawthorne, "Saatchi & Saatchi Go Public," ArtNews 84 (May 1985): 72.

[26]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 25.

[27]Haacke, interview by Siegel in 1984, 112.

[28]Ibid., 113.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Daniel Pedersen, "Searching for the Beef," Newsweek, 16 July 1990, 40.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 262.

[33]Pedersen, 40.

[34]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 264.

[35]Ibid., 262.

[36]Pedersen, 40.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Hawthorne, 78.

[39]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 262.

[40]Mary Anne Staniszewski, "Corporate Culture," Manhattan, inc., January 1987, 155.

[41]Ibid., 154.

[42]Ibid., 155.

[43]Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Art in America 76 (February 1988): 109.

[44]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 264.

[45]Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton, "Reviews: Hans Haacke, Victoria Miro, London," Flash Art 141 (Summer 1988): 142-143.

[46]Patrick Frank, "Recasting Benjamin's aura," New Art Examiner 16 (March 1989): 29-30.

[47]Pedersen, 40.

[48]Ibid., 41.

[49]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 265.

[50]Hawthorne, 75.

[51]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 260.

[52]Hawthorne, 76.

[53]Ibid., 72.

[54]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 265.

[55]Hawthorne, 74.

[56]Ibid., 77.

[57]Ibid., 77-78.

[58]Ibid., 77.

[59]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 265.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., 260.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Hawthorne, 80.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Haacke, phone interview by author.

[68]Haacke, interview by Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, 34.

[69]Vivien Raynor, "Art: Hans Haacke Show at John Weber Gallery," The New York Times, 17 May 1985, p. C21.

[70]Jane Bell, "New York: Reviews: Hans Haacke," ArtNews 84 (October 1984): 129.

[71]Max Wechsler, "Hans Haacke: Kunsthalle," Artforum 23 (Summer 1985): 118.

CHAPTER VI - Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade (Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade), 1984

[1]Hans Haacke, Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986): 266.

[2]Hans Haacke, "Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade," October 30 (Fall 1984): 9.

[3]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 271.

[4]Walter Grasskamp, "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture," October 30 (Fall 1984): 22.

[5]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 266.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Grasskamp, "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture," 22.

[8]Ibid., 20.

[9]Ibid., 22.

[10]Ibid., 20.

[11]Harold Osborne, ed., The Oxford Companion on Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 506.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Haacke, "Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade," 9.

[14]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 271.

[15]Ibid., 270.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Haacke, "Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade," 12.

[19]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 271.

[20]Grasskamp, "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture," 21.

[21]Haacke, "Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade," 11.

[22]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 270.

[23]Ibid., 233.

[24]Ibid., 266.

[25]Ibid., 233.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid., 229

[28]Ibid., 232

[29]Ibid., 232.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., 233.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., 232.

[34]Ibid., 270.

[35]Ibid., 226.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Don Hawthorne, "Saatchi & Saatchi Go Public," ArtNews 84 (May 1985): 76.

[38]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 270.

[39]Ibid., 270-271.

[40]Ibid., 226.

[41]Ibid., 270.

[42]Ibid., 210.

[43]Ibid., 229.

[44]Ibid., 231.

[45]Larry Rohter, "Governments, Censorship and the Arts," New York Times, 13 August 1989, sec. 2, p. 6.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 227.

[48]Christopher Phillips, "Front Page: Ludwig Forum Opens in Aachen," Art in America 79 (September 1991): 29.

[49]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 229.

[50]Ibid., 229-230.

[51]Ibid., 228.

[52]Rohter, p. 6.

[53]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 228.

[54]Rohter, p. 6.

[55]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 229.

[56]Christopher Phillips, "Artworld: Ludwig Museum Director Resigns," Art in America 79 (July 1991): 144.

[57]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 227.

[58]Hans Haacke, "Information Magic," interview by Walter Grasskamp, Hans Haacke: Volume II, Works 1978-1983 (London: The Tate Gallery), 97.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Art in America 76 (February 1988): 108.

[62]Haacke, interview by Grasskamp, 98.

[63]Haacke, Unfinished Business, 229.

[64]Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," 108.

[65]Haacke, interview by Grasskamp, 99.

[66]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 113.

[67]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interview by Catherine Lord in Cultures in Contention, ed. Douglas Kahan and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985): 214.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ursula Frohne, "Hans Haacke: Kunstlerhaus Bethanien," Flash Art 120 (January 1985): 50.

[70]Roberta Smith, "When Artists Seek Royalties on Their Resales," New York Times, 31 May 1987, Sec. 2, 29.

[71]Haacke, interview by Grasskamp, 99.

[72]Ibid., 99-100.

CHAPTER VII - Conclusion

[1]Hans Haacke, "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" interview by Jeanne Siegel, Arts 58 (April 1984): 111.

[2]Ibid., 113.

[3]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke," interview by Robin White in View I, no. 6 (Oakland, California: Crown Point Press, November 1978), 5.

[4]Hans Haacke, "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated," interview by Catherine Lord in Cultures in Contention, ed. Douglas Kahan and Diane Neumaier (Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985), 234.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Hans Haacke, "Artist as Corporate Critic: An Interview with Hans Haacke," interview by Tony Brown, Parachute 23 (Summer 1981): 14.

[7]Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason," Art in America 76 (February 1988): 98.

[8]Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson, ed., The Writings of Marcel Duchamp (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 125.

[9]Martin Esslin, Brecht: A Choice of Evils, 4th ed. (New York: Methuen, 1984), 13.

ILLUSTRATIONS

STOP !

NOTE
SPECIAL FILING
INSTRUCTIONS

SEE DATA SHEET

Figure 1. Hans Haacke, MetroMobiltan, 1985. Fiberglass construction, three banners, photomural, 140 x 240 x 60 inches. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in the catalogue Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986), 276-277.

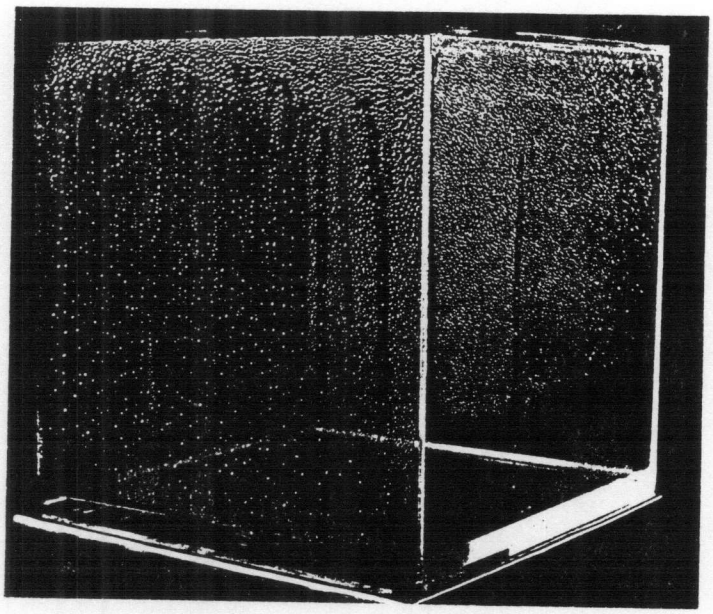

Figure 2. Haacke, Condensation Cube, 1965. Acrylic plastic and water, 11 x 11 x 11 inches. Source: copy of reproduction in Beyond Modern Sculpture (New York: George Braziller, 1982) by Jack Burnham, 280.

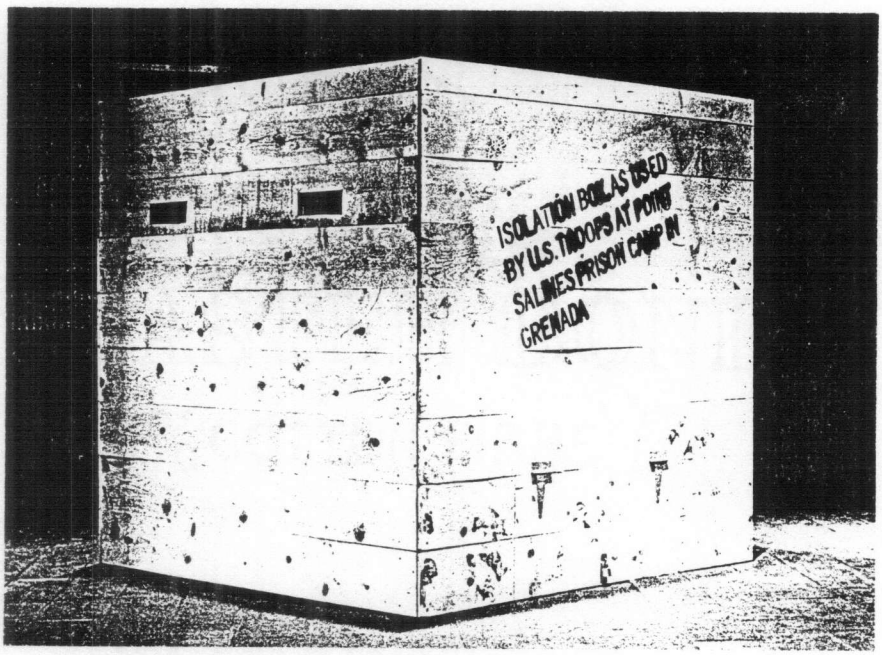

Figure 3. Haacke, U.S. Isolation Box, Grenada, 1983. Wood planks, hinges, padlock, spray painted stencil lettering, 96 x 96 x 96 inches. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 259.

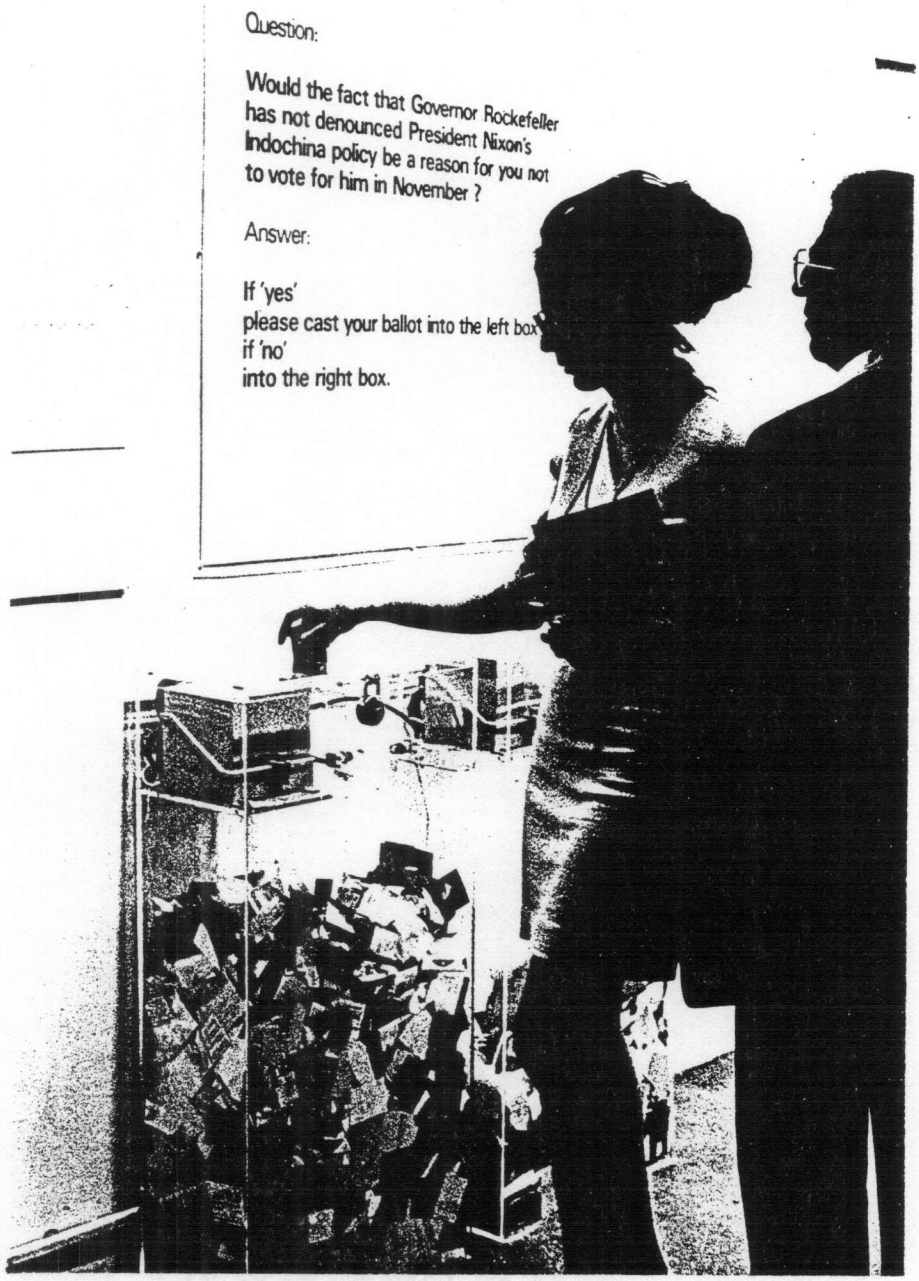

Figure 4. Haacke, MOMA-Poll, 1970. Two transparent acrylic ballot boxes, one marked "yes" and other marked "no," each 40 x 20 x 10 inches, with counting device. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 87.

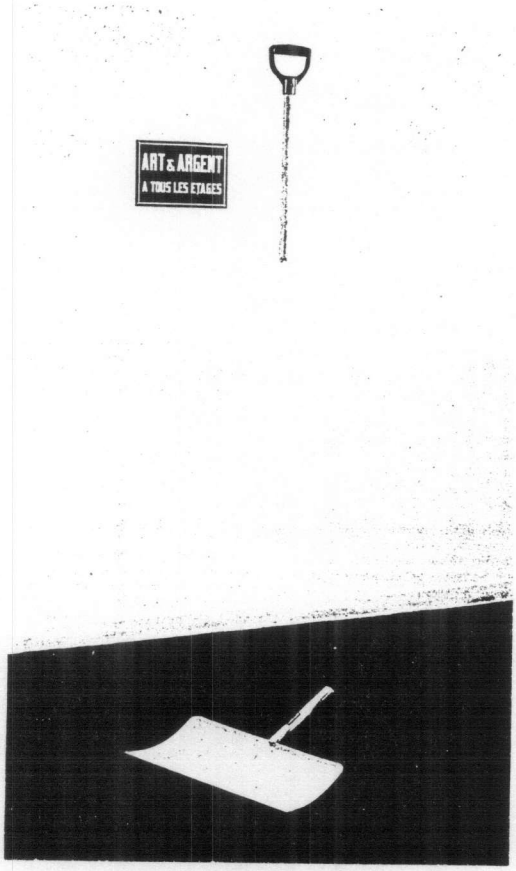

Figure 5. Haacke, Broken R.M..., 1986. Enamel plaque, gilded shovel. One in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art and two are owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in the catalogue Hans Haacke: Artfairismes (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne, Galeries contemporaines, 1989), 91.

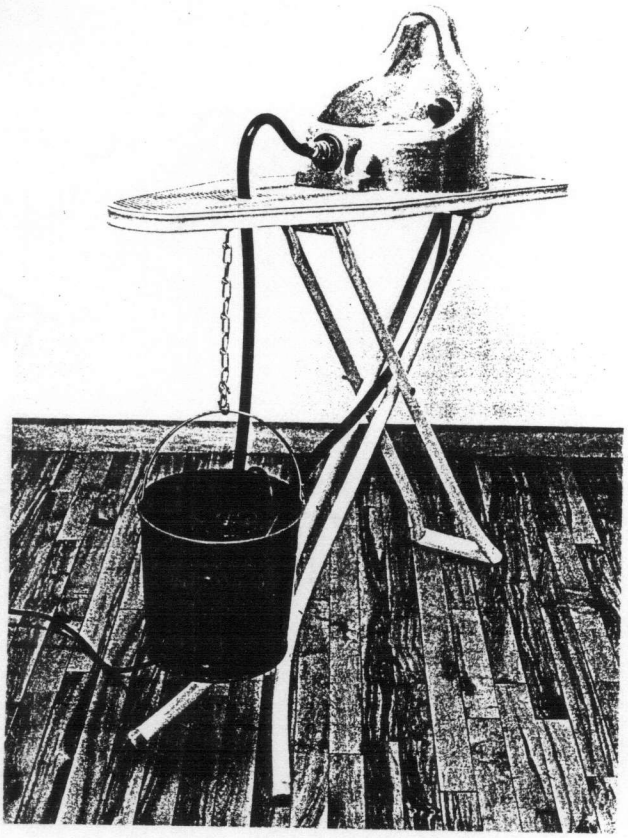

Figure 6. Haacke, Baudrichard's Ecstasy, 1988. Gilded urinal, ironing board with hole, bucket, and circulating water. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 111.

Figure 7. Haacke, Upstairs at Mobil: Musings of a Shareholder, 1981. Ten panels, each 35 1/2 x 21 1/2 inches. Five-color photoetching with collage of original Mobil stock certificate for ten shares of Mobil stock owned by Haacke, and handwritten text. Collection of Camille and Paul Hofmann, Chicago. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 239.

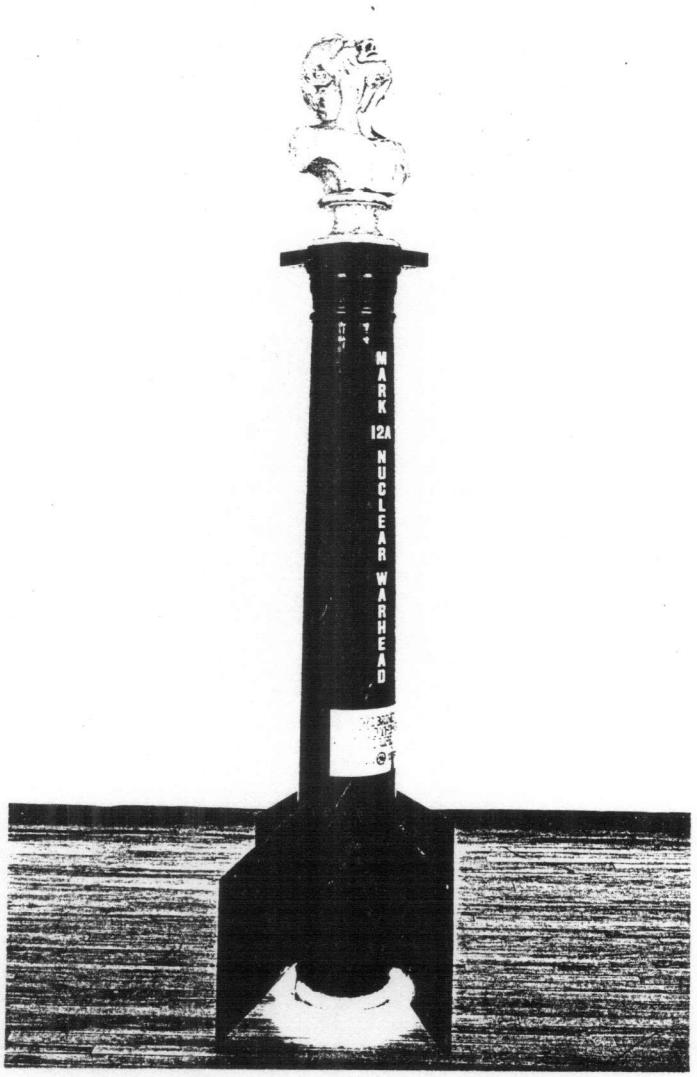

Figure 8. Haacke, We Bring Good Things to Life, 1983. Marbled wood pillar with fins, lettering, etched copper plate, gilt plaster bust, and circular fluorescent tube. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 257.

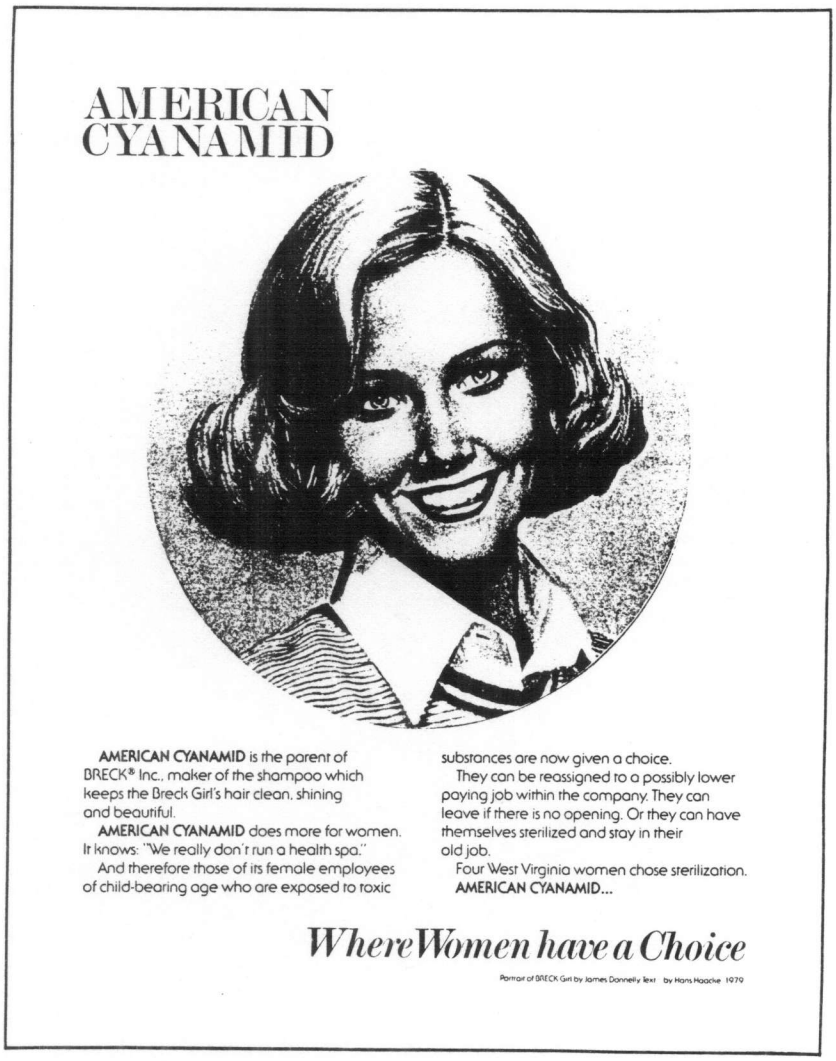

Figure 9. Haacke, The Right to Life, 1979. Color photograph on three-color silkscreen print, 50 1/4 x 40 1/4 inches. Edition of 2. One in the collection of the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio and one in the collection of Gilbert and Lila Silverman. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 201.

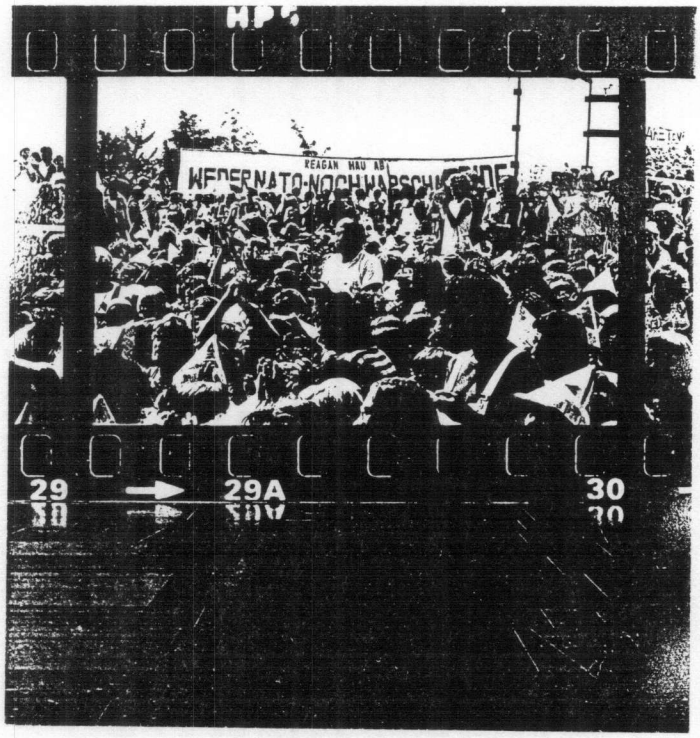

Figure 10. Haacke, photomural. Part of the installation Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers (Oil Painting, Homage to Marcel Broodthaers), 1982. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 244.

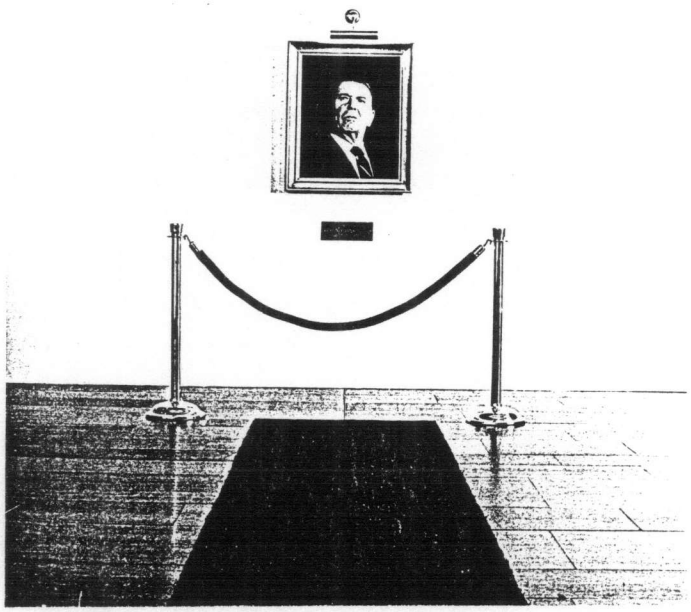

Figure 11. Haacke, painting and stanchions with red velvet rope. Part of the installation Homage to Marcel Broodthaers. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 245.

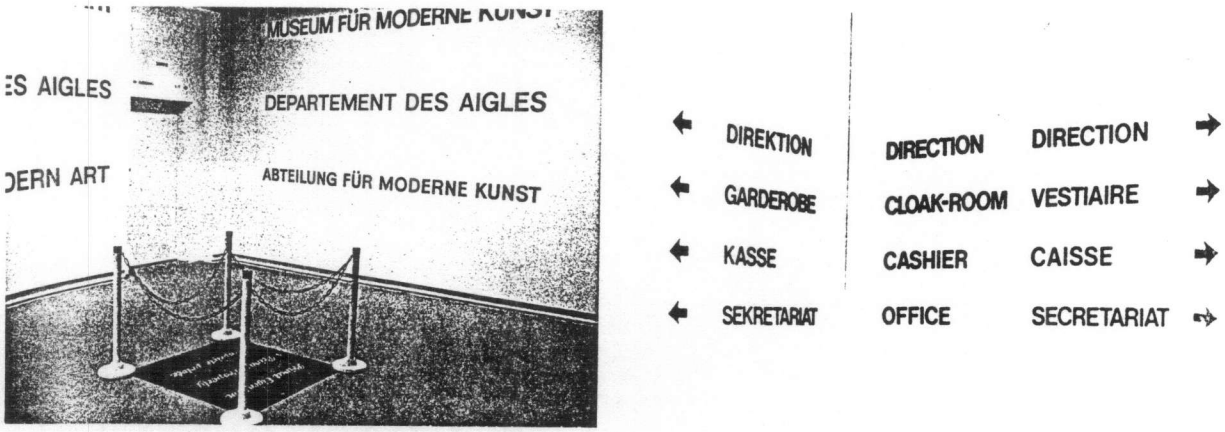

Figure 12. Marcel Broodthaers, painted square ("propriété privée") surrounded by stanchions and directional labels. Part of the installation Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section Publicité and Section d'Art Modern, Documenta 5, Kassel, 30 June-8 October 1972. Source: copy of reproduction in the catalogue Marcel Broodthaers (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989), 193.

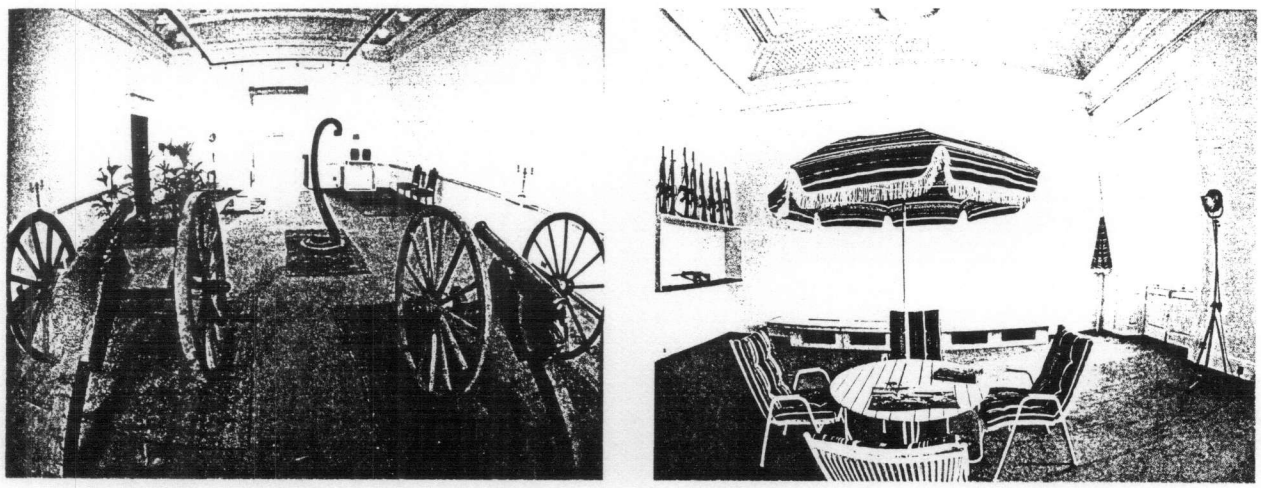

Figure 13. Broodthaers, Décor: A Conquest by Marcel Broodthaers, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 11 June-6 July 1975. Source: copy of reproduction in Broodthaers, 205.

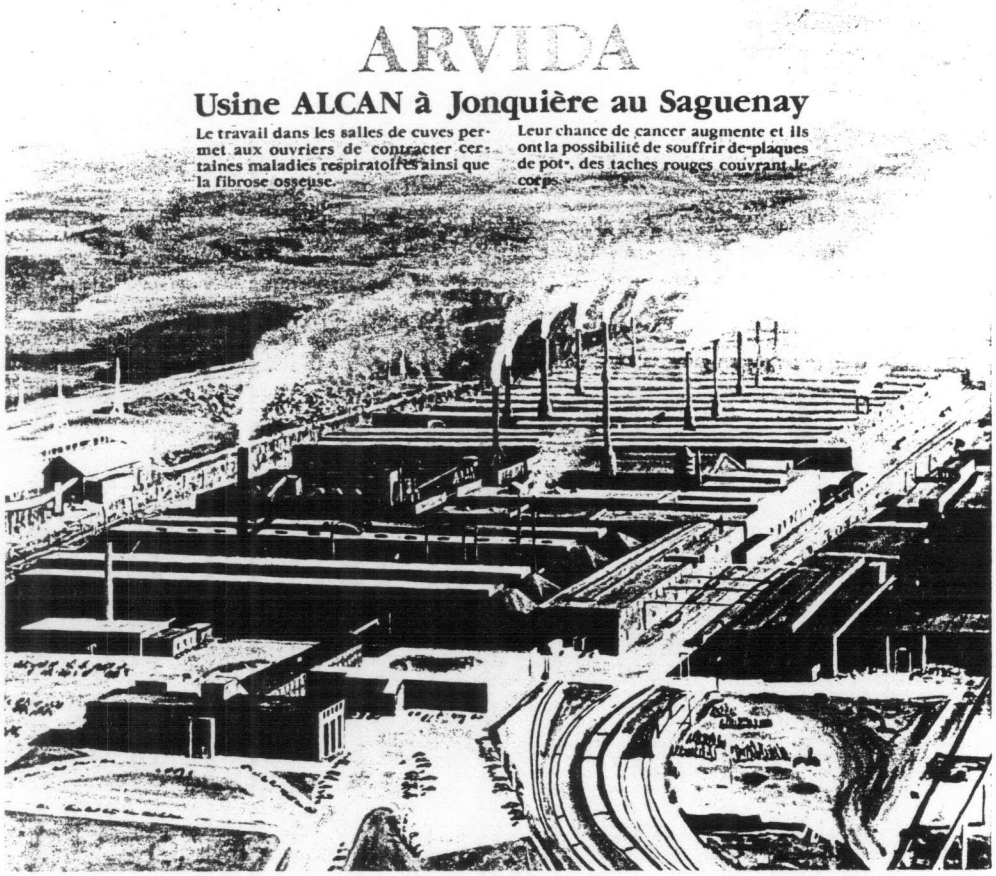

Figure 14. Haacke, Alcan: Tableau pour la salle du conseil d'administration (Alcan: Painting for the Boardroom), 1983. Oil on canvas in aluminum frame, 55 x 60 inches. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Source: copy of reproduction in Unfinished Business, 251.

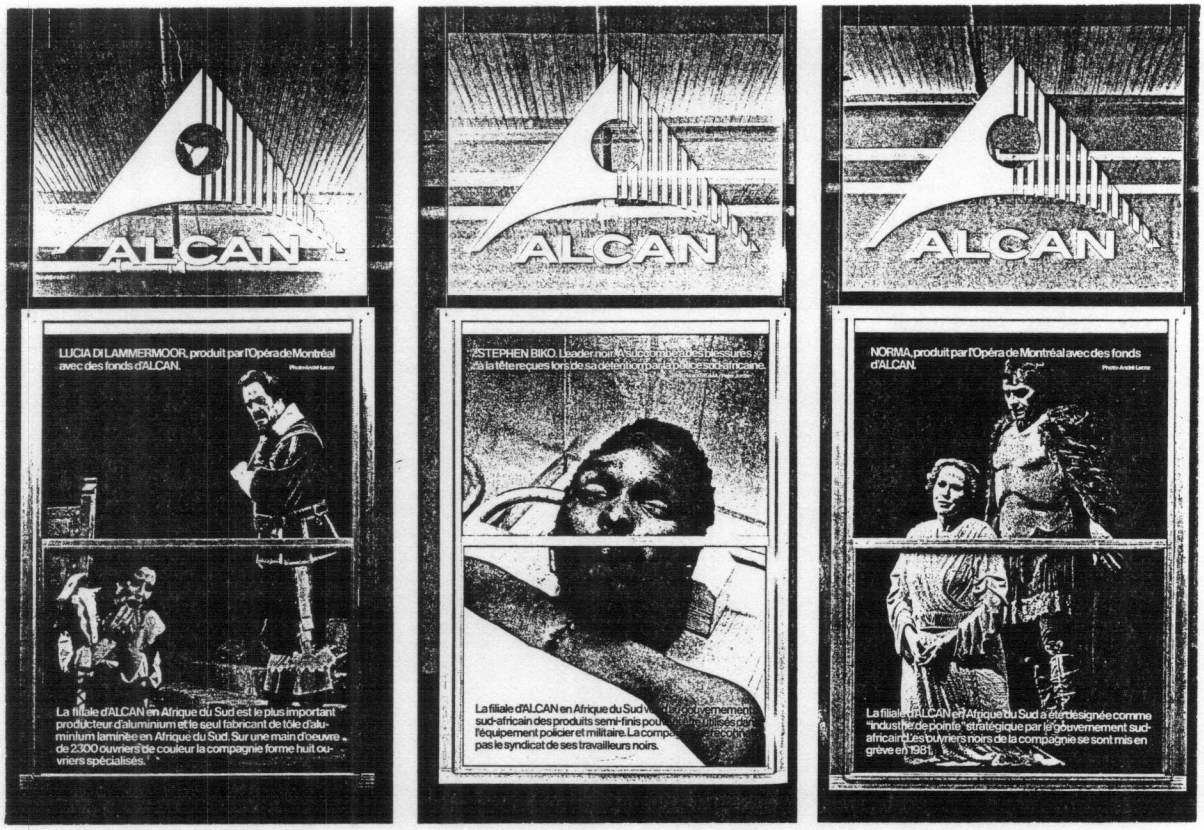

Figure 15. Haacke, Voici Alcan, 1983. Three panels, each 86 1/2 x 41 inches; two sepia photographs (left and right), one color photograph (center), white lettering, aluminum window, acrylic plastic with silver foil. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 49-51.

Figure 16. Haacke, Taking Stock (unfinished), 1983/84. Oil on canvas, 95 x 81 x 7 inches. Collection of Gilbert and Lila Silverman. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 59.

Figure 17. Peter Kennard, Maggie Regina, first published by the New Statesman, front cover 27 May 1983. Source: copy of reproduction in Photomontage: a political weapon, ed. David Evans and Sylvia Gohl (London: Gordon Frasher Gallery, Ltd., 1986), 99.

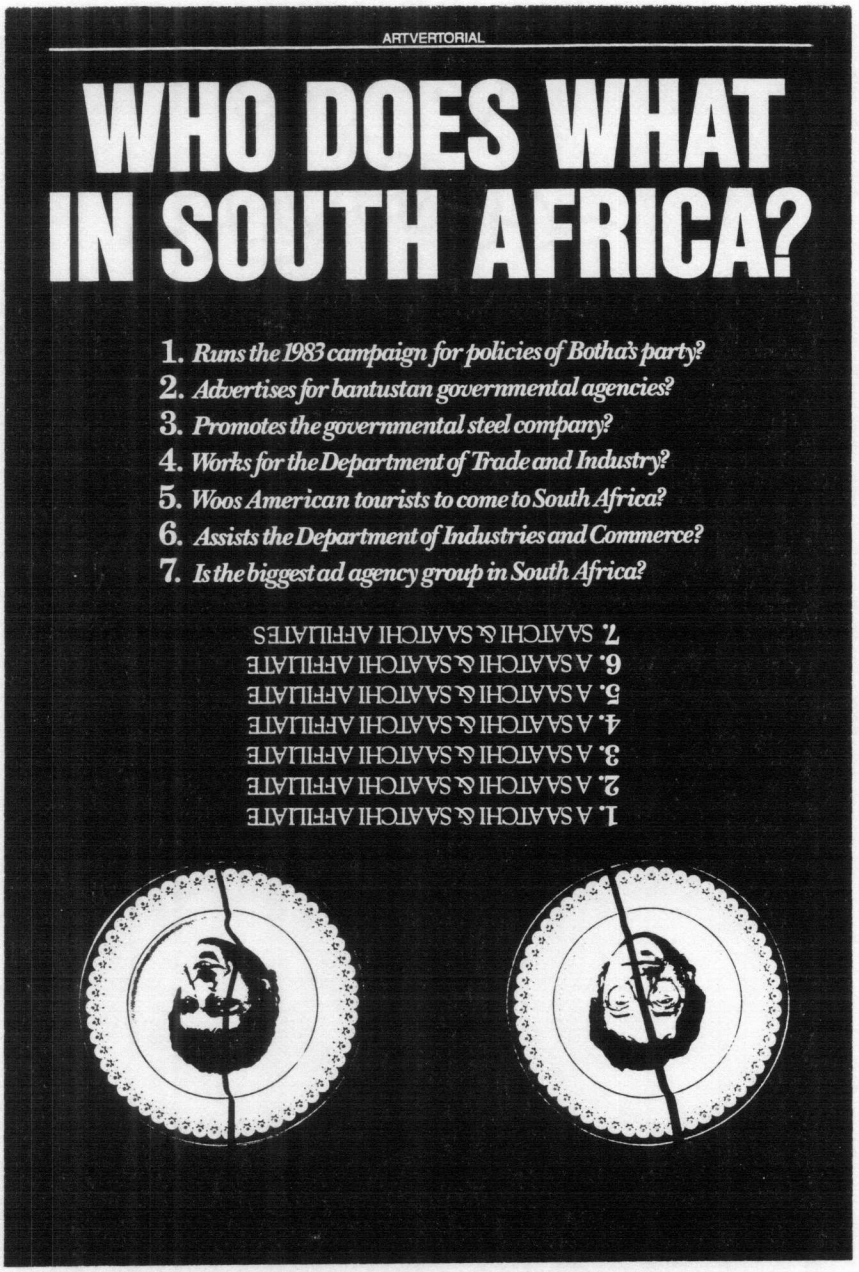

Figure 18. Haacke, Who Does What in South Africa? Published in Manhatten, inc., January 1987. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 89.

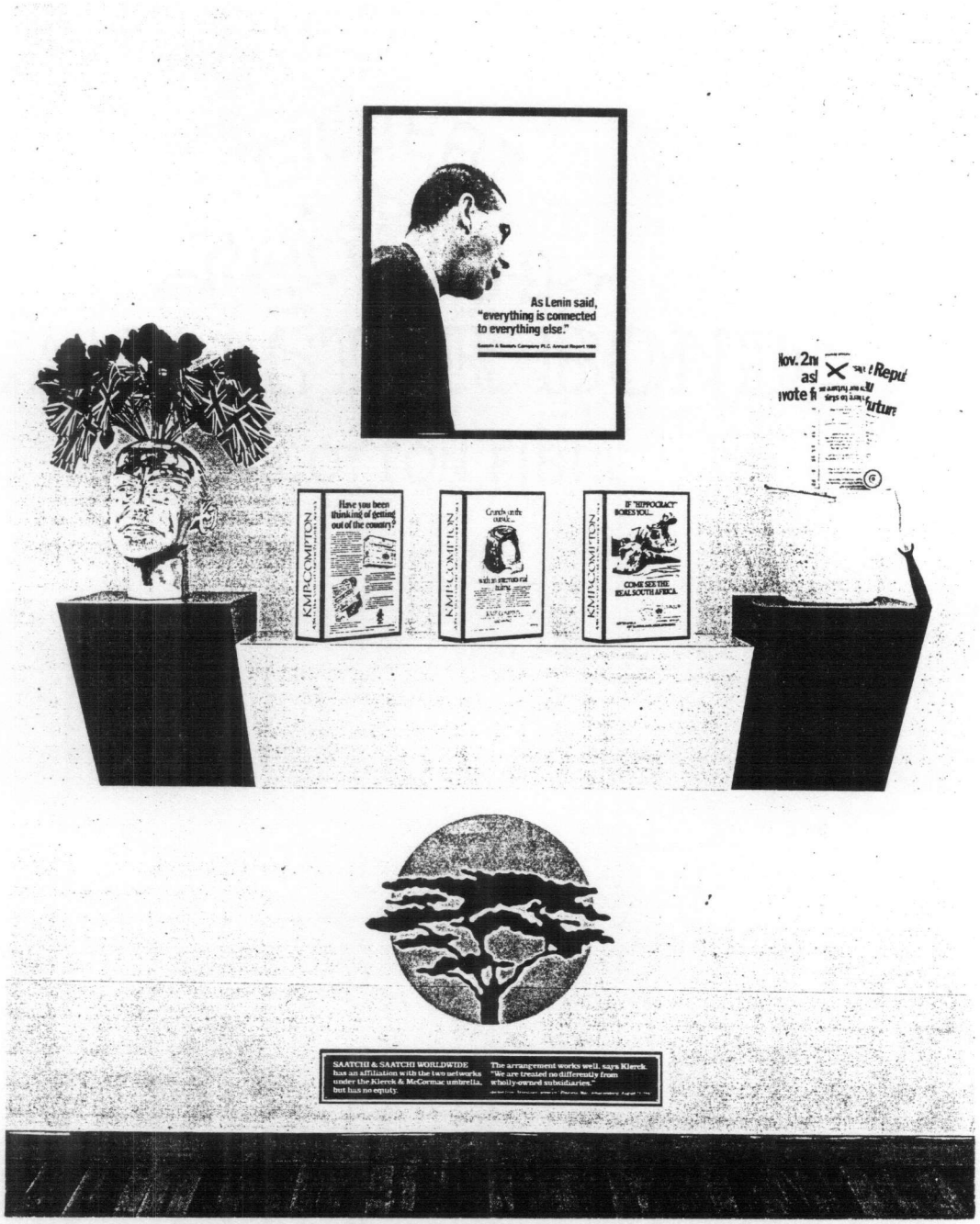

Figure 19. Haacke, The Saatchi Collection (Simulations), 1987. Photograph of Charles Saatchi with quote by Lenin, formica shelf, chrome-plated fiberglass head of Lenin, and cereal boxes with facsimiles of advertisements by KMP-Compton. One in the collection of Fonds National d'Art Contemporain (FNAC), Paris and one in the collection of the Eli Broad Family Foundation, Los Angeles, California. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 101.

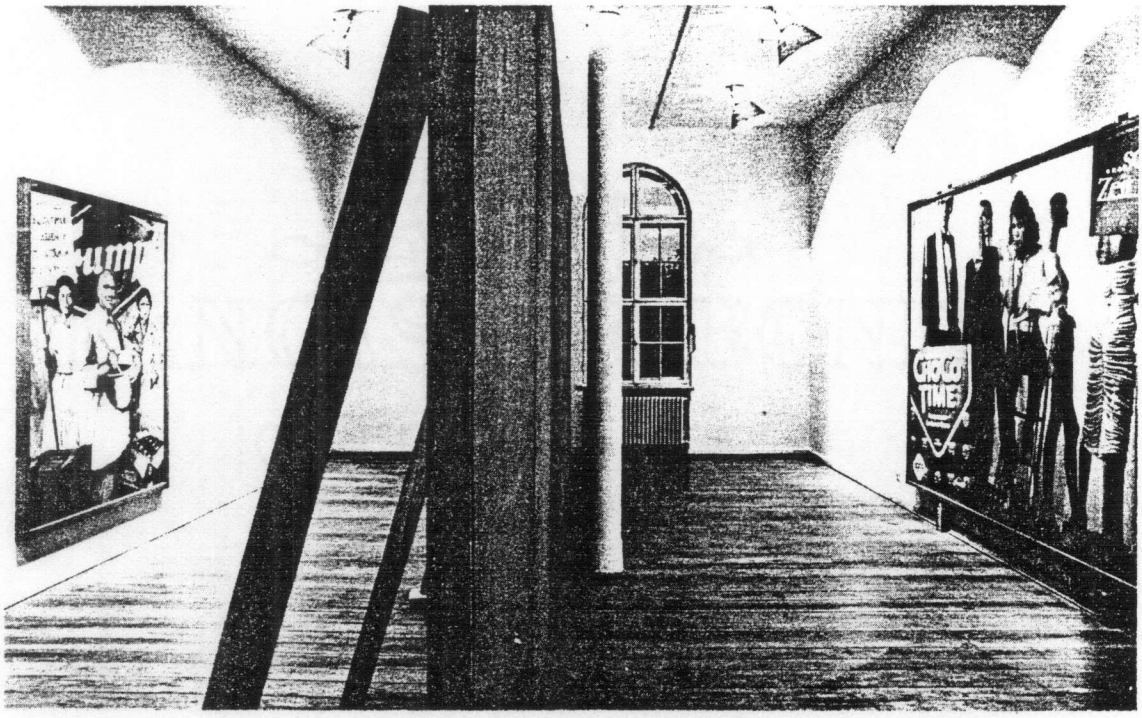

Figure 20. Haacke, Weite und Vielfalt der Brigade Ludwig (Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade), 1984. Installation: oil on canvas, 88 5/8 x 67 inches; billboard with Trumpf advertising poster, 105 1/8 x 146 1/8 inches; masonite wall with wood beams, 145 1/2 x 374 x 35 1/2 inches. Owned by Haacke. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 63.

Figure 21. Haacke, billboard. Part of the installation Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 64.

Figure 22. Haacke, painting. Part of the installation Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade. Source: copy of reproduction in Artfairismes, 65.

REFERENCES

BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Arman, Yves. Marcel Duchamp: plays and wins. New York: Gallery Yves Arman, 1984.

Arnason, H. H. History of Modern Art, 3rd Edition. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986.

Baudrillard, Jean. Simulations. New York: Semiotext(e), 1983.

Berman, Art. From the New Criticism to Deconstruction: The Reception of Structuralism and Post-Structuralism. Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988

Blotkamp, Carel; van Caspel, Marjon; Haks, Frans; van der Schoor, Frank; van Toorn, Jan; and Visser, Martin. editors. The Modern Art Museum at Issue. Government Publishing Office, Staatsuitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage, 1979.

Bronson, A. A. and Gale, Peggy, ed. Museums by Artists. Toronto, Canada: Art Metropole, 1983.

Buchloh, Benjamin H. D., editor. Broodthaers: Writings, Interviews, Photographs. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1988.

Burnham, Jack. Beyond Modern Sculpture. New York: George Braziller, 1982.

Cabanne, Pierre. Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp. New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1987.

De George, Richard T. and Fernande M., eds. The Structuralists From Marx to Lévi-Strauss. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972.

Derrida, Jacques. "Differance." in Mark C. Taylor, Deconstruction in Context. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

D'Harnoncourt, Anne and McShine, Kynaston. Marcel Duchamp. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973.

Koenig, Kasper, ed. Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-75. Halifax, Nova Scotia: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975.

Esslin, Martin. Brecht: A Choice of Evils. 4th edition New York: Methuen, 1984.

Evans, David and Gohl, Sylvia. Photomontage: a political weapon. London: Gordon Frasher Gallery, Ltd., 1986.

Foster, Hal, ed. The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983.

Gottlieb, Carl. Beyond Modern Art. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1976.

Hunter, Sam. American Art of the 20th Century. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1972.

Kahn, Douglas and Diane Neumaier, eds. Cultures in Contention. Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985.

Lang, Berel and Forrest Williams, eds. Marxism and Art: Writings in Aesthetics and Criticism. New York: Davin McKay Co., Inc., 1972

Lippard, Lucy P. Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change. New York: E. P. Dutton Inc., 1984

Meyer, Ursula. Conceptual Art. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1972.

Nairne, Sandy. State of the Art: Ideas & Images in the 1980s. "Politics, Intervention and Representation." pp. 164-204. London: Chatto & Windus Ltd., 1987.

Norris, Christopher. Deconstruction: Theory and Practice. New York, Methuen, Inc., 1982.

Osborne, Harold, ed. The Oxford Companion on Twentieth-Century Art. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Paz, Octavio. translated from Spanish by Donald Gardner. Marcel Duchamp or the Castle of Purity. London: Cape Goliard Press, London in association with Grossman Publishers, New York, 1970.

Popper, Frank. Origins and Developments of Kinetic Art. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1968.

Sanouillet, Michel and Peterson, Elmer, eds. The Writings of Marcel Duchamp. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

Schwarz, Arturo. Marcel Duchamp. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1975.

Sturrock, John, ed. Structuralism and Since: From Levi-Strauss to Derrida. New York: Oxford Press, 1979.

Taylor, Mark C. editor. Deconstruction in Context. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Wallis, Brian, ed. Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984.

Weideli, Walter. The Art of Bertolt Brecht. New York: New York University Press, 1963.

Willet, John. Brecht in Context. New York: Methuen, 1984.

--------. The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht. New York: New Directions Books, 1968.

Zero. Boston: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1973. Originally published in Germany in 1958 and 1961 by Otto Piene and Heinz Mack. English translation by Howard Beckman added in 1970.

MUSEUM AND EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Art into Society--Society into Art: Seven German Artists. London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1974.

Marcel Broodthaers, April 16-May 26, 1980. London: The Tate Gallery, 1980.

---------, November 3, 1982-January 8, 1983. Paris: Galerie Isy Brachot, 1982.

--------, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989. Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 8-June 18, 1989; Los Angeles Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, California, July 9-October 1989; Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, January 20-Mary 18, 1990; and, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, Belgium, April 15-June 24, 1990.

Content: A Contemporary Focus, 1874-1984, October 4, 1984-January 6, 1985. Published for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984.

Directions 3: Eight Artists. Milwaukee Art Center, June 19-August 8, 1971. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Art Center, 1971.

Documenta 7. Volume 1 and 2. Kassel, Germany: b D + V P. Dierichs, 1982.

Hans Haacke: 4 Recent Works of Art, September 19-October 22, 1977. Santa Cruz, California: University of California, Mary Porter Sesnon Gallery, 1977.

--------, May 25-July 2, 1978. Pasadena, California: California Institute of Technology, Baxter Art Gallery, 1978.

--------: Recent Work, February 4-March 10, 1979. Chicago, Illinois: The Renaissance Society at the University of Chicago, 1979.

--------: The Chocolate Master. First exhibited May 29-June 27, 1981 at Paul Maenz Gallery, Cologne, Germany. Toronto, Canada: Art Metropole, 1982.

--------: Volume I. Oxford: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978; Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum, 1979.

--------: Volume II, Works 1978-1983. London: The Tate Gallery, 1984.

--------: Tate Gallery, 25 January-4 March 1984. Brochure text by Catherine Lacey. London: The Tate Gallery, 1984.

---------: Unfinished Business. Brian Wallis, ed. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986.

---------: Artfairismes, May 3-June 18, 1989. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musee national d'art moderne, Galeries contemporaines, 1989.

Howett, John and Karl Nickel. The Modern Image. The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, April 14-June 11, 1972.

Howett, John and Paula Hancock. The New Image. The High Museum of Art, October 18, 1975-June 27, 1976. The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

Hunter, Sam. ed., with an introduction. An American Renaissance: Painting and Sculpture Since 1940. Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, January 12-March 30, 1986. New York: Abbeville Press, 1986.

McShine, Kynaston L., ed. Information. Museum of Modern Art, July 2-September 20, 1970. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970.

No Title: The Collection of Sol LeWitt, October 21-December 20, 1981. Edited and introduction by John T. Paoletti. Wesleyan University Art Gallery, Middletown, CT., 1981.

No! Contemporary DADA. Seattle, Washington: Henry Gallery Association, 1985.

nul. 2 Volumes, April 15 - June 8, 1965. Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum.

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Allthorpe-Guyton, Marjorie. "Reviews: Hans Haacke, Victoria Miro, London." Flash Art 141 (Summer 1988): 142-143.

Archer, Michael. "Hans Haacke on the Inside." Studio International 197 (1984): 42-43.

Baldwin, Carl. "Haacke: Refuse in Cologne." Art in America 62 (November 1974): 36-7.

Bell, Jane. "New York: Reviews: Hans Haacke." Art News 84 (October 1984): 23-48.

Benthall, Jonathan. Haacke, Sonfist and Nature." Studio International 181 (March 1971): 95-6.

Bois, Yve-Alain. "The Antidote." October 39 (Winter 1986): 129-144.

Bourdon, David. "Sniffing the Corporate Carrot." Village Voice, February 7, 1977.

Brenson, Michael. "Art: In Political Tone, Works by Hans Haacke." New York Times, Friday, December 19, 1986, p. C36.

--------. "Can Political Passion Inspire Great Art?" The New York Times, Sunday, April 29, 1984. p 22.

Brooks, Rosetta. "Please, No Slogans." Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 155-161.

Brown, Andrew C. "Alcan Shakes The Aluminum Market." Fortune, 21 February 1983, 124-130. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art." Artforum 21 (September 1982); 43-56.

--------. "Hans Haacke: Memory and Instrumental Reason." Art in America 76 (February 1988): 96-108, 157-9.

Burnham, Jack. "Hans Haacke's Cancelled Show at the Guggenheim." Artforum 9 (June 1971): 67-71.

--------. "Meditations on a Bunch of Asparagus." Arts 49 (February 1975): 72-5.

--------. "Real Time Systems." Artforum 8 (September 1969): 49-55.

--------. "The True Readymade." Art and Artists 6 (February 1972): 26-31.

Collier, Caroline. "Hans Haacke: Tate." Flash Art 117 (April/May 1984): 39, 40.

Collins, Tara. "Hans Haacke." Arts 50 (October 1975): 6.

Cox, Meg. "The Art of Anger." Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, December 24, 1986, p. 7.

Craven, David. "Hans Haacke and The Aesthetics of Dependency Theory." Arts Magazine 61 (March 1987): 6-10.

Crimp, Douglas. "Editorial." October 30 (Fall 1984): 3-8.

--------. "The Art of Exhibition." October 30 (Fall 1984): 49-81.

Crosby, Louise. "Social responsibility to be guide to Anglican business investments." Ottawa Citizen, May 31, 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

deAK, Edit. "Stalling Art." Artforum 21 (September 1982): 71-75

Feaver, William. "Thoughts of a saboteur." London Observer Sunday 29 January 1984, Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

"Firm feels 'betrayed' by artist, gallery." The Globe and Mail, Ottawa, Canada, 9 June 1988. Copy in the Curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Fisher, Jean. "Hans Haacke's Corporate Muse." Artforum (March 1987): 108-9.

Frackman, Noel and Ruth Kaufmann. "Documenta 7: The Dialogue and a Few Asides." Arts Magazine 57 (October 1982): 91-97.

Frank, Patrick. "Recasting Benjamin's aura." New Art Examiner 16 (March 1989): 29-30.

Frohne, Ursula. "Hans Haacke: Kunstlerhaus Bethanien." Flash Art 120 (January 1985): 49-50.

Fry, Edward. "The Post-Liberal Artist." Art and Artists 6 (February 1972): 32-5.

Glennon, Lorraine. "The New Patrons." Art & Antiques (April 1988): 97-104.

---------. "What's Art Got To Do With?" Art & Antiques (May 1986): 97-129.

Glueck, Grace. "A Polemicist Who Aims at Political and Corporate Targets." New York Times, Sunday, January 25, 1987, sec. 2, 27 and 28.

----------. "'Tis the Month Before Christmas.'" Art in America 57 (November 1969): 159-60.

Glusberg, Jorge. "The dialetic between container and content." Art and Artists 3 (January 1969): 42-44.

Grasskramp, Walter. "An Unpublished Text for an Unpainted Picture." October 30 (Fall 1984): 17-22.

"Gurgles Around the Guggenheim." Studio International 181 (June 1971): 248-50.

Haacke, Hans. "Broadness and Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade." October 30 (Fall 1984): 9-16.

--------. "Museums, Managers of Consciousness." Art in America 72 (February 1984): 9-17.

--------. "Working Conditions." Artforum 19 (Summer 1981): 56-61.

Haacke, Hans and Boice, Bruce. "Hans Haacke's Gallery Visitors' Profile." Artforum 11 (Jun 1973): 44-46.

"Hans Haacke." Arts 44 (December 1969): 61.

Hawthorne, Don. "Saatchi & Saatchi Go Public." ArtNews 84 (May 1985): 72-81.

Herrera, Hayden. "Manhattan Seven." Art in America 65 (July/August 1977): 50-63.

Hess, Elizabeth. "Masterpiece Theater." Village Voice Vol. 32, January 6, 1987.

Hobbs, Robert. "Books in Review: Hans Haacke, Framing and Being Framed." Art Journal 36 (Winter 1976/77): 176-180.

Hunt, Ron. "For Factography!" Studio International 191 (March/April 1976): 96-99.

Indiana, Gary. "Art Objects." Village Voice, 21 May 1985, 109.

Jappe, Georg. "Kinetic Art in Germany." Studio International 180 (October 1980): 123-129.

Lawson, Kay. "Money Changes Everything." New York (February 16, 1987): 88-9.

Lawson, Thomas. "Hans Haacke: John Weber Gallery." Artforum 19 (May 1971): 71.

Linker, Kate. "Hans Haacke, John Weber Gallery." Artforum 22 (October 1983): 72.

--------. "Grimm Fairy Tales." Artforum 21 (September 1982): 62-63.

Luke, Timothy. "Reviews: Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business." Art Papers, Vol. 12 (September/October 1988): 39-40.

Mathewson, William. "Shop Talk: They Wish They Could Decline the Honor." The Wall Street Journal, 3 June

1988, p. 21. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Mays, John Bentley. "Too much ado about artist's pot shots at Alcan." The Globe and Mail, Ottawa, Canada. 14 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Messer, Thomas M. "Guest Editorial." Arts 45 (Summer 1971): 4-5.

Metcalf, Katherine. "Kinetic Sculpture." Arts and Architecture 83 (June 1966): 30.

Miller, Jacquie. "Four churches with shares in Alcan to protest arms deals with S. Africa." Ottawa Citizen, 22 March 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Morgan, Robert C. Hans Haacke: Working from the Inside Out." Arts 60 (October 1985); 24-25.

Owens, Craig. "Bayreuth '82." Art in America 70 (September 1982): 132-9 and 191.

Phillips, Christopher. "Artworld: Ludwig Museum Director Resigns." Art in America 79 (July 1991): 144.

Phillips, Christopher. "Front Page: Ludwig Forum Opens in Aachen." Art in America 79 (September 1991): 29.

Pohlen, Annelle. "The Dignity of the Thorn." Artforum 21 (September 1982): 58-61.

Provencher, Norman. "Alcan attacks 'offensive' museum exhibit." Ottawa Citizen, 8 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Raynor, Vivien. "Art: Hans Haacke Show at John Weber Gallery." The New York Times, 17 May 1985, C21.

Reid, Laura. "Alcan's big gamble pays off." Financial Times, 11 April 1983, 1 and 13. Copy in the curatorial file,National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Reise, Barbara. "A Tale of Two Exhibitions: The Aborted Haacke and Robert Morris Shows." Studio International 182 (July/August 1971): 30-4.

---------. "'Which is in fact what happened': An Interview with Thomas M. Messer." Studio International 182 (July/August 1971): 34-7.

Rickaby, Tony. "Radical Attitudes to the Gallery." Studio International 195 (1980): 36-7.

"The Role of the Artist in Today's Society." Art Journal 34 (Summer 1975): 327-331.

Rohter, Larry. "Governments, Censorship and the Arts." New York Times, 13 August 1989, sec. 2, 1 and 6.

Samaras, Connie. "Corporations in the arts: sponsors or censors?" Utne Reader (April/May 1986): 106-114.

Schaefer, F. W. Dietmar. "Mobil's Amusement and Concern." Harper's 271 (December 1985): 34 & 35.

Schuldt. "Hans Haacke: Marcel Broodthaers." Artforum 21 (October 1982): 85-6.

Smith, Roberta. "When Artists Seek Royalties on Their Resales." New York Times, Sunday, 31 May 1987, sec. 2, 29 and 30.

Staniszewski, Mary Anne. "Corporate Culture." Manhattan, inc., January 1987, 147-156.

Stitelman, Paul. "New York Galleries." Arts 48 (November 1973): 59.

Vinklers, Bitite. "Art and Information: 'Software' at the Jewish Museum." Arts 45 (September 1970): 46-9.

---------. "Hans Haacke." Art International 13 (September 1969): 44-9, 56.

Von Bonin, Wibke. "Germany October 1969." Arts Magazine 44 (December 1969): 51.

Wallis, Brian. "The Art of Big Business." Art in America 74 (June 1986): 28-33.

Wechsler, Max. "Hans Haacke: Kunsthalle." Artforum 23 (Summer 1985): 118-119

Zelevansky, Lynn. "Art That Corporations Can't Buy." Art & Auction (October 1984): 14 and 46

PUBLISHED INTERVIEWS

Haacke, Hans. "Hans Haacke on the Inside." Interview by Michael Archer. Studio International 197 (1984): 42-43.

--------. "A Conversation with Hans Haacke." Interview by Yve-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp and Rosalind Krauss. October 30 (Fall 1984): 23-48.

--------. "Artist as Corporate Critic: An Interview with Hans Haacke." Interview by Tony Brown. Parachute 23 (Summer 1981): 12-17. Reprinted in Hans Haacke: Volume II, Works 1978-1983. London, The Tate Gallery, 1984.

--------. "Interview with Hans Haacke." Interview by Ralph Emmerich. No Title: The Collection of Sol Lewitt, October 21-December 20, 1981. Edited and introduction by John T. Paoletti. Wesleyan University Art Gallery, Middletown, Ct., 1981.

--------. "Information Magic." Interview by Walter Grasskamp. Hans Haacke: Volume II, Works 1978-1983. London, The Tate Gallery, 1984.

--------. "Hans Haacke: Where the Consciousness Industry is Concentrated." Interview by Catherine Lord. In Cultures in Contention. ed. Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier, pp. 204-235. Seattle, Washington: The Real Comet Press, 1985.

--------. "Sponsorship or Censorship." Interview by Connie Samaras. New Art Examiner 13 (November 1985): 20-25.

--------. "Hans Haacke: An Interview." Interview by Margaret Sheffield. Studio *International* 191 (March/April 1976): 117-123. Reprinted in Hans Haacke: Volume I. Oxford: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978; Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum, 1979.

--------. "An Interview with Hans Haacke." Interview by Jeanne Siegel. Arts Magazine 45 (May 1971): 18-21.

--------. "Leon Golub/Hans Haacke: What Makes Art Political?" Interview by Jeanne Siegel. Arts 58 (April 1984): 107-113.

--------. "Interview with Hans Haacke." Interview by Paul Taylor. Flash Art 126 (February/March 1986): 39-41.

--------. "Hans Haacke." Interview by John Thwaites. Art and Artists 7 (November 1972): 32-35.

--------. "Hans Haacke." Interview by Robin White. In View, no. 6. Oakland, California: Crown Point Press (November 1978): 1-24.

UNPUBLISHED INTERVIEWS AND MATERIALS

Haacke, Hans. Unpublished manuscript of talk given at annual meeting of International Color Council, Spring 1968, New York. New York Public Library Art Prints and Photographs File, Microfiche, pp 1-18.

--------. Interview by author. 14 October 1989. tape recording.

--------. Phone interview by author. 30 October 1988. tape recording.

--------. Lecture given at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 29 September 1988. Notes.

--------. Letter to "All interested parties" dated April 3, 1971 on the cancellation of Haacke's one-man exhibition at Guggenheim Museum. Copy in the library of the Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, Fort Worth, Texas.

--------. Letter to The Editor of The Wall Street Journal, dated June 30, 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

--------. Letter to The Editor of The Globe and Mail, dated 30 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

--------. Letter to Shirley L. Thomson, Director of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, dated 21 July 1988. Copy in the Curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Nemiroff, Diana. Interviewed by reporter of the CBC/CBO Radio Station on June 8, 1988. Transcript by Media Tapes and Transcripts Ltd., Ottawa, Canada. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Skelton, Jeffery A., Vice-President, Government Relations of Alcan, letter to Diana Nemiroff, Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, dated 24 October 1986. Original letter in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Thomas, Ann, Assistant Curator of Photographs. "Justification for Works of Art for Purchase Consideration for the Collection of Non-Canadian Contemporary Art," dated May 1983. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

---------. Letter to The Editor of The Globe and Mail, dated 20 June 1988. Copy in the curatorial file, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Weber, John. Interview by author. 13 October 1989. tape recording.