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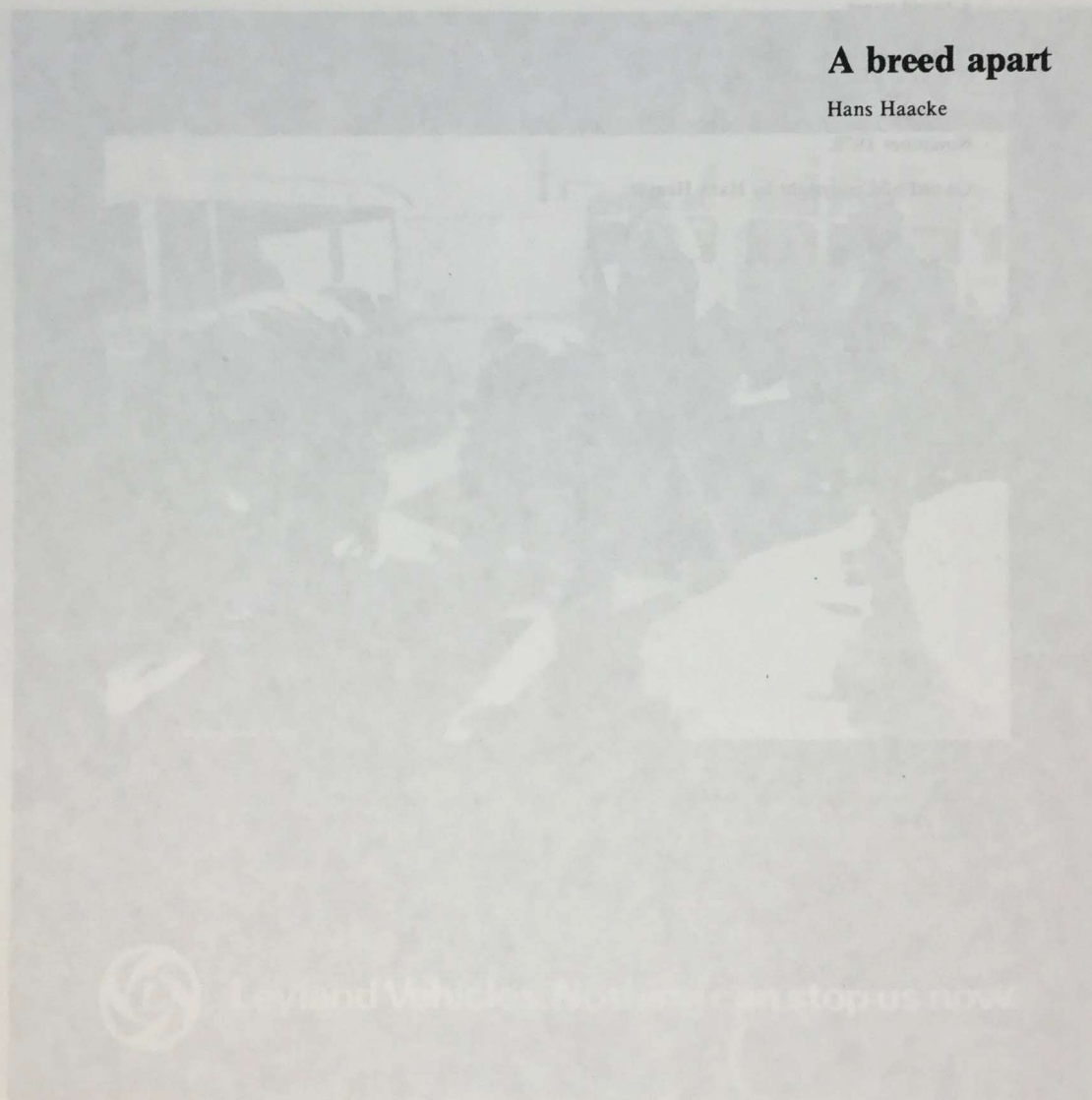
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A breed apart

Hans Haacke



Museum of Modern Art, 30 Pembroke Street, Oxford

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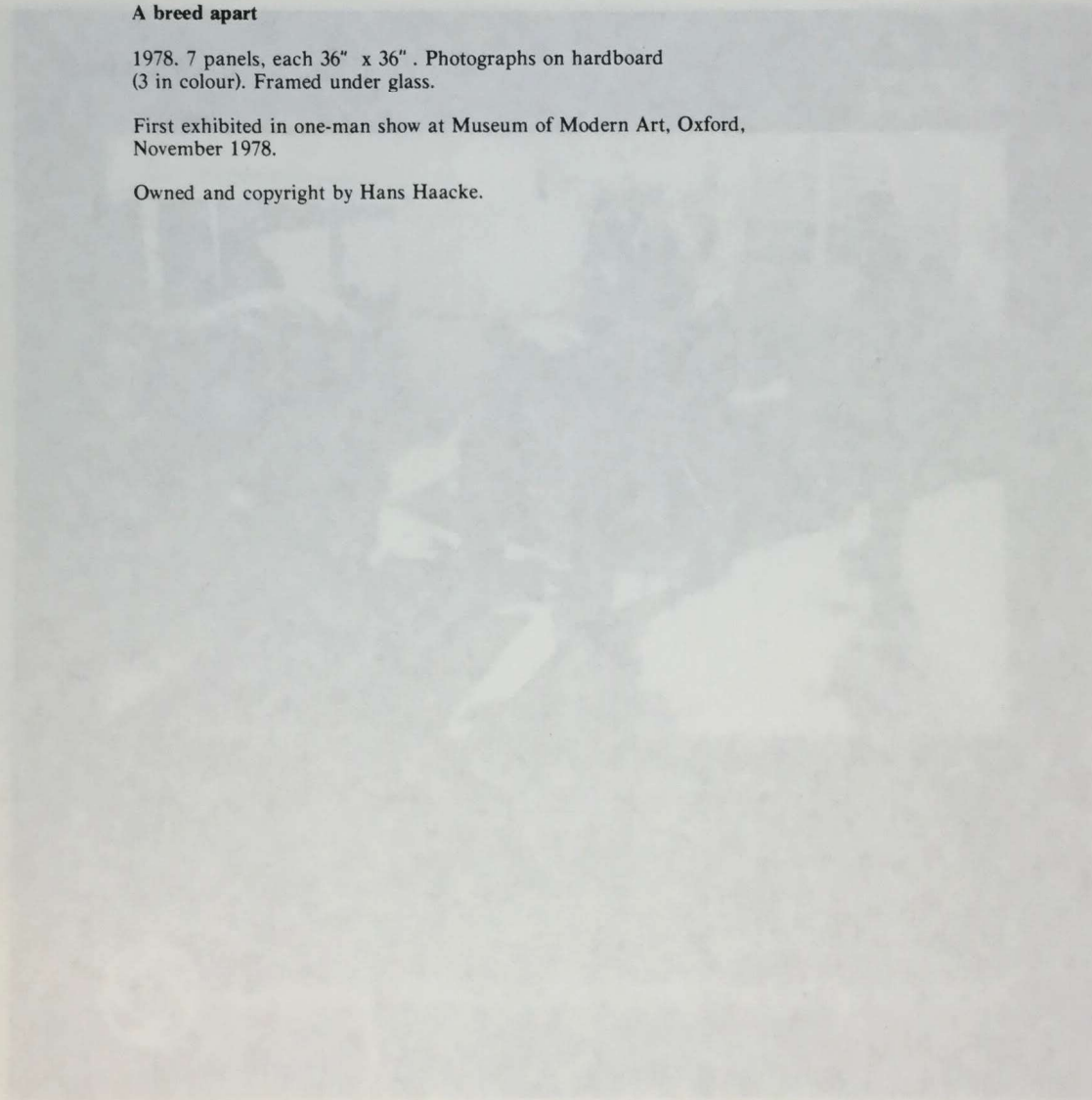
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A breed apart

1978. 7 panels, each 36" x 36" . Photographs on hardboard
(3 in colour). Framed under glass.

First exhibited in one-man show at Museum of Modern Art, Oxford,
November 1978.

Owned and copyright by Hans Haacke.



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Land-Rover
South Africa



Photo S. Contar, Sygma

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

British Leyland Press Release, Aldershot 1976



Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.

Leyland advertising slogan

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**Jaguar
abreed apart**



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

U.K. Parliamentary Select Committee on African Wages, 1973.

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

Leyland advertising slogan

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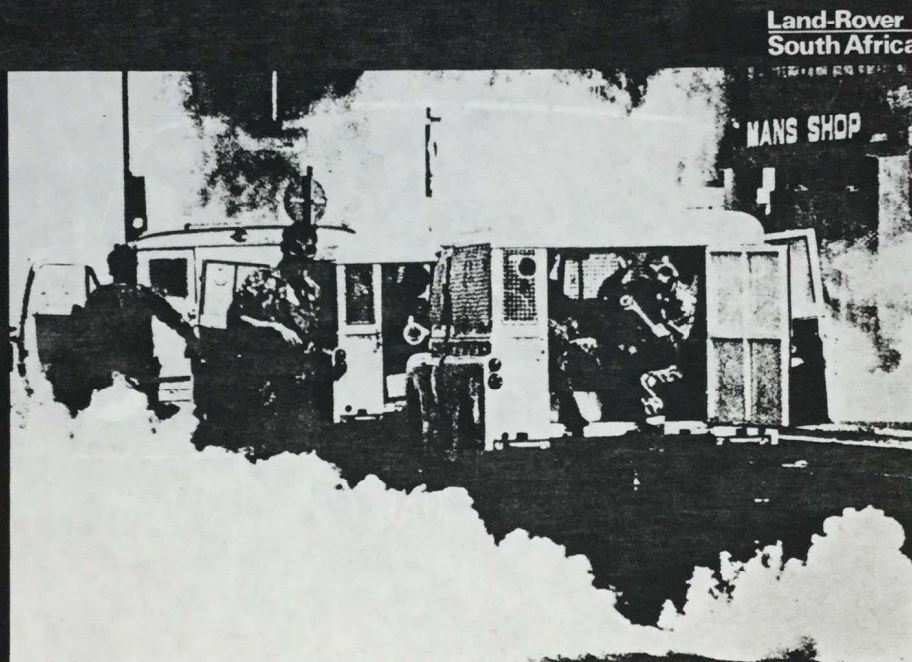


Photo: John Paisley, Argus

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

United Nations Security Council Resolution 438, 1978



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Jaguar
a breed apart

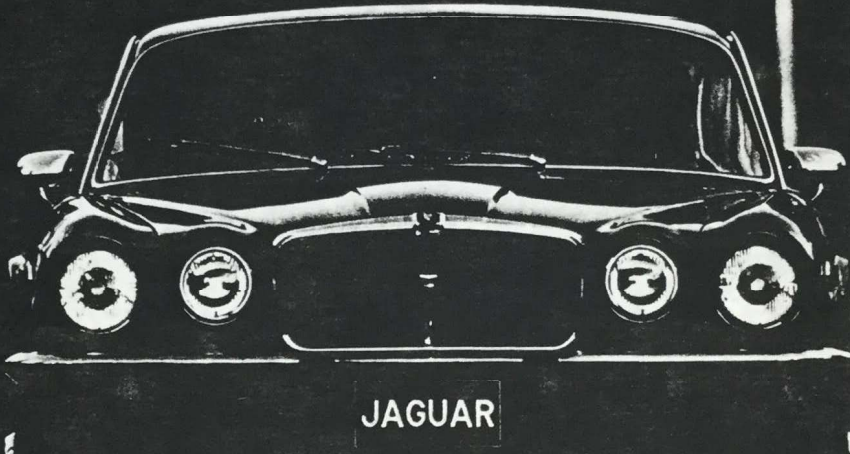



Photo: Leyland

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

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

Leyland South Africa



Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.

Leyland advertising slogan

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**Land-Rover
South Africa**



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

British Leyland Press Release, Aldershot 1976

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

Leyland advertising slogan

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Jaguar
abreed apart



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

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



Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.

Leyland advertising slogan

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Land-Rover
South Africa



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

A.E. Pitlo. Leyland South Africa. 1978



Leyland Vehicles. Nothing can stop us now.

Leyland advertising slogan

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LETTERS



To the Editor:

Hans Haacke's recent article about the problems of corruption and coercion which can follow corporate support to an artist is well taken. However, from my observation, I'm afraid the plain truth is that artists are so desperately, psychologically, and/or economically in need of support in any form that they will accept it from anyone or anything, regardless of the hidden or obvious ramifications, demands, subversions, or coercions.

—C.L. Morrison
St. Charles, Illinois

To the Editor:

Hans Haacke's article ("Working Conditions," Summer) made a number of telling points about the relation of corporate funding to museum programs, but it included by way of example a wholly inaccurate reference to my 1968 exhibition, *Dada, Surrealism and their Heritage*, at the Museum of Modern Art. In the context of a discussion of how museums might be led to downplay political ideas that corporations could find disturbing—thus engendering "withholding of support"—Haacke states that "William S. Rubin, the Museum's chief ideologue," gave Dada's "sociopolitical dimension . . . rather short shrift." "As a matter of convenience," says Haacke—sounding as if he really knew—"the works of John Heartfield were simply omitted from both the exhibition and the catalogue."

(1) The exhibition in question was put on by MoMA without corporate or government funding, so any omissions among the artists certainly had no relation to the putative restraints of such support.

(2) That no works of Heartfield were in my 1968 show resulted from the impossibility of borrowing the pieces I wanted, due to the competition of a Heartfield

retrospective touring Europe from 1967 to 1969.

(3) Though Heartfield was thus absent from MoMA's exhibition, he was distinctly not absent from the catalogue. There are four references to him, precisely in the contexts of a discussion of the political nature of Berlin Dada, as well as a photograph of him with other Dadaists at the First International Dada Fair of 1920. If the politics of Dada gets "rather short shrift" in this relatively brief text, so does its every other aspect. The catalogue text, as I suggested in my acknowledgments, was mostly a précis of a larger book being published at that time by Harry N. Abrams (in which two works by Heartfield—hardly a major figure, to be sure—were reproduced).

What most dismayed me about Haacke's genuinely interesting piece—above and beyond inaccuracy, special pleading, and political bias—was the naive and altruistic underlying assumption that funding for art can be entirely disinterested. No culture, whatever its structure, has ever produced major art without, in effect, paying for it. Any present-day corporate self-interest is discreet and low-voltage as compared to that of the men who controlled the treasury of Periclean Athens or the resources that went into building the cathedrals.

—William Rubin
Director of Painting and Sculpture
The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Hans Haacke replies:

I was surprised that William Rubin would consider commenting on a gadfly's criticism of his curatorial record. As to his three points of defense:

(1) More than the artists of many other movements, the Dadaists and Surrealists responded quite deliberately to their social and political environment, of which most visitors of the Museum had scant knowledge. One is therefore invited to speculate on the noticeable exclusion of pertinent histori-

cal information and particularly the omission of John Heartfield. It is well known that a large number of the trustees of the Museum have strong corporate affiliations. Could their sensibilities have played a role in the politically expurgated installation? Was a guiding factor the preservation of a favorable climate for joint ventures with corporations anticipated for the future? Or was it simply that Mr. Rubin's curatorial approach differs essentially from that of his colleagues at the Hayward Gallery in London and the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, who made great efforts in analogous exhibitions to recreate some of the spirit of the period that spawned these artists?

(2) Did I overestimate the resources of the Museum of Modern Art? At the time when Mr. Rubin prepared his exhibition, John Heartfield was still alive. He was, in fact, collaborating on the preparation of his retrospective in Europe, in which the majority of the works appeared as photographic enlargements of the "originals" (Heartfield's photomontages existed primarily as mass-produced graphics). Would Heartfield, would the Deutsche Akademie der Künste, would all the archives and libraries which house the publications for which Heartfield worked indeed have denied MoMA's request for assistance?

(3) It is true that John Heartfield is not entirely absent from the catalogue. As part of the discussion of Berlin Dada, his name is mentioned, incidentally, three times, and he does appear on a photograph of a Dada opening in the background amid eight fellow Dadaists. Obviously none of this is suitable to form even a vague notion of Heartfield's work. In contrast, for example, Mr. Rubin devotes ten reproductions to the dream world of Yves Tanguy, and his text on the painter is as long as his entire account of the decidedly political activities of the Berlin Dadaists. In Mr. Rubin's book *Dada and Surrealism*, Heartfield fares only slightly better. On the 179 pages of text, he is again mentioned,

incidentally, a total of three times. But there are two small reproductions, one of the two of a work on which he collaborated with George Grosz. Neither one, however, shows an example of his political photomontages, although these constitute Heartfield's most original and influential contributions. Herta and Paul Amirson, in her monograph *Collage*, Cologne 1968, states unequivocally that "it remained for John Heartfield to develop photomontage into a really effective tool of political agitation"; she also implies, as does Hans Richter, that there might be some truth to the claims of Heartfield and Grosz to jointly have invented photomontage. Mr. Rubin, however, gives total credit to the comparatively apolitical Raoul Hausmann, and does not even mention the dispute over the origin of photomontage. The 1978 exhibition "Paris-Berlin" at the Centre Pompidou, geographically more restricted than the one at MoMA but encompassing the entire spectrum of the arts, included 18 works by Heartfield, 11 of which were reproduced in the catalogue. On balance, John Heartfield appears to have been left out of Mr. Rubin's presentations not because of technical difficulties. Again, was it merely because he views Heartfield as "hardly a major figure," or was there more to it?

I am heartened by Mr. Rubin's statement that funding for the arts is less than disinterested. I would like to assure him that, contrary to his assumptions, I fully share his views in this respect. There is no need for Mr. Rubin to be dismayed, he just misunderstood the tenor of my article. Naturally, I would be interested to hear from him, as an authority in the field, which interests he sees at work, whether these interests are compatible with his own and/or those of the public, and, in case they are not so entirely, how he deals with the resulting conflict. In short, I would like to learn something about his working conditions.

—Hans Haacke
New York, July 1981

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Hans Haacke

"Business could hold art exhibitions to tell its own story." William B. Renner, president of the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa), proposed this salutary measure in an address to the American Advertising Federation in June, 1977.¹ He was prompted to make this suggestion by the hostility to which he and his peers claim to have been subjected in the post-Watergate period. Don Stroetzel, a public relations officer of Mobil, the second largest U.S. oil company, joined him in 1979, complaining: "No longer is it possible to rely on Washington's basic sympathy for business as a protection against damaging legislation and regulation."²

This was hardly an adequate description of political reality two years ago. However, the Mobil man's wail that "other voices are often stronger at the polling places"³ has clearly been proven to be unjustified by the ascent to power of the Moral Majority only one year later. His expressions of fear that the voters would be swayed by "highly organized consumer groups" and "highly organized environmental groups"⁴ to question the presumed identity of the interests of government, business and the populace were obviously unfounded, if not meant merely to serve as a political device.

The sentiments expressed by the two gentlemen have led, over the years, to corporate policies that have significantly changed the political landscape of this country. Their statements should not be taken as atypical. They are interesting in what they reveal as much as in what they do not reveal. The spokesman of Mobil Oil, which is the most visible, though by far not the most generous, supporter of popularly accepted cultural programs, is certainly correct in his judgment that historically there has been a close relationship between the U.S. government and the business world.⁵ Although, according to opinion polls around the world, people are currently less willing to believe that the welfare of stockholders coincides with their own, there is little evidence that this growing skepticism is anything more than a vaguely articulated mistrust; nor, as we have seen in the 1980 elections, has this skepticism been translated into decisive political power. The "highly organized" groups, questioning certain aspects of corporate behavior, are obviously no match for the lavishly funded campaigns that business wages in the generally sympathetic media. Nor can they field a phalanx of well-connected lobbyists and political law firms, whose partners swap positions in government and business as a matter of routine. And they also cannot equal the business-formed Political Action Committees, which generously underwrite friendly politicians and may help to defeat others at the polls. For example, four liberal senators, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, John Culver and George McGovern, were all on Mobil's hit list.⁶ Since their defeat in the 1980 elections they are no longer in the way of the oil interests. It is not easy for business to present itself in the role of the underdog.

Still, it is perfectly sound logic for Stroetzel to paint such a bleak picture. It would be shortsighted not to break the budding opposition in time. And the neces-

sary resolve can be summoned only if the corporate world takes this potential threat to its freewheeling power seriously. Mobil has been in the forefront of this campaign. For the promotion of its view of the world, Mobil in 1980 bought advertising space in U.S. newspapers at an estimated cost of \$6 million.⁷ This amount, of course, covers only one part of the total persuading efforts of the company. In 1976, the budget of its public affairs department in New York was \$21 million.⁸ No product advertising was paid out of this. In answer to a question from an enthusiastic shareholder at the 1980 annual meeting, the Mobil chairman Rawleigh Warner Jr. revealed that "worldwide, we spent \$102 million last year for advertising."⁹ This is where the seemingly pure world of "high" art enters into the equation.

Contemporary social practice endows not only individual works of art but also art as such with an aura.¹⁰ Its seemingly unimpeachable "Otherness"—divorced from the haggles of the day, preserved and conserved, a manifestation of the "disinterested" human mind fathoming the secrets of the world—can,

WORKING CONDITIONS

in a sober moment, be understood as an instrument that can be used to further interests neither on the mind of the artist nor on the minds of his initiate admirers. The quasi-mythical authority art enjoys, an authority too often unquestioningly accepted or even cherished by its practitioners and followers, gives art a disproportionately large power within the consciousness industry. It is disproportionate in relation to the capital invested in it and to the size of its audience.

Different from other products of that industry, works of art are approached with reverence. Even the outraged dismissal of a work not meeting the viewer's criteria of taste is of a special nature. He or she may not react as in an ordinary, everyday disagreement, but rather as if fundamental assumptions that give a sense of security are now challenged. Given the extraordinary prestige of art, its supposedly eternal truth and beauty, together with the exultation the viewer may have experienced in dealing with it, then any sample that does not elicit these cherished responses and instead appears to contradict the

accepted "universal" values must, for that very reason, be vigorously and perhaps even violently rejected. The wells of truth must not be poisoned! The howls of indignation the Dadaists provoked confirm that they were, indeed, committing a sacrilege.

The arts naturally have never been exempt from the ideological constraints¹¹ of their respective period and power structure. More often than not they have been used as an instrument designed for the benefit of sponsors. It is no different today. The Alcoa president's suggestion to generate art exhibits with the express intent of leading us to a more sympathetic appraisal of the corporate state has already been in practice in a more subtle, and therefore possibly more effective, way than he seems to envision.

In the '60s, the more sophisticated among executives of large corporations began to understand that the association of their company's name—and business in general—with the arts could have considerable and long-term benefits for them, far in excess of the capital invested in such an effort. Some of the originators of corporate art programs were, in private life, art collectors who possibly believed that while pursuing the company's interests they were also serving a good cause. Many of the newcomers in the field are more cynical.¹²

An astute appraisal of the situation prompted Ruder & Finn, one of the most prominent public relations agencies in New York, to establish its own arts division, with a permanent staff to advise its clients in the use of art for their business goals and, if necessary, to curate exhibitions.¹³ Not surprisingly, because of long-standing personal connections to the world of business and finance, the Museum of Modern Art has maintained for many years an Art Advisory Service for corporations. Following the example of the Museum, of which he is a trustee, Ivan Chermayeff has added an art consulting department to the design firm of Chermayeff and Geismar. (Mobil is one of its major clients.) Some larger companies have hired their own staffs of art professionals who are usually part of the public relations departments and sometimes enjoy direct access to the chief executive. A succinct summary of the business rationale of corporate art programs was given by David Rockefeller, vice-chairman of the Museum of Modern Art and chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank:

From an economic standpoint, such involvement [in the arts] can mean direct and tangible benefits. It can provide a company with extensive publicity and advertising, a brighter public reputation, and an improved corporate image. It can build better customer relations, a readier acceptance of company products, and a superior appraisal of their quality. Promotion of the arts can improve the morale of employees, and help attract qualified personnel.¹⁴

While the beautification of company offices is designed to boost productivity and generate loyalty among employees, the sponsorship of culture outside the company walls is, over the years, likely to have at least as far-reaching consequences for the art world as will sales to corporate collections. The acquisition of artworks by a company is relatively easy to justify to stockholders. Since the selection is usually made by

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"...WE BELIEVE OUR INVOLVEMENT WITH

professional art consultants—art consulting is a booming business in itself—its value is liable to increase, and it often proves to be a better investment than other capital ventures of the same company. Corporate art consultants generally avoid works their clients would consider controversial. ("No nudes and no politics.") Mitchell Douglas Kahan writes in his catalogue introduction to the exhibition "Art Inc., American Paintings from Corporate Collections": "It may also be argued that because it lacks specific imagery abstract art can be non-controversial. It is probably not coincidental that the rapid surge of private and corporate collecting in the 1960s accompanied the production of a large body of art concerned with formal issues—shape, color, line, edge, structure. In a decade ripe with social change, this art provided a restful interlude from the stringent demands of the real world."¹⁵ It takes a bit more sophistication to realize that the seeming altruism in underwriting museum exhibitions, cultural television programs, concerts, etc., is possibly much more profitable. Some corporate executives who are familiar with the liberal milieu, such as Herbert Schmetz of Mobil, clearly see that in order to retain influence in government and to beat back assaults from citizen groups advocating stricter regulation of the industry, it is of utmost importance to woo specifically the liberal segment of the population.¹⁶ At present, the left in the United States poses no significant challenge to what business likes to describe as the "free-enterprise system." It is the erosion of trust and occasional flare-ups among liberals that could, some time in the future, seriously undermine that system. This demographic segment is, of course, also the one most disposed to culture. If a large company with great exposure and a public relations problem, like an oil company or a cigarette producer, manages to associate its name with a human activity of high social prestige (art, for example), the attackers become confused and the attacks are blunted. As a letter to the *New York Times* put it simply—a company that supports the arts cannot be all bad. A Mobil public relations man aptly described the kickback his company receives for its tax-deductible payoff to culture as its "good will umbrella."¹⁷

Over the past decade many large corporations, notably oil companies, have gained a considerable foothold in U.S. museums and thereby among some of the major agents of the Western art world. There are almost no big exhibitions in large New York museums produced without corporate money. Frequently the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) contributes funds to the same shows. Listing the public and the corporate sponsor in tandem gives the latter added prestige and makes it more difficult to question its motives. The NEA often stipulates that its funds are complemented or matched by grants "from the com-

munity," which invariably drives museums into the arms of corporations and gives these sponsors a platform for the enhancement of their public image. The influence is likely to increase now that the NEA budget has been cut, and President Reagan, like Mayor Koch in New York, has specifically appealed to the private sector to fill the gap. Business may pay for only a small portion of the total expense of an exhibition, but it retains a veto, because without its contribution nothing goes. Throughout the organization of the show and, in particular, in its promotion, the corporate influence is felt.¹⁸

Taxpayers thus subsidize the greater glory and profit of business on several levels: through the budget of the NEA, through the tax-deductibility of corporate donations, and through the legislation resulting from this public-relations scheme, legislation to induce investors, through proper "incentives" (favorable tax laws, lax environmental regulations, benign neglect of health and safety for workers, low minimum-wage rules, etc.), to make their wealth available for further and higher profits.

The direction of funds from the executive suite, naturally, also has a bearing on the type of show the public is offered. For obvious reasons, corporations are interested in sponsoring exhibitions that are likely to yield the greatest possible public relations dividends. These are shows with popular appeal and sometimes of some sensational nature. They must be suitable to advertise the sponsor's name on posters, announcements, in reviews, etc. "High visibility" is an important criterion.¹⁹ Controversy is not necessarily shunned, as long as the debate, in the end, will help to improve the image of the sponsor among the art-loving liberals it is aiming at. This, for example, is the rationale behind Alcoa's and Philip Morris' support of shows by women and black artists. Or the mildly contemporary venture of the "19 Artists—Emergent Americans" at the Guggenheim Museum, which was generously billed as the "1981 Exxon National Exhibition." Invariably a sizable portion of the grant is earmarked for publicizing the event over the underwriter's logo. United Technologies, the producer of fighter planes, helicopters and other war gear, allots 25 percent of its grants for publicity. Mobil is reported sometimes even to match the amount of its grant with publicity funds.

The catalogue and the installations are often quite sumptuous, impressing on the readers and viewers, by sheer lavishness, that they are witness to an important event. This does not preclude creativity in the design or in the scholarship at accustomed levels, and even the theme or subject of the exhibition may also live up to generally accepted standards. Recognizably deficient shows are obviously counterproductive with the liberal target group. Nevertheless such slipups do occur, giving art critics reason to question

the sponsors' involvement.

Since museums stumbled onto the road of corporate image-building, they have become increasingly dependent on funds from business. Inflation and the drying up of funds from traditional sources have contributed to this situation. Toward the end of the '60s, museum personnel, spurred perhaps by the rebellious spirit of the period, also began to demand professional wages, and occasionally backed up their demands with job actions.

At the same time, museums continued to compete with each other for the media's attention, with more and more extravagant ventures. Gideon Chagy, then vice-president of the Business Committee for the Arts, observed correctly, "One of the choices was not to grow so fast and big as they have."²⁰

Many directors and curators felt that for the sake of their own careers they had to stay in the limelight and maintain, if not heighten, the pace and costly appearance of the activities they had taught the public to expect. This certainly did not help to wean the institutions from the corporate coffers. Since most boards of trustees of U.S. museums are dominated by prominent people from the financial and business world,²¹ there was no clash in mentality, and the steadily growing addiction to corporate funds was naturally condoned.

Thus, by necessity or inclination, the success of an exhibition has come to be measured more and more in Hollywood terms: by media coverage and box office. Museums adopted corporate terms for the evaluation of an exhibition. Attendance figures became the yardstick, but because this was a gradual development, few among the art professionals recognized how far the priorities had shifted, and fewer still were ready to or could afford to call attention to it. Sherman Lee, director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, is among the few. He warns: "It's part of the gradual businessization or PR-ization of art museums. . . . If you put hype around the visual arts and 'market' them you fundamentally change the nature of what you are working with."²² Moreover, without the advantage of an historical perspective, the public did not notice that a visit to the museum also means exposure to "hidden persuaders."

Though the relative strength or weakness of an individual museum director or curator may play a decisive role, exhibition programs and general museum policy is never totally free of manipulation by those who control the purse strings. As well, the dependency, and particularly an urge for self-censorship, has now been structurally incorporated into the museum world in a heretofore unknown way. Thomas Messer, director of the Guggenheim Museum, candidly stated: "You approach corporations with projects you believe are acceptable to them in the first place. These tend to be safer projects. The Tut exhibition is

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PBS HAS PERSUADED AN IMPORTANT SEG

the sort of thing any corporation would love to support."²³

Although museum boards in the United States have traditionally been linked to the power elite of the country, the tax-deductible infusion of corporate money as a deliberate means to create popular consent adds a new dimension to the institutions' ideological bias. It is at the risk of both his or her professional career and the future viability of the institution that a museum official stages activities that are likely to alienate corporate donors.²⁴ Direct and traceable interference happens rarely;²⁵ everybody has sufficiently internalized the rules of the game. Heavy-handed censorship is normally left to Stalinist or fascist regimes. Instead, a tone is set that ever so subtly and effectively suggests not to venture into troublesome areas. If open threats occur, they are difficult to document. Discretion reigns supreme. The fear of losing a donor is effective enough.

One cause for the withholding of support could be the staging of events and exhibitions aggressively analysing the ideological implication of the objects on display. With few notable exceptions²⁶ there have been no exhibitions in major U.S. museums presenting the material critically, within the sociopolitical context of its period. For example, in its 1968 exhibition, "Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage," the Museum of Modern Art followed its usual pattern and gave the sociopolitical dimension of its subject rather short shrift. As a matter of convenience the work of John Heartfield was simply omitted from both the exhibition and the catalogue (organized and written by William S. Rubin, the museum's chief ideologue). By and large, art history is still being written from the perspective of the owners and patrons. Art history has been influenced by those who can afford to acquire and control the objects of scholarship more than have other branches of the study of cultural history. Also typical is the Whitney Museum's celebration of the American Bicentennial with an exhibition from the collection of American art of John D. Rockefeller 3rd, with a catalogue written by E.P. Richardson, the art historian whom Mr. Rockefeller had charged to assemble the collection. Naturally, he presented the period in which his client's family had amassed its fortune in a way compatible with the Rockefeller view of history.²⁷ (Interestingly, the show was staged with a grant from Alcoa.)

As the curatorial bias in the organization of historical shows is in favor of the "natural order" of things, so it is in the selection and presentation of works by contemporary artists. The chances for an artist whose work recognizably challenges the historically imposed social "contract" to have his or her work prominently displayed or acquired are extremely slim.²⁸ More than the other branches of the consciousness industry in the United States, the estab-

lished art world is committed to a rather uniform ideological fare.

Of course, this does not preclude a diversity of styles and competition among various "avant-gardes." Neither does it follow that artists who do gain prominent exposure for their work are therefore personally opposed to a redistribution of wealth and power or to a critical examination of the underpinnings of the society in which they win acclaim. Among those whose work seems to be politically neutral and consequently acceptable are, in fact, a number with leftist sympathies who put their money where their mouth is.

The mere fact that a work does not openly display the preferred ideological leaning, naturally, is no sensible reason to call it unimaginative, lacking in innovation, and intellectually inferior. Possibly motivated by their legitimate mistrust for anything acceptable to the established powers, many on the left are blind to the creative achievements of those whose interpretation of the world they do not share. To their own detriment, they often cling to worn-out patterns, downgrade innovation and, in spurts of occasional puritanism, they will denounce anything with a sensuous appeal or with humor. (Bertolt Brecht wisely advocated the "culinary" ingredient of art.) If one is looking for a worthy tradition to build on, better it should be Dadaism or Constructivism than a so-called Socialist Realism, which was neither terribly socialist nor realist, but succeeded in giving socially engaged art a bad name. Given this, it is not surprising that above and beyond the monetary rewards offered, the corporate state has been naturally attractive to everyone who sees his or her talents recognized and appreciated there.

The dearth of exhibitions exploring the interdependence of culture and the dominant ideology of its era is matched by the lack of critical support for and debate about such ventures in the trade literature and the established American art press. The limitation of the universe of discourse thoroughly discourages the recognition that this is by no means the natural state of affairs, that this is not the only world conceivable, that, in fact, it is produced by historical forces which can and deserve to be traced and analyzed—and not only from a parochial art-world point of view.

The prevalent attitude even outside the formalist Bible Belt, from whence it received its inspiration, is once again that art and politics do not mix, and that "political art" is ipso facto bad art. Not only will you have a less than average chance to make substantial money from it, but it is also viewed as intrinsically inferior. And who wants to be associated with a loser?

Hidden in the denunciation as propaganda of so-called political art, and in its excommunication from the realm of "true" art, is usually the assumption that works that do not refer to our social environment have

no ideological dimension. While this may very well be the intention of the artists in question, their subjective choice is, of course, objectively as much a political act as that of those who intentionally incorporate social concerns into their work. The situation is comparable to the nonvoter's illusion of having "dropped out" of politics simply by abstaining from the polls. Not only has he or she acted politically, but the act has also concretely influenced the outcome of the elections. In this way does the "nonpolitical" or supposedly apolitical artist unwittingly affect the ideological coloration of the art world. The net result is therefore also that of "propaganda," even though it is not recognized or planned as such. Ideology, as is well known, is most effective when there is no awareness of its pervasive presence.

Lately, discussions of "political art" are confronted with a new phenomenon: works sporting political imagery or provocative titles, such as "Nigger Drawings," which no doubt affect the ideological climate, but seem to avoid the stigma of "political art" through a dandyish aloofness to the object of their allusions. Following in the footsteps of Andy Warhol, the practice of playful folkloric adoption of political styles and attitudes, ranging indiscriminately from left to right, in effect only titillates and trivializes the political implications. The work thus evades being viewed as breast-beating and "uncool." The Mudd Club set pursues politics with the zeal of a panty raid. Senator Jesse Helms need not worry about it.

Art, like any other form of human communication, is a product of concrete social relations and affects these relations in turn. The more astute of its manipulators among corporate executives and government officials around the globe know full well that the encounter with art is not just a private, affective expression (and experience) in an historical vacuum. They have an interest, however, in continuing its romantic mystification. Suppression of its cognitive and moral components, and the promotion of art as an entity unto itself, favors the sentimental internalization of an imaginary world of "universal" values insulated from all material conditions. It is ironic and, for the artists concerned, a cruel joke, that the most intense personal utterances and the most detached handling of formal elements are among the easiest types of work to "co-opt." Derailment of efforts to analyze the forces shaping our consciousness and social practice, by limiting culture to a privatistic, pseudoreligious ghetto, secures the status quo: this is the goal of the public relations operative who has earned his or her salt.

Although the objectives and strategies of corporate art sponsorship can be charted without great difficulty, it is still another matter to evaluate the relative ideological position of a particular work. Contrary to popular belief, a work of art communicates only to a

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limited degree what the artist intended, and even that portion often requires scholarly exegesis. Its meaning, in fact, has a rather tenuous connection to the configuration of its material substance. The same goes for its status as a work of art. As Allan Sekula succinctly put it: "The meaning of a work of art ought to be regarded, then, as *contingent*, rather than immanent, universally given, or fixed."²⁹ The meaning does, indeed, depend a great deal on the social and historical context in which it is viewed. The interpretation of a work, 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.

This built-in relativity rules out a permanent ideological rating and thus complicates the debate over corporate and governmental instrumentalization of art. Only evaluations for a particular cultural context are permissible. Not that the manipulators are too concerned about such seemingly arcane issues; the industry of persuasion is well versed in choosing where to apply the most effective means. In contrast, the opposition (and its bewildered fellow travelers) to the public relations sweep lacks a universally applicable yardstick, which leads to confusion and in-fighting, all to the benefit of the powers that be. The problem with spelling out some of these obstacles for productions aimed at creating critical awareness is that the bleak picture that inevitably emerges could completely demoralize whoever considered plodding in that direction. Some encouraging elements therefore deserve mention.

As is well known, the prestige and influence of New York galleries and museums over art activities in other parts of the United States and abroad is quite formidable. But they have lost some of the clout they had, during the '60s. Provincial museums and, above all, university galleries have gained self-assurance, sophistication and means, and often now can act more independently than the larger institutions. University galleries are more insulated from the boards of their parent organizations, so that courageous directors, with a sense for adventure, can afford more easily to present programs unthinkable elsewhere. Some of them have the added advantage of being supported in this course by the sizable intellectual constituency they are meant to serve, which happily comprises not only art departments. Increasingly, the "safe" shows become the dubious prerogative of the large art machines in big cities, whereas the more explorative events occur in the provinces, where the stakes do not seem to be as high.

In the "colonies," Canada and Europe, the big city

on the Hudson is no longer viewed as the exclusive arbiter. The economic slide of the United States and, conversely, the prosperity of the last decade in continental Europe have certainly played a role in this development. Also a generally cooler appraisal of the United States after Vietnam and Watergate, and the rise to power of the Moral Majority, may have contributed to this relative emancipation. Thus the increasing domination of the established art world in New York by the corporate dollar is somewhat contained.

But there are structural differences too, which, at times, permit a greater receptivity for critical works outside the United States, where practically all museums and exhibition facilities are publicly funded. In contrast to their counterparts in the United States, these are run by municipalities, states or the national government and are therefore overseen by governmental bodies or their appointed professional representatives. As always, the relative strength, courage and savvy of a museum director somewhat determine how much room he or she has to maneuver. But, similar to the dependence of art administrators on the sources of funding in the United States, their colleagues in Canada, Europe and elsewhere can be brought into line through political pressure. Agencies like the British Arts Council, which are to serve as buffers between the government and the recipients of its monies, play a valuable, though limited, protective role.³⁰

Regardless of their ideological coloration, authoritarian regimes, with a keen sense for the implications of culture, of course exercise absolute control and suppress every move that might be interpreted as a challenge. But there are obviously many shades between noninterference and open repression that comprise, in the gray area between the two extremes, the debilitating haggles with an insensitive bureaucracy as well as the administration of art as a social therapeutic tool, the needs for image-building by politicians as well as those of the tourist industry.

Popular disapproval of certain types of art, and the resulting political pressure on the supervisors of the institution seen at fault, pose problems of a different nature. While such campaigns are not always wholly spontaneous and may be just a demagogic media-hype, the issues raised draw attention to fundamental questions for a democratic society. Should the population have a direct say in what kind of culture it supports with its tax money? Is it sufficiently informed to make sound judgments in its own long-term interests? And could such interests be served, in fact, by an art that does not attract a large public? These are questions that are still academic in a country where museums are private institutions ruled by boards of trustees at their own discretion. Different from other membership organizations, these boards are not even answerable to the dues-paying members of the

museums.³¹ Nor do the indirect public subsidies they receive through their exemption from taxation, the tax deductibility of donations and the direct support through public grants, diminish their legal autonomy. As has been demonstrated above, however, this legal independence should by no means be understood as genuine autonomy or, for that matter, ideological neutrality, if there were such a thing.

While supervision through governmental agencies can be disastrous, in a liberal environment it harbors the potential for a freedom of movement presently unimaginable in the larger institutions of the United States. In a few European countries one does, indeed, encounter places with a sufficiently ingrained spirit of liberality and tolerance for nonconformist views and a politically enlightened and assertive art public. Particularly encouraging is the lack of uniformity: exhibitions that are unthinkable in the institutions of one city may quite easily go on in the neighboring city, and this with ample promotion.³² Traces of the rebellion of the '60s, in spite of an unmistakable backlash, can still be felt, and they preserve a climate, here and there, in which the exclusion of divergent points of view is politically inopportune. A few cultural bureaucracies are even sympathetic to (and others at least do not interfere with) the decisions of determined professional subordinates. Critique of ideology and social practice is far from generally accepted, but the room to move is potentially greater.

An example might serve to illustrate the atmospheric difference: early in 1979 the Stedelijk van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, Holland, a municipal institution, presented in its central exhibition hall two large works openly questioning the business practices of Philips in Iran and South Africa. Philips, the fourth largest non-American multinational company, maintains its world headquarters in Eindhoven. It is the biggest private employer of the city and of the Netherlands. Only the local newspaper cautiously side-stepped the issues raised in the two works. However, they were covered extensively and sympathetically in the daily and weekly national press. Some of the commentators even pursued the critical spirit of the two works in prodding the company into an embarrassed comment, which they gleefully reported.³³

In New York, no curator in his or her right mind would currently dare to stage a show of a similar nature—say, an exhibition exploring the Chase Manhattan Bank's financing of South Africa's apartheid regime.³⁴ While the curator's European colleague is a civil servant with tenure, the New Yorker might be dismissed from one day to the next for an attitude that, according to prevalent standards, would amount to insubordination. The situation in Eindhoven is not typical, but quite a few examples of a similar nature could be listed.³⁵ Neither would it be difficult, though, to enumerate episodes of accommodation with the

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powers that be matching those in the United States.

Cologne, for example, has a history of submission to private sponsors. Most conspicuous is the servility of the city's art establishment toward the chocolate manufacturer Peter Ludwig. Through strategic placement of parts of his art collection, under stringent conditions, he exerts as a private individual considerable power in the public museums of Cologne as well as in other European cities (Vienna, Basel, etc.). Peter Ludwig's influence would increase significantly if his 1980 proposal for a "Ludwig Foundation" of national scope were enacted. While he is to donate, according to the draft agreement that became public in the fall of 1980,³⁶ an as yet unnamed number of artworks from his collection, the city of Cologne is to give up ownership of its new museum of modern art and jointly fund the foundation, together with the state of Northrhine Westphalia and the government in Bonn (speculations about the annual budget range from \$3 to 15 million). Peter Ludwig would be the chairman of this publicly subsidized foundation. He would retain a veto for ten years in all questions relating to the works he donated. As a private individual he would in effect accumulate unmatched powers over the art world in West Germany and beyond, because the purpose of the foundation is not only the curatorial care of his collection, for which Ludwig would save payment of several hundred-thousand dollars in property taxes annually—the foundation, under his chairmanship, would also be in the business of buying art, organizing exhibitions, providing or denying loans and promoting "regional, national and international measures in the visual arts and related areas." While his prospective partners have so far responded favorably to Ludwig's proposal and have entered into negotiations with him, the echo in the German press has been predominantly critical of the power-grab it fears. Spearheaded by Dr. Werner Schmalenbach of the Landesgalerie in Düsseldorf, the heads of art institutions in West Germany have also vigorously warned against acceptance of the terms of the draft agreement.

Commercial galleries in New York still are the primary source for the material one eventually comes to see in the city's museums. Rarely do works appear in the large institutions before they have been tried out on the market. To a considerable degree, curators educate themselves specifically in the commercial outlets of contemporary art. Conversely, gallery people acquire a sense for what is potentially interesting not only to private collectors but also to institutional buyers. Thus the odds are against productions that are difficult or impossible to market.

It is all the more surprising therefore that there are a number of notable exceptions to the rule. This may have to do with the benefits of notoriety derived from "controversial"—though not hot-selling—shows, al-

though potential sales abroad, where the works' implications might not be felt as sharply or even be accepted as something exotic and titillating, may lure. But it could have something to do also with the particular gallery owner's personal attachment to and notions about art. Unless they are independently wealthy, dealers obviously must look at works of art as merchandise. Initially, however, at least for a good number of them, their professional motivation was primarily not so much the lure of becoming successful in business but rather the entry into what they perceived as an unconventional, sensuously rewarding world of high-risk mental adventure with a venerable history. Moral and intellectual commitment, tenacity and courage in the face of adversity seemed to be required. These qualities and the original enthusiasm are exposed to considerable wear in day-to-day affairs, buffeted about by the need for economic survival and by natural disillusionment. Over the years priorities of mental speculation for little monetary gain tend to be exchanged for speculation with assets for a high financial return. Still, for a minority of dealers, the spirit of high-mindedness lingers on, and among those are also a few with a sense for art as an express social agent. Obviously it is easier for them to adopt such a stance if their income is assured through sales of works of a different nature.

Attendance in these galleries can easily reach 1500 people for an exhibition. In a survey³⁷ in one of the galleries in question more than two-thirds of its public claims to have a professional interest in art. Art students constitute a major element in that group. The majority of the gallery-goers have a college education and, with the exception of students and young artists, are financially at ease. The collectors who keep the gallery in business make up only a small percentage of its audience. Contemporary art galleries attract a generally liberal public, with a sprinkling of people with leftist attitudes.

In spite of little coverage in the trade journals, works of sociopolitical engagement do occasionally reach an audience in New York through commercial galleries. The mistrust and hostility some may feel toward these marketing outlets should not make one overlook their potential for distribution, particularly since their public clearly constitutes a segment of the target group that the corporations are trying to keep under their spell. The boundaries of the art world are porous: "High art," as Martha Rosler points out, "is a feeder system, however distorted, for mass culture."³⁸ The peculiar composition of the high-art audience suggests that it comprises people who could become or already are important allies in resisting the tide of corporate brainwashing. It is unwise to reject them as "elitists." They deserve a critical art as much as other audiences.

Exhibitions in commercial galleries can generate

invitations for similar undertakings in university galleries and other exhibition facilities around the country and abroad, with potentially large audiences. Given the peculiar workings of the contemporary art system, the "certification" through galleries—aside from the galleries' own capacity to amplify alternative modes of thinking—can also lead to teaching positions and speaking engagements, and even encourage sympathetic individuals in grant-giving agencies to act favorably without jeopardizing their positions. In short, the economic foundation for further adventures could be laid by unhesitatingly exploiting the habits and following the maneuvers of the established art world in its promotion of works of other persuasions.

Apart from the conventional places for reaching an audience, some artists have successfully tried other avenues. Occasionally, for example, the small non-profit organizations growing in the New York Soho milieu (The Kitchen, Franklin Furnace, Printed Matter, etc.) and equivalent operations elsewhere offer a forum.³⁹ President Reagan's cuts of the NEA budget are likely to hurt these small institutions more than they will hurt museums. Quite possibly this has been done deliberately. The President's proclamation that the government should not be engaged in social change will thus bring about just such changes for artists (as well as for the millions whose lives will be adversely affected by cuts in social programs to the benefit of the military-industrial complex). Recently, groups of younger artists have tried with some success to organize their own exhibition outlets outside the established circuit. Cooperative ventures obviously give valuable encouragement and protection.

Intriguing in a different way are precedents for collaboration with labor unions⁴⁰ and other organizations pursuing compatible goals. Unfortunately, the leadership of such groups is frequently so overwhelmed by the daily demands of practical politics that it cannot devote enough attention to long-term efforts to change the ideological environment in its favor, provided it does have a theoretically informed overview. Different from well-heeled politicians and their corporate art directors, this leadership often does not understand how communication in a media-saturated environment works. On the artists' side, these deficiencies of the potential partner are often matched by a serious lack of insight into the complexities of practical politics and the mentality of nonart audiences. Klaus Staack, in West Germany, is probably the most experienced in working both inside and outside the art world in this regard.

Although with conflicting aims, the right argues as much as the orthodox left against the introduction of socially critical works into established art institutions, branding such enterprises as either "subversion" or "co-optation." Both seem to be concerned with purity. Contradicting its own rhetoric about the "free market-

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ED WHEN WE SPEAK OUT ON ISSUES."

Herbert Schmetz, quoted in Peter G. Scotese (president, vice-chairman and chief executive officer of Spring Mills, Inc.), "Business and Art: A creative, practical partnership," *Management Review*, October 1978, p. 23.

place of ideas," the right demands the "rejection of an alien substance"⁴¹ in order to protect its accustomed turf. On the other side, a poor understanding of the consciousness industry and the diverse expectations of its disparate audience leads the orthodox left to self-destructive and sectarian ghettoization.

Referring to the Kassel Documenta, Oskar Negt, a West German sociologist, pointedly said: "I do not believe one should leave the bourgeois media to the right."⁴² It would be an inestimable loss if artists acquiesced in the domination of the art world by corporate interests. If our interpretation of the world is influenced by what we see and hear, and if the consciousness industry is providing a large part of these stimuli, then any attempt to contribute to the shaping of the collective view of our social relations inevitably requires an aggressive and cunning participation in that industry, wherever it appears possible and suitable—outside, as well as inside, the established art world. However, it would be naive to assume that such efforts succeed easily and could yield immediate and traceable results. Like the corporate campaigns, one can only hope for long-term effects on the ideological complexion of society, in concert with parallel developments outside the art world. Art is in fact a minor—although, because of its social prestige, not an entirely negligible—agent in the formation of our consciousness. Under the heading "How Art Makes Us Feel at Home in the World," John Russell, the *New York Times* critic, explained recently: "It is fundamental to the white magic of art that it does away with the nightmare of disorientation. Not only does art tell us who we are, but it tells us—or it used to tell us—where we are."⁴³

Artists supposedly know a lot about art, and are emotionally committed to this "vocation," which they chose, among other reasons, because they perceived it as an alternative to the corporate value system. It is then their own turf, which they have to defend against the public relations mercenaries and their paymasters. They could turn their alienation, aggressively, into a socially productive resource ■

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mustn't overlook any possibilities. Advertising and creative people have got to start mapping out this frontier. And business will find the creative thinkers that have the best maps." Remarks by W.B. Renner before the American Advertising Federation, Washington, D.C., June, 1977. Excerpt from company transcript, p. 5.

Don Strotzel, "Speaking Out: Risk and Reward," address to the American Association of Advertising Agencies, Annual Meeting, May 17, 1979, p. 2. Ibid.

See Charles E. Lindblom, *Politics and Markets—The World's Political-Economic System*, New York, 1977.

According to records of the Federal Elections Committee, opponents of these four senators received campaign funding from the Political Action Committees of Mobil and its subsidiaries.

Advertising Age, New York, Sept. 11, 1980.

Irwin Ross, "Public Relations Isn't Kid-Glove Stuff at Mobil," *Fortune*, September, 1976, p. 110.

Condensed report of the proceedings of the annual meeting of stockholders, May 8, 1980. Mobil Corporation, New York, p. 19.

It does so in spite of Walter Benjamin's belief in the dissolution of that aura in the age of mechanical reproduction. This prediction is most notably contradicted by the status photography has gained recently.

The term "ideology" is used throughout this article without the negative Marxist implication of "false consciousness."

Paul H. Elicker, President of SCM Corporation: "And I can tell you that with the \$150,000 a year we have allocated to our arts program, we are getting a lot more for our money than we would from a comparably priced ad campaign. \$150,000 would buy 2½ minutes a year on national television—and such a one-time effort can hardly be considered an ad campaign." Paul H. Elicker, "Why SCM supports art exhibitions," *American Artist*, October 1978, p. 26.

For example, Ruder and Finn developed on behalf of Mobil the idea for a show of American posters, hired the curators and remained closely involved with the planning. Other clients are Springs Mills and Philip Morris. David Rockefeller, "Culture and the Corporation," speech to the National Industrial Conference Board, Sept. 20, 1966.

Art Inc., American Paintings from Corporate Collections, Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1979, p. 35.

Herbert Schmetz worked in the 1960 presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy and was advance man for Robert Kennedy's 1968 campaign (on leave from Mobil). In 1980 he served as media consultant for Edward Kennedy. Rawleigh Warner, the chairman of Mobil, explains that one of the company's reasons for promoting Schmetz to Vice President of Public Affairs was his "ability to talk to the Democratic side of the House and the Senate and to know some of those people—particularly some of those people we never, never would see before—the liberal element of the Democratic side." Quoted in Robert Sherrill, "Mobil News That's Fit to Print," *The Nation*, Jan. 27, 1979, p. 71.

Raymond d'Argenio, manager of public relations at Mobil, in his address, "Farewell to the Low Profile," before the Eastern Annual Conference of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, New York, Nov. 18, 1975, transcript, p. 3.

Even the tape one hears on the telephone, in answer to an inquiry about the Whitney Museum's current program, announces with each exhibition the corporation that underwrote it.

"Not only are we careful to see that as many attendees as possible recognize our part in the exhibition but we are very interested in getting media coverage to extend that recognition. I can overstate the importance of this to us, or to any company that sponsors an exhibition or other cultural event. (They may tell themselves their sponsorship is altruistic, but it isn't.)" Paul H. Elicker, "Why Corporations Give Money to the Arts," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 31, 1978, p. 18.

Transcript of taped panel discussion "Corporate Support (A Positive or Negative Influence on the Arts)," at the New Museum, New York, Nov. 3, 1979.

Guggenheim Museum, President, Peter O. Lawson-Johnston (mining company executive, represents Guggenheim family interests on numerous corporate boards).

Metropolitan Museum, Chairman, C. Douglas Dillon (prominent investment banker). Vice Chairmen, Daniel P. Davison (banker, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.), J. Richardson Dilworth (investment banker, Rockefeller & Family Associates), Roswell L. Gilpatrick (partner, Crawath, Swaine & Moore, prominent New York law firm).

Museum of Modern Art, President, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd. Chairman, William S. Paley (chairman, CBS). Vice Chairmen, Gardner Cowles (publisher, chairman, Cowles Communications Inc.), David Rockefeller (until April 1980 chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank).

Whitney Museum, President, Flora Miller Irving (granddaughter of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney). Chairman, Howard Lipman (managing partner, Neuberger & Berman, securities company).

Quoted from Carol MacGuiness, "Blockbuster Exhibitions: Hope or Hope for Museums?" *Cultural Post*, Washington, D.C. National Endowment for the Arts, September-October 1979, p. 8.

Quoted in Robert Metz, "The corporation as art patron: a growth stock," *Art News*, May 1979, p. 46.

In 1971 Edward Fry was fired as a curator of the Guggenheim Museum when he publicly defended the exhibition of works by the author dealing with New York real estate business. The exhibition was cancelled by Thomas Messer, the museum's director, six weeks before its scheduled opening.

One documented instance, not from the art world, is the nonrenewal of a

\$50,000 grant Mobil gave annually to the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. The oil company objected to the promotion of Chris Welles to be head of the program that was the beneficiary of the grant, because he had written a book critical of the oil industry. "Columbia Says Mobil Oil Will End Aid for Project in Dispute over Director," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1977.

26 Patricia Hills curated two shows of 19th- and early 20th-century American art at the Whitney Museum. The Film and Video Program of the same museum also occasionally serves as an outlet.

27 The Catalogue Committee of Artists Meeting for Cultural Change published in 1977 *An Anti-Catalogue as a critique of this exhibition and its catalogue*.

28 George F. Will, a columnist belonging to the journalistic entourage of President Reagan, identifies with "the wise fellow who said that artists making fun of businessmen remind him of a regiment in which the band makes fun of the cook." *Washington Post*, Nov. 30, 1979.

29 Allan Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)," *Massachusetts Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, Winter 1978, p. 859.

30 From the author's own experience: In 1978 the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, exhibited *A breed apart*, a work questioning British Leyland's nonrecognition of black trade unions in South Africa and its supply of Land Rovers to the police and military of that country. Leyland, the largest British automobile manufacturer, is owned by the British government. It has a large plant in Cowley, on the outskirts of Oxford. Together with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, the Museum published the first of the seven panels comprising *A breed apart* as a poster in an edition of 1500. The Museum in Oxford is financed by the British Arts Council and so are all the exhibition facilities where the work was shown around England after its premiere in Oxford.

Equally, the work of Victor Burgin and other British artists with critical attitudes has been exhibited frequently in institutions funded by the British Arts Council. On the other hand, a print by Conrad Atkinson was deliberately kept out of an exhibition organized by the British Arts Council. In the print Atkinson made a connection between Thalidomide, its manufacturer, Distillers Ltd., and the royal warrant that appears as a sign of approval on the bottles of alcoholic beverages and other products by the same company.

31 The *Kunstverein* in West Germany are membership organizations for the staging of art exhibitions. Their boards are elected by the members. During the '70s the relatively conservative boards of the *Kunstverein* in Hamburg and in Frankfurt were voted out of office and replaced by boards more representative of the membership's shift to a moderate left position. The *Kunstverein* in West Berlin split into two rival organizations over similar ideological differences.

32 From the author's own experience: In 1974 the Cologne Wallraf-Richartz-Museum banned *Manet-PROJEKT '74*, a large work, for obvious economic and political reasons. Two years later it was prominently displayed at the *Kunstverein* in Frankfurt. Both institutions are funded by their respective cities and both city councils, at the time, were dominated by the Social Democratic Party. Before the Frankfurt exhibition, the piece had been shown in a commercial gallery in Cologne (Paul Maenz), at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London and the Palais des Beaux-Arts of Brussels. Later it was also exhibited at the Badischer *Kunstverein* in Karlsruhe, the *Kunststhal* in Düsseldorf, the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, the Stedelijk van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven and the Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst in Ghent.

33 Again from the author's own experience: Philips representatives were quoted in Marianne Brouwer, "Ik wil de dingen spannend houden, de politieke kunst van Hans Haacke," *Haagse Post*, Amsterdam, Feb. 3, 1979, and Frits Bles, "Hans Haacke," *De Tijd*, Amsterdam, Feb. 3, 1979.

34 See: "U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa," a booklet published by the Corporate Data Exchange, New York, 1978.

35 Two examples from the author's own experience: In 1972 the Museum Haus Lange in Krefeld, West Germany, exhibited a large work exposing the City of Krefeld's longstanding practice of discharging its sewage untreated into the Rhine. The museum is a municipal institution. Also, the *Kunstverein* in Frankfurt, subsidized from public funds, exhibited two works that questioned the State of Hesse's practice of the *Berufsverbot* on constitutional grounds. Frankfurt is the largest city of Hesse. One of the two cases exposed was that of a person from Frankfurt. The Social Democratic Party, at the time, dominated both the city council and the state government.

36 The agreement is titled, "Urkunde über die Errichtung der Stiftung Ludwig zur Förderung der Bildenden Kunst und Zerwandter Gadiete."

37 The author's *John Weber Gallery Visitors' Profile I and II*. Full results reproduced in Hans Haacke, *Framing and—Being Framed: 7 works 1970-75*, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and New York, 1975.

38 Quoted from Martha Rosler, "What Do I Feel Should be the Attitude of the Politically Committed Artist to the Gallery?," unpublished statement, p. 3.

39 In West Germany, two artist-operated nonprofit "galleries" come to mind: Dieter Hacker's *Produzentengalerie* in West Berlin, and Bernard Santoro's *Augenladen* in Mannheim.

40 Fred Lonidier has exhibited his "Health and Safety Game" widely to labor audiences, as well as in art institutions.

41 Thomas Messer, director of the Guggenheim Museum in "Guest Editorial," *Arts Magazine*, summer 1971, p. 5. The article defends the cancellation of the author's one-person show six weeks before the scheduled opening at the museum.

42 "Ich halte nichts davon, die bürgerlichen Medien rechts liegen zu lassen," in *Kunst und Medien, Materialien zur Documenta 6*, p. 193.

43 John Russell, "How Art Makes Us Feel at Home in the World," *The New York Times*, April 12, 1981, section II, page 1.

1. Context of quote: "Street theatre . . . serious theatre . . . music . . . art . . . architecture . . . comic books . . . all can be powerful communicators. In 1969, a conceptual artist named Christo wrapped the entire rocky coast at Little Bay, Australia, in cloth (a million square feet of surface area) to change the understanding of sculpture, nature and technology. More recently, he extended a high curtain across the valley of Rifle Gap, Colorado. The curtain included a hole for cars travelling in the valley to pass through. In the same vein, business could hold art exhibitions to tell its own story. We might, for example, include fifty foot, inflated vinyl replicas of a machine gear and a loaf of bread to caricature the effect of inflation on the price of machine tools and food."

"Outrageous, perhaps. But it might be effective, and it would at least demonstrate that business isn't afraid of new ideas."

"Faced with the task of selling ideas on an unprecedented scale, we

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California Institute of the Arts
24700 McBean Parkway, Valencia, California 91355
Opening Friday, January 19, 8–10 pm
Gallery Room D301, Tuesday–Saturday 12–5 pm

From a letter by Hans Haacke
to Allan Kaprow, October 30, 1972

a letter by
 Kaprow, O
 Hope Blau
 Ricki Blau
 Roy Dowell
 Seth Levine
 Snijl Mareska
 Juliette Mondolo
 Janelle Mulican
 Matt Mulgan
 Judith Stein
 Peter Thell

“I would like to have a group of some 10 students of CalArts and a matching group of students from a cooperating school visit each other’s campus for about a week. Each group would try to get an understanding of the climate, procedures, morale, achievements and problems of the visited school by way of interviews, study of records and publications, informal meetings with students and an evaluation of the general appearance and work done there, very much like an investigative reporter would operate.

After several days of absorbing information, the recorded material and the insights gained would be put into some presentable form (tape, film, photo, writing, performance, action or other) and exhibited at the school where the material was gathered. The institution thereby would be exposed to an image of itself as presented to a disinterested outsider on a brief visit.

Greenfield
Lynn Hair
Seabrook

University of California, Santa Cruz
Art Seminar Room, Performing Arts Complex
Opening January 18, 6-8:30 pm
Open Monday-Saturday, 1-5 pm, Thursday 7-10 pm

January 18-January 27

U.C., Santa Cruz as seen by CalArts students

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Ricki Dowell
Roy Levine
Seth Levine
Shoji Mondot
Juliette Muncan
Walt Stein
Judith Threll
Gert Threll

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CalArts as seen by U.C., Santa Cruz students

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Stephen Gordon
Laura Gordon
Jim Hair
Michael Selbach
Mike Smith
Sandy Staniford
Sandy Verxa
Hope Allen
Ricki Blau
Roy Dowell
Seth Levine
Shoji Miyasaka
Juliette Mondot
Matt Mullican
Judith Stein
Bert Threl

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California Institute
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24700 McBean
Valencia, Calif. 91355

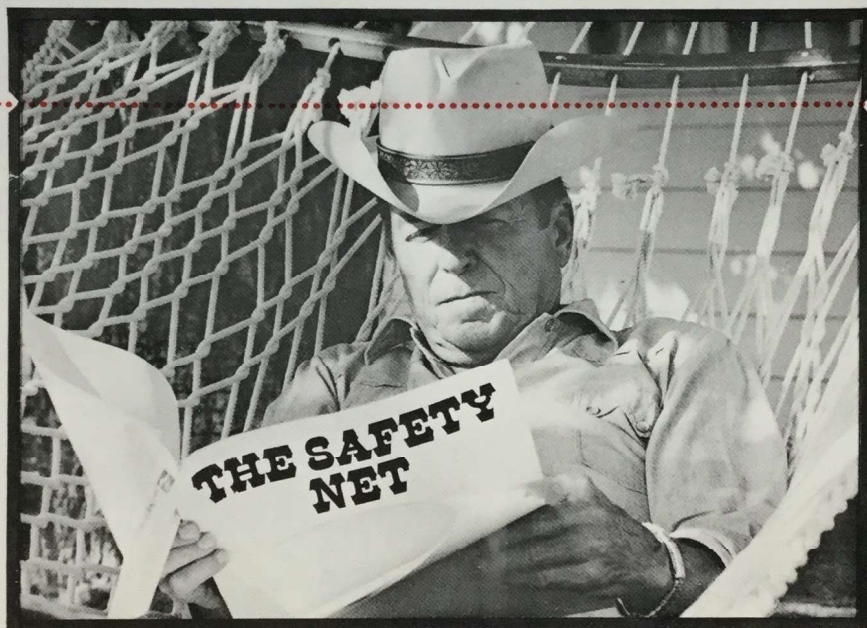


Lucy Lippard
138 Prince St
N.Y. 10012

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District 1199 Cultural Center, Inc.
310 W 43 St., New York, N.Y. 10036

JOSÉ ARE YOU GOING?
x Thursday night x



HANS HAACKE

"Shapolsky et al Manhattan Real
Estate Holdings, a Real-Time
Social System, as of May 1, 1971"
(The Guggenheim Piece)

"The Safety Net," 1982

Greg Sholette
172 East 7th #46
NYC NY 10009

A Bread and Roses Exhibition
Gallery 1199, 310 W 43 St., NYC
March 11-April 23, 1982
Monday through Friday 10AM-8PM
Opening reception March 11, 5-7PM

Photo: Michael Evans/SYGMA, Design © 1982 Hans Haacke

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HANS HAACKE

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Art from Or Lake 1982

state of culture. The solemnity and dignity of the claim to spirituality, and the severity of the fall from it, are precisely and excitingly formulated. The claim to totality is denied by its fragmentary reality; this is the perpetual condition of art.

—ANNELIE POHLEN

MARINA ABRAMOVIC/ULAY
ULAY/MARINA ABRAMOVIC

Marina Abramovic and Ulay are among the few body artists to have risen during, and somewhat gracefully survived, the '70s. That they are fascinating to look at—with their almost identical hawkish profiles and whippet bodies—has helped lend a compellingness to their repeated endeavor (which occasionally succeeds brilliantly) to set up a trust field that tests the inviolability of their shared persona. Much of the work ultimately directs the observer to the relationship that binds and empowers the performers. Such is the persuasiveness of their mutual involvement that once they have made themselves available to the voyeuristic scrutiny of their observers they are able to move to a more hieratic plateau, where questions of endurance and vulnerability give way to states of contemplation and the suggestion of transcendence.

While their most recent work might be seen as a logical development from their task-oriented performances, it has evolved significantly, through a fascination with therapeutic alchemy, into ceremonial meditation—into rituals that are available to an audience but not dependent on one. At Documenta, for example, they occupied the cupola of the Orangerie, a lovely high-ceilinged octagon punctuated by French windows with views of the manicured lawn and blue sky. Centered in the room, they sat at either end of a long polished table at some remove from the spectators, who watched from behind a delicate rope cordon. On the spectators' side of the cordon was a water cooler in which floated a sediment of gold leaf. A note invited one to drink because the gold, "if taken, purifies the body." Just beyond the cordon, on the left, stood a bound sheaf of gold rods. In the distance, at the table, Marina Abramovic and Ulay sat immobile and transfixed, facing each other for a day (for a succession of days). As a tableau it was quite beautiful, a perfect adaptation of the space; as a performance, while it had a political dimension, it was lulling tranquil. The self-absorption of the performers was not ex-

clusionary; their intensity allowed them to be objectified without becoming depersonalized, so that there was a communicable purity in their action. Rather than seeming a barrier, the cordon echoed the stronger cordon being spun between the performers. Sitting for a while with the other spectators, drifting toward a collective respiration, I noted the lines posted at the entrance:

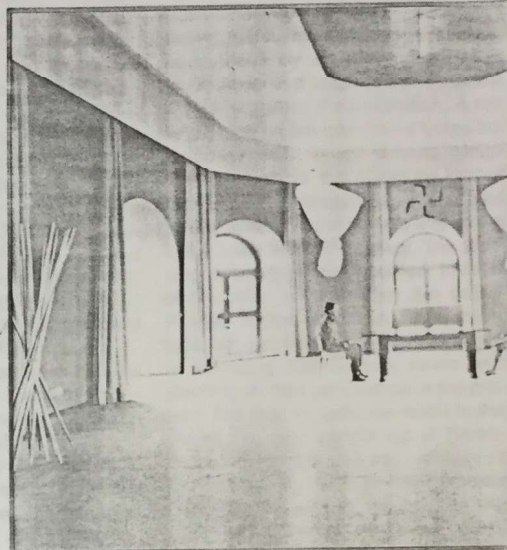
"Presence.
Being present,
Over long stretches of time,
Till presence rises and falls; from
Material to immaterial, from
Form to formless, from
Instrumental to mental, from
Time to timeless...." Such a clear goal,
and so simply, mesmerizingly achieved.
—RICHARD FLOOD

HANS HAACKE; MARCEL BROODTHAERS

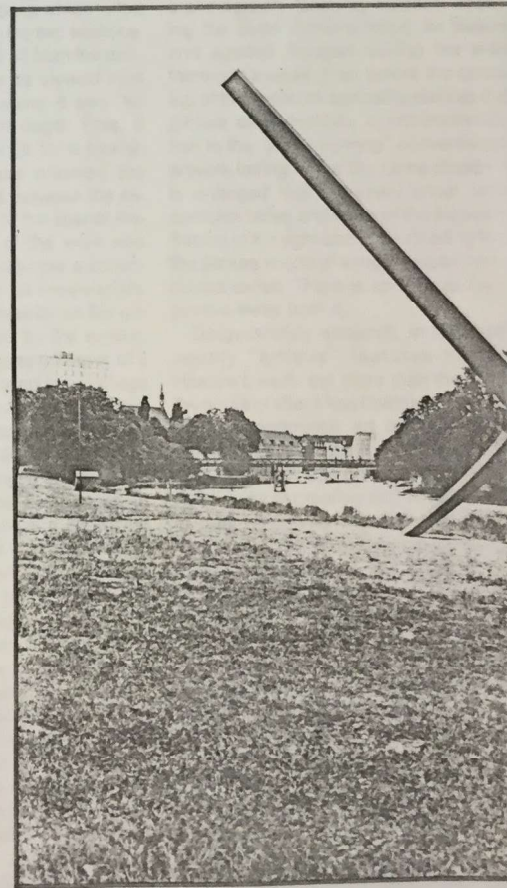
Hans Haacke had three pieces in Documenta 7. Of the first two, *The Master Chocolate-Maker*, 1981, traces the career in the art and chocolate industries of Aachen's Peter Ludwig, and *A Breed Apart*, 1978, contrasts British Leyland's advertising with the corporation's South African involvement. All the content of these pieces can be found in the public domain; Haacke does not ferret out hard secrets, but de-manipulates, or undoes the effects of manipulation, combining one item of information with another. It is as simple as putting two and two together, but it is necessary, and effective, because too often two and two are not seen together. In a complex society information is compartmentalized (into balance sheets, or art reviews) for specialized audiences.

The facts Haacke works with are at once known and not known; what he gives away could be termed "contextual secrets." This approach is not limited to the subject matter, but extends to the style. In presenting his material Haacke continues to quote; he assimilates and subtly perverts commercial art (the form in which the targets of his investigation like to disguise themselves). Haacke engenders no atmosphere or "art" magic, he does not deal in metaphysics except to levy rationality taxes on them, he gets by with a smattering of aura—and even this is used only to lubricate the contradictions in the subject matter. As an analyst of processes and their properties, he has been consistent in this approach for some twenty years.

If Haacke is an artist who has become increasingly involved in documentary



Marina Abramovic and Ulay. *Nightsea Crossing*, 1982, view of performance in the Orangerie.



Claes Oldenburg. *Pick-Axe*, 1982, ca 40' high, installation in grounds at Documenta 7.

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essays, Marcel Broodthaers, to whom Haacke dedicated his third Documenta piece, *Oelgemaelde* (Oil Painting), was a writer who trespassed on art. With the media-wise sophistication of an American, Haacke often uses image and written matter on the same surface; he plays on their possibilities, but they constitute no fundamental antitheses of his thinking. Broodthaers, on the other hand, never lost sight of the absurdity that links a caption with an image; this became perhaps the most consistent element of his rhetoric. He saw art as a paradigm for wider societal processes, and was seduced by its power to corrupt and co-opt. Broodthaers was always trying to strike a precarious balance between making artworks and denouncing them, between proving himself an artist (and thus compromising himself) and withdrawing from art, between translating his critique into powerful symbols and giving away their plain meaning.

Among those artists seeking a progressive enlightenment Broodthaers was the poet and the symbolist; but the irrational demons he evoked were ruses of reason, cunning disguises, agents provocateurs. He presented them almost as if they were pure fiction: no naming of names, no pinpointing, no attribution to sources. Broodthaers' symbols resemble those of James Lee Byars, Mario Merz, or Jannis Kounellis about as much as Duchamp's bottle rack does, and for somewhat the same reason: he does nothing to add to them or to blur their definition. Often he excises ordinary objects from their usual contexts and transports them into a new setting. Their emotional impact has a hard-edged outline. On one level they always remain just things; Broodthaers handles his symbols *au pied de la lettre* (literally), to use one of his favorite expressions. He himself is about as impressed by the mythical overtones of his props as a cargo handler is of merchandise being packed into crates; accordingly, he shifts them around with wry detachment. In the new setting he presents them in a stark, sometimes unflattering light. His method is juxtaposition, and with it he gets the objects to reveal their symbolic mass.

Décor: a conquest by Marcel Broodthaers, reconstructed in the Fridericianum, codes furniture with firearms in a stylish setting redolent of military exploits. The piece has two sections: potted palms lend an air of colonial arrogation to "The 19th Century," while "The 20th Century" ominously connects the innocuous pleasures of garden life with

power. Both sections play on an outdoors/indoors theme. In addition to urns and candelabra on ledges, "19th Century" includes period artillery pieces, a huge stuffed snake raised like a crosier, formal indoor chairs, and the potted palms. Each element is set apart on its own patch of grasslike carpet which, in the original version of the piece (created for Broodthaers' show at the ICA in London in 1975), contrasted with the red "indoors" wall-to-wall carpet underlying the whole show. The "20th Century" section has modern garden chairs around a table with an umbrella, a nearly completed puzzle of the Battle of Waterloo on the table, and mean black rifles stacked against the wall—all of this indoors.

Why did Documenta break with its own policy and include a work this old—or indeed any contribution by Broodthaers, who died in 1976? An answer may be suggested by the installation. In London the two sections, shown in adjacent, spacious, and well-proportioned rooms linked by an open doorway, formed a symmetrical arrangement. In Kassel the piece was condensed into a smaller, semicircular space which failed to differentiate between the two sections. The installation, sealed off from the public by rope, could only be viewed from adjacent parts of the show; it was "on stage," in an esthetic cage. True, it would have been difficult for a tourist-oriented show to have allowed the crowds into *Décor*. But between the exclusion of the viewer and the spatial distortion, the character of the work was drastically altered. It was now a collection of items rather than an environment; the viewer could not experience the curious tension generated by the auratic, exclusionary zones of grassy carpet, of a spurious outdoors imposed like postage stamps on the indoors—especially since Documenta also did not reproduce the ICA's red carpet, which was instrumental in carrying that idea. The Documenta piece was less articulate and more hermetic, less of a controversial issue and more of a monument. As such, it was made part of a symbolist/monumentalist group (or "tradition," as the buzzword now goes).

This new direction for art—on a pedestal—is also one of the issues in Haacke's installation *Oelgemaelde: Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers*, 1982. Two images face each other across twenty-odd feet of red carpet. One is a realistic portrait of the current president of the United States in oil on canvas and meticulously executed by Haacke.

Painted after a photograph taken by Michael Evans, probably while a heckler was speaking, it shows a surly, scowling Ronald Reagan. The painting comes in a heavy gold frame and is reverentially lit from above by a small brass lamp Museum-style, a brass title plate below the frame names the installation. A red velvet rope on two stanchions keeps the populace away; though it looks sumptuous and festive, it is in fact the kind of rope used in American banks and post-offices where people have to line up—a rather lowly symbol of power. The stanchions, however, are modified; instead of the usual chrome, they are brass. Reagan is thus shown in 19th-century splendor, echoing Broodthaers' practice of selecting 19th-century forms and dwelling on their persistence in the present. The rope in particular refers to the chains that kept people out of Broodthaers' *Propriété privée*, shown at Documenta in 1972, which demonstrated that it would be more apt to say "*propriété privée*" (depriving property).

Across the carpet there is a blowup of a photograph, taken by Haacke, showing the Bonn demonstration for peace and against Reagan during his visit there just a week or so before the opening of the show. Its topicality defines the picture as journalism, in contradistinction to the "awe-inspiring" conventional artwork facing it. For the same reason it is enlarged like a contact sheet, with sprocket holes and some of the adjacent frames to the right and left indicating that the picture is one of a mechanically produced series. There is no rope to keep people away from it.

Oelgemaelde abounds in conspicuously "artistic" features new to Haacke's work, but more than the style: the angle of attack has changed. Haacke used to denounce art operations by pointing up the politics behind them; here he denounces politics with art. But his display of creative skill is balanced or instantly denied: except for the photograph, all the elements are in borrowed styles. So Haacke is still quoting, but now he quotes art where in the past he would quote balance sheets and commercial art.

In Haacke's new work, facts are taken for granted; he heads straight for opinion. His reasoning is sound; Leyland and Mobil needed to have their strategies exposed, while Reagan's actions are common knowledge. So the facts about Reagan have already been spoken, and what good has it done? Is it surprising

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that Haacke has lost patience with the
documentary approach? The
documentarist has turned into an
aggressive satirist. Where he once set
fact against fact in a smooth, deviously
homogeneous style, he now arranges
clashes of styles (between the photo-
graph and the rest of the work) while the
"facts" are merely a nodding reminder of
what is known.

Oelgemaelde is a satire in symbols,
imputing attributes of power and glory to
the President while denouncing him for
(or through) the qualities thus stated. But
Oelgemaelde also contains many
tongue-in-cheek references to art. The
work, in fact, offers a crash course in the
stylistic elements of recent Pure Art, with
a capital P and a capital A. (One of the
more brilliant touches was added in-
advertently—that is, for unfathomable
reasons of their own—by Documenta 7's
organizers: Haacke's satire of the saber-
rattling military big spender was flanked
by two nostalgic night-fighter skylines
by Jack Goldstein, one of searchlights
and one of tracer ammo.)

Oelgemaelde is oblique, not in the
artist's taste. On the contrary, it is ren-
dered in the taste he judges necessary
for the task: a taste imputed to Reagan,
propounded by organizers Johannes
Gachnang and Rudi Fuchs, paraphras-
ing Jannis Kounellis and James Lee
Byars, mocking the "Return to Painting,"
indicating nationalist subject matter, but
reasserting Broodthaers' unrelenting ex-
ploration of traditional *décor* and sym-
bols. The fact that Haacke finds as much
to cite in recent art as he used to find in
balance sheets, real estate registers,
and statements to stockholders does not
bode well for the art thus recycled. His
latest work reflects the confluence of irra-
tional reactionary politics with irrational
trends in current art, which could easily
be exploited to lend authority to power.
Yet he attempts a bold wager, a kind of
reverse co-optation: can the means of
this art be quoted, albeit ironically, for a
progressive perspective? His confi-
dence in the effectiveness of the "re-
versed" (or deflected) symbols remains
dubious enough to be indicated twice:
he has painted an unpleasant-looking
Reagan as if to make sure that the pom-
pous gold frame will not be misread;
and, having borrowed several styles, the
dedication "*Hommage à Marcel Brood-
thaers*" comes close to borrowing a signa-
ture as well.

—SCHULDT

Annelie Pohlen's reviews were translated from the Ger-
man by Martha Humphreys.

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ARTS GUARDIAN

A talent to abuse

YOU MUST bear with me. What follows is a rather lengthy description of a single painting, a portrait of Margaret Thatcher by Hans Haacke, which has just been unveiled at the Tate Gallery.

The Prime Minister is shown in her drawing room, perched on the edge of a chair in that alert pose which royalty invariably adopts when they know an artist is watching. Back straight, head up, chin out, she would not have looked out of place on the prow of one of Drake's galleons.

The Rt. Hon. Member for Finchley East wears a very regal dress of powdered blue chiffon. The artist has given her a splendidly ornate frame to sit in, flanked her with fluted ionic pilasters, thus establishing the picture in the tradition of grand royal portraiture which stretches from Marcus Gheeraerts to the appalling Bryan Organ. So far the painting is wickedly funny, no more.

But then you begin to inspect its details, all those signs and symbols with which it is cluttered. An allegorical portraitist of the past, of the kind Haacke is so consciously imitating, would have included a statue of Venus in the background with which to compare the sitter's beauty, placed volumes of Virgil on the bookshelves to suggest her erudition, given her a white lily to play with in celebration of her purity.

Haacke shows two cracked plates on the top of the bookshelf decorated with portraits of the Saatchi brothers. The books on the shelves give the names of all the companies and institutions which employ Saatchi & Saatchi to advertise for them: the Conservative Party, of course, the South African

Nationalist Party, the Daily Mail, Tottenham Hotspur, Walt Disney, Wimpey, as well as the Tate Gallery, the National Gallery, the Arts Council, the V&A, the British Museum. . . . When it comes to image-building our public galleries are currently keeping strange company.

Everywhere you look in this painting some detail or other is drawing your attention to the complexity of the relationships that link big business, art, and politics. The depth of the Saatchi's involvement with the Tate as collectors, patrons, advertisers, advisers and lenders is recorded in fragments of Roman script on the base of the column behind the Prime Minister's back.

The news, revealed by Private Eye, that the director of the Tate had himself asked Haacke not to include the work in the show should surprise no one. After all, two years ago when the Tate held its Julian Schnabel exhibition, all the paintings came from the Charles Saatchi collection. Privately and publicly the Tate Gallery has long recognised the importance of the Saatchi collection and expressed its willingness to profit from Saatchi generosity.

This is not the first time that Haacke has gone out of his way to bite the hand that feeds him and annoy the very gallery which is giving him floor space. He tried to do it at the Guggenheim in New York in 1971 and had his exhibition cancelled. Galleries have been putting pressure on him ever since. Haacke's response is to research long and hard into the reasons for their nervousness and then to make his discoveries the main exhibits in his case against them.

He has set himself up as a painter/gladiator thrown into the corrupt arena of art. One of the strong emotions you sense in his work is a childish glee in annoying the Establishment. It is a very simple, very direct joy. It was the same spirit which could often be felt moving Hogarth and Goya or, 150 years later, the pre-war German satirists.

Very skillfully, Haacke is exploiting the exciting atmospheres of subversion. The galleries find themselves out-maneuvred. No matter how hard he bites their hand they cannot take it away without making him into a martyr and casting themselves as reactionaries. Most of the thrills at a Hans Haacke exhibition are psychological. The current Tate show is a perfect example.

By suggesting that the gallery indulges in favouritism, Haacke is challenging the Tate's central exhibition policy. By revealing all the links in the Tate/Saatchi connection he implies strange goings-on in high places. At the very least he undermines the gallery director's personal authority. Yet not only is the gallery prepared to grin and bear it but they've paid for the pleasure, given him a catalogue in which to continue his accusations and turned over prime exhibition space to his art. By any standards it is a piquant situation, a dramatic piece of theatre.

The other works in the show are invariably overshadowed by the Thatcher portrait. Haacke's art has a short, disposable life-span. It needs an appropriate social history around it to complete the picture. His vicious attack on Dr Peter Ludwig, the German chocolate king

and art baron, makes much less sense outside Cologne away from the German political situation.

In the Ludwig piece, and indeed in most of the work before the Thatcher portrait, Haacke had used the stern format of photographs and texts to make his points, exploiting the power of the plain-speaking image. The facts fill his exhibitions with their chilling, irrefutable presence. The facts become his works of art.

There are those who question the validity of such an approach and challenge Haacke's right to be seen as an artist rather than a political agitator. As someone very, high up at the Tate said to me at the opening, "It doesn't seem to me to be so different from cartoons. The sort of thing Jak does in the Evening Standard."

The main difference between Jak and Hans Haacke is that Jak deals in the minutiae of politics, the difference between right and left, where Haacke deals in the gigantic issues of human morality, the difference between right and wrong. As the distinguished American critic, Lucy Lippard, wrote: "He spotlights aspects of society we have taken for granted, thereby performing the classic artist's function of teaching people how to see."

What Haacke teaches people to see is that art and commerce and politics are as entangled today as they ever were under the Medici. Art is still being used by those in power as a means of self-glorification. Money is still doing all the talking. And being kind to an artist is still one of society's favourite ways of laundering its own reputation.

Hans Haacke at the Tate Gallery until March 4.

like it since that chap lost Chloe. It made you take off your Peruvian pince hat to Manco, the last Inca, who fled this way from the conquistadors with his wives, children, the mummies of his ancestors and assorted virgins of the sun. Dissatisfied with Marhu Picchu—a graceful mountain top fortress where clouds drift in the windows—as the last city, Drew dived indelibly into the jungle where even his hair began to drip. There magnificent Inca masonry, drowned in vegeta-



Hans Haacke's controversial portrait of Mrs Thatcher

As a study of a man driven, almost literally, into a

feeling of a story that has to be told. Bernard-Marie Koltès's Twilight Zone, though expertly performed by Pierre Audi in a chillingly bleak white-walled room, by contrast seems like a word-heavy monologue by a jobless alien in urban England and is filled with a screaming hatred of all organisations (from factories to armies) that conspire to rob the hero of his individuality.

the United States during the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's festival of British music. Here again, the raptness I remember from those dedicated performances was most compelling, though Yo Yo Ma's Elgarian style is far more fluid than Previn's, and did not always marry easily with the ISO's considerable ensemble, particularly when the soloist was enjoying one of his volatile days, not always predictable.

His unique magic — which makes him perhaps the most interesting cellist of all today

accuracy and excellent articulation. There were inevitably problems of balance here too, but Miss Walker knows well how to make us attend in her even when (occasionally) we can't hear her, and the clarity and transparency of playing in finely-maintained pianissimos gave her every chance, even down among the low f and e flats.

There have been more dramatic performances, but for its purely musical qualities this was of the first rank.

an incisive effect, for the play shows that without some kind of regard for others, life becomes an interminable punch-up.

WIGMORE HALL

Peter Reed

Dreamtiger

KATHRYN LUKAS's recital put the 20th-century flute

Nicholas de Jongh previews the RSC's next season

Young blood

THE YOUNGER generation will bear the main brunt of this year's Royal Shakespeare Company season at Stratford. Neither Trevor Nunn nor

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

The Visit

THE ODD, sad thing is that Christopher Dean, like Philip Olds, was a policeman. There he was in Torvill and Dean (ITV), a rather delicate looking bobby in a hat like a harebell. "It stuns you," said his biographer in terms

like it since that chap lost Chloe.

It made you take off your Peruvian pince hat to Manco, the last Inca, who fled this way from the conquistadors with his wives, children, the mummies of his ancestors and assorted virgins of the sun.

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GAI
BRI

The Gen Academy News from the Venetian attractions should be as has been an exhibit and rele on these he most its success exhibition time in Genius adventu years of emotions Giorgion anger o Various Gallery, Street, 4). The has com very livi group of artists, walls in which life los Bainbric in witty are not stranges the wir Amanda The Glo ruary ll saw a emphasisation m stark vi gave wa colour g Queen, appear Swinging The (Nations March ll an Itali ventio the Gra lightful stay on these at a city's could be one drar ruined v its mads Guards, a high landscap begins cursors Outs Kate Bl tel, until Like Birming has disc present

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These questions and your answers are part of

420 WEST BROADWAY VISITORS' PROFILE

a work in progress by Hans Haacke at the John Weber Gallery, October 7 through 24, 1972

Please fill out this questionnaire and drop it into the box provided for this. Dont sign!

- 1) Do you have a professional interest in art (e.g. artist, dealer, critic, etc.)? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 2) Where do you live? City County State
- 3) It has been suggested that artists and museum staff members be represented on the Board of Trustees of art museums. Do you think this is a good idea? Yes ☐ No ☐ Dont know ☐
- 4) How old are you? years
- 5) If elections were held today, for which presidential candidate would you vote?
Mc Govern ☐ Nixon ☐ None ☐ Dont know ☐
- 6) In your opinion, are the interests of profit-oriented business usually compatible with the common good?
Yes ☐ No ☐ Dont know ☐
- 7) What is your annual income(before taxes)? \$
- 8) Do you think present US taxation favors large incomes or low incomes, or is distributing the burden correctly?
Favors large incomes ☐ Favors low incomes ☐ correct ☐
- 9) What is your occupation?
- 10) Would you bus your child to integrate schools? Yes ☐ No ☐ Dont know ☐
- 11) Do you have children? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 12) What is the country of origin of your ancestors (e.g. Africa, England, Italy, Poland etc.)?
- 13) Esthetic questions aside, which of these New York museums would in your opinion exhibit works critical of the present US Government?

Brooklyn Museum <input type="checkbox"/>	Finch College Museum <input type="checkbox"/>	Guggenheim Museum <input type="checkbox"/>	Jewish Museum <input type="checkbox"/>	Metropolitan Museum <input type="checkbox"/>
Museum of Modern Art <input type="checkbox"/>	New York Cultural Center <input type="checkbox"/>	Whitney Museum <input type="checkbox"/>	All museums <input type="checkbox"/>	
None of these museums <input type="checkbox"/> Dont know <input type="checkbox"/>				
- 14) Are you enrolled in or have you graduated from college? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 15) Assuming the prescriptions of the M.I.T. (club of Rome) study for the survival of mankind are correct, do you think the capitalist system of the US is better suited for achieving the state of almost zero economic growth required than other socio-economic systems?
Yes ☐ No ☐ Dont know ☐
- 16) Do you think civil liberties in the US are being eroded, have been increasingly respected, or have not gained or lost during the past few years?
Eroded ☐ Increasingly respected ☐ Not gained or lost ☐
- 17) What is your religion? Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ Jewish ☐ Other ☐ None ☐
- 18) Sex? Male ☐ Female ☐
- 19) Do you think the bombing of North Vietnam favors, hurts, or has no effect on the chances for peace in Indochina?
Favors ☐ Hurts ☐ No effect ☐ Dont know ☐
- 20) Do you consider yourself politically a conservative, liberal or radical?
Conservative ☐ Liberal ☐ Radical ☐ Dont know ☐

Thank you for your cooperation. Your answers will be tabulated with the answers of all other visitors. The results will be posted during the exhibition.

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Bread and Roses

District 1199
Cultural Center Inc.
310 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Moe Foner
(212) 582-1890 x 264, 265

For Immediate Release

Hans Haacke: The Safety Net

Opening March 11 through April 23, Hans Haacke will show two major works at the Gallery 1199—one a historical cause célèbre, the other a new piece made especially for the Bread and Roses program.

The first work—*Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, A Social System, as of May 1, 1971*—caused the Guggenheim Museum to cancel Haacke's one-man show in 1971. During the ensuing controversy, the museum's director, Thomas Messer, objected to the work's directness, rejecting it as "an alien substance that had entered the art museum organism." (The piece has since been exhibited in many European museums, as well as in the Venice Biennale.)

Shapolsky et al....deals with absentee landlordism in Harlem and on the Lower East Side. The gallery will be lined like a city street with photos of 142 tenement buildings, accompanied by fact sheets on each, including the names of the corporations and their officers which constituted the Shapolsky Real Estate Group. All the data was culled by the artist from the files of the New York County Clerk.

Haacke's new work is titled *The Safety Net*, an ironic allusion to President Reagan's social and economic policies, which the artist views with a jaundiced eye.

Gallery 1199, Martin Luther King Jr. Labor Center
310 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036
Gallery hours are Mon. - Fri. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m.
Opening Reception: March 11, 5 p.m. - 7 p.m.

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'Unpoor' in America

You Ain't Seen Nuthin' Yet

WASHINGTON—While the Democrats understandably search for hopeful signs amid the charred election wreckage, the president's victory is massive.

The campaign was a thoroughly argued referendum on Reagan's conservative policies, and he won it hands down. Over the next few weeks an emboldened program will surely emerge from the right and make its impact felt within the administration and in the Congress. It's too soon to tell the exact content, but following are a few areas that are being targeted:

Poverty: It is now likely that the social welfare apparatus that has been in place since the New Deal will undergo major change. Certainly there will be fresh efforts to weed out "welfare chislers" and renewed imprecations by the conservative evangelicals to do away with social welfare altogether on the grounds that poverty should be left to Christian charity (the current evangelical campaign is called "My Brother's Keeper"). But the administration's major effort probably won't entail a head-on assault against the safety net. Reagan, after all, has insisted repeatedly that he will defend the basic programs, including Social Security.

Instead, the attack on social welfare will probably come through subtle changes in the rules the government uses to judge who's poor and hence who's eligible for social welfare. Eligibility for many of these programs often depends on whether an applicant's income falls below the so-called poverty line (currently set at \$10,178 for a family of four). This has always been determined on the basis of income.

But through the Office of Management and Budget, the administration has been moving toward a new definition of poverty, under which certain "noncash" items would be factored in to determine whether a person is poor. Being studied for inclusion are such things as food stamps, Medicare, Medicaid, payments by private employers for health insurance, ownership of a car, house, or other property. With the addition of such items, many people now judged to be in poverty would become "unpoor."

As we now count the poor, there are 35.3 million people with incomes below the poverty line—more people in poverty than at any time since 1960. But OMB director David Stockman has argued that the poverty count is wrong. "The official poverty count based on cash money income substantially overstates the rate of poverty because it ignores \$170 billion in in-kind medical, housing, food, and other aid that tangibly raises the living standard of many low-income families," he told a House Ways and Means subcommittee a year ago.

According to a recent census report, one approach to valuing noncash benefits would make "unpoor" 11.5 million people, or about one-third of those now officially deemed to be impoverished.

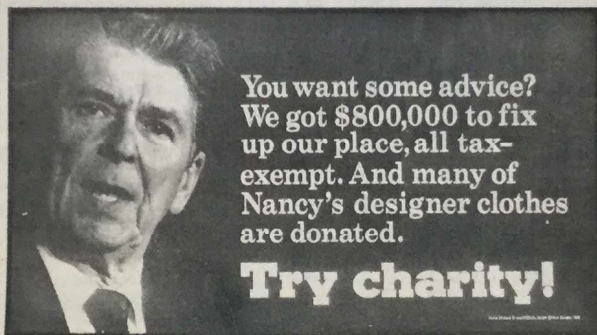
Taxes: At Dallas, right-wing Republicans said they would bolt the party rather than raise taxes. "I would not only talk about tax cuts," Richard Viguerie told me then, "I would make them. I wouldn't propose four tax increases, which is what Ronald Reagan has done in the last two years. I would submit a balanced budget. I would propose reductions in government spending.... If the Republicans do what Bob Dole and Jim Baker would like for them to do—give us a big tax increase—that would be the straw that breaks the camel's back for me and a lot of others.... Taxes could be the issue that splits the Republican Party right down the middle."

Beneath the rhetoric, there is fairly common agreement on all sides that taxes will have to be increased: Indeed both parties are sponsoring measures at so-called tax simplification: the Democrats,

with the Bradley-Gephardt bill, and the Republicans with Kemp-Kasten. Where will the additional revenues come from?

The Republicans' most often discussed course is to sponsor a national sales tax. This would exempt corporations—important Republicans constituents—and would be a minor irritant to the rich. It would, however, hit hard at middle- and low-income families. A 10 per cent national sales tax would add 50 per cent or more to the typical middle-class family's federal tax bill. It also would be especially unfair to the elderly. Having paid taxes all their lives on their incomes, they would find themselves taxed yet again when they spent the little money they have managed to squirrel away.

Because of the storm of opposition that discussion of such a tax would arouse, it is possible that it might be politically easier for Reagan to embrace a populist approach and clamp down on tax shelters. To that end, the Treasury is expected to issue a report arguing for an across-the-board closing of loopholes. In this



scenario, the administration would ultimately support a Kennedyesque tax bill, argued, of course, by Senator Bob Dole.

The "Fourth Border": For many conservatives there is no more urgent cause than defense of this nation's so-called "fourth border." In its narrow sense the fourth border separates the U.S. from Mexico. But its wider reality is that it extends through the Caribbean shipping

lanes and across Central America.

It is the concept of the fourth border that helps explain the right's view of the immigration crisis and its perceived necessity of a military victory in Central America. For in the mind of the right both are intertwined: Communist victories in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, etc., provide a foothold from which further subversion flows. A foothold in Nicaragua leads to Communist subversion of the soft underbelly of Mexico and ultimately into the U.S. itself, which could be penetrated by a fifth column of Communist subversives disguised as migrant farm workers.

While the concept of the fourth border may be dismissed by New York liberals as a crackpot idea, it is taken very seriously by the right. The vulnerability of the U.S. border is tied to a military defeat of left guerrillas in El Salvador and even more importantly to extinction of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. It explains the invasion of Grenada, the creation of a U.S.-sponsored defense apparatus in the Caribbean, and becomes the natural mechanism for beginning a serious, convulsive squeeze on Cuba. The fourth border forms the rudiments of Reagan's foreign policy in Central America.

"Rollback": While Reagan talks about

arms-control agreements with the Soviets, the operative phrase on the right is "rollback"—the ideas of John Foster Dulles in new conservative garb. The chief proponent of rollback is adventurer-philosopher Jack Wheeler, head of the newly formed Freedom Research Foundation.

Wheeler's approach entails a renewed effort to roll back the Soviet Union

Annals of the Age of REAGAN

James Ridgeway



through a coordinated scheme of economic warfare, paramilitary operations, psychological warfare, and military encirclement. Nicaragua provides the best current example of the possibilities: American warships stationed off the coast. Spy planes overhead. Commando squads attacking economic targets as at Corinto. Guerrillas fighting within, seeking to establish an internal front.

Wheeler has observed a variety of anti-Communist operations first-hand. He has been on patrol with the FDN contras inside Nicaragua, and spent time with guerrillas in Afghanistan. He traveled for over a month with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces. "There are wars of liberation in eight Soviet colonies right now," he says. "In Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam—with more on the way. The Soviet Empire may be on the verge of breaking up...."

Wheeler believes third-world insurgencies could lead to liberation of Soviet republics such as "Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Islamic states of Soviet Central Asia." In a speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington last spring, Wheeler argued that the Soviet Union, fueled by a missionary Marxism, is the last of the European imperial powers.

He set forth tactics for "dismemberment," and proposed that Americans start "doing to the Soviets precisely what they have been trying to do to us, and that is employ a... strategy of subversion and propaganda" to foment ethnic and nationalist conflicts within the Soviet Union itself.

It is speculated in Washington that rollback may soon be tested more fully with increased U.S. involvement in Afghanistan. ■

Left in the Landslide

For readers who have not caught up on the election results from other parts of the country, here in brief are the winners and losers in races we have been following:

Lloyd Doggett (D) versus Phil Gramm (R), Texas, Senate: Doggett lost his campaign for this open Republican seat by 900,000 votes, winning only 41 per cent of those cast.

Paul Simon (D) versus Charles Percy (R), Illinois, Senate: Simon won by 75,000 votes out of more than 4.5 million.

Joan Growe (D) versus Rudy Boschwitz (R), Minnesota, Senate: Boschwitz won his first reelection campaign, beating Growe by 340,000 votes.

Carl Levin (D) versus Jack Lousma (R), Michigan, Senate: Levin took 53 per cent and won a second term.

Norman D'Amours (D) versus Gordon Humphrey (R), New Hampshire, Senate: Humphrey, the incumbent, held off D'Amours's challenge easily, winning 59 per cent of the vote.

Tom Harkin (D) versus Roger Jepsen (R), Iowa, Senate: Harkin won an impressive 14-point victory to take the seat Jepsen had held only one term.

Dudley Dudley (D) versus Robert Smith (R), New Hampshire, 1st Congressional District: Norm

D'Amours left this seat to run for the Senate, and Smith won it by 51 to 49 per cent.

Jerry Fitzgerald (D) versus Jim Ross Lightfoot (R), Iowa, 5th District: Another open Democratic seat that went Republican: Lightfoot took Tom Harkin's vacated seat by 51 to 49 per cent.

Robert Clark (D) versus Webb Franklin (R), Mississippi, 2nd District: Franklin held off Clark's challenge by 3500 votes to win a second term.

Lane Evans (D) versus Ken McMillan (R), Illinois, 17th District: Evans, the incumbent, easily won a second term, taking 57 per cent of the vote.

Ruth McFarland (D) versus Denny Smith (R), Oregon, 5th District: Smith won by 20,000 votes to keep the seat he has held since 1980.

Bruce Morrison (D) versus Larry DeNardis (R), Connecticut, 3rd District: Single-term incumbent Morrison won with 53 per cent of the vote.

Don Buford (D) versus Jack Fields (R), Texas, 8th District: Fields easily won reelection for the second time, defeating Buford by a 30-point margin.

Frances Farley (D) versus David Monson (R), Utah, 2nd District: Farley's second campaign for this seat (she lost in 1982) came down to the wire

1000-2000 absentee ballots were to have been opened Tuesday (November 13), with Farley 143 votes behind out of 210,000 cast.

Jerry Patterson (D) versus Robert Dornan (R), California, 38th District: Patterson, who had held this seat since 1974, lost by 13,000 votes.

Brock Evans (D) versus John Miller (R), Washington, 1st District: Six-term Republican Joel Pritchard gave this seat up and Miller held it for the GOP, taking 54 per cent of the vote.

Jim Young (D) versus Tom Ridge (R), Pennsylvania, 21st District: Ridge's first campaign for reelection was an easy one—Young lost by almost two to one.

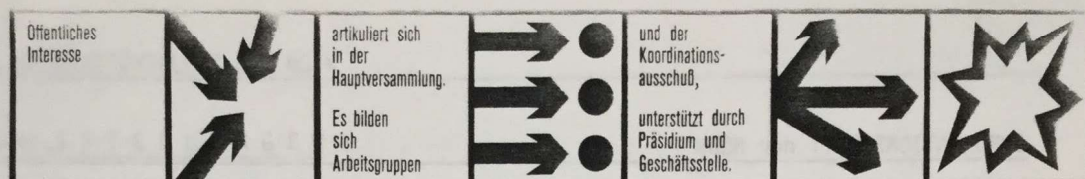
In other races: Sheriff Jim Traficant, the populist candidate for Congress and people's terror of Ohio's Mahoning Valley, whipped the Republicans' barber-shop nominee Lyle Williams by just under 20,000 votes. The 17th District's new congressman was honored at a raucous victory celebration.

Darryl Ringer, the populist longshot from western Kansas, lost to incumbent Republican Pat Roberts, who swept 76 per cent in the 1st District.

In New York, Doug Call gathered only 97,000 votes in his uphill battle

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Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst e.V. 1 Berlin 12 · Hardenbergstr. 9 · Telefon 316182

I N F O R M A T I O N S B L A T T

Die NEUE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BILDENDE KUNST besteht seit Sommer 1969.

In diesen Jahren hat die NGBK durch umfangreiche Ausstellungstätigkeit und theoretische Beiträge zu aktuellen und grundsätzlichen Fragen der bildenden Kunst einen anerkannten Platz im Kulturleben Berlins und weit darüber hinaus erarbeitet. Die allgemein positive Resonanz auf ihre Arbeit läßt sich aus breitem Interesse im Bundesgebiet und zunehmend aus Presseberichten und Nachfragen aus dem inner- und außereuropäischen Ausland ablesen. Die Breitenwirkung und der Umfang der bisher geleisteten Arbeit der NGBK fußt auf einer für Kunstvereine einzigartigen demokratischen Organisations- und Arbeitsstruktur.

Das HAUPTMERKMAL der NEUEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BILDENDE KUNST ist die AKTIVE MITARBEIT IHRER MITGLIEDER an allen Ausstellungs- und Forschungstätigkeiten. Das heißt - die Mitglieder der NGBK konsumieren nicht vom Vorstand ausgeklügelte Präsentationen, sondern sie bestimmen selbst ZIEL und ZWECKE der Gesellschaft und verwirklichen sie auch selbst.

Zur Durchführung organisieren sich die Mitglieder in ARBEITSGRUPPEN (mindestens 5 Mitglieder). Diese werden von der HAUPTVERSAMMLUNG (Mitglieder-versammlung), die den demokratischen Grundsätzen des Vereins entsprechend sein maßgebendes Organ ist, eingesetzt und bestätigt. Danach handeln die Arbeitsgruppen eigenverantwortlich als offizielle Organe des Vereins. Zur Koordinierung der Arbeit wird ein KOORDINATIONSAUSSCHUSS gebildet, dem Vertreter aller Arbeitsgruppen angehören, sowie drei von der Hauptversammlung direkt gewählte Mitglieder und das dreiköpfige PRÄSIDIUM der Gesellschaft, das auch von der Hauptversammlung gewählt wird. Alle Organe des Vereins sind der Hauptversammlung rechenschaftspflichtig.

Die Aufgaben der ARBEITSGRUPPEN sind hauptsächlich:
Veranstaltung und Förderung von informativen, aufklärenden oder exemplarischen Kunstausstellungen; Grundlagenforschung zu aktuellen Fragen der bildenden Kunst; Kulturelle Arbeit für breite Bevölkerungskreise; Förderung junger Kunst.
Allgemein - die bildende Kunst und das Kunstverständnis zu fördern.

Das bedeutet, daß die Arbeitsgruppen neue Arbeits- und Präsentationsmethoden erarbeiten, daß neue Arbeitsbereiche erschlossen werden, daß Ausstellungen nicht nur für das herkömmliche Kunstpublikum konzipiert werden, sondern besonders mit jenen Bevölkerungsteilen eine Zusammenarbeit gesucht wird, die im Rahmen der traditionellen Kulturpolitik nicht berücksichtigt werden. Das Ergebnis der bisher geleisteten Arbeit zeigt sich in einer Reihe ausführlich kommentierter Ausstellungen und theoretischer Untersuchungen.

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INFORMATIONSLATT der NGBK

- 2 -

Daß der aufklärende, gesellschaftskritische und emanzipatorische Anspruch der NGBK von weiten Bevölkerungskreise positiv aufgenommen und unterstützt wird, zeigen überdurchschnittliche Besucherzahlen und eine so große Nachfrage nach bestimmten Katalogen der NGBK, daß sie mehrfach nachgedruckt werden müssen.

Neben der ausstellungstechnischen Arbeit veranstalten die Arbeitsgruppen Führungen, erarbeiten zusätzliche Materialsammlungen für weiteres Studium des Themas, erstellen in Zusammenarbeit mit Pädagogen Dia-Serien und Beihefte für Unterrichtszwecke in Schulen und Vortragsveranstaltungen und vermitteln ihre Arbeitsergebnisse zur Übernahme an interessierte Ausstellungsinstitutionen weiter. Das Material der Ausstellungen der NGBK, das jeweils lange Zeit nicht mehr in Berlin zu sehen sein wird, bleibt so in gestraffter Form Interessenten verfügbar. Die Langzeitwirkung der Arbeitsgruppen der NGBK ist eine Investition in das kulturelle Leben Berlins, die nicht mit Geld aufzurechnen ist.

Von den Arbeitsgruppen der NGBK nehmen die meisten aktuell arbeitenden keine neuen Mitglieder mehr auf. Es steht allen Mitgliedern der NGBK frei, jederzeit neue Arbeitsgruppen zu bilden. Die einzigen Gruppen, die neue Mitglieder aufnehmen, sind die beiden permanent arbeitenden Arbeitsgruppen "Realismusstudio" und "Ausstellungsübernahmen". Die letztere beschäftigt sich mit der Übernahme von Ausstellungen, die von anderen Institutionen zusammengestellt sind und inhaltlich und formal den Zielen der NGBK entsprechen.

Die FINANZIERUNG der Arbeit der NGBK erfolgt nach Begutachtung bei dem Senator für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten durch Zuwendungen der Deutschen Klassenlotterie Berlin. DAFÜR UNSER HERZLICHSTES DANKESCHÖN !

Bekanntlich gibt es in Berlin zwei Kunstvereine: neben der Neuen Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst den Neuen Berliner Kunstverein. Beide Kunstvereine leisten, jeder auf seine Weise, wichtige Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der bildenden Kunst. Die Arbeit beider Vereine wird formal in derselben Weise seitens der Deutschen Klassenlotterie Berlin finanziert. In den Materialien zur Regierungserklärung (Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin - 7. Wahlperiode; Drucksache 7/46) steht unter Ziffer 89: "Auf dem Gebiet der bildenden Kunst werden beide Berliner Kunstvereine, der "Neue Berliner Kunstverein" und die "Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst e.V." die gleiche Chance zu kontinuierlicher Arbeit erhalten, ohne daß der Senat einen der beiden Kunstvereine finanziell benachteiligt."

Die NGBK hofft, daß der Inhalt dieser Erklärung weiterhin praktiziert wird, was auch der Zusicherung des Senators für Wissenschaft und Kunst bei der Gründung beider Kunstvereine 1969 entsprechen würde.

Nur so kann gewährleistet werden, daß die NEUE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BILDENDE KUNST ihre satzungsgemäßen und international anerkannten Aufgaben erfüllen kann - die Zusammenhänge von Gesellschaft und Kunst auszuarbeiten und sie allgemeinverständlich weiten Bevölkerungskreisen zugänglich zu machen.

Auf den folgenden Seiten finden Sie eine Aufstellung der von der NGBK bisher durchgeführten Projekte.

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A U S S T E L L U N G E N

- Nov. 1969 JOHN HEARTFIELD
Erste historisch-soziologisch kommentierte Heartfield-Ausstellung
Katalog ist vergriffen
- Jan. 1971 FUNKTIONEN DER BILDENDEN KUNST IN UNSERER GESELLSCHAFT
Erste analytische Ausstellung zu diesem Thema
Katalog und 5 Materialsammlungen sind vergriffen
- März 1971 CONSTANTIN MEUNIER
(Ausstellungsübernahme) Katalog
- Okt. 1971 EDUARDO ARROYO
(Übernahme vom Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris)
Eigene Ergänzung zum Katalog - Katalog ist vergriffen
- Nov. 1971 ASSO
(Übernahme vom Kunstverein München)
Vortrag Dr.H. Olbrich - Katalog ist vergriffen
- Dez. 1971 PARISER KOMMUNE 1871 IN ZEITGENÜSSISCHEN DOKUMENTEN
Erste Dokumentation in Fotografie und bildender Kunst dieses
historischen Ereignisses -
Katalog und 3 Materialsammlungen sind vergriffen
- Febr. 1972 RENATO GUTTUSO
(Übernahme und eigene Erweiterung)
Größte Guttuso-Ausstellung in der Bundesrepublik und Berlin(West)
Über 11.000 Besucher - ca. 40 Führungen - Katalog ist vergriffen
- April 1972 STRAUß-MAPPE
(In Zusammenarbeit mit westdeutschen Kunstvereinen)
- Sept. 1972 RAINER HACHFELD
Diese Ausstellung wurde anschließend in Lateinamerika gezeigt
- Dez. 1972 KUNST DER BÜRGERLICHEN REVOLUTION 1830-1848/49
Erste umfassende Ausstellung zu diesem Thema -
25.000 Besucher - ca. 200 Führungen für Schulklassen, Gewerkschafts-
gruppen, etc. - Übernahme in die Frankfurter Paulskirche, -
Katalog
- Juni 1973 KLASSEN-MEDIUM FERNSEHEN
Ausstellung - Katalog ist vergriffen
- Juli 1973 KUBANISCHE PLAKATE
- Aug. 1973 PROJEKTGRUPPE KUNST UND POLITIK BIELEFELD
- Sept. 1973 OTTO PANKOK
Erste große Ausstellung des plastischen Werks dieses Künstlers
- Nov. 1973 JOCHEN SENDLER
- Jan. 1974 REALISMUSSTUDIO 1
U. Borchert, G. Faulhaber, R. Pods, P. Schunter, M. Sieveking
Fortlaufende Reihe von Diskussionsausstellungen
Diskussionsmaterial (Mappe)

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- Jan. 1974 KATHE KOLLWITZ
(Übernahme vom Frankfurter Kunstverein) Katalog ist vergriffen
- Juni 1974 HONORE DAUMIER UND DIE UNGELÖSTEN PROBLEME DER BÜRGERLICHEN
GESELLSCHAFT
ca. 20.000 Besucher - zahlreiche Führungen - Katalog
- Juni 1974 HELMUT GOETTL
Gemälde und Zeichnungen
- Okt. 1974 ITALIENISCHE REALISTEN 1945 - 1974
ca. 8.000 Besucher - Führungen - Übernahme in den Badischen
Kunstverein, Karlsruhe - Katalog
- Nov. 1974 KUNST DER MEXIKANISCHEN REVOLUTION. LEGENDE UND WIRKLICHKEIT
ca. 20.000 Besucher - zahlreiche Führungen - Katalog
- Nov. 1974 REALISMUSSTUDIO 2
Manfred Beelke, Dieter Masuhr, Sigurd Wendland
Diskussionsmaterial (Mappe)
- Jan. 1975 VLASSIS CANIARIS. GASTARBEITER-FREMDARBEITER
(Realismusstudio 3) in Zusammenarbeit mit dem BKP des DAAD
Katalog ist vergriffen
- Febr. 1975 KLAUS STAECK - PLAKATE
In Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedenen Institutionen
- Juni 1975 GUERNICA - KUNST UND POLITIK AM BEISPIEL GUERNICA. PICASSO
UND DER SPANISCHE BÜRGERKRIEG
Didaktische Ausstellung zu Picassos Wandbild mit Reproduktionen
historischer Dokumente, Zeitungen, Fotos, Dias, Schautafeln
Bis jetzt Übernahmen in 16 Städte in der Bundesrepublik - Katalog
- Juli 1975 POLITISCHE KONSTRUKTIVISTEN - DIE "PROGRESSIVEN" 1919-1933
(Teilübernahme vom Kölnischen Kunstverein, eigene Erweiterung)
Katalog ist vergriffen
- Okt. 1975 ALICE LEX-NERLINGER / OSKAR NERLINGER
(Übernahme aus der Akademie der Künste der DDR)
Beiheft zur Ausstellung
- Nov. 1975 REALISMUSSTUDIO 4
Oldrich Kulháněk, Siegfried Neuenhausen, Palle Nielsen
Diskussionsmaterial (Mappe)
- März 1976 AVANTE PORTUGAL
Plakate, Flugblätter, Wandgemälde, Dia-Schau - Katalog (Zeitung)
- Aug. 1976 RENZO VESPIGNANI. ÜBER DEN FASCHISMUS
ca. 24.000 Besucher - Führungen - Katalog
- Sept. 1976 100 CHILENISCHE PLAKATE 1970 - 1973
(in Zusammenarbeit mit der Vereinigung zur Förderung der
demokratischen Kultur Chiles e.V., Münster) Katalog
- Okt. 1976 REALISMUSSTUDIO 5
Ergebnis des Wettbewerbs für Malerei zum Thema "Auswirkungen des
14. Strafrechtsänderungsgesetzes (§ 88a, 130a, u.a.)"
Diskussionsmaterial (Mappe)

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- Nov. 1976 4 SCHWEDISCHE FOTOGRAFEN
In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schwedischen Institut, Stockholm
Katalogheft
- Jan. 1977 PORTUGIESISCHE REALISTEN
12 Künstler aus Portugal - Gemälde, Grafik, Plastik -
Katalog - 4.000 Besucher
- Febr. 1977 ENGLISCHE ARBEITERKUNST
The Ashington Group - Katalog - 7.000 Besucher
- Febr. 1977 KUNST AUS DER REVOLUTION - KUNST IN DIE PRODUKTION
Sowjetische Kunst während der Phase der Industrialisierung
und Kollektivierung 1927 - 1933
(in Zusammenarbeit mit der Staatlichen Tret'jakov-Galerie,
Moskau, UdSSR) - Katalog und Dokumentationsband - 35.000 Besucher
- März 1977 KÖNSTLERINNEN INTERNATIONAL 1877 - 1977
Gemälde, Grafik, Skulpturen, Objekte, Aktionen
Katalog - 35.000 Besucher
- Aug.-Okt.1977 WEM GEHÖRT DIE WELT - KUNST UND GESELLSCHAFT IN DER WEIMARER
REPUBLIK (anlässlich der 15. Kunstausstellung des Europarats in
Berlin) - Katalog - 48.000 Besucher
- Febr. 1978 MAJAKOVSKIJ - 20 JAHRE ARBEIT
Zeichnungen, Grafik, Fotos, Dokumente - Katalog
- März 1978 CLEMENT MOREAU / CARL MEFFERT
Das grafische Gesamtwerk - Katalog
- April 1978 REALISMUSSTUDIO 6
Nil Fricke, G. Orlando, B. Quandt (Mappe)
- Oktober 1978 REALISMUSSTUDIO 7
Liese Petry (Mappe)
- Nov. 1978 S.B. TELINGATER (in Zusammenarbeit mit HdK)
- Febr. 1979 REALISMUSSTUDIO 8
Salomé (Mappe)
- März 1979 MAIJA TABAKA, RIGA - BILDER 1962 - 1978
(in Zusammenarbeit mit Künstlerhaus Bethanien) - Katalog
- Juni 1979 REALISMUSSTUDIO 9
Gröpelingen 1878-1978 - Dokumentation über die Entstehung
eines Wandbildes, Leitung Jürgen Waller (Mappe/Katalog)
- Sept. 1979 ARBEIT UND ALLTAG - DIE SOZIALE WIRKLICHKEIT IN DER
BELGISCHEN KUNST 1830 - 1914 - Katalog
- Nov. 1979 REALISMUSSTUDIO 10
Dieter Masuhr - Nicaragua - Handzeichnungen aus dem Krieg
und vom Sieg über Somoza (Mappe)

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- Dez. 1979 DIE GESELLSCHAFTLICHE WIRKLICHKEIT DER KINDER IN DER BILDENDEN KUNST (in Zusammenarbeit mit der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Berlin) - Katalog
- Dez. 1979 KINDER HEUTE - Parallelausstellung zur Ausstellung "Die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit der Kinder in der bildenden Kunst" - Nicht jurierte Kinderdarstellungen von 178 Berliner Künstlern
- März 1980 REALISMUSSTUDIO 11
Evelyn Kuwertz - Mappe
- Mai 1980 REALISMUSSTUDIO 12
Frank Suplie - Mappe
- Juni 1980 WILLIAM HOGARTH
Das grafische Gesamtwerk - Katalog
- Nov. 1980 AMERIKA - TRAUM UND DEPRESSION
Malerei und Fotografie 1920 - 1940 - Katalog
- Dez. 1980 REALISMUSSTUDIO 13
H.D. Tylle - Industriebilder - Mappe
- Febr. 1981 35 KÜNSTLERINNEN AUS MEXIKO
(in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Künstlerhaus Bethanien und dem Foro de Arte contemporaneo)
Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Grafiken, Fotografien, Textilkunst, Objekte - Katalog
- März 1981 REALISMUSSTUDIO 14
Werner/Kippenberger. Lieber Maler male mir... - Katalog
- Mai 1981 REALISMUSSTUDIO 15
Frank Dornseif - Skulpturen-Objekte-Zeichnungen - Katalog
- Juni 1981 MASUHR - TRAUMSCHÖNE BILDER
Katalog
- Juli 1981 REALISMUSSTUDIO 16
Ernst Volland. Straßenausstellung an der Gedächtniskirche
- Nov. 1981 FRANZ RADZIWIŁŁ
Retrospektive - Katalog
- Dez. 1981 REALISMUSSTUDIO 17
Polizei zerstört Kunst. Dokumentation über die Straßenausstellung von Ernst Volland an der Gedächtniskirche

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- 9.1. - 7.2.1982 KARL HUBBUCH 1891 - 1979
Ex: Badischer Kunstverein Karlsruhe
- 9.1. - 7.2.1982 LASZLO PERI 1899 - 1967
Übernahme nach: Skulpturenmuseum der Stadt Marl
Galerie Michael Hasenclever, München
- 5.4. - 23.4.1982 PLAKATE GEGEN DEN ATOMTOD (Realismusstudio 18)
Ex: Krefelder Initiative
- 3.5. - 28.5.1982 INA BARFUSS (Realismusstudio 19)
Der moderne Mensch
Bilder und Zeichnungen
- 1.9. - 3.10.1982 UNBEACHTETE PRODUKTIONSFORMEN
- 6.10. - 26.10.1982 GÜNTHER KARCHER/ STADTBILDER (Realismusstudio 20)
- 29.10.- 26.11.1982 BÖTTNER/OEHLEN (Realismusstudio 21)
- 28.11.82-12.1.1983 DIE BERLINER S-BAHN
verlängert bis
23.1.1983
- 15.12.- 28.1.1983 VOLKER TANNERT (Realismusstudio 22)
- 9.1. - 10.2.1983 1933 - WEGE ZUR DIKTATUR
in Zusammenarbeit mit der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Berlin
Übernahme nach: Städtische Galerie Schloß Oberhausen
Bildungszentrum der IG Metall in Sprockhövel, u.a.
- 20.2. - 27.3.1983 GRAUZONEN/FARBWELTEN
Kunst und Zeitbilder 1945 - 1955
- 13.3. - 24.4.1983 DAS ANDERE AMERIKA
Übernahme nach: Städtische Galerie Schloß Oberhausen
Kulturhuset, Stockholm, u.a.
- 1.5. - 5.6.1983 HEINRICH VOGELER
Kunstwerke, Gebrauchsgegenstände, Dokumente
Übernahme nach: Kunstverein in Hamburg
- 6.6. - 15.7.1983 ASTRID KLEIN (Realismusstudio 23)

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- | | |
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| 3.10. - 28.10.1983 | REALISMUSSTUDIO 24
Photocollage |
| 15.10. - 15.12.1983
verlängert
bis 29.1.1984 | CHILENAS - Drinnen und Draußen
40 Künstlerinnen zum Thema Zensur und Exil
in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Kunstamt Kreuzberg |
| 14.11. - 9.12.1983 | REALISMUSSTUDIO 25
Charly Banana/Ralf Johannes |
| 18.12.83 - 15.1.1984 | REALISMUSSTUDIO 26
Thomas Wachweger - zuunterst-zuoberst |
| 1.1. - 8.2.1984 | RATIONALISIERUNG
in Zusammenarbeit mit der Staatlichen Kunsthalle
Berlin |
| 8.2. - 8.4.1984 | WER OBERLEBT WINKT
Ansatzpunkte kritischer Kunst heute
eine erweiterte Übernahme vom Bonner Kunstverein |
| 20.2. - 23.3.1984
verlängert
bis 6.4.1984 | REALISMUSSTUDIO 27
Felix Droese - dort 1981-83 |
| 8.6. - 22.7.1984 | KUNSTLANDSCHAFT BUNDESREPUBLIK
- SZENE RUHRGEBIET -
Junge Kunst in deutschen Kunstvereinen |
| 25.6. - 28.7.1984 | REALISMUSSTUDIO 28
Ernst Baumeister - Unser Stolz - Bilder 1981-84 |

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ERGEBNISSE VON ARBEITSGRUPPEN MIT VORWIEGEND THEORETISCHER ZIELSETZUNG

- 1971 AG SPIELUMWELT - Herausgabe von zwei Broschüren (vergriffen)
- 1970/71 AG KUNST UND ERZIEHUNG - Herausgabe von zwei Broschüren (vergriffen)
- 1971/72 AG KUNST ALS AUSDRUCK UND TRÄGER VON IDEOLOGIE -
Broschüre "Freiheit der Kunst und staatliche Kunstpreise"
- 1973 Forschungsauftrag "Funktionen bildender Kunst im Spätkapitalismus"
(Taschenbuch im S. Fischer Verlag)
- 1974 Broschüre "Über den Zusammenhang zwischen der 'autonomen' und der
gebrauchten Kunst"
- 1974 Broschüre "Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik"
- 1975 AG THEORIE UND PRAXIS DEMOKRATISCHER KULTURARBEIT
Katalog - 217 S. - Aufsätze, Analysen, Schautafeln, zahlr. Abb.
- 1975 AG BEITRAG DER BILDENDEN KUNST ZUM THEMA KRIEG UND FRIEDEN
Katalog - 209 S. - Aufsätze, Analysen, Schautafeln, zahlr. Abb.
- 1976/77 AG AUFSCHLÜSSE ÜBER DIE WIRKLICHKEIT / PROJEKTSTUDIUM VISUELLE
KOMMUNIKATION / MATERIALIEN ZUR KUNSTHOCHSCHULDIDAKTIK
Katalog - 143 S. - zahlr. Abb.
- 1977 AG REZEPTION DES TAFELBILDES - NUR EINE WEGE
Drehbuch und Materialien zum Film - 57 S. - Faltblatt mit zahlr. Abb.

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Handwritten:
Hans Haacke
ISSUED

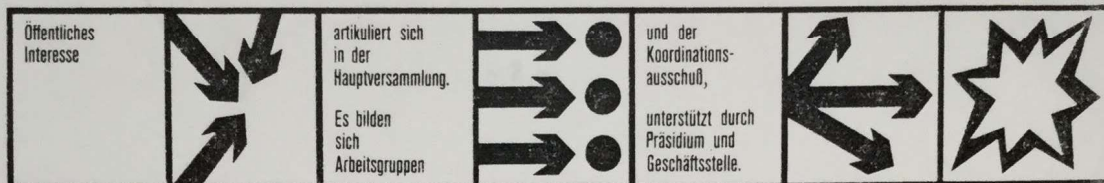
Handwritten: Hans Haacke

Business could hold art exhibitions to tell its own story

William B. Renner, President, Alcoa

Hans Haacke, John Weber Gallery, 420 W'Bway , NYC, May 5-29

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Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst e.V. 1 Berlin 12 · Hardenbergstr. 9 · Telefon 31 61 82

Berlin, den 22.8.1984

P R E S S E M I T T E I L U N G

Anläßlich der Ausstellung

H A N S H A A C K E

NACH ALLEN REGELN DER KUNST

(Objekte, Installationen, Gemälde
aus den Jahren 1969 - 1984)

lädt die Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (NGBK) ein
zur Pressekonferenz am

Freitag, dem 31.8.1984 um 10 Uhr

in den Räumen des Künstlerhauses Bethanien

(Studio I), Mariannenplatz 2, 1000 Berlin 36.

Der Künstler ist anwesend.

HANS HAACKE, geb. 1936 in Köln, ist der international bedeutendste Vertreter der politischen Konzeptkunst. Seit 1967 lebt und arbeitet Haacke in New York (Professur an der Cooper Union). Neben zahlreichen internationalen Einzelausstellungen war Haacke an richtungsweisenden Überblicksausstellungen zur Kunst der 70er und frühen 80er Jahre beteiligt, u.a. documenta 7, Biennale Sydney u.a.

Beschäftigte sich Haacke in seinem an kinetischer Kunst der Gruppe "Zero" orientierten Frühwerk bis etwa 1968 mit biologischen und meteorologischen Prozessen in sogenannten "Realzeitsystemen", so wandte er sich seit Beginn der 70er Jahre in seinem Werk gesellschaftspolitischen Inhalten zu. In seinen Installationen, Gemälden, Objekten oder Skulpturen geht es Haacke um die Erfassung und ästhetische Visualisierung objektiver gesellschaftlicher "Kausalzusammenhänge" (Brecht), wie sie sich z.B. als Interessenkonstellationen und finanzielle Verflechtungen zwischen Politik, Kapital und Kunst darstellen.

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Die Ausstellung der Neuen Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, ein Sonderprojekt des Realismusstudios, zeigt u.a. so spektakuläre Arbeiten wie "Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers" (1982), eine Installation zum Thema der ästhetischen Inszenierung politischer Macht, und "Der Pralinenmeister" (1981), eine Auseinandersetzung mit den kulturpolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Schachzügen des Kölner Kunstsammlers Peter Ludwig. Interessant dürfte in diesem Zusammenhang sein, daß die Staatliche Kunsthalle Berlin zeitgleich die von der Ludwig-Stiftung erworbene Sammlung von Kunst der DDR zeigt.

Wie bei jeder Einzelausstellung, zu der Hans Haacke eingeladen wird, ist auch für Berlin als Ausstellungsort ein Sonderprojekt vorgesehen, das - abgesehen von seiner kulturpolitischen Brisanz und Aktualität - die Verflechtungen von ökonomischen und kulturellen Strukturen exemplarisch thematisiert. Das "Berlin-Projekt", eine Installation im Studio 202 des Künstlerhauses Bethanien, wird Hans Haacke selbst anläßlich der Pressekonferenz am 31.8. vorstellen und erläutern.

Die Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst zeigt - für Berlin und die Bundesrepublik erstmalig - das Werk Haackes vom Beginn der sog. "gesellschaftlichen Realzeitsysteme" aus dem Jahre 1969 bis heute in einem repräsentativem Überblick. Abgesehen von einer Einzelausstellung des kinetischen Frühwerks im Berliner Haus am Lützowplatz (1965), Beteiligungen an Ausstellungen konzeptueller Kunst (Projekt '74, Kunsthalle Köln, 1974), der documenta sowie einer Einzelausstellung des Frankfurter Kunstvereins (1976) blieb das Hauptwerk Hans Haackes seit fast einem Jahrzehnt der deutschen Kunstöffentlichkeit vorenthalten.

Die Brisanz und Aktualität der Ausstellung zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt begründet sich für die NGBK Berlin als Veranstalter vor allem aus der singulären Gegenposition, die das Werk Hans Haackes im Rahmen der neueren Kunstentwicklung markiert: die opportunistisch-modische Diskussion um Zeitgeist und Postmoderne sowie der allgemein zu verzeichnende Trend zum Konservativismus haben eine Kunst auf den Plan gerufen, die sich esoterisch und idealistisch gibt, den "Tod der Moderne" feiert, das kritische Potential der Avantgarden liquidiert und durch einen Rückzug auf traditionelle Medien, private Mythen und einen unreflektierten Stil-Eklektizismus gekennzeichnet ist. Dieser Entwicklung stellt sich Hans Haacke entgegen, indem er durch sein Werk in einer Epoche, die sich vornehmlich auf Kunst als Kunst konzentriert, die Grenzen zwischen Kunst und Wirklichkeit erneut verschiebt und die Frage nach den wahren Rahmenbedingungen der Kunst innerhalb von Zeit, Gesellschaft und Geschichte stellt. Es geht ihm namentlich darum, das Wesen von Kunst und Macht durch Aufdeckung eines Beziehungsgefüges zu entmystifizieren. In der Verfremdung der von Medien, Politik und Wirtschaft benutzten Begriffe und Strategien, deren Konnotationen und Bedeutungen er offenzulegen versucht, stellt Haacke überraschende Zusammenhänge her, die den Betrachter veranlassen, sich eine eigene Bild darüber zu machen. Wenn Kunst, einer Äußerung Haackes zufolge, nur ein kleines Unternehmen innerhalb der Bewußtseinsindustrie darstellt, dann gilt es, vom Ort der Kunst aus eben jene Strategien und Mittel zu benutzen und gegen das System selbst zu wenden.

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Die Ausstellung "Hans Haacke - Nach allen Regeln der Kunst" wird vom 1. März bis 31. März 1986 in der Kunsthalle Bern gezeigt.

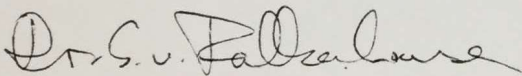
Für die NGBK und die Kunsthalle Bern war dies der Anlaß zur gemeinsamen Herausgabe eines Katalogs, der vom Prinzip der bisherigen Haacke-Werkmonographien abweicht und den künstlerischen Ansatz Haackes in aktualisierter Sicht diskutiert.

Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, Berlin und Kunsthalle Bern (Hrsg.):

Hans Haacke, Nach allen Regeln der Kunst, Berlin 1984.
(128 S., ca. 100 Abb., davon 10 in Farbe, mit Texten von Hans Haacke, Jean-Hubert Martin, Ulrich Giersch, Barbara Straka und einem Interview mit Hans Haacke von Jeanne Siegel; vollständige deutschsprachige Bibliographie)

Verkaufspreis in der Ausstellung: DM 19,80.

NEUE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BILDENDE KUNST



(Dr. Susanne von Falkenhausen)

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TATE GALLERY 25 JANUARY – 4 MARCH 1984

Hans Haacke

Hans Haacke was born in 1936 in Cologne, grew up near Bonn, attended art school in Kassel and, since 1965, has lived full-time in New York.

In 1979, he was described by the American artist and writer J.W. Burnham as 'the only effective artist in the United States dealing primarily with social and economic issues'.¹ However, in the same article, Burnham suggested that it might be a liability to classify Haacke as a *political artist*, 'First and foremost his work is intended to be art; it is presented as art, and, as is proper, its polemical content is left to the viewer to define. Not that it is obscure. The bite is there and intended but it is far subtler than the satire implicit in the Weimar debaucheries of George Grosz, or the anti-Nazi posters of John Heartfield'.²

Of art in general, Haacke has said 'A conscientious student of the history of culture knows that the arts were never an ideologically neutral entity. The absence of a critical analysis and the proclamation of a supposedly universal truth and beauty benefit only those who would like us to believe that the present order of things is the natural one, while it is, in fact, the product of historical social conflicts that are ongoing'³; and of his own work, 'On one hand what I am doing is revealing the mystification that art works have generated and are subject to, the mystification that surrounds them. On the other hand, such attempts, it seems, are effective in a contemporary context only if these revelations have a bit of a mystification of their own . . . if I bring these things into the holy precinct of the gallery, for instance, the Tiffany object [a work about the New York jewellers, Tiffany & Co., made in 1978], if that is presented . . . as if on an altar, then it uses the mystifying techniques of traditional works of art, or rather the way we have come to experience them. But I believe in doing so it also mocks and in turn exposes those mystifying mechanisms. It sort of bites the hand that feeds it'.⁴ Questioned about his party politics the artist has admitted leftist sympathies but little patience with the 'orthodoxies' of the left.

As Burnham has pointed out, certain left-wing artists would probably admit a similar lack of patience with Haacke's work on the grounds that he does not bite the hands that currently feed him hard enough. In this connection Burnham has cited Mel Ramsden's review of *Framing and Being Framed* (a book published in 1975 dealing with Haacke's art of 1970–75) – where Ramsden suggested that Haacke's work contained just the right amount of dissenting content to serve the establishment's veneer of freedom, without offering any serious challenge to the status quo.⁵

In reply to such criticism, Burnham suggested that perhaps the 'cost of art is a certain degree of ideological impurity and inattention to the status of human beings at large. Some would say that this is an affordable luxury but the lack of it might prove to be an unbearable impoverishment'.⁶

Haacke is sometimes asked why, given his concern with the need for social change, he opted for art, rather than politics; he has replied that he remains an artist because art is an area he feels at home in, 'It would be dangerous if there were only the option to be either artist or politician. . . this would imply that art should deal with nothing but art and that you should leave politics to politicians. Experience tells us that one should never leave politics to the politicians. Aside from the trouble this can get us into, such abdication would also be in conflict with generally held notions of democracy. But it would also be dangerous for art. Shutting out the social world would reduce it to a self consuming art for art's sake . . . If art contributes to, among other things, the way we view the world and shape social relations, then it does matter whose image of the world it promotes and whose interests it serves'.⁷

Haacke's best work is notable for its lack of histrionics, and he himself is known to lack interest in and to be unwilling to play the 'art personality game' (for instance, he has very seldom been photographed for a catalogue or book and does not sign his work). His general reticence has been attributed in part to his boyhood experiences, growing up near Bonn in a family whose discretion was the essential by-product of their refusal to join the Nazi party.⁸ The Germany of Haacke's youth was also to be that of Chancellor Adenauer, and the Cold War when the youth of Europe was faced with the unacceptable Janus Head of overt consumerism/or Stalinism. Haacke eventually decided to live in America, but he has retained his German nationality. Burnham, who has known Haacke for over twenty years, suggests that this alien status may account for the subtle, low-key character of some of the best work. It is of course essential to get facts right when the material being dealt with is potentially explosive, and Haacke is notable for the painstaking and scholarly approach he brings to his preliminary research.

Hans Haacke started out as a painter and printmaker. His non-figurative works of around 1960 have been described as resulting from a rejection of European tachisme. Positive influences suggested have been the work of Jackson Pollock, Mark Tobey, Yves Klein and Mondrian.⁹ An early reviewer speaks of 'lithographs where the

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artist assembled 'clusters of pale yellow dots on white grounds, at random sometimes, at other times in not too strict rectangular formations'.¹⁰

In 1960 he was given a scholarship to study for a year at Stanley William Hayter's graphic studio-workshop in Paris, where he became better acquainted with the work of Yves Klein and his circle, Jean Tinguely and the Greek kinetic sculptor, Takis, whom Edward Fry, one of the most thorough biographers of Haacke's early artistic development, cites as being of particular importance to Haacke in that he was one of the first Europeans of the period to utilize actual physical forces, for example, magnetic fields and electrical energy.

Before going to Paris, Haacke was already familiar with the work of Klein through the latter's association with the Düsseldorf *Gruppe Zero*, whose 'inner circle' were the artists Heinz Mack, Otto Piene and Günter Uecker. *Zero* (the title was chosen to denote an empty space, 'a zone of silence' before a new beginning) was not a group in any formal sense and its first exhibitions in 1957 were a series of one-evening manifestations in Piene's Düsseldorf studio. These events invited viewer participation and involved experiments with light, vibration and colour. Haacke later took part in a number of important *Zero* and associated exhibitions in the '60s alongside artists like George Rickey, Klein, Manzoni, Fontana and Tinguely (both in and outside Germany).

In a catalogue statement for the second *Nul* exhibition held in Amsterdam in 1965, Haacke articulated his ideas for an anti-formalist, environmental and phenomenological art, '... make something which experiences, reacts to its environment, changes, is non stable. ... make something indeterminate, which always looks different, the shape of which cannot be predicted precisely. ... make something which cannot "perform" without the assistance of its environment. ... make something which reacts to light and temperature changes, is subject to air currents and depends, in its functioning, on the forces of gravity. ... make something which the "spectator" handles, with which he plays and thus animates. ... make something that lives in time and makes the "spectator" experience time. ... articulate something natural'.

However, as Fry pointed out, already in the early sixties, Haacke was searching for a more rational, and less metaphysical direction than that suggested by Klein and his followers (despite Klein's obvious importance in relation to his examination of the physical world, for example, air, water and fire).¹¹

In 1961, a Fulbright Fellowship took Haacke to America, first to Philadelphia and then in 1962 to New York. While he was there, a series of 'drifter boxes' where the spectator (on the egg timer principle), by inverting the box, caused water to flow through the holes of an interior grid, were Haacke's first works to involve his audience directly (in this case, physically), and to rely on the implementation of natural laws. In 1963, still in New York, he built a 'weather box' or condensation cube – a clear plastic box in which distilled water had been sealed. Any change in 'natural' conditions outside the container affected the temperature inside – for example, light falling on the box caused its internal temperature to rise above the outside temperature. In the process of evaporation the water formed droplets of condensation on the interior walls. Having watched this constantly altering state of affairs and realizing that any

change within the object was itself governed by a constantly changing set of conditions, Haacke later wrote, 'such a system differed essentially from sculpture as I knew it, because its operational programme, namely the adjustments [needed] to maintain its equilibrium, was in no way determined by visual considerations. ... It functioned independently of a viewer and thus carried meaning in its own terms, meaning in the sense of an organised goal-seeking whole. A viewer was relegated to the role of a witness to a process that would evolve without him. He was actually not limited in his associative vagaries, which, in turn could invest this process with a sign-value and a cultural meaning. However, irrespective of what he was reading into it, the dynamic took its own course.'¹²

Haacke returned to Germany in the autumn of 1963 and from then until after his decision in 1965 to live in New York, he worked on a number of projects involving liquids (e.g. 'waves' trapped in perspex boxes which like the 'drifter boxes' were activated by the viewer) air (fabric sails, inflated by compressed air and spheres suspended on air currents). One version of the latter involved a chain of helium balloons floating out-of-doors, a transition to a 'real world' beyond the gallery or studio. In 1966 he proposed a project involving a 'living flying sculpture'. 'I would like to lure 1000 seagulls to a certain spot [in the air] by some delicious food so as to construct an air sculpture from the combined mass'.¹³

This was a further step in the direction of the physical biological world – the proposal involved real life as well as measurable time. In an interview in 1971 Haacke said that despite his use of animal and plant life in the '60s he did not consider himself a 'naturalist', pointing out that (in view of his earlier work with biological and ecological systems) some people had felt cheated when he had subsequently broadened his approach to take in analyses of human behaviour. 'If you take a "grand view", you can divide the world into physical, biological, social and behavioural systems, each interrelating'.¹⁴

Haacke has always admitted to certain aesthetic preferences, but, despite the fact that his work of the '60s sometimes had a look of the minimal and serial works being made by some of his contemporaries, he has pointed out that, whereas minimal art stressed inertness, his work evolved from the root idea and fact of change, 'All the way down there's absolutely nothing static ... nothing that does not change or instigate real change'.¹⁵

In 1967 he made a work based on organic life, 'Grass Cube', and began to work outside the studio on projects concerned with organic growth, with animals and their relationship to the environment and eventually, as a natural extension, with man. The possibility that art might be truthfully and usefully articulated to reveal itself as part of a system of changing but interrelated factors was an idea which Haacke shared with Jack Burnham. The two had first met when Haacke was in Philadelphia in 1962.

A *system* was defined by Haacke in 1971 as 'a grouping of elements subject to a common plan or purpose. These elements or components interact so as to arrive at a joint goal. To separate the elements would be to destroy the system. The term was originally used in the natural sciences for understanding the behaviour of physically interdependent processes. It explained phenomena of directional change, recycling and equilibrium. I believe the term

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system should be reserved for sculptures in which a transfer of energy, material or information, occurs, and which do not depend on perceptual interpretation'.¹⁶ Haacke's gradual shift towards an examination of the workings and effects of social and political systems (via plant and animal life) came with a growing political awareness. He had also read the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy's book, *General Systems Theory: Foundations, Development, Application* (New York, 1968) which stressed the interaction and inter-relatedness of all forms of life, suggesting that all living entities function as 'open systems', that is, systems which sustain themselves through change, through the simplest level of what Burnham has described as 'the inflow and outflow of materials and energy.' Thus systems are sustained by their ability to remain flexible.

Fascinated with the idea of the interconnectedness of all the elements, Haacke found it natural to broaden his approach to include the social world. He has also suggested that, already potentially a political animal, he was encouraged in his shift towards a more socially engaged art by the political climate both in America and in Europe, in the late 'sixties. He was for a time active in New York's Art Workers Coalition whose aim was to promote better status and conditions for artists.

In 1969, at the Howard Wise Gallery, he exhibited a chart documenting his findings in a demographic survey of the places of residence of his audience. This, the first of several 'Gallery Goers' Residence Profiles' and related surveys conducted between 1969 and the mid-seventies, denoted a change towards a more documentary style, a transition facilitated, Burnham suggests, by the proliferation of conceptual art during the period.

Haacke realized that he was a product of the system he was surveying, and could no longer remain completely detached. The findings of his surveys had social implications. 'In fact, it is precisely the exchange of necessarily biased information between the members of a social set that provides the energy on which social relations evolve.'¹⁷

An early example of Haacke's more obviously engaged political work was his 'MOMA-Poll', installed at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, between June and September 1970 during *Information*, an exhibition of the work of about 90 younger artists. For this exhibition, Haacke presented two ballot boxes with automatic registration devices asking visitors to respond to the socio-political environment by answering yes or no to the 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?' One surviving image of the event is a photograph of a semi-silhouetted mini-skirted woman casting her ballot in the box registering 'Yes'. As the question was negatively phrased, the 'positive' answer was, in fact, a negative response – a vote of no confidence. Although, as Haacke has pointed out, there can be no non-political work involving people (the viewer, like the artist, is implicated in that a conclusion will inevitably be drawn from the information presented), this work brought art and politics together in no uncertain terms. It demanded a response to the suitability of a gubernatorial candidate, and the question was posed in a museum of which the candidate and members of his family were influential Trustees and which had been founded by his mother. Furthermore, the voting was graded – the colour of the ballot papers differed according to the status of the

visitor; paying visitor, friend of the museum, non-paying visitor etc. The outcome of the voting was not favourable to the Governor. Despite the fact that not every vote was registered and the Museum did not altogether follow the artist's instructions, Haacke realised that, by being very specific to the context in which it was posed, his question had more weight and *energy* than it would have had if it had been asked outside the four walls of the museum. The specific socio-political context caused an articulation of prejudices, which, to an extent, disrupted the homogenous image of the museum as an a-political space, an inviolate temple of culture.

Also in 1970, Haacke took part in an experimental exhibition of young Americans' work, at the Fondation Maeght at St Paul de Vence. In addition to 'ecological systems', which in the formal setting of the Fondation were themselves mildly subversive (a tethered goat nibbled the grass, changing the environment by clearing a patch around it, while in another part of the grounds, an overhead irrigation system created fresh foliage), Haacke, in response to what he saw as contradictions between the way he and his fellow exhibitors had been treated and the Fondation's attitude to its other guests, made one further work, a sound performance which presented another side of the Maeght organization, its commercial gallery in Paris. The director of the Fondation tried to stop the performance but the event went ahead.

Haacke's relationship with museums has not always been smooth. The earliest well documented debacle was the cancellation, shortly before the scheduled opening, of his 1971 exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York.¹⁸ Thomas Messer, the Director, cancelled the exhibition because Haacke refused to modify or withdraw three works (two of which were based on publicly available information) and which detailed and identified a series of slum properties in Manhattan. One of these works, 'Shapolsky et al Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real Time Social System' (which was later shown elsewhere), was claimed by Haacke to show the greatest concentration of property under the control of a single organization in the areas of Manhattan's Lower East Side and Harlem. In the opinion of the Museum's Director, such material did not belong in a museum. What was described in the press as the 'Haacke case' received a great deal of publicity, and Edward Fry, the curator in charge of the exhibition, who defended Haacke's work publicly, lost his job at the Museum.

As a critic wrote at the time, 'there are strong pressures everywhere on artists, all in the name of a Culture supposedly removed from all kinds of real-life problems. It is clear that the establishment expects art to be separated from socio-political confrontations'.¹⁹ In Haacke's terms the actual cancellation can be seen as revealing the mechanics of the system within which the work was designed to operate. This kind of work is not complete until the reverberations around it have ceased.

In 1972, in the Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Haacke combined politics or a social system and ecology succinctly in 'Rhine-Water Purification Plant' (1972), where extremely polluted water pumped direct from the Rhine was purified in a series of acrylic containers. This work was not censored by the exhibiting authorities despite the fact that it was accompanied by another work giving details of the City's yearly discharges of untreated sewage into the Rhine.

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In two documentary 'provenance' works of the mid-seventies the artist charted the successive owners of Manet's 'Bunch of Asparagus' (1880), in the collection of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne, and Seurat's 'Les Poseuses' (small version) (1888), as the paintings gradually rose towards 'Museum Status'. Haacke made the Manet work for exhibition in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum's exhibition, *Project '74*. His outline for the work read: 'Manet's Bunch of Asparagus of 1880, Collection of Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, is on a studio easel in an approx 6 x 8 metre room . . . Panels on the walls present the social and economic position of the persons who have owned the painting over the years and the prices paid for it'.²⁰

In the event the Museum refused to show the project, which was instead exhibited in the Paul Maenz Gallery also in Cologne, with a photograph replacing the painting. The main objection to Haacke's work centred on the fact that it included a biography of Hermann J. Abs, a major benefactor of the Museum, who, as Chairman of the Friends of the Museum (Friends and Trustees were listed on the provenance panels) had been instrumental in acquiring the work. Mr Abs was shown to have held important banking posts in Germany between 1937-1945.

The direct connection between 'artistic success' and big business continues to be a central theme for Haacke. He has been described by Lucy Lippard as a 'Duchampian Dada, subverting with found material'. 'From the grab-bag of public information he spotlights aspects of society we have taken for granted, thereby performing the classic artist's function of teaching people how to see.'²¹

In written articles and in his art Haacke has consistently returned to an examination of the power of art within the 'consciousness industry' and the roles played by the workers within that industry; artists themselves, art curators (in privately and publicly funded art institutions), private sponsors, and art patronage on a corporate level. He is particularly interested in the way some companies,

especially in the United States, have admitted that giving support to the arts is a way of oiling the wheels for their business enterprises. Art can be effectively used to appease or in order to gain prestige in certain liberal quarters. Haacke is engaged in what he has described as 'investigation of the networks through which power is exercised in the art world, and the social, economic and political bases of that power'.²²

The 'frame' for his investigations is often that of high art - the museum or gallery. In this connection, he finds the 'aura' of the museum a useful agent for demystifying art and, because he firmly remains an artist and not a politician, a necessary platform for his work. His way of working, a sort of montage process, juxtaposes texts with photographs, or aspects, from both high and 'commercial' art, and his use of titles and materials is often ironic. He has recently made more use of traditional methods.

'A breed apart' used an advertising slogan to comment on that firm's image and activities in relation to South Africa; 'On Social Grease' (1975) presented six powerful businessmen and art patrons' statements on art patronage, engraved on solid-looking magnesium plates in a way suggesting reliable company name-plates. The title echoed one of the statements reproduced (by Robert Kingsley, then the Manager of Urban Affairs in the Department of Public Affairs of the Exxon Corporation): 'Exxon's support of the arts serves the arts as a social lubricant'. And if business is to continue in big cities, it needs a more lubricated environment'. In 1974 Haacke wrote 'Bertolt Brecht's 1934 appraisal of the "Five Difficulties in Writing the Truth" is still valid today. They are the need for the courage to write the truth, although it is being suppressed; the intelligence to recognise it, although it is being covered up; the judgement to choose those in whose hands it becomes effective; the cunning to spread it among them'. But he has also cited Brecht on the necessity for a 'culinary element' in art, humour or a sensuous content to help the medicine down.

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1 A breed a

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The works in this exhibition

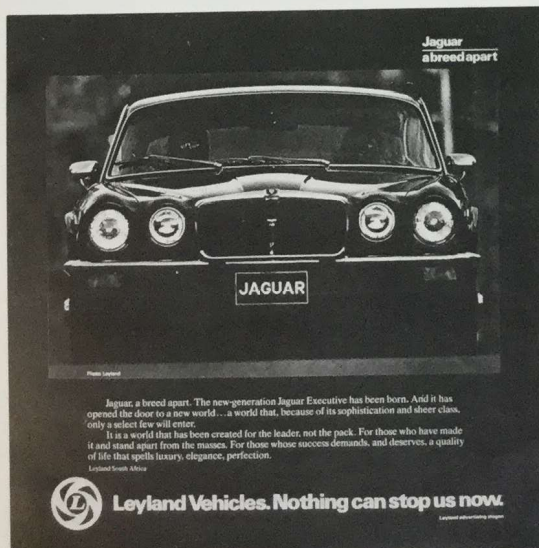
This exhibition has been chosen in close association with Hans Haacke and presents a small but representative selection of the works he has made since 1978. All except the most recent work on show here are fully catalogued and illustrated in a new volume covering his major works from 1978 – 1983 (*Hans Haacke Volume II/Works 1978–1983*, published by the Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, in association with the Tate Gallery).

1 A breed apart 1978

7 panels, each 36" x 36" (91 x 91 cm). Photographs on hardboard (3 in colour). Framed under glass.
First exhibited in one-man exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford. November 1978.

Always 'site-specific', Haacke first showed 'A breed apart' at the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford, the home town of the work's subject, British Leyland (now B.L.). Repeated at the foot of each of the seven panels (which also combine photographic images with statements from the company's press releases, excerpts from a Parliamentary Select Committee on African Wages, and a United Nations resolution forbidding the provision of military equipment to South Africa), is an advertising slogan used at the time of the work's construction, 'Leyland Vehicles, Nothing can Stop us Now'. Haacke has alternated black and white and coloured panels (contrasting the Leyland Land-Rover in action in South Africa with glamorous advertising images of the Jaguar ('A breed apart'). The texts, extolling the Land-Rover, 'overseas military authorities, in particular, continue to rely on this famous cross-country vehicle. . .', or the Jaguar in ' . . . a world that has been created for the leader, not the pack'; or a statement made in 1976 by the then Director of Personnel at British Leyland regarding Leyland South Africa's attitude to African trade unions, give the title of the work a new twist.

1 'A breed apart', 1978 (detail)



2 'We believe in the power of creative imagination', 1980 (detail)

2 Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht 1980

We believe in the power of creative imagination

Polyptych: 11 silkscreen panels and flag.

Left and right panels, each 41 1/2" x 15" (100 x 38.3 cm);
3 central panels, each 41 1/2" x 32 1/2" (100.5 x 83.3 cm);
6 upper and lower panels, each 10 1/2" x 32 1/2" (27.7 x 83.3 cm);
flag with flagpole, 71" (180 cm).

Silkscreen printing assisted by Day Gleeson.

The 2 panels on extreme left and right are facsimile reproductions, printed in black, of FN advertisements. The 3 central panels, printed in red and black, incorporate black and white press photographs by Coetzer (SYGMA) and Al J. Venter (Gamma-Liaison).

The text below each photograph is a facsimile reproduction of part of an FN poster, publicly displayed all over Belgium in 1980. The three upper text panels and the lower panels with mechanical drawings of the F.A.L. rifle are printed in red and black. All

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panels are framed in blued brass under glass. The black velvet flag bears the FN company logo in silver fabric on both sides and hangs above the polyptych on a blued brass pole.

First exhibited in *Kunst in Europa '68* (Art in Europe after '68), an international exhibition organised by Jan Hoet at the Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent, Belgium.

June-August 1980.

The Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent

'We believe in the power of creative imagination' also borrows the imagery of advertising but this time from the Belgian small arms manufacturer Fabrique Nationale Herstal SA (or FN). The panels are grouped in a manner reminiscent of, but not resembling directly, the configuration of Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece. The panels are surmounted by a black velvet flag with the company's logo, suggesting the typical display of heraldic banners in Flanders (and also military parades). The blued brass framing the panels imitates gun-metal and the three small lower panels reproduce mechanical drawings of the Fabrique Nationale's F.A.L. 7.62mm light automatic rifle. FN is a company exporting arms all over the world. The pictorial imagery is appropriately military but this time superimposed on a facsimile of a poster seen everywhere in Belgium in 1980, advertising the FN - Browning Prize for Creativity, created, as the text explains, 'on the occasion of the millennium of the Principality of Liège'. The top panels reproduce excerpts from an interview with a union representative at FN, an article discussing the company's principal shareholders and an interview with a then Director of Fabrique Nationale, 'We sell our arms to responsible governments. As soon as they have taken possession of their arms, it is they who use them. We have nothing to do with the use to which they are finally put'.

3 Der Pralinenmeister 1981

The Chocolate Master

Seven diptychs. Each of the 14 panels 39½" x 27½" (100 x 70 cm). Multi-colour silkscreens into which photographs and packaging of assorted chocolates and chocolate bars are pasted; in brown frames under glass.

First exhibited in one-man exhibition at the Galerie Paul Maenz at the time of *Westkunst*, a major survey of art since 1939. Cologne, May 1981.

Photograph of Peter Ludwig: Wolf P. Prange, Cologne.

Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection, Southfield, Michigan

'Der Pralinenmeister' (translated by the artist as 'The Chocolate Master') focuses on one man, the German art collector, patron and chocolate manufacturer, Dr Peter Ludwig. This was the first major work of Haacke's to go on exhibition in West Germany since his ill-fated *Manet-PROJECT '74*. The work was exhibited (like the Manet work before it) at the Cologne gallery of Paul Maenz. Simultaneously *Westkunst*, a major survey of art since 1939, was being held in Cologne. Dr. Ludwig was a prominent lender to *Westkunst*.

The work is arranged in seven diptychs. Each pair of panels (silkscreens with photographs and collaged-on chocolate wrappers) presents Dr Ludwig the art patron, detailing, in particular, his involvement with the numerous galleries and museums to which he has lent or given works. The right-hand panels list and discuss the many chocolate manufacturing companies which are subsidiaries of the Monheim Group, the parent organization, of which Ludwig is Chairman. As a benefactor of many museums and someone who exacts due recognition for his loans and gifts, Dr Ludwig is regarded by some artists and administrators of the arts as playing too powerful a role, especially in Germany, which relies on healthy inter-city rivalry. In a recent article on the Ludwig 'empire', the novelist David Galloway said of this powerful patron: '... long term loans from the Ludwig Collection invariably flow along established Monheim trade routes - to Poland, Switzerland, France and Austria'.²⁴ Before Haacke contemplated making this work it was said of the



3 'Der Pralinenmeister' (The Chocolate Master), 1981 (detail)

collector, 'If there is anyone in the position today to demonstrate convincingly the massive entanglement of art, commerce and politics, then it must be ... Ludwig, who surpasses in this respect even the most radical committed political artist, perhaps with the exception of Hans Haacke'.²⁵ The background to this work is fully discussed in an interview with the artist by Dr Walter Grasskamp in 1981.²⁶

4 Oelgemaelde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers 1982/3

Oil painting, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers

Installation; overall dimensions variable. Oil painting in gold frame, picture lamp, brass plaque, brass stanchions with red velvet rope, red carpet and photo mural.

Painting, 35½" x 29" (90 x 73.5 cm) including frame; carpet, 35" (89 cm) wide, length variable; brass plaque, 4½" x 12" (11.4 x 30.4 cm); photograph, dimensions variable.

First exhibited at *documenta 7*, Kassel, 1982

When it was first exhibited in 1982, in *documenta 7*, 'Oil Painting' was a surprise for many people familiar with Haacke's work. Here he has borrowed the mannerisms of art to talk politics and art, rather than (in the manner of Duchamp) bringing the mannerisms of the outside world into the museum. The work is installed on two facing walls. On one is placed an oil portrait of the President of the United States rendered in the tight photographic style of the official portrait painter (in fact the artist copied the image from a press photograph).

The President's aloof demeanour (he appears to retreat from his audience) is enhanced by a brass and scarlet rope barrier and an official-looking red carpet such as might be laid on the White House Lawn. The portrait is further 'enshrined' by a top-lit gilt

frame and brass perhaps more exaggeratedly enlarged against the build-up was uncanny reportage, in contrast the portrait facing (the largest held subsequent instal similar demonstra

The rally phot place a week before response to President the stationing of Germany.

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4 'Oil Painting, H photo: F. Scrut

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frame and brass plaque. During *documenta* this portrait, perhaps more executive-looking than regal, was placed opposite a greatly enlarged photograph of a German crowd protesting against the build-up of nuclear weapons in Europe. The photo blow-up was uncropped, suggesting the immediacy of straight reportage, in contrast to the carefully manicured presentation of the portrait facing it. The original photograph was taken at a rally (the largest held in West Germany since World War II). In subsequent installations the artist has used local photographs of similar demonstrations.

The rally photographed for the *documenta* work had taken place a week before the opening of the exhibition and was held in response to President Reagan's visit to Bonn to gain support for the stationing of nuclear Cruise and Pershing missiles in West Germany.

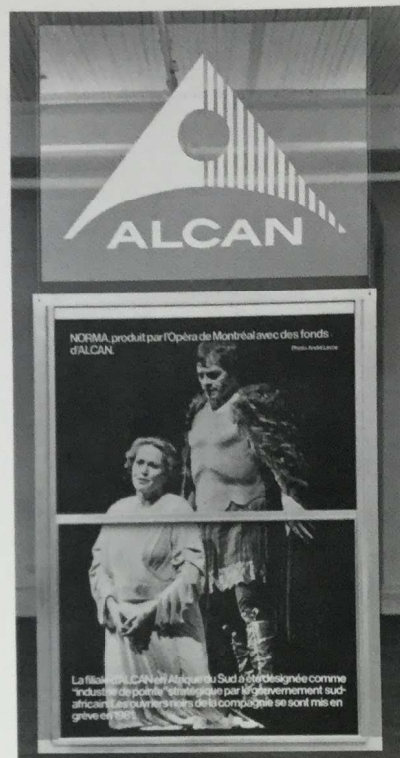
Until fairly recently, Haacke has arranged the components within his works in fairly smooth homogenous arrangements. Deliberate contradictions between the look of the work and the information may be 'mined' by his audience with careful study, but contrasts have not been abrupt. In this work he has brought together much fiercer seeming material.

The subtitle of the work relates to Marcel Broodthaers, the Belgian artist and poet (1924–1976), who was the only artist not living to have work included in *documenta* 7.

In a review of Haacke's installation, Schuldt, writing in *Artforum*, suggested that Haacke is here discussing a new tendency in art 'art on a pedestal'. 'Reagan . . . is shown in 19th century splendour, echoing Broodthaers' practice of selecting 19th century forms and dwelling on their persistence in the present. The rope in particular refers to the chains that kept people out of [Broodthaers'] 'propriété privé' [private property] shown at *documenta* in 1972.²⁷ The installation would also suggest Broodthaers' 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.

As a 'return to painting' by an artist not associated with this medium, this work has a certain edge. Haacke would probably be the first to admit the danger of being corrupted through the co-optation of 'reactionary' imagery. The apparent lack of ambiguity in relation to the artist's feelings about his subject here could be seen as a declaration of freedom on behalf of art.

4 'Oil Painting, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers', 1982/3 (detail), photo: F. Scruton



5 'Voici Alcan', 1983 (detail), photo: Brian Merrett

5 Voici Alcan 1983

3 panels, each 86½" x 41" (220 x 104 cm)

2 sepia photographs, 1 colour photograph, white lettering, aluminium windows, acrylic plastic with silver foil

First exhibited in one-man exhibition at Galerie France Morin, Montreal, February 1983.

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, this is one of two recent works based on Alcan Aluminium Ltd, which from the artist's published notes²⁸ we learn is, through subsidiaries and affiliated companies, one of the largest producers of aluminium ingot in the world and a major Canadian employer, with a head office in Montreal where the works were first shown. The work is constructed in three panels – three aluminium window frames with glazing. The title of the work (taken from an Alcan brochure of 1979) suggests that the audience is being presented with windows onto the doings of the company, as an employer and in the field of arts sponsorship. Just as 'We believe in the power of creative imagination' contrasted machines for destruction with the concept of artistic creativity, so the artist here ironically contrasts respectable middle-of-the-road cultural sponsorship with the firm's less well-known activities in the overseas and home markets and prompts his audience to look beyond the controlled face of the company sponsor.

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Conclusion

In his interview with Hans Haacke on the subject of 'Der Pralinenmeister', Walter Grasskamp suggested that this type of work could lay the artist open to accusations of scandal-mongering.²⁹ In reply, Haacke pointed out that it was not in his material interest to pursue such lines of research, 'Since 1970, no museum in New York has shown or bought a work of mine' – as a consequence, he suggested, of his having dealt with subjects which are generally swept under the carpet. Asked about the *art* content of his work he said that he believes that there are no absolute criteria for 'artistic' value. 'What we consider to be artistic, good and bad, is based on a consensus reached by those who wield cultural power. There are several such power groups: the critics, the artists, the exhibition organizers, the collectors, the public, etc. The consensus doesn't need to be unanimous within each group or be shared among the groups. There certainly exists something akin to an opposition and a governing coalition. Furthermore, the consensus changes continuously. And when you ask me what the specifically artistic qualities are in my work (in contrast to the journalistic ones), then I can only answer in this peculiarly oblique fashion: that I, and people who sympathise

with my work, are of the opinion that the way in which I handle these subjects differs in principle from a journalistic approach. Probably, in the end, it is the form that determines what it is that may be artistic in my work. . . .

'Hasn't it always been the task of artists, who are interested in a specific content, to find an adequate form for its presentation? Naturally these forms change. What you call "information design" has been done for thousands of years, although the term was unknown. When the Egyptians invented images for their Pharaohs, and hieroglyphs, this certainly was "information design", which in those days was even endowed with magical powers. These magical qualities, in a very strange and crazy sense, have a contemporary equivalent in sensationalism, which obviously also has a certain magical quality. There is something which is difficult to grasp; all of a sudden it excites everybody and can lead to all sorts of consequences, but it has no basis in the material world. That is information magic.'³⁰

Catherine Lacey

Notes

¹ J.W. Burnham, 'The Clarification of Social Reality' in catalogue for the exhibition, *Hans Haacke: recent work*, Renaissance Society, University of Chicago, February – March 1979, p.1.

² *ibid.*

³ From an unpublished paper 'The Arts and the Taxpayer', delivered at conference on *The Future of the Arts in Connecticut*, at the Center for the Arts, Wesleyan University, Connecticut, 16 May 1978.

⁴ The artist interviewed by Robin White in *View*, November 1978 (vol.1 no.6, p.3).

⁵ See Mel Ramsden, 'Review: Framing and Being Framed – Or, are we going to let Barbara Rose Get Away with "Dialectics" this Year?', *The Fox*, vol.3, 1976, p.64.

⁶ *op.cit.* J.W. Burnham, p.9.

⁷ Tony Brown, 'Artist as Corporate Critic: an interview with Hans Haacke', *Parachute* No.23, Summer 1981, pp.12–17.

⁸ Jack Burnham, 'Steps in the Formulation of Real-Time Political Art' in *Hans Haacke: Framing and Being Framed 7 Works 1970–75*, Nova Scotia/New York 1975, p.129.

⁹ Edward F. Fry, in 'Hans Haacke – Realzeitsysteme', published in *Hans Haacke, Werk-Monographie*, Cologne 1972, p.8.

¹⁰ Sidney Tillim, 'In the Galleries', *Arts Magazine*, New York, October 1962, pp.57–8.

¹¹ *op.cit.* Edward F. Fry, 'Hans Haacke – Realzeitsysteme'.

¹² Hans Haacke from a translation of 'Provisorische Bemerkungen', published in *Hans Haacke, Werk-Monographie*, *op.cit.*, pp.60–70.

¹³ From a letter to Jack Burnham quoted in Burnham's *Great Western Salt Works, essays on the meaning of Post-Formalist Art*, New

York 1974, p.30. The proposal was for a *NUL* art festival planned for Scheveningen, in Holland. The festival was cancelled.

¹⁴ Interview with Jean Siegel, *Arts Magazine*, May 1971, pp.18–21.

¹⁵ Hans Haacke, 'Provisorische Bemerkungen', *op.cit.*

¹⁶ Interview with Jean Siegel, *op.cit.*

¹⁷ Hans Haacke, 'Provisorische Bemerkungen', *op.cit.*

¹⁸ See Edward Fry, 'Hans Haacke, the Guggenheim: the issues', *Arts Magazine*, May 1971, vol.45, No.7, p.17.

¹⁹ Joseph James Akston, *Arts Magazine*, May 1971, p.5.

²⁰ *Hans Haacke: Framing and Being Framed*, *op.cit.*, p.71.

²¹ Lucy R. Lippard, 'Power Plays', *Village Voice*, 25 February 1981.

²² Hans Haacke: Working Conditions. First published in English in *Artforum*, Summer 1981, pp.56–61.

²³ See *Hans Haacke Volume I* (Oxford, Eindhoven 1978) p.77.

²⁴ David Galloway 'Report from Germany: Peter Ludwig: Appetite for Art', *Art in America*, Summer 1983, pp.35–41.

²⁵ Walter Grasskamp, review in *Kunstforum*, vol.31, p.188.

²⁶ See *Hans Haacke Volume II: Works 1978–1983* (Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven 1978–1983, Tate Gallery, London 1983).

²⁷ Schuldt, 'Hans Haacke; Marcel Broodthaers', *Artforum*, October, 1982, pp.85–6.

²⁸ See *Hans Haacke Volume II: Works 1978–1983*, *op.cit.*

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ *ibid.*

Biography

1936

Born Cologne

1959–60

Studied at Staatliche Werkakademie (State Art Academy), Kassel, graduated with equivalent of M.F.A.

1960–61

Worked at Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17, Paris.

1961–63

Worked at the Tyler School of Fine Arts, Temple University Philadelphia. Moved to New York. Pratt Graphic Art Centre.

1963–65

Returned to Cologne. Taught at the Pädagogische Hochschule, Kettwig and at other institutions.

1966–67

Taught at the University of Washington, Seattle; Douglas college, Rutgers University, New Jersey; Philadelphia College of Art.

1967

Teaching at Cooper Union, New York (Professor of Art).

1973

Guest Professorship, Hochschule für bildende Kunst, Hamburg.

1979

Guest Professorship, Gesamthochschule, Essen.
Living in New York (since 1965).

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NGBK
NEUE GESELLSCHAFT
FÜR BILDENDE KUNST




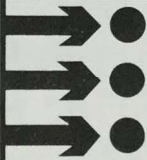


Drucksache

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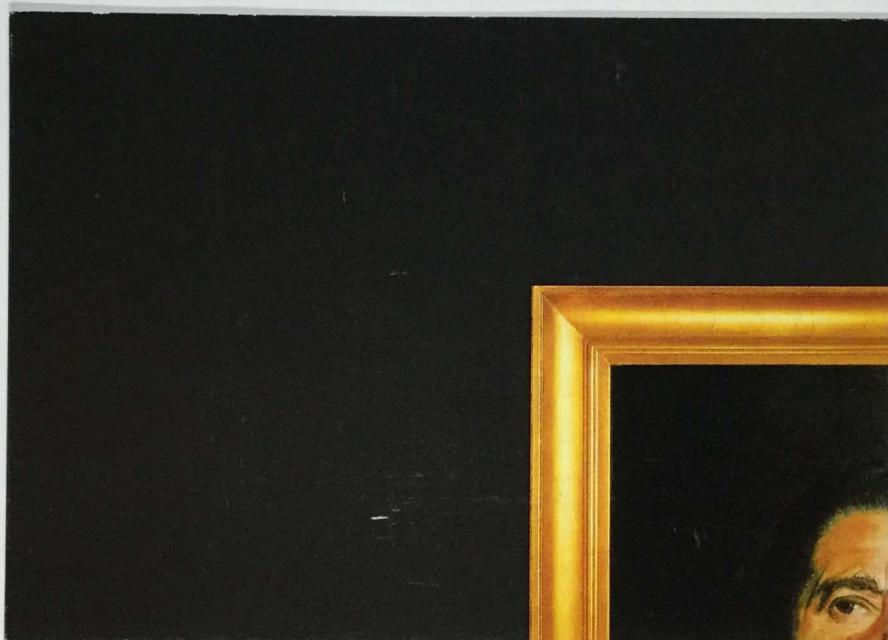
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Öffentliches Interesse		artikuliert sich in der Hauptversammlung. Es bilden sich Arbeitsgruppen		und der Koordinations- ausschuß, unterstützt durch Präsidium und Geschäftsstelle.		
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Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst e.V. 1 Berlin 12 · Hardenbergstr. 9 · Telefon 31 61 82

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Die Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst lädt Sie und Ihre
Freunde ein zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung

Hans HAACKE

Nach allen Regeln der Kunst

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Library

am Sonntag, dem 2. September 1984, um 12 Uhr.

Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (NGBK)
Hardenbergstraße 9 1000 Berlin 12 Tel.: (030) 31 61 82
(Mit freundlicher Unterstützung des Künstlerhauses Bethanien)
Ausstellung vom 2. 9.-14. 10. 1984
in den Räumen des Künstlerhauses Bethanien (Studio I/R. 202)
Marianneplatz 2, 1000 Berlin 36
Öffnungszeiten: Di.-Sa.: 14.00-19.00 Uhr, So.: 10.00-19.00 Uhr

Zu einem Diavortrag von Hans Haacke über sein Werk, am
Montag, dem 3. September, um 21.00 Uhr in den Ausstellungs-
räumen, laden wir Sie ebenfalls herzlich ein.

Hans Haacke, Ölgemälde, Hommage à Marcel Broodthaers, 1982 (Ausschnitt).

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Hans Haacke

Unfinished Business

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To Our Members, Friends, and Artists
The New Museum of Contemporary Art
cordially invites you to a Special Reception
to preview the new exhibitions
Thursday, December 11, 1986 8:00-10:00 p.m.

Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business

Organized by Brian Wallis, Adjunct Curator
Catalogue co-published with M.I.T. Press

On View

New Work Gallery

Three Photographers: The Body

Dorit Cypis, Monique Safford, Lorna Simpson

WorkSpace

Homo Video: Where We Are Now

A program of recent works by gay men and lesbians

The Window on Broadway

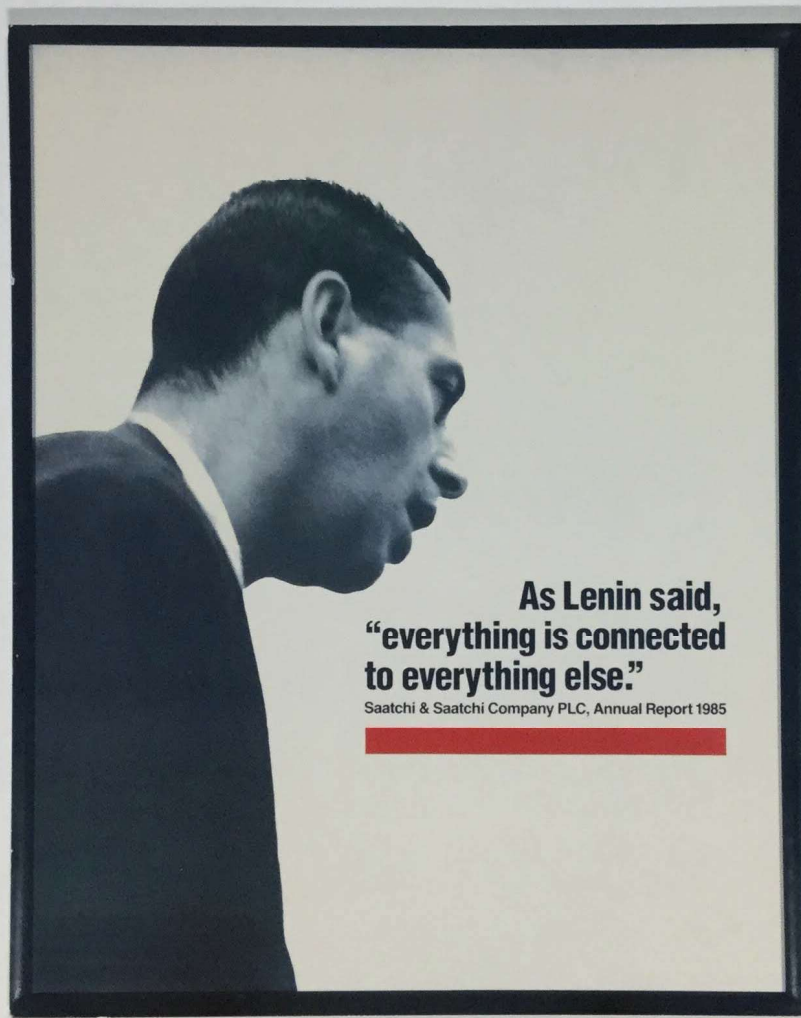
Richard Baim

These exhibitions will be presented
through February 15, 1987
583 Broadway, New York City 212-219-1222
This invitation admits two. Please present at door.

These exhibitions are supported in part by grants from
the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency,
the New York State Council on the Arts,
the Institute of Museum Services,
New York City Department of Cultural Affairs,
Jerome Foundation, and the Arthur Sahn Memorial Fund.

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**As Lenin said,
"everything is connected
to everything else."**

Saatchi & Saatchi Company PLC, Annual Report 1985

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BUSINESS: AS USUAL

Hans Haacke

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Opening Reception Friday, April 8, 5–7 pm

John Weber Gallery

142 Greene Street, New York
April 9–30, 1988

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Hans Haacke

DER PRALINENMEISTER

1981
7 Diptychen
(14 Tafeln; jeweils 100 x 70 cm)
mehrfarbiger Siebdruck
mit eingeklebten Fotos,
Pralinen- und Schokoladeverpackungen
in braunen Holzrahmen unter Glas

Erstmals ausgestellt
bei Paul Maenz Köln
29. Mai – 27. Juni 1981



Foto Peter Ludwig: Wolf P. Prange, Köln
Fotos der Arbeiterinnen: anonym
Reproduktionen: Litho-Köcher, Köln
Druck: Borowsky & Co., Frechen

Hrsg. Galerie Paul Maenz
Schaafenstraße 25
D-5000 Köln 1
Tel. 02 21 – 21 81 02

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



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Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig
Aufnahme aus dem Archiv der
Ludwig-Museum AG.

Kunstbesitz in Dauerleihgaben ist vermögenssteuerfrei

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

Nach dem Wehrdienst (1943–45) studierte er Jura und Kunstgeschichte. Promotion 1950 über *„Das Menschbild/Plastik als Ausdruck eines gesamtgesellschaftlichen Lebensgefühls“*. Die Dissertation stützt sich auf Beiträge zwischen griechischer Literatur und dem Werk Plinius. Nationale Ereignisse werden kaum berücksichtigt.

1951 heiratete Peter Ludwig Irene Mosheim, eine Musenlerin, und trat in die *Ludwig-Museum AG*, Aachen, seines Schwagers ein. 1952 wurde er geschäftsführender Gesellschafter, 1969 Vizepräsident der Geschäftsführung und 1978 Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrates der *Ludwig-Museum AG*, Aachen.

Peter Ludwig ist Aufsichtsratsmitglied der *Argonne Versicherung*, *Grundhoff* und der *Waggonfabrik Lohndorf*; er ist Vizepräsident des *Beschreibers der Chemischen Bank AG*, Köln-Aachen-Region.

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

Dauerleihgaben moderner Kunst befinden sich im *Museum Ludwig*, Köln, der *Neuen Galerie Sammlung Ludwig* und dem *Städtischen Museum Aachen*, dem *Nationalmuseum in Wien* und *Oberlin*, dem *Kunstmuseum Basel*, dem *Centre Pompidou Paris*, und den *Ludwigsmuseen in Saarbrücken und Mainz*. Im *Kölner Schmieg-Museum*, im *Aachener Gärten-Museum* und im *bayrischen Nationalmuseum* befinden sich mittelalterliche Werke. Das *Kölner Kunstschmieg-Museum* beherbergt Objekte aus dem präkolumbianischen Amerika, aus Afrika und Ozeanien.

Das *Kölner Wallraf-Richartz-Museum* erhielt 1976 die Schenkung von Pop Art-Sammlung (von *Museum Ludwig*), das *Städtische Museum Aachen* 1977 mittelalterliche Kunst (von *Museum Ludwig*). Dem *Aachener Museum* (seit *Aachener Museum* und *Museum Ludwig*) wurde 1981 eine Kollektion geschichtsrelevanter Kunst geschenkt, die *Dauerleihgaben* aus Kunst, Aachen und Wuppertal einschließt. In eine *Overseeische Sammlung Ludwig für Kunst und Wissenschaft* wurde 1981 eine Sammlung moderner Kunst eingebracht.

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



Aufnahmen in einem Werk
des *Ludwig-Museum AG*.



Die *Mosheim-Gruppe* versteht Tarifbeschäftigte und Polizen der Marke *Regent* zu Niedrigpreisen vor allem über Aldi und Aldi.

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

Insgesamt hat Mosheim in Deutschland 1981 wie vor 10 Jahren rund 7000 Beschäftigte – bei verdichtetem Umsatz, Devisen und 3000 Frauen. Die Zahl der gewerblich Beschäftigten beträgt 5400. Davon sind zwei Drittel angelernte Arbeiterkräfte. Zusätzlich werden ca. 900 meist ungelernte Saisonarbeiter eingesetzt.

Der von der Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Gesam-Gewerkschaften ausgehende Tariflohn bewegt sich zwischen DM 602 (Tarifgruppe I – Handarbeiter unter 18 Jahren) und DM 1230 (Tarifgruppe 5 – qualifizierte Facharbeiter). Das niedrigste Gehalt, gemäß Tarifvertrag, beträgt DM 1097,–, das höchste Gehaltsniveau mindestens DM 1214,–.

Die überwiegende Mehrheit der 2500 ausländischen Arbeiterkräfte sind Frauen. Sie stammen vornehmlich aus der Türkei und Jugoslawien. Aber auch Gastarbeitern aus Marokko, Tunesien, Spanien und Griechenland sind angeworben worden (Kopierfoto 1973: DM 1000,–). Ausländische Arbeiterinnen kommen auch täglich aus dem

belgischen und holländischen Grenzgebiet.

Das Unternehmen unterhält in Aachen ein soziales Unternehmen, das unter anderem in Aachen ein Wohnheim, in dem Gastarbeitern zu drei oder vier in einem Zimmer untergebracht und der Bau von Unterkünften für ausländische Arbeiterkräfte wird von der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit subventioniert. Die Monatsmiete wird vom Lohn einbehalten.

Besuche werden von der Betriebsleitung kontrolliert und zum Teil abgewiesen. Das höchste Preisniveau und der Gastarbeiter in Aachen beenden die Wohnverhältnisse folgendermaßen: *„In der neuen Wohnanlage und Mosheim liegt ein Arbeiter und innerhalb der Wohnanlage mehrere Arbeiter Arbeiter können, aber sie produzieren einen Gewinn“*.

Die Mosheim keine Kinderbetreuung habe, müssten Gastarbeiterinnen, die ein Kind bekommen, das Kind verlassen oder für die Kind eine für sie kaum erträgliche Familienangelegenheit machen, oder aber sie müssten das Kind zur Adoption anbieten.

„Es dürfte für eine große Firma, die so viele Arbeiter und Frauen beschäftigt und, ohne einen möglichen, eine Kinderbetreuung zu erreichen.“ Die Personalabteilung argumentiert darauf, Mosheim sei eine Schulungsanstalt und kein Arbeitgeber. Für eine Kinderkrippe könne kein Personal beschaffen werden. Die Firma sei kein Sozialist.



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Peter Ludwig
Aufnahme von 1974
Leonard Moshen AG

Wir arbeiten nicht mit Drohungen Peter Ludwig

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

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

Die Erbin Irene Ludwig hat die Überlassung von Kunst und beweglichen Sachen vorzeitig zurückgezogen und die Forderung aller aus Vertrag geschuldeten Forderungen (in der Höhe von ca. 10 Millionen DM) an die Stadt Köln zurückgefordert. Die Stadt Köln hat diese Forderung nicht im Juli 1981 befriedigt.

Der 9. Juli 1985 ist der 60. Geburtstag von Peter Ludwig.

Mit dem Museumsbau ist zwischen Köln und Rhein begonnen worden. Die Realisierung voraussichtlich die Kosten 1980 auf DM 219 Millionen. Der rest des Bau notwendige Neugestaltung der Umgebung erhöht die Kosten insgesamt voraussichtlich auf weit über DM 300 Millionen. Die Unterhalts- und Personalkosten des Museums werden auf rund DM 10 Millionen geschätzt.

Übertragung vom Bauverfahren wurde unverzüglich alle Werke ab 1900 einschließlich sämtlicher Schenkungen Kölner Sammler aus dem Walraf-Richartz-Museum ausgliedern und organisatorisch

in das neu gegründete Museum Ludwig aufzunehmen, das vorläufig in den Räumen des Walraf-Richartz-Museums untergebracht ist. Ebenso sollen die Notwendigkeiten zugehöriger Räume dem Museum Ludwig zugewiesen werden.

Im Schenkungsvertrag wurde festgesetzt: „Die Sammlung der Kunst des Museum Ludwig ist eine wissenschaftliche Sammlung der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts. Ihre Aufgabe ist es, die Kunst der Gegenwart zu präsentieren und die Kunst der Vergangenheit zu rekonstruieren.“

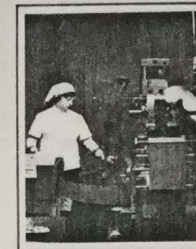
Mit den Erben Irene Ludwig wird seitens der Stadt Köln ein „Grundabkommen“ geschlossen, in dem die Stadt Köln die Rechte des Museum Ludwig anerkennen und darüber gesprochen wird.

Zum Wert der Schenkung erklärte Peter Ludwig: „Daß die Sammlung heute 41 Millionen wert ist, ist nur allein dem Umstand zu danken, daß sie während der Jahre so prominenten Platz vor dem Walraf-Richartz-Museum gefunden wurde. Ich habe für die Bilder und Objekte zusammen mehr als 5 Millionen ausgegeben.“

Die Stadt Köln macht Peter Ludwig zum Ehrenbürger.



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Aufnahme von 1974
des Leonard Moshen AG

COMET CONFECTIONARY LTD



LA CONFISERIE COMETE LITEE

Die Moshen-Gruppe wurde 1959 in St. Hyacinthe im Montreal-Schokoladenfeld der Kamdy Company, Tochter unter dem Namen Roger Chénier Ltd. produziert die kanadische Tochtergesellschaft Tafelschokolade und Saucenartikel. Nach Erwerbungen in den Jahren 1968 und 1970 nahm das Werk ein Gelände von 9000 qm ein.

1974 waren nach dem Verkauf von Roger-Schokoladenfabrik, Chénier-Schokoladenfabrik und den für Winkler in Toronto hergestellten Milchschokolade durch Bank- und Saucenlieferungen auf. Die Gesundheitsbehörden Kanada und der Vereinigten Staaten unterliegen damit des weiteren Verkauf von Roger-Erzeugnissen. Die besten ausgeführten Ware wurde zurückgezogen werden. Das Werk wurde zur Entschärfung geschlossen.

Unter einem neuen Namen, Comet Confectionery Ltd./Confiserie Comète Ltée, wurde der Betrieb nach einem halben Jahr mit einer Kapitalanlage von DM 5,5 Millionen wieder aufgenommen. Generaldarlehen der Quebec Industrial Development Corp. und des Department of Regional Economic Expansion – zum Teil finden – in Höhe von ca. 5,425 Millionen sowie stille Reserven der Tochtergesellschaft fördern die Wiederaufstellung.

Die Arbeitslosen, in der Mehrzahl Frauen und Ungelernte, deren Stundenlohn 1973 nur wenig über den gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Mindestlohn von ca. \$ 1,85 lag, gründeten 1974 während der Still-

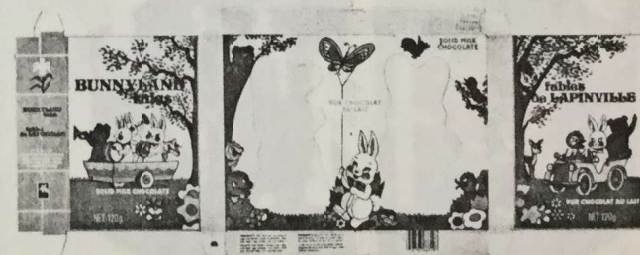
legung des Betriebes eine Gewerkschaft, den Syndicat des Saliers de la Confiserie Comète St-Hyacinthe (C.S.N.).

Vor dem Abschluss des 3. Tarifvertrages von 1979 wurde Comet bestraft. Gemäß diesem auf zwei Jahre befristeten Vertrag betragen der Mindestlohn ca. \$ 3,16 und der Höchstlohn \$ 7,15. Sauerbrot schwankt die Zahl der Arbeiter und Angestellten zwischen 200 und 500.

Comet vertreibt ihre Erzeugnisse unter den Marken Comet, von Héros und den Hausnamen zahlreicher Firmen in Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten für die sie ansonsten produziert (s. z. B. Choc. Comet, Sarah Lee). Über die Hälfte der Fertigung, vor allem Saucenartikel, wird seit Jahren in die Vereinigten Staaten exportiert.

Comet befragt auch den Vertrieb von Erzeugnissen der Marke von Héros, die in Europa hergestellt werden sind, für den kanadischen Markt.

Die Moshen-Geschäftsführung beurteilt das Ergebnis von Comet als sehr positiv. Im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 steigerte sich der Umsatz um 31,7 % auf ca. \$ 35 Millionen. Der Gewinn stieg um 40,9 % auf \$ 10 Millionen. Es wurde nicht ausgeschüttet, sondern in den Betrieb investiert.



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Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig
Außenwirtschaftswissenschaftler der
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Stiftungen sind jährlich zu 10 Prozent des Einkommens steuerabzugsfähig

Peter Ludwig unterbreitet dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln am Sommer 1980 einen gemeinsamen erachteten Entwurf einer *Urkunde über die Errichtung der Stiftung Ludwig zur Förderung der bildenden Kunst und vornehmlich der Werke aus der Zeit der Weimarer Republik*. Das Dokument ist das Ergebnis fast einjähriger Gespräche zwischen den drei öffentlichen Partnern der projektierten Stiftung und Peter Ludwig.

Die Stiftungsgüter bleiben der Öffentlichkeit vorbehalten, bis der *Kaiser-Stiftungs-Akt* in dank einer Indikation am 8. September publiziert.

Dem Stiftungserwerf zufolge beabsichtigen die Eheleute Irene und Peter Ludwig, Kunstwerke in die Stiftung einzubringen, die in einer Anlage aufgeführt sein sollen. Über den Inhalt der Anlage ist öffentlich nichts bekannt.

Soweit das Stiftungsgut ausreicht, würde die Stiftung in die Rechte und Pflichten der Stifter als Verleiher eintreten. Irene und Peter Ludwig beabsichtigen, auch ihrem künftigen Kunstwerk die Stiftung zuzuwenden.

Der Umfang und der Wert des Stiftungsgutes ist bis zur Offenlegung einer Liste nicht einschätzbar. Es wird spekuliert, es handle sich um die materialistischen Werke, die sich als Dauerhafte im Kaiser-Stiftungs-Museum befinden (Schätzwert DM 100 Mio), um präkolum-

bische, afrikanische und vorantike Kunst, die im Kaiser-Stiftungs-Museum in Köln aufbewahrt werden, und um Werke moderner Kunst, die an zahlreichen europäischen Museen ausgestellt sind.

Für 10 Jahre wird dem Ehepaar Ludwig ein Einspruchsrecht zugestanden, das die Disposition über den *Eintrag Ludwig* ermöglicht.

Das Ehepaar Ludwig ist in München im Besitz des Leihguts der Kunst der saugerechten Lagerung, Pflege, konservatorischen Betreuung und Sicherung seiner Kunstbesitz. Die wissenschaftliche Erschließung der Werke sowie ihre Ausstellung und Publikation in Katalogen und Beispielen erhalten ihren Wert.

Solange Kunstbesitz öffentlich zugänglich gemacht wird, ist er von der Vermögenssteuer (jährlich 0,5 % des Wertes) befreit.

Eine Stiftung kann jährlich zu 10 % des Einkommens zu veräußern den Jahreserträgen abgeführt sein. Es ist manchmal möglich, diese Vermögensgegenstände auf mehrere Jahre zu verteilen.

Kunstbesitz ist erbschaftsteuerpflichtig. Für den überlebenden Ehegatten entfällt bei einer Stiftung von über DM 100 Millionen eine Steuerbefreiung von 35 % des Wertes. DM 35 Millionen.



Mitarbeiter in einer Werk-
statt der Novesia-Gruppe.

NOVESIA De Beukelaer

Die Novesia-Gruppe übernahm 1978 von der General Biscuit Co. 75 % der Anteile der belgischen *General Chocolate N.V./S.A.* für einen Gesamtsumme von bfr. 350 Millionen. Die restlichen Anteile verblieben im Besitz der deutschen *P. F. Falck-Novesia* in Neuss.

General Chocolate stellt in Herentals (Belgien) und in Neuss Schokoladeerzeugnisse her, die unter der Marke *Novesia-De Beukelaer* vornehmlich in den Benelux-Ländern, der Bundesrepublik und Frankreich vertrieben werden. Zur Zeit der Übernahme beschäftigten die beiden Produktionsstätten jeweils 300 Arbeiter und Angestellte. Das Umsatzergebnis betrug rund DM 200 Millionen.

Im Anschluß an den Erwerb der Aktienmehrheit durch die Novesia-Gruppe beschloß das Management für finanzielle Regenerationszwecke bei einer Darlehensaufnahme von bfr. 475 Millionen (knapp DM 12 Millionen) eine direkte Unterstützung in Form von Gewinnausschüttungen und Kapitalerträgen von bfr. 68 Millionen für die Modernisierung und Rationalisierung der Betriebsanlagen in Herentals zu gewähren.

Außerdem sollte die belgische Gesellschaft für Kreditgewährung an die Industrie zu vom Staat garantierten Darlehen von bfr. 208 Millionen bereit. Das belgische Tochterunternehmen sollte auch für den Jahre in den Geschäftsjahren Steuererleichterungen bekommen.

Die Novesia-Gruppe beabsichtigt, aus eigenen Mitteln bfr. 310

Millionen zu investieren.

1979 wurde die Beteiligung der Novesia-Gruppe an *General Chocolate* auf 100 % aufgestockt. Damit gelangen auch die deutschen Beteiligungsgesellschaften *Novesia-Schokolade GmbH* und *Morose Schokolade GmbH* in Neuss völlig in den Novesia-Einfußbereich.

Die Konzernleistung beschloß 1980, die *Novesia-Beteiligungen* in Neuss (Umsatz im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 rund DM 80 Millionen) zu schließen und ihre Produktion der *Goldnuss* und *Goldnuss* Produkte in anderen belgischen Werken zusammenzufassen. 100 Arbeitnehmern und davon betroffen.

In belgischen Herentals werden unter anderem die *Alto Cakes*, *Los Alex*, *Big Nuts*, *BAN* und *Alto*, vornehmlich gefüllte Schokolade oder mit Schokolade überzogene Waffeln, hergestellt. Die Vertriebswege von *Alto* und *Los* geschah vor allem durch Automaten.



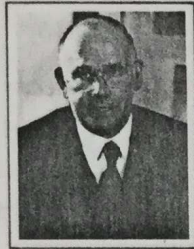
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Peter Dr. Dr. L. v. Peter Ludwig
Rathschensvorsitzender der
Eisenwerk-Museum AG

Wehe der (Kunstmarkt-) Koje, an der er vorbeigegangen ist

Peter Ludwig
über sich selbst

In der Sitzung der von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln gestifteten Stiftung Ludwig heißt es:

„Für Stiftungsgründer bedeutet die Stiftung des Museums Ludwig in Köln, das zu versenden und erhält.“

„Die Stiftung wird besonders über die Beratung und Abklärung des Museums Ludwig.“

Im Falle der Stiftungsgründung sollen das Grundstück des Stiftungs-
museums und die Gegenstände, die ihren gesetzlichen Mittelpunkt in Köln
haben, der Stadt Köln ohne Gegenleistung an-
gekauft werden.“

Daraus folgt, daß die Stadt Köln sich – für die Dauer der Stiftung –
dem Verfügungsrecht über ihre Sammlung der Kunst des 20. Jahr-
hunderts entzieht. Bemerken lassen sich hier die Pop Art Sammlung,
welche der Eheleute Ludwig 1976 geschenkt hatten, sondern auch die
dem Walter Richard-Museum von Köln gesammelten geschnittenen
Werke, die in das Museum Ludwig integriert worden sind, sowie die
Eigentumsverträge des Museums.

Der Neubau des Museums Ludwig (Baukosten DM 219 Millio-
nen) soll auschließend ebenfalls der Stiftung Ludwig übergeben und
möglichstweise seine Unterhalts- und Personalkosten von der über-
nommen werden.

In der Sitzung ist ferner für die Stiftung – von der Stadt Köln zur

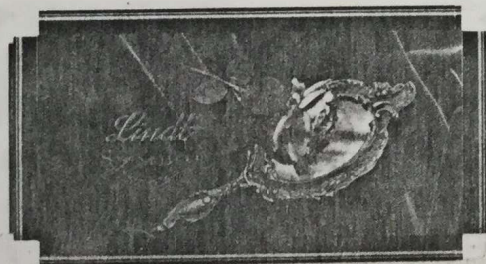
Verfügung großer Baugrundstücke der Stadt – die Rede.

Die öffentlichen Sitzungsgenossen sprechen von jährlichen Be-
tragszahlungen – auch der Stadt Köln –, die zumindest am Anfang
mehrere Millionen DM betragen sollen (der Ankaufspreis der 8 Kölner
Museen beläuft sich auf DM 1,1 Mio.).

Die Vertreter der Stadt Köln gehören zu den entscheidenden
öffentlichen Vertretern der Stiftung Ludwig. Pressekommunikation
sollte betonen, daß die Eheleute Ludwig wegen ihrer umfangreichen
Liegaben – einengen einen ausdrücklichen früheren Versprechen –
als, wenn die von ihnen projektierte Stiftung Ludwig nicht zustande
kommt, Peter Ludwig hätte musikalisch angeboten: „Es gibt vielleicht noch
ander Äußerungen, wir können auch gerne kommen und auch gehen.“

Köln erhofft sich aber auch, daß durch ihre Beteiligung an der
Stiftung ein Teil der erheblichen Bau- und Folgekosten des neuen
Museums Ludwig von Bund und Land mitgetragen werden.

Der Generaldirektor des Kölner Museums, Hugo Boger, spricht
sich von einer wirtschaftlichen Hinsicht: „Ökonomischer
Gesichtspunkt der Stadt, Einbeziehung der städtischen Vertreter: „Obwohl
gibt hier nichts mehr.“



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Aufnahme in einem Werk
der Lindt & Sprüngli AG



Die Lizenzierung der Markenrechte mit der schwedischen
Lindt & Sprüngli geht in die Zeit vor dem 2. Weltkrieg zurück. Men-
schen hält gegenüber etwa 80 % der Anteile von Lindt & Sprüngli
GmbH, Aachen, und Lindt & Sprüngli BV, Niederlande. Die Markenrechte
verbleiben beim Stammeshaus, bei Lindt & Sprüngli AG, Küssnacht
Schweiz.

In Lizenz werden von Monheim Lindt-Erzengnisse, Pralinen,
Tafelchokolade und Saisonartikel, für den deutschen und niederländi-
schen Markt produziert (geschätzter Umsatz 1979/80 als 195 Millio-
nen – ein Drittel des Lindt-Wirtschafts).

Die Monheim-Gruppe hatte auch mit der englischen John
Mannhard und Son Ltd und der amerikanischen Peter O. Paul, Inc.
Lizenzverträge und Vertriebsabkommen.

Erzeugnisse der Marke Lindt werden vornehmlich in einem Werk
in der Aachener Innenstadt hergestellt, wo sich auch die Monheim-
Verwaltungszentrale befindet.

Einem Aachener Gerichte zufolge beschäftigt Monheim 1977
die Verlagerung eines Teiles seiner Produktion in ein Zweigwerk bei
Sautron. Dieser wären 1000–1800 Arbeitsplätze in Aachen verortet
gelegen.

Die Konzernleitung erklärte dagegen zur gleichen Zeit, sie be-
mühe sich weiterhin darauf, die Fertigung nach Aachen-Stierfeld zu

verlagern und die dort existierende Betriebsstätte zu erweitern.

„Dann heißt es betrieblicher Mord. Eine Konzentration der Aachener
Betriebsstätten in Stierfeld möglich vom Land und von der Stadt heraufgeführt
werden.“

Die Stadt Aachen ersucht sich im selben Jahr, den 20 000 qm
große Areal in der Innenstadt zum Sanierungsgebiet zu erklären und
für den Bau von Einfamilienhäusern mit Gärten zu erwerben.

Für die Aufgabe des Werkes im Stadtzentrum und als Erweiterung
der mit der Verlagerung verbundenen Kosten wird Monheim zum öffent-
lichen Minder einer Entschädigung von DM 45,7 Millionen gezahlt, 75
% der Summe werden vom Land Nordrhein-Westfalen getragen.

Monheim beschließt, einen Teil seiner für 1980 vorgesehenen
Investitionsrechnungen von DM 40 Millionen für den Bau des neuen
Werkes und eines Verwaltungsgebäudes zu verwenden. Durch höhere
Ausgaben soll die Fertigung kostengünstiger rationalisiert werden.
Der Bau in Aachen-Stierfeld wird voraussichtlich bis Ende 1982
vollendet sein.



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Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. h. c. Peter Ludwig
Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender des
Museum of Modern Art

Auch. Mäzene haben. ihren Preis Peter Ludwig

Die Satzung der von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Board, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln geschlossenen Stiftung Ludwig nennt die Aufgaben der Stiftung:

1. Pflege, Betreuung und Verwaltung des Kunstbestandes der Stiftung.
2. Erwerbung des Kunstbestandes und Sicherung wertvoller deutscher Kunstgegenstände im Sinne von *„Staat 1 gegen Abwanderung in Ausland“*.
3. Wissenschaftliche Erschließung des Kunstbestandes der Stiftung.
4. Konzeption und Durchführung von Kunstausstellungen.
5. Förderung von regionalen, überregionalen und internationalen Möglichkeiten im Bereich der bildenden Kunst einschließlich veränderter Gebiete.

Im Stiftungsgesetz vom Peter und Irene Ludwig, zwei von ihnen benannte Personen sowie jeweils vier vom Board, vom Land und der Stadt Köln benannte Mitglieder. Der Vorstand ist Peter Ludwig. Der Stiftungsrat fällt seine Beschlüsse mit einfacher Mehrheit, bei Stimmengleichheit entscheidet der Vorstand.

Für 10 Jahre sollte Peter und Irene Ludwig von Europaratsbeschlüssen gegen Beschlüsse des Stiftungsrats zu, soweit diese Fragen der Dispositionen über den vom Ehepaar Ludwig ererbten Kunstbesitz betreffen.

Kinder der Stiftung Ludwig waren auf die künstlerische Macht hin, die dem Paar Peter Ludwig durch die trauernde Frau in einer öffentlich finanzierten Stiftung erfüllen würde. Der

Sammler sagt selber: „In solchen Fällen mag ja ein Kunstwerk begehrt sein. Aber es ist vor allem ein Stück von der Kultur und der Seele eines Volkes.“

Man befürchtet, daß die namensliche Überlegenheit der öffentlichen Vertreter im Stiftungsrat wegen ihrer widersprüchlichen Interessen und der großen Abhängigkeit der Stadt Köln von Peter Ludwig wenig Gerechtigkeit habe. Die Vertreter des Sammlerpaars und die doppelte Stimme des Vorstandes bei Stimmengleichheit bekräftigt seine dominierte Stellung.

Seinen Einfluß auf den Kunstmarkt beweist der Sammler an der Markt für *Pop Art* ist entscheidend durch die *Stimmen der Ehepaare Ludwig geprägt worden*.

Die Koordinatoren der Institution der Stiftung mit seiner eigenen Idee Peter Ludwig an Ausstellungen, bei künstlerischen Entscheidungen und auf dem Kunstmarkt eine Machtfülle, mit der er das Kunstgeschick international noch mehr als bisher entscheidend in seinem Sinne steuern könnte.



Aufnahmen in einem Werk
des Leonard Mischke AG

Der Trumpp Pralinenmeister

Die Mischke-Gruppe verleiht unter ihrer Hausmarke Trumpp Tafel-Schokolade, Schokolade, Pralinen, Kakao, Saisonnierartikel und Konfektwaren. Die Fertigung erfolgt durch Tochtergesellschaften in Aachen, Quilborn bei Hamburg, Saarbrücken und der seit 1977 unter seinem Namen selbstständig operierenden Trumpp-Schokolade- und Lebkuchengüter Berlin GmbH.

Die in der Vergangenheit völlig zu Mischke gehörende Berliner Gesellschaft ist 1979 zu 51 % an die neugegründete selbstständige Trumpp Berlin GmbH veräußert worden, die daraufhin durch Ausgabe eigener Aktien Beteiligungen an Private finanzierte. Auf diese Weise sind Mischke 1979 rund DM 100 Millionen zugeflossen, die das Unternehmen „unternehmlich (Ludwig) verwandelt“.

Diese boten sich Investitionen an (in Berlin für 1980 DM 25 Millionen geplant) sowie die Anlage in neuartigen Gebäuden (2 % des Darlehens bis zu 10 % der Jahresumschulung abgezugsfrei). Außerdem wurden Rücklagen gebildet und Abschreibungen auf Rohmaterialien und -Kunststoffe gestoppt.

Das Werk in Berlin-Niederschlesien ist 1953 gegründet und Anfang der 70er Jahre erheblich vergrößert und modernisiert worden. Dabei haben Mischke die Vermögensgegenstände der Berlin-Niederschlesien-Gruppe: die 79 % Sonderabschreibung von Sachanlagen im 1. Jahr (in der BRD 2-3 %), öffentliche Investitionszuschüsse von 10 % oder mehr der

Anlagekosten, beim Warenverkauf in der Bundesrepublik eine Umsatzsteuervergütung von 4,5-6,2 % und andere Steuererleichterungen.

In der DDR werden Trumpp-Marktmittel aufgrund von Gestaltungsgründen aus dem Jahre 1974 hergestellt. Die Erzeugnisse sind fast ausschließlich in Innenhöfen und Delikatessen erhältlich und werden zum Teil auch exportiert.

Mischke übernahm und verleiht die Erzeugnisse der Trumpp Berlin GmbH (u. a. Schokolade). Ausser von Konfektwaren werden Trumpp Waren in viele großen Formen von A bis Z abgegrenzt.

Bekannte Namen auf dem Markt sind außer den 1960 eingeführten Schokolade unter Pralinen *Edle Trüffeln* in *Nuß*, *Gute Gasse* in *Nuß*, *Frucht*, *Präparat*, *Marschmitten*, *Wappenstein*, *Präparat* und *Klassik*.

Auf dem deutschen Markt hat Mischke mit allen Marken zugekauft bei Tafelschokolade einen Anteil von 14 %, bei Pralinen von 25 % und bei Saisonnierwaren ebenfalls 25 %. Der ausgewiesene Katalog der Produkte bewegt sich zwischen 25 % und 34 %.

Von der Welteme in Kakaoherstellung verarbeitet Mischke 5 % (70.000 Tonnen) bei einer Jahresproduktion von 100.000 Tonnen (1980). Im Geschäftsjahr 1978/79 lagerte die Unternehmen Rohstoffe im Wert von DM 246,6 Millionen.



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Peter Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Ludwig
Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der
Leonard Mohn AG

Nichts liegt uns ferner als kulturpolitische Macht Peter Ludwig

Die Sitzung des von Peter und Irene Ludwig vorgeschlagenen und zusammen mit dem Bund, dem Land Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Stadt Köln geplanten Stiftung Ludwig sieht eine finanzielle Beteiligung der öffentlichen Partner am Stiftungsvertrag vor. Über ihre Höhe gibt es keine Auskunft.

* Der Kölner Kulturreferent Peter Necker sagt dazu im März 1981: »Nach dem allgemeinen Stand wird die Stiftung selbst im Finanzrahmen von 14 Millionen liegen.« Dagegen nannte ein Vertreter der Landesregierung als »Oberschätz« einen Betrag von 27 Millionen, der von jedem der öffentlichen Stiftungspartner im ersten Jahr entrichtet werden solle.

Das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen hat 1981 seine traditionellen Zuschüsse von DM 3 Millionen an die konservativen Ausstellungen stante von Kunst gekürzt. Infolgedessen können Ausstellungen nicht mehr wie geplant durchgeführt werden, und Kataloge können nicht entstehen. Auch der Ankauf von Kunstwerken ist durch die Kürzung von DM 3 Millionen wurde eine steigende Kunstpreise um eine Million beschränkt.

Die Leser der betroffenen Institute hegen den Verdacht, die einschneidenden Kürzungen seien auf die 1982 zu erwartenden Zahlungen an die Stiftung Ludwig zurückzuführen. 15 kommunale Museumsdirektoren (Köln und Aachen ausgenommen) wandten sich

deshalb in einem Protestschreiben »mit großer Entschiedenheit« gegen eine von Peter und Irene Ludwig geplante »Kultur- und Finanzkommission« in Köln. Sie fürchten, »daß auf diesem Wege die Möglichkeit der Museumsentwicklung« durch die Stiftung Ludwig »überwunden« werden könnte.

Die Beteiligung des Bundes trägt verfassungsmäßige Belangen. Dennoch bevorzugen sie die Kulturbereitschaft des Landes und gibt dem Bund ein kulturpolitisches Instrument, das ihm die Verfügung nicht schuldig. Bayern denkt an eine Verfassungsglättung.

Dagegen schlägt Baden-Württemberg die Gründung einer »Verfassungsglättung« Kulturstiftung der deutschen Bundesländer vor. Über »Einigungsgemeinschaft der Bundesländer« soll die Abwanderung wertvoller Werke der deutschen Kunst- und Kulturgüter in die Hände von Fremden, in denen ein Ankauf der finanziellen Kräfte eines einzelnen Museums übersteigt.

Die Abwanderung von Werken ins Ausland zu verhindern, ist aber auch eine der wesentlichen Aufgaben, denen die Stiftung Ludwig dienen soll. Es ist ebenfalls eines der Ziele der bisher nicht funktionstüchtigen Nationalstiftung.



Aktoren in einem Werk
der Leonard Mohn AG

MALUXION

Die Mohnheim-Gruppe übernahm 1959 die Schokoladenfabrik Mohnheim KG und stellt seitdem unter der Marke Maluxion Pralinen und Süßwaren her. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg entwickelte sich das Unternehmen folgendermaßen:

1951 Einrichtung eines Zweigwerkes in Quickborn bei Hamburg.

1952 Peter Ludwig geschäftsführender Gesellschafter. Eröffnung eines Werkes in Berlin-Neukölln (1979 Umwandlung in selbständige Trümpf Berlin GmbH mit 49 % Mohnheim Anteil).

1959 Erwerb einer Schokoladenfabrik in St. Hyacinthe bei Montreal (Importeur seit 1974 unter dem Namen Comex Confectionery Ltd.).

1960 Angliederung der A. Fleck Schokoladenfabrik GmbH an Saarbrücken.

1969 Peter Ludwig Vorsitzender der Geschäftsführung.

1971 Absatzproduktions- und Markenrechte für von Fleck-Produkten.

Übernahme der weltweiten von Fleck-Vertriebsorganisation.

1974 Lizenzproduktion in der DDR und Polen.

1979 Übernahme aller Anteile der belgischen General Chocolate NV/SA mit Werken in Herestraat (Belgien) und Nevel.

1980 Beteiligung an der rumänischen Kakaohandelsfirma Sinaia BV, Anwerdung Kooperationsverhandlungen mit dem österreichischen Konzern und den Lebensmittelkonzern Juko Almdorf AG, Wien. Erschließung des österreichischen Marktes, möglicherweise gemeinsamer Export in Ostblockländer.

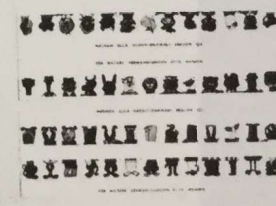
Die Oberrheinische Gruppe übernahm 1978 in eine Aktiengesellschaft umgewandelt.

Die ehemaligen Komplementäre Prof. Peter Ludwig, Dieter Mohnheim und Dr. Bernd Mohnheim von der 1. Mohnheim-Generations haben »dabei« mehr als 50 % des Grundkapitals von DM 41,5 Millionen. Die Aktien lauten auf den Namen und können nur mit Zustimmung der Gesellschaft übertragen werden. Sie verbleiben völlig in Familienbesitz.

Aufsichtsratsvorsitzender der Leonard Mohn AG ist Prof. Peter Ludwig.

Die Mohnheim-Gruppe umfaßt 24 inländische und 16 ausländische Beteiligungsgesellschaften. Im Geschäftsjahr 1979/80 betrug der Umsatz weltweit DM 1,358 Milliarden (rund 34 % außerhalb der Bundesrepublik).

Die inländischen Gewinne wurden mit insgesamt DM 184 Millionen besteuert. Wenn keine Nachzahlungen zu leisten waren, kann die Gewinnsteuern auf rund DM 34 Millionen geschätzt werden.



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Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht
(We believe in the power of creative imagination)

1980. Polyptych: 11 withscreen panels and flag. 2 extreme left and right panels 100,5 x 58,3 cm (40 3/8 x 23") are facsimile reproductions of advertisements by Ha. painted black. 3 central panels 100,5 x 58,3 cm (40 3/8 x 23 3/4"), printed in red and black, incorporate black/white photographs. Text below the photographs is a facsimile reproduction of part of a poster by FS which is publicly displayed all over Belgium in 1980. The 3 text panels and the 3 panels with mechanical drawings of the F.A.L. rifle, each 51,7 x 55,5 cm (20 7/8 x 21 3/8") are printed black and red. All panels are framed in blind brass under glass. A black velvet flag with the FS company logo in silver fabric on both sides hangs on a blind brass flange of 180 cm (71") above the polyptych.

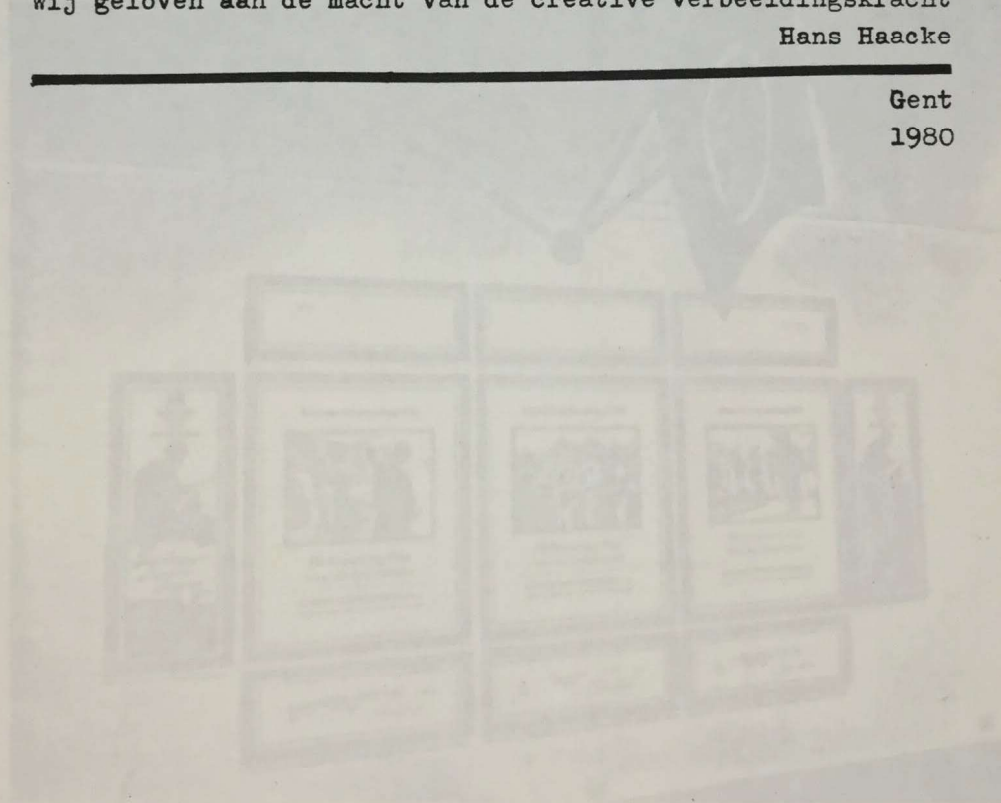
First shown in "Trust in Europe as '80" (Art in Europe after '68), international exhibition organized by Jan Haas at Museum van hedendaagse kunst in Gent, Belgium, summer 1980.

Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht

Hans Haacke

Gent

1980

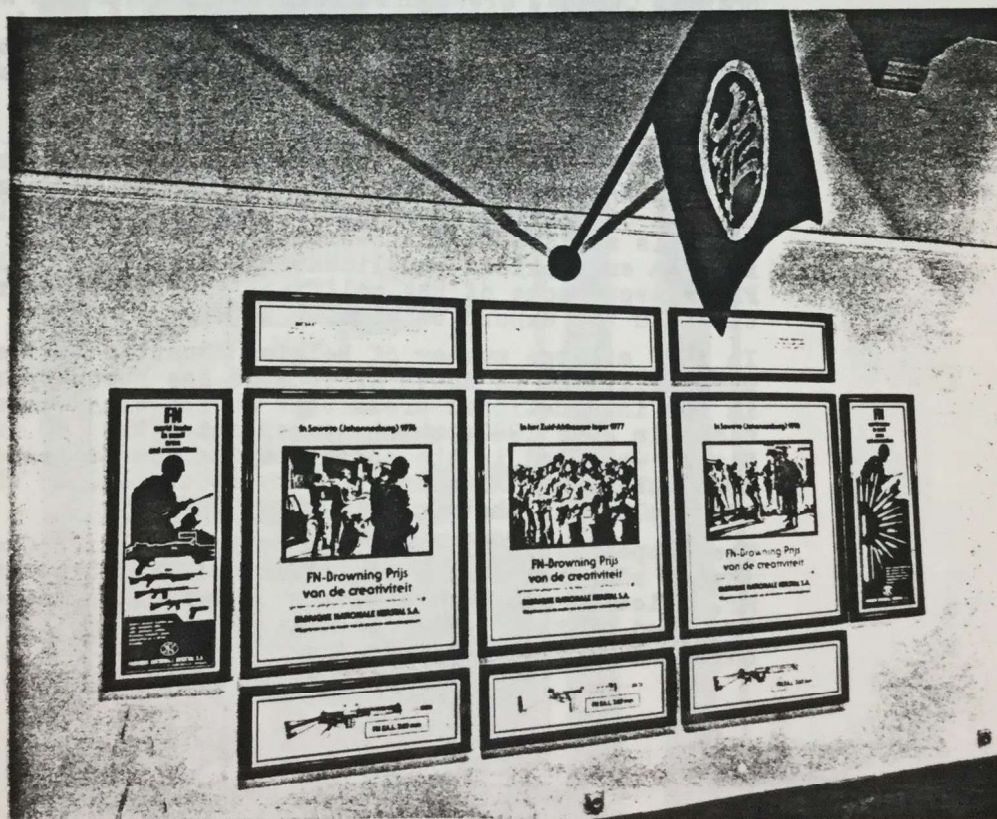


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Wij geloven aan de macht van de creative verbeeldingskracht
(We believe in the power of creative imagination)

1980. Polyptych. 11 silkscreen panels and flag. 2 extreme left and right panels 100,5 x 38,2 cm (41 3/8 x 15") are facsimile reproductions of advertisements by FN, printed black. 3 central panels 100,5 x 83,3 cm (41 3/8 x 32 3/4"), printed in red and black, incorporate black/white photographs. Text below the photographs is a facsimile reproduction of part of a poster by FN which is publicly displayed all over Belgium in 1980. The 3 text panels and the 3 panels with mechanical drawings of the F.A.L. rifle, each 27,7 x 83,3 cm (10 7/8 x 32.3/8") are printed black and red. All panels are framed in blue brass under glass. A black velvet flag with the FN company logo in silver fabric on both sides hangs on a blue brass flagpole of 180 cm (71") above the Polyptych.

First shown in "Kunst in Europa na '68" (Art in Europe after '68), international exhibition organized by Jan Hoet at Museum van hedendaagse kunst in Gent, Belgium, summer 1980.



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Fabrique Nationale Herstal S.A. (FN) is one of the major manufacturers of small arms and ammunition in the world. The company, with headquarters in Herstal near Liège, Belgium, supplies arms and ammunition to about 90 countries. Numerous countries which have been singled out by Amnesty International for their violation of human rights are among the clients of FN.

During the civil war in Biafra FN supplied both sides with weapons. Currently FN is being questioned about arms deliveries to Uruguay, to Bolivia, and to Morocco, which is engaged in an armed conflict with the Polisario Front. According to *Armies and Weapons*, an international military journal, the light automatic rifle F.A.L. 7,62 mm of FN "has been used on a large scale in all the more recent wars and guerilla actions (the last Arab-Israeli conflict, the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, the Congo, Northern Ireland, South America, and so on)."

The F.A.L. rifle has been produced under licence from FN in about a dozen countries, among them Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Great Britain, Israel and South Africa. Frequently these countries have in turn exported the weapon. South Africa, for example, has equipped the Rhodesian army of Ian Smith, while the army of Bolivia is being supplied by Argentina.

FN subsidiaries produce arms in Brazil, Portugal and the United States. Some of the foreign operations and FN's part-ownership of non-Belgian companies, e.g. Beretta of Italy, are handled by FN International S.A., which is registered in Luxembourg. Participation in foreign enterprises and licensing arrangements allow FN to avoid some of the political and legal restrictions on the export of arms.

In 1977 a large number of Belgian "hunting rifles" were delivered to South Africa. It has been reported in the international press that during the demonstrations in June 1980, which commemorated the 600 and more Blacks who died in the course of the Soweto riots of 1976, the South African security forces killed about 40 people with shotguns.


The competition for the FN-Browning Prize for Creativity is administered by the office of Mr. Claude Gaier. Mr. Gaier is also chief of the Information Service of FN, head of the company's cultural programs and the director of the Musée des Armes in Liège.

FOR STUDY PURPOSES ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.

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FN
world leader
in small
arms
and ammunition

General purpose machine gun
Light automatic rifle
Light automatic carbine
Browning automatic pistol
Ammunition up to 40 mm
Grenades


FABRIQUE NATIONALE HERSTAL S.A.
B-4400 Herstal (Belgium)

Advertentie van FN

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"DAT GAAT naar landen die niet in oorlog zijn (lacht). Alé, in principe
...Maar dan zou het wel kunnen gebeuren dat het Belgische leger het
over neemt en via een tussenland zal geleverd worden."
De Heer Reynvoet, afgevaardigde van het A.C.V. in de FN
(BRT interview 1975)

In Soweto (Johannesburg) 1976



FN-Browning Prijs van de creativiteit

gecreëerd ter gelegenheid van het Millennium van het Pilsbeldom Luik

FABRIQUE NATIONALE HERSTAL S.A.

Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht



FN FAL 7.62 mm

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FN is voor 29,35 procent eigendom van de Société Générale de Belgique. - Het wordt aangenomen dat het Belgisch Koninklijk Huis, het Vaticaan, Prins Amaury de Merode, Graaf Lippens en de families Solvay, Boël en Janssen de grootste aandeelhouders in de Société Générale de Belgique zijn. (The Economist, Londen, 18 maart 1978)

In het Zuid-Afrikaanse leger 1977



**FN-Browning Prijs
van de creativiteit**

geenheid ter gelegenheid van het Millennium van het Pinabdom Luit 47

FABRIQUE NATIONALE HERSTAL S.A.

Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeteringsmacht

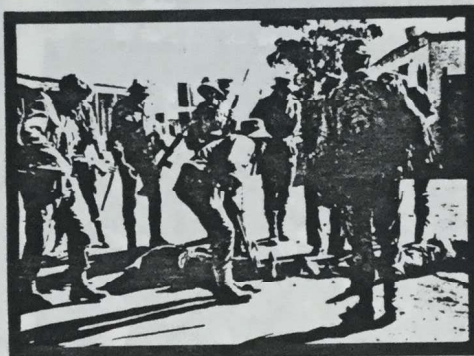


FN FAL 7.62mm

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WIJ VERKOPEN onze wapens aan verantwoordelijke regeringen.
Zodra zij de wapens in hun bezit hebben, zijn zij het die ze gebruiken.
Wij hebben er niets mee te maken hoe ze uiteindelijk worden gebruikt.
De Heer Fons Ni, directeur FN (BRT interview 1975)

In Soweto (Johannesburg) 1976



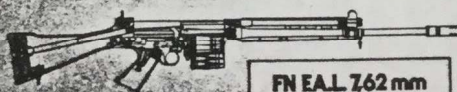
**FN-Browning Prijs
van de creativiteit**

gecreëerd ter gelegenheid van het Millennium van het Prinsbisdom Luik

FABRIQUE NATIONALE HERSTAL S.A.

Wij geloven aan de macht van de creatieve verbeeldingskracht

FRANCIS 2010



FN EAL 7.62 mm

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Translation from Dutch:

In Soweto (Johannesburg) 1976 / In the South African Army, 1977

FN-Browning Prize for Creativity
created at the occasion of the millenium of the Principality
of Liège
Fabrique Nationale Herstal S.A.
We believe in the power of creative imagination

It goes to countries which are not in a state of war (laughs).
Well, in principle... But then it may happen that the Belgian
Army takes it over and it is delivered by way of an intermediate
country.

Mr. Reynvoet, representative of the Christian Labor Union at FN.
Interview on Belgian television, 1975.

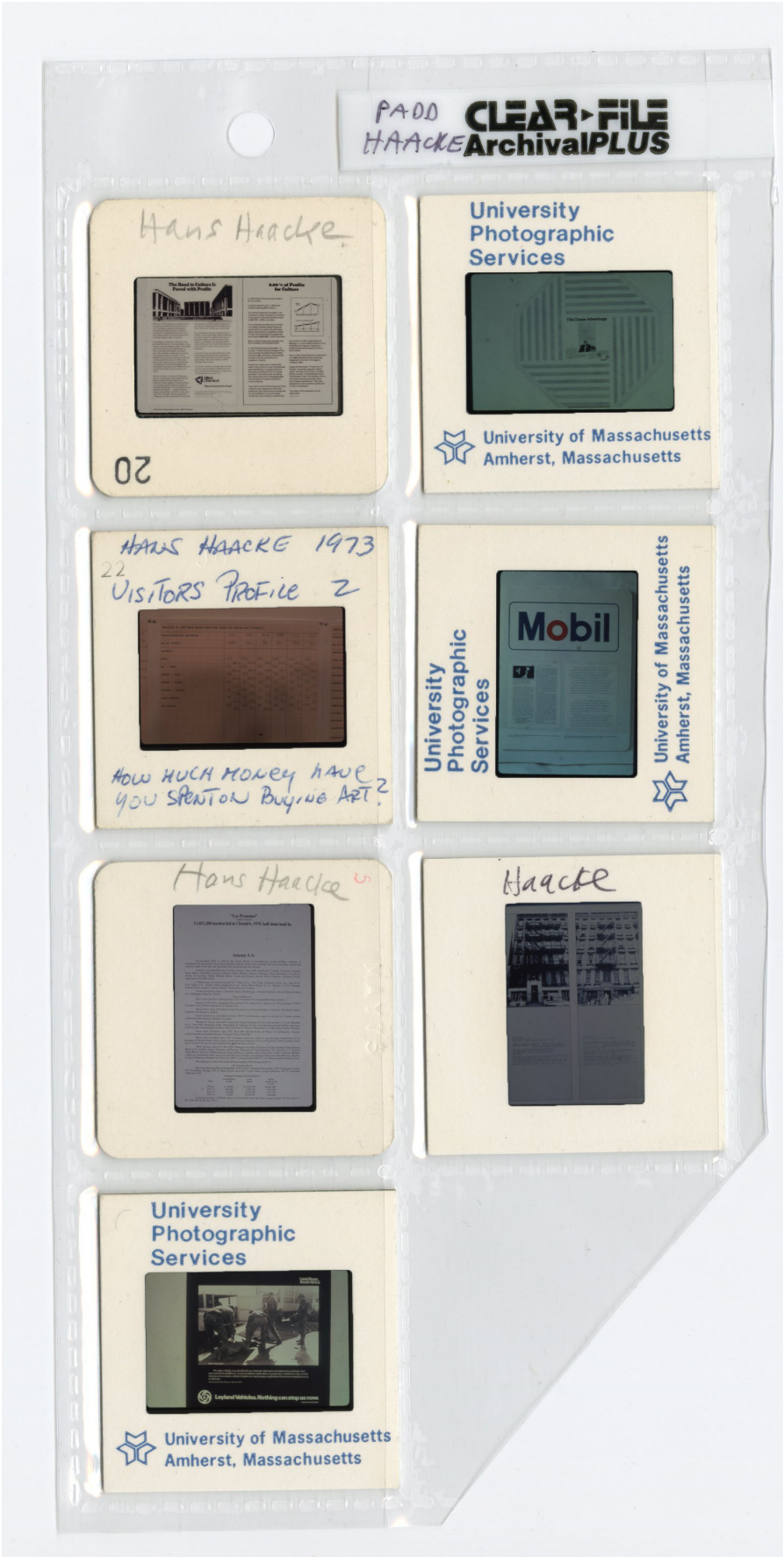
The Société Générale de Belgique owns 29.35 percent of FN. It is
believed that the Belgian Royal Family, the Vatican, Prince
Amaury de Merode, Count Lippens, and the families Solvay, Boël,
and Janssen are the controlling shareholders of the Société
Générale de Belgique.

The Economist, London, March 18, 1978

We sell our arms to responsible governments. As soon as they
have taken possession of their arms, it is they who use them.
We have nothing to do with the use to which they can finally
be put.

Mr. Fons Ni, Director of FN. Interview on Belgian television, 1975

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Translation into English from the original German texts of

Der Pralinenmeister

The Master of Assorted Chocolates

1981

by Hans Haacke

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Art objects on permanent loan are exempt from property taxes

Peter Ludwig was born in 1925 in Koblenz as the son of the industrialist Fritz Ludwig (Cement Factory Ludwig) and Mrs. Helene Ludwig (née Klöckner).

After his military service (1943-45) he studied law and art history. In 1950 he received a doctorate with a dissertation on "Picasso's Image of Man as an Expression of his Generation's Outlook on Life". The dissertation relies on relations between contemporary literature and the work of Picasso. Historical events get little attention.

In 1951 Peter Ludwig married a fellow student, Irene Monheim, and joined the Leonard Monheim KG., Aachen, the company of his father-in-law. In 1952 he became managing partner, in 1969 President, and in 1978, Chairman of the Leonard Monheim AG., Aachen.

Peter Ludwig is represented on the Boards of Directors of Agrippina Versicherungs-Gesellschaft and Waggonfabrik Uerdingen. He is the Chairman of the regional council of the Deutsche Bank AG. for the district Cologne-Aachen-Siegen.

Since the beginning of the 1950's, Peter and Irene Ludwig have been collecting art. At first they collected old art. Since 1966 they have been concentrating on modern art: Pop Art, Photo-Realism, Pattern Painting, art from East Germany and the "New Expressionists". Since 1972, Peter Ludwig has an adjunct professorship at the University of Cologne and holds art historical seminars at the "Museum Ludwig".

Permanent loans 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 Pompidou in Paris, and the state Museums in Saarbrücken and Mainz. 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 Precolumbian and African objects, as well as works from Oceania.

In 1976 the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum of Cologne received a donation of Pop Art (now Museum Ludwig). The Suermondt-Museum in Aachen (now Suermondt-Ludwig Museum) was given a collection of medieval art in 1977. The Antikenmuseum Basel (now Antikenmuseum Basel and Museum Ludwig) was donated a collection of Greek and Roman art which includes permanent loans located in Kassel, Aachen and Würzburg. In 1981 a collection of modern art was brought into the "Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science".

Peter Ludwig is a member of the Acquisitions Committee of the State Gallery in Düsseldorf, of the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Advisory Council of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles.

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Regent

Under the "Regent" label the Monheim Group distributes milk chocolate and assorted chocolates, mainly through the low price "Aldi" chain store and vending machines.

The production takes place in Aachen, where the company employs 2500 people in 2 factories. It also has its administrative headquarters there. About 1300 employees work in the Saarlouis plant, some 400 in Quickborn, and approx. 800 in West Berlin.

As it did 10 years earlier in 1981, Monheim had a total of some 7000 employees (sales tripled over the same period). 5000 of these are women. The blue collar work force numbers 5400, of which two thirds are unskilled. In addition, the company employs approx. 900 unskilled seasonal workers.

The labor union "Nahrung-Genuß-Gaststätten" negotiated wages ranging from DM 6.02 (scale E = assembly line work, under 18 years) per hour to DM 12.30 (scale S = highly skilled work). According to the union contract the lowest salary amounts to DM 1097.-- per month, and the highest salary scale stipulates a minimum of DM 3214.--.

The overwhelming majority of the 2500 foreign workers are women. They come predominantly from Turkey and Yugoslavia. However, foreign workers are also hired by agents in Morocco, Tunisia, Spain, and Greece (price per head DM 1000.-- in 1973). Another contingent of foreign workers crosses the border daily from nearby Belgium and Holland.

The company maintains hostels for its female foreign workers on its fenced-in factory compound in Aachen, as well as at other locations. Three or four women share a room (the building of hostels for foreign workers is subsidized by the Federal Labor Agency). The rent is automatically withheld from the worker's wage.

The company keeps a check on visitors to these hostels and, in fact, turns some away. The press office of the Aachen Diocese and the Caritas Association judged the living conditions as follows: "Since most of the women and girls can establish human relations only at the workplace and in the hostel, they are practically living in a ghetto."

Female foreign workers who give birth are said to have to leave the hostel or they must find a foster home for the child at a price they could hardly afford. Another option would be to offer their child for adoption. "It should be no problem for a big company which employs so many girls and women to set up a day care center."

The personnel department retorted that Monheim is "a chocolate factory and not a kindergarden". It would be impossible to hire kindergarden teachers. The company is not a welfare agency.

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We do not work with threats (Peter Ludwig)

In 1968 Peter and Irene Ludwig gave the Cologne Wallraf-Richartz-Museum a collection of modern art on permanent loan, which mainly consisted of Pop Art.

In 1976 this collection was donated to the City of Cologne under the condition that the City build a museum for the art of the 20th century. The museum was to be called "Museum Ludwig".

"In the event that the completion and opening of the Museum Ludwig cannot be assured by July 9, 1985; Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig, or their survivors, are entitled to withdraw from this agreement and to demand the return of all art works donated under this agreement". July 9, 1985 is the 60th birthday of Peter Ludwig.

The construction of the museum has begun between the cathedral and the Rhine. In 1980 the building costs were officially given as DM 219 million. The reshaping of the area around the museum, made necessary by the construction, is likely to drive up the costs to well over DM 300 million. The yearly expenses for maintenance and personnel are estimated at approx. DM 10 million.

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 administration of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and be incorporated into the newly founded Museum Ludwig. For the time being the new Museum is housed in the building of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. New acquisitions of modern art are also to become part of the Museum Ludwig.

Moreover, in the contract covering the donation the following was agreed upon: "Appointments for the position of director (of the Museum Ludwig) as well as the professional staff of the Museum Ludwig are made after consultation with Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig or the surviving spouse. Prof. Dr. Ludwig and his wife are being fully apprised of the Museum's ongoing work (e.g. exhibitions, acquisitions, publications)."

Twice yearly a meeting is to be held with Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig in which "the entire work of the Museum Ludwig is discussed in detail".

Regarding the value of the donation Peter Ludwig declared: "That the collection is now worth 45 million is to be attributed mainly to its long term exhibition in such a prominent institution as is the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. I did not pay more than 5 million for the paintings and objects."

Peter Ludwig was made an honorary citizen of the City of Cologne.

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Comet Confectionary Ltd./La Confiserie Comète Ltée

In 1959 the Monheim Group acquired a chocolate factory from the Kambly Company in St. Hyacinthe near Montreal. In the beginning, the Canadian subsidiary produced chocolate bars and seasonal articles under the name Regent Chocolate Ltd. After expansions in 1968 and 1970 the plant covered an area of 9000 m².

In 1974, salmonella poisonings occurred after the consumption of Regent-chocolate bunnies, christmas balls and "Crunch Break-ups" (milkchocolate especially made for Woolworth in Toronto). The health authorities of Canada and the U.S. stopped the sale of Regent-products. A recall was ordered on all items which had already been distributed to retailers. The plant was closed for de-toxification.

Production was resumed after half a year under the new name of Comet Confectionary Ltd./Confiserie Comète Ltée. The new company was capitalized with DM 5.3 million. Favorable terms on loans totalling can.\$ 4.25 million from the Quebec Industrial Development Corp. and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion - in part interest-free - as well as inner reserves of the subsidiary facilitated the reopening.

Before the closing in 1973, the employees, mostly women and unskilled, were paid an hourly wage, which hardly exceeded the legally established minimum wage of can.\$ 1.85. In 1974, while the plant was closed, they organized themselves in a union, the Syndicat des Salariés de la Confiserie Comète St.Hyacinthe (C.S.N.).

There was a strike at Comet before the conclusion of the third union contract in 1979. This two-year contract established a minimum wage of can.\$5.00. The highest wage amounted to \$7.51 per hour. Depending on the season, the number of employees fluctuates between 200 and 500.

Comet is distributing its products under the names "Comet", "van Houten" and the house labels of numerous companies in Canada and the United States, for which it produces anonymously (e.g. Dalt, Orion, Sarah Lee). More than half of the production, particularly seasonal articles, have been exported for years to the United States.

Comet also handles the distribution of "van Houten" products from Europe on the Canadian market.

The Monheim management has been consistently pleased with the results of Comet. In 1979/80 sales rose by 31.7% to can.\$ 35 million. Net income increased by 40.9% to \$0.8 million. It was not paid out but, rather, reinvested in the company.

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Through donations a spouse's payment of 35% inheritance tax is avoided

The Neue Galerie - Sammlung Ludwig of the City of Aachen usually shows Peter Ludwig's new acquisitions and does so often in programmatic exhibitions. It is also the starting point of travelling exhibitions and permanent loans to other museums. The museum director works closely with the collector.

In 1977 22 works from Aachen went on permanent loan to the Nationalgalerie in East Berlin. In return newly acquired paintings from East Germany were exhibited in Aachen.

In 1978 Aachen also organized an exhibition for the Museum of Modern Art in Teheran (until the Shah's ouster a stepbrother of the Empress was the director). The Centre Pompidou and other European museums also received important loans from Aachen.

Since 1976, the City of Aachen is therefore planning to induce Peter Ludwig, through the building of a new museum, to leave his collection permanently in Aachen. As of 1982 on Monheim Allee, a new building is to be erected at the cost of DM 40 million. Its completion is envisioned for 1985 when the collector celebrates his 60th birthday. He has not committed himself to leaving his collection in Aachen.

When the City, in 1976, raised its relatively low business tax, Peter Ludwig (Christian Democrat) threatened: "There has to be an end to treating us like idiots... With increases in taxes I certainly do not want a museum!"

In 1979 he gave an important part of the Aachen collection on permanent loan to the newly founded Museum of Modern Art in Vienna. Dr. Dieter Ronte who had been supervising the construction of the Museum Ludwig in Cologne was appointed director of the Museum in Vienna.

In 1981 a selection of 161 works, at a stated value of s 150 million (approx. \$ 5 million), was entered into a newly founded Austrian Ludwig Foundation for Art and Science. The Republic of Austria pledged to contribute s 150 million for acquisitions, exhibitions, and other purposes of the Foundation.

On the Board of the Foundation are Peter and Irene Ludwig, together with 2 members of their choice. Austria is also represented by 4 members. The Chairmanship alternates yearly between Peter Ludwig and a representative of Austria. For 10 years Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig retain a veto over the disposition of the works they donated (exhibition, loans etc.). Mrs. Irene Ludwig was appointed Professor in Vienna. Peter Ludwig became honorary citizen of the City.

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Van Houten

In 1971, the Monheim Group acquired from the American Peter & Paul Inc. the rights for the production, trademark, and distribution of "van Houten" products worldwide.

Since then the van Houten-subsiidiaries handle the Monheim Group's entire export through totally owned marketing organizations in Germany, France (sales 1979/80 ffrs. 122.7 million), the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States.

East Asia and East Germany are also important trading partners. The market is to be expanded into the Soviet Union and other Eastern Block countries. Moreover, negotiations over cooperative ventures have been started for opening up the Austrian market for Monheim products.

Approximately 34% (DM 403 million) of the company's sales for 1979/80 were achieved outside of West Germany.

Aside from its business with brand-name products van Houten also makes cocoa-butter, cocoa-powder and other semi-finished products for the chocolate industry.

The Monheim Group's total investment for the production of cocoa-powder and cocoa-butter between 1971 and 1974 in West Berlin alone amounted to DM 60 million. This investment in plant and equipment was essentially financed through the advantageous provisions of the Berlin Aid Act (special depreciation allowances, outright grants, and other tax advantages).

In 1973 the Monheim Group signed a contract for cooperative ventures with AGROS, the Polish state import/export agency. As a consequence of this agreement, the Cracow chocolate factory Wawel began, in 1975, production of van Houten chocolate bars under license. Part of the output is being exported.

In 1974 licencing agreements for the production of van Houten instant chocolate milk were also entered into with the East German state trading organization.

Since then East German schools receive the chocolate drink "Trinkfix". Otherwise, Monheim products can be found almost exclusively in "Intershops" (foreign currency stores) and "Delikat-läden" (high price stores for luxury items). Part of the production is exported to West Germany and other destinations.

For the production in Poland and East Germany the Monheim Group does not only make available its technical know-how but also provides highly specialized equipment.

Loans of art works from Peter Ludwig, the group's chairman, are frequently to be found in places where Monheim products are made or distributed, or where business relations are to be established (e.g. National Gallery East Berlin, Poland, Switzerland, France, Austria, Saarbrücken, Aachen and, in the planning, the Soviet Union).

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Donations are tax-deductible up to 10% of the yearly income

In 1980 Peter Ludwig submitted to the Federal Government, the State of Northrhine-Westphalia and the City of Cologne a draft "Document on the Establishment of the Ludwig Foundation for the Promotion of the Visual Arts and Related Fields". By-laws were attached. The document is a result of year long discussions between Peter Ludwig and the three public partners of the proposed Foundation.

The public was kept in the dark about the plans for this foundation until on September 6, 1980, it was disclosed in the "Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger" (local newspaper), due to a leak.

According to the draft document Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig intend to donate art works to the Foundation, which are to be listed in an appendix. The contents of this appendix is not known.

As far as any of these art works are on permanent loan, the Foundation would assume the rights and duties of the donor in his capacity as lender. Peter and Irene Ludwig intend to donate to the Foundation all their future art acquisitions.

Until the publication of the list of the donation, its size and value cannot be judged. It is being speculated that it would include the medieval works which are now on permanent loan to the Schnütgen-Museum of Cologne (estimated value DM 100 million). Also Precolumbian, African, and Oceanic art, which are housed in the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum of Cologne are supposedly being considered, as well as a collection of modern works which are on loan to numerous museums in Europe.

For 10 years Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig are granted veto power "in questions relating to the disposition of art works brought in by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig".

The permanent loan of his art works saves the lender the necessary expenses for the proper storage, care, protection and curatorial services for his property. Scientific research on the works, as well as their exhibition and publication in catalogues and articles, increases their value.

As long as art works are accessible to the public they are exempt from property tax (0.5% of their value every year). A donation is deductible up to 10% of the yearly taxable income. In the case of large donations these deductions can be distributed over several years.

Art works are affected by inheritance taxes. In the case of a donation of more than DM 100 million the surviving spouse does not have to pay inheritance tax on 35% of the value, i.e. DM 35 million.

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Novesia/De Beukelaer

In 1978, the Monheim Group acquired, for a total of bfrs. 350 million, 75% of the shares of the Belgian General Chocolate NV/SA from General Biscuit. The remaining shares stayed with P.F. Feldhaus-Novesia of Neuß (West Germany).

In Herentals (Belgium) and in Neuß, General Chocolate makes a variety of chocolate products which are mainly distributed in the Benelux countries, in Germany, and in France. At the time of the takeover, the two plants had 500 employees each. Total sales amounted to approx. DM 200 million.

Following the Monheim Group's acquisition of the majority of the shares, the Ministry for the Flemish Economy decided to provide grants totalling bfrs. 68 million to support payment of interest and capital on loans of bfrs. 478 million. These loans were earmarked for the modernization of the plant in Herentals.

In addition, the semi-governmental Industrial Credit Corporation gave government-backed loan of bfrs. 288 million. For three years the Belgian subsidiary was also granted certain tax exemptions. The Monheim Group planned to invest bfrs. 310 million of its own.

In 1979, the Monheim Group acquired the rest of the shares which were still outstanding. Thus also the German subsidiaries Novesia Schokolade GmbH and Meurisse Schokolade GmbH of Neuß came totally under Monheim control.

Management decided, in 1980, to close down the Novesia facilities in Neuß (sales in 1979/80 approx. DM 80 million) and to continue production of the "Goldnußtafeln" and "Goldnuß Pärchen" more efficiently in other Monheim plants. 350 employees are affected.

Among the products coming out of Herentals (Belgium) are the "Melo Cakes", "Leo", "Ascot", "Big Nuts", "BibiP" and "Alu", mostly filled milk chocolate and chocolate wafers. "Alu" and "Leo" are widely distributed through vending machines.

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Woe the (art fair) stand that he passed by. (Peter Ludwig about himself)

In the by-laws of the Ludwig Foundation which was proposed by Peter and Irene Ludwig and jointly planned by the Federal Government, the State of Northrhine Westphalia and the City of Cologne it reads:

"For purposes of the Foundation, the Foundation administers and receives the Museum Ludwig in Cologne."

"The Board of the Foundation in particular decides over the hiring and firing of... the Directors of the Museum Ludwig."

In case the Foundation is dissolved, "the ground of the Foundation-Museum and the objects which are normally located in Cologne will become the property of the City of Cologne without compensation".

From this it would follow that-for the duration of the Foundation - the City of Cologne would give up the rights over its collection of 20th century art. Not only the Pop Art collection which was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig in 1976 would be affected by this. It would extend to all works that had been donated to the Walraff-Richartz-Museum by collectors from Cologne and are now part of the Museum Ludwig, as well as new acquisitions of the Museum.

Apparently the new building of the Museum Ludwig is also to be handed over to the Ludwig Foundation and possibly the cost for its maintenance and personnel are to be covered by the Foundation.

Furthermore, the by-laws speak of "civil service positions made available by the City of Cologne".

The public partners of the Foundation are talking about yearly contributions which, at least in the beginning, are to amount to several million Deutschmarks, also from the City of Cologne (the acquisitions budget of the 8 Cologne museums is DM 1.1 million).

The representatives of the City of Cologne are among the most ardent proponents of the Foundation. According to comments by the press they fear that Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig might withdraw their loans, in spite of an express promise, if the projected Ludwig Foundation does not come to pass. Peter Ludwig once indicated: "Perhaps there are other governments with which one could speak and with which one does speak."

Cologne also hopes that through the participation of the Federal Government and the State in the Foundation, a part of the sizable cost of the construction and maintenance of the new Museum Ludwig would be carried by them.

The general director of all Cologne museums, Hugo Borger, also refers to the desirability of an art "supercenter" in Cologne. The representatives of the City agree: "Without Ludwig nothing goes anymore."

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Lindt

The collaboration between the Monheim Group and the Swiss Lindt & Sprüngli goes back to the time before WW 2. At present Monheim holds 80% of the shares of both, Lindt & Sprüngli GmbH, Aachen, and Lindt & Sprüngli B.V., Netherlands. The rest of the shares remain with the Lindt & Sprüngli AG., Kilchberg/Switzerland.

Under license, Monheim makes Lindt-products such as assorted chocolates, milkchocolate, and seasonal articles for the German and Dutch market (estimated sales 1979/80 sfrs. 195 million = approx. one third of Lindt sales worldwide).

The Monheim Group also had licensing and distribution agreements with the British John Mackintosh and Sons Ltd. and Peter & Paul Inc. of the United States.

Lindt products are mostly made in a factory in the center of Aachen, where the company's headquarters is also located.

In 1977, according to a rumor circulating in Aachen, Monheim planned to move part of this production to another facility in Saarlouis. 1000 to 1800 work places would have been lost in Aachen.

However, at the same time, a company spokesman declared that the company was instead trying to move production to Aachen-Süsterfeld, on the outskirts of the city, and expand a plant there that was already in operation: "This requires a considerable amount of money. Concentration of the Aachen facilities in Süsterfeld would have to be subsidized by the City and the State".

In the same year the City of Aachen decided to make the 20,000 m² of the plant in the city center an area for rehabilitation and to buy it for the construction of one-family houses with gardens in its place.

As compensation for giving up the plant and its relocation, Monheim is being paid out of public funds a total of DM 45.7 million. 75% of this amount is carried by the State of North-rhine-Westphalia.

Monheim intends to use part of its DM 60 million investments earmarked for 1980 for the construction of the new plant and administrative headquarters. New automated facilities are to bring about a more efficient and profitable operation. The construction in Aachen-Süsterfeld is expected to be completed by the end of 1982.

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Also patrons have a price (Peter Ludwig)

The by-laws of the Ludwig Foundation which were proposed by Peter and Irene Ludwig and which were planned together with the Federal Government, the State of Northrhine-Westphalia, and the City of Cologne state, as the purposes of the Foundation:

- " 1) Curatorial care and administration of the art works of the Foundation.
- 2) Expansion of the collection and, in the spirit of paragraph 1, prevention of the sale of valuable works of the German art tradition to foreign buyers.
- 3) Scholarly research on the Foundation's collection.
- 4) Conception and organization of art exhibitions.
- 5) Promotion of regional, national and international activities in the visual arts and related fields."

Represented on the Board of the Foundation are Peter and Irene Ludwig, two persons of their choice, as well as four representatives each from the Federal Government, the State, and the City of Cologne. Peter Ludwig is the Chairman. Decisions of the Board of the Foundation are made by majority vote. In a tie the Chairman casts the deciding vote.

For 10 years Peter and Irene Ludwig are granted " a veto against decisions of the Foundation's Board whenever questions relating to the disposition of the art works are concerned which were brought in by Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig".

Critics of the Ludwig Foundation point to the art political power which would be handed to Peter Ludwig, a private individual, due to his dominant position in a publically financed Foundation. The collector explains: "It is clear that on such boards a consensus must be achieved. However, I am certain that my expertise will have some weight".

It is feared that the numerical majority of the public representatives on the Board of the Foundation will not count much because they have contradictory interests, and because the City of Cologne is highly dependent on Peter Ludwig. The veto power of Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig and the deciding vote of the Chairman in a tie underscore his dominant position.

The collector judges his influence on the art market as follows: "The market for Pop Art has been determined decisively by the activities of Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig".

The combination of the financial resources of the Foundation with his own would give Peter Ludwig an immense power in the world of exhibitions, in art-political decision-making and on the art market. It would give him the means to exert even more control over the international art world than he does already.

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Trumpf/The Master of Assorted Chocolates

The Monheim Group is distributing, under its house label "Trumpf", chocolate bars, "Schogetten", assorted chocolates, hot chocolate powder, seasonal articles and chewing candy. Production is done by subsidiaries in Aachen, Quickborn near Hamburg, Saarlouis and the Trumpf Schokolade- und Kakaofabrik Berlin GmbH which has been operating independently since 1979 under this new name.

51% of the shares of the Berlin company, which was totally owned by Monheim, were sold in 1979 to the newly founded Trumpf Berlin GmbH. The new company financed this acquisition by issuing a-typical non-voting stocks to private investors. Monheim thus received in 1979, an infusion of approx. DM 100 million which was used by the company in a "tax neutral" way (Ludwig).

Such opportunities are, for example, investments in the plant (in 1980 earmarked for Berlin DM 25 million) and in special tax favored loans to the Berlin Development Bank (12% of the loan tax-deductible). Moreover, money was set aside for future investment in the plant, and Monheim claimed depreciation on supplies (cocoa and contracts on cocoa).

The plant in Berlin was established in 1953. At the beginning of the seventies it was expanded considerably and manufacturing methods were brought up to the latest standards. Monheim benefited from the special advantages of the aid for Berlin: 75% depreciation in the first year for investment in plant and equipment (in West Germany 3%), outright public grants of 10 per cent or more for investment in plant and equipment, the deduction of 4.5% of the sales tax for sales to West Germany, and other tax advantages.

In East Germany "Trumpf" products are made under licensing agreements dating from 1974. They are available almost exclusively in "Intershops" (foreign currency outlets) and "Delikatladen" (special stores for high-priced luxury items). Some are also exported.

Monheim handles the distribution for all products of Trumpf Berlin GmbH (a.o. Schogetten). Aside from department stores "Trumpf" items are sold in large quantities through "Aldi" (low priced chain store).

Well-known brand names besides the "Schogetten", which were introduced in 1966, are assorted chocolates with labels such as "Noble Drops in Nuts", "Good Spirits in Nuts", "Fresh Fruit Drinks", "Marzipanstars", "The Class of the Coat of Arms", "Tradition", and "Classic".

In Germany, Monheim has a market share for chocolate bars of 18 %, for assorted chocolates of 25% as well as for seasonal items of 25%. The stated cocoa contents of the products ranges from 25% to 54%.

5% of the world harvest in cocoa beans (70,000 metric tons) is used by Monheim in a yearly output of 100,000 metric tons (1980). In 1979/80 the company stored raw materials valued at DM 172 million.

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Nothing is of less interest to us than cultural-political power
(Peter Ludwig)

The by-laws of the Ludwig Foundation which were proposed by Peter and Irene Ludwig and which were planned together with the Federal Government, the State of Northrhine-Westphalia, and the City of Cologne provide for financial contributions to the Foundation's endowment by the three public partners. No mention of any amounts is made.

The commissioner of culture of the City of Cologne declared in March 1981: "At the current state the Foundation will have a budget of 14 million." However, a representative of the State Government mentioned as a "reference figure" an amount of DM 2.7 million, which is to be paid in the first year by each of the public partners of the Foundation.

In 1981 the State of Northrhine-Westphalia cut its traditional grants of DM 3 million to municipal art institutions by one third. As a consequence a number of exhibitions cannot be put on as planned and catalogues cannot be published. The DM 3 million acquisitions budget of the State Gallery in Düsseldorf was equally cut by one million, in spite of rising prices on the art market.

The directors of the affected institutions have the suspicion that these cuts were motivated by the payments to the Ludwig Foundation which are to start as of 1982. 15 directors of municipal museums (except those of Cologne and Aachen) therefore spoke out in a protest letter "with great determination... against the Federal Government's and the State's subsidizing a concentration of money and power in Cologne". They fear that "the variety of the museum landscape which is based on local initiatives would be severely threatened by the Ludwig Foundation".

The participation of the Federal Government raises constitutional questions. According to this the cultural autonomy of the States would be interfered with and the Federal Government would gain an instrument with which to make cultural policy, that the constitution does not allow for. Bavaria is considering to bring the issue before the Supreme Court.

The State of Baden-Württemberg counters with a proposal to establish a "Cultural Foundation of the States", which would not give reason to raise constitutional objections. This "acquisition syndicate of the States" is to prevent the loss of valuable works of the German art and cultural history through their sale to foreign buyers in cases, in which the financial resources of a single museum would be insufficient for the purchase.

To prevent such losses for the nation, however, is also one of the main purposes of the Ludwig Foundation. It is equally among the goals of the National Foundation which is still not operating as designed.

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Mauxion

In 1959 the Monheim Group took over Schokoladenfabrik Mauxion KG. Since they have been producing assorted chocolates and seasonal items under the "Mauxion" label. Following is the development of the company after WW 2:

- 1951 Establishment of another plant in Quickborn near Hamburg
- 1952 Peter Ludwig becomes managing partner. A new plant opened in Berlin-Neukölln (since 1979 independent company Trumpf Berlin GmbH; 49% of the shares held by Monheim)
- 1959 Acquisition of a chocolate factory in St. Hyacinthe near Montreal (operating since 1974 under the name Comet Confectionary Ltd.)
- 1960 Addition of the A. Poser Schokoladenfabrik GmbH of Saarlouis
- 1969 Peter Ludwig becomes President of the company
- 1971 Exclusive production and marketing rights for "van Houten" products. Takeover of the "van Houten" world distribution network
- 1974 Licencing agreements for production in East Germany and Poland
- 1979 Acquisition of all shares of the Belgian General Chocolate NV/SA with plants in Herentals (Belgium) and Neuß (Germany)
- 1980 Participation in the newly founded cocoa trading company Eurobras BV., Amsterdam. Negotiations for cooperative ventures with the Austrian "Konsum" and the Julius Meindl AG food business in Vienna. Plans are made for the expansion into the Austrian market and possibly joint export to COMECON countries.

In 1978 the parent organization Leonard Monheim KG was transformed into a public company.

The former partners Prof. Peter Ludwig, Dieter Monheim and Dr. Bernd Monheim of the 3rd Monheim generation are now holding "clearly more than 50%" of the capital of DM 41.5 million. The shares are issued in the name of the owner and can only be transferred with the company's approval. The shares are totally kept within the family.

The chairman of the supervisory board of the Leonard Monheim AG is Prof. Peter Ludwig.

The Monheim Group comprises 24 domestic and 16 foreign subsidiaries. In 1979/80 worldwide sales amounted to DM 1.358 billion (approx. 34% outside of West Germany).

The domestic income was taxed at the rate of DM 19.4 million. If no back tax payments had to be made, net income can be estimated at DM 34 million.

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1981. Seven Diptychs. Each of the 14 panels 39.5 x 27.5 inch.
Multi-color silkscreens with photographs and packaging of
assorted chocolates and chocolate bars pasted in. In brown
frames under glass.

First exhibited at Paul Maenz Gallery, Cologne, May 1981.

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Mobil
Upstairs at
HANS HAACKE

JOHN WEBER GALLERY

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Mobil: On the right track

1981
60 x 43". Silkscreen and collage of photos. Edition of 3.

Printed by John Campione and Rick Mills, New York. Photo of Senator Birch Bayh: UPI. Photos of Senators Church, Culver, McGovern: Courtesy of the Senators.

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You ain't seen nothin' yet!



Birch Bayh

Frank Church



John Culver

George McGovern

The defeat of these Senators was made possible,
in part, by contributions from Mobil.

Joining us in this effort were the

- Moral Majority
- National Conservative
Action Committee
- Life Amendment Political
Action Committee

We're putting our money where our mouth is.
And it works. You will hear more from us.

Mobil
On the right track

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Creating Consent

1981

73 × 23 × 23". Oil drum, TV antenna.

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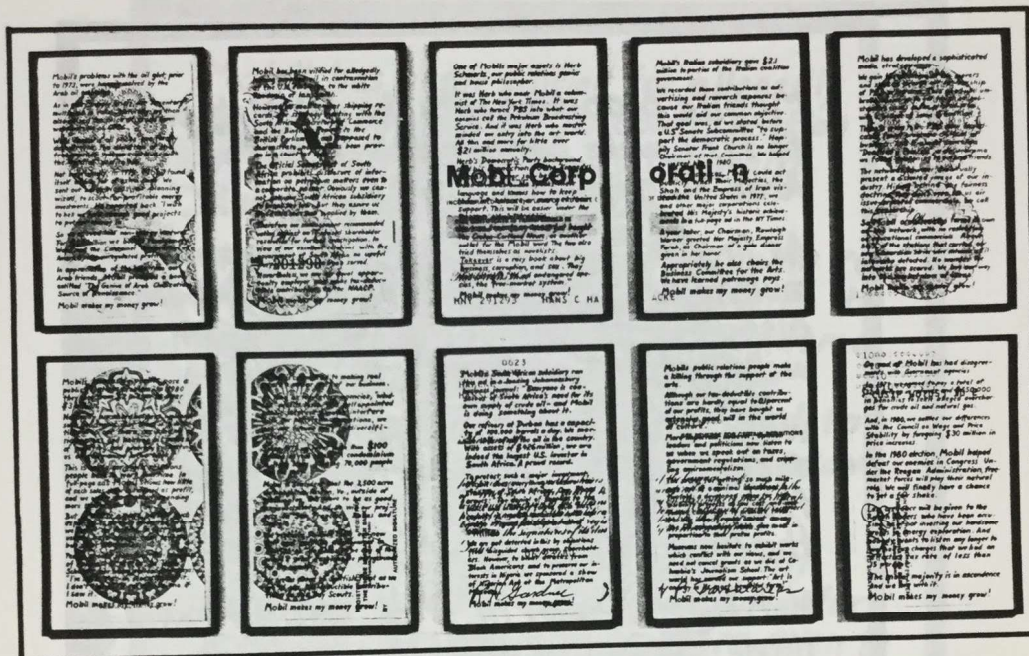
Upstairs at Mobil: Musings of a shareholder

1981

10 sheets, each 35½ × 21½". Photoetching, collage of Mobil stock certificate and drawing.

Printed by Hidekatsu Takada and Nancy Anello at Crown Point Press, Oakland, California.

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Mobil's problems with the oil glut, prior to 1973, were happily solved by the Arab oil embargo.

As in every supply crisis, the inventory multiplied in value. Naturally we then also raised the price of crude from wells outside of OPEC.

While domestic oil prices are finally decontrolled, the distortion of the free-market system continues with the "windfall" profits tax.

Not surprisingly in 1973, Mobil found itself with a lot of extra cash. We sent out Barry Woods, our planning wizard, to scout for profitable energy investments. He reported back: "I wish to hell we had enough good projects to put our money in."

So we moved into non-energy ventures. For \$1.8 billion we bought Montgomery Ward and the Container Corporation of America, with unregulated profits.

In appreciation of the help from our Arab friends, Mobil produced a book entitled "The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance."

Mobil makes my money grow!

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Mobil has been vilified for allegedly having supplied oil, in contravention of the U.N. embargo, to the white Rhodesia of Ian Smith.

However, no matter what shipping records, our strategy meeting with the South African Secretary of Commerce and the Bingham Report to the British Parliament are supposed to demonstrate, nothing has been proven in a court of law.

The Official Secrets Act of South Africa prohibits disclosure of information on petroleum matters even to a corporate parent. Obviously we cannot ask our South African subsidiary to break the law. But they assure us Rhodesia was not supplied by them.

Therefore our management recommended voting against an ill-advised shareholder resolution for further investigation. In view of our excellent relations with the government of South Africa no useful purpose would have been served.

Nevertheless, we are an equal opportunity employer and make tax-deductible contributions to the NAACP.

Mobil makes my money grow!

Mobil makes my money grow!
MNY 291293 HANS C HA

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Mobil's Italian subsidiary gave \$2.1 million to parties of the Italian coalition government.

We recorded these contributions as advertising and research expenses because our Italian friends thought this would aid our common objective. That goal was, as we stated before a U.S. Senate Subcommittee "to support the democratic process." Happily Senator Frank Church is no longer Chairman of that Committee. We helped to unseat him in 1980.

Orati n
In other instances, Mobil could act publicly. When Their Majesties, the Shah and the Empress of Iran visited the United States in 1977, we and other major corporations celebrated His Majesty's historic achievements in a full-page ad in the NY Times.

A year later, our Chairman, Rawleigh Warner greeted Her Majesty, Empress Farah, as Chairman of a gala dinner given in her honor.

Appropriately he also chairs the Business Committee for the Arts. We have learned patronage pays.

Mobil makes my money grow!

ACK

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Mobil has developed a sophisticated media strategy.

We gain the attention of the movers and shakers through our sponsorship of PBS programs. This good will umbrella allows us to get rough on substantive issues in the public arena with a budget of some \$5 million.

There's more to it. PBS now broadcasts fewer programs critical of business. And it almost cancelled "Death of a Bureaucrat," a docudrama we found demeaning to our own friends.

The networks, however, habitually present a distorted image of our industry. Hiding behind the fairness doctrine, they don't even let us air issue-oriented commercials. We call this censorship.

So Mobil occasionally forms its own ad-hoc network, with no restrictions on educational commercials. About 80% of the stations that carried our new Edwardian series were network affiliates who defected. No wonder the networks are scared. We buy our way into the marketplace of ideas.

Mobil makes my money grow!

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Mobil is committed to making real estate a major part of our business.

As long as regulatory agencies, "windfall" profits taxes, and self-appointed public interest groups interfere with our petroleum operations, we see our future only in diversification.

Since 1973 we spent more than \$100 million on real estate. A condominium in Hong Kong housing 70,000 people led the way.

Mobil is confident that the 3,500 acres we bought in Reston, Va., outside of Washington, will prove to be as good an investment. And so will our projects in San Francisco, Texas and Georgia.

We promote Sailfish Point, our new golf and yachting development in Florida as "destined to be one of the world's most fashionable playgrounds for the wealthy."

We are as proud of Sailfish Point as we are of our tax-deductible contributions to the Boy Scouts.

Mobil makes my money grow!

REGISTERED: THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS
 AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE
 BY

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Mobil's increasing profits pose a public relations problem. In 1980 they rose from \$2 billion to over \$3 billion.

Naturally, we shareholders welcome such good news. But there is a hostile public out there, accusing us of rigging gas and heating oil prices, of polluting, and generally suspecting us of every crime in the book.

This is when our public relations people have to work overtime. In full-page ads Mobil shows how little of each sales dollar is retained as profit, and we worry about spending more than we earn.

But, of course, a good part of such expenses is already deducted when we report our profits. In fact, we usually have enough cash left to buy other companies.

People should learn that the business of business is profits. As Herb Schmeitz, our house philosopher, says: "I've never seen an excessive profit. I don't think I'd recognize one if I saw it."

Mobil makes my money grow!

AMERICAN BANK NOTE COMPANY

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0623

Mobil's South African subsidiary ran this ad in a leading Johannesburg business journal: "Everyone is conscious of South Africa's need for its own supply of crude oil - and Mobil is doing something about it.

Our refinery at Durban has a capacity of 100,000 barrels a day. We market 18% of all the oil in the country. With assets of \$426 million, we are indeed the largest U.S. investor in South Africa. A proud record.

To protect such a major investment, Mobil does everything to insure the stability of South Africa. Our Board argues: "The denial of supplies to the police and military forces of a host country is totally inconsistent with the image of good citizenship in that region." The signatures of its directors.

We are not deterred in this by objections from misguided church group, shareholders. However, to blunt attacks from Black Americans and to preserve our interests in Nigeria we sponsored a show of Nigerian Art at the Metropolitan Museum.

Gardner
Mobil makes my money grow!
TREASURER.

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On and off Mobil has had disagreements with Government agencies.

In 1979 we agreed to pay a total of \$32 million in refunds and \$550,000 in penalties to settle alleged overcharges for crude oil and natural gas.

And, in 1980, we settled our differences with the Council on Wage and Price Stability by foregoing \$30 million in price increases.

In the 1980 election, Mobil helped defeat our enemies in Congress. Under the Reagan Administration, free-market forces will play their natural role. We will finally have a chance to get a fair shake.

Less credence will be given to the Ralph Naders who have been accusing us of not investing our handsome profits in energy exploration. And nobody wants to listen any longer to warmed up charges that we had an effective tax rate of less than 15 percent.

The mobil majority is in ascendance. And we are with it.

Mobil makes my money grow!

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De oneindige dankbaarheid (Everlasting Gratitude), 1978

Beige wool crapet. 127 x 144 inches. Spray print in night blue and cobalt. Translation from Persian into Dutch in black frame under glass 15 1/2 x 80 inches.

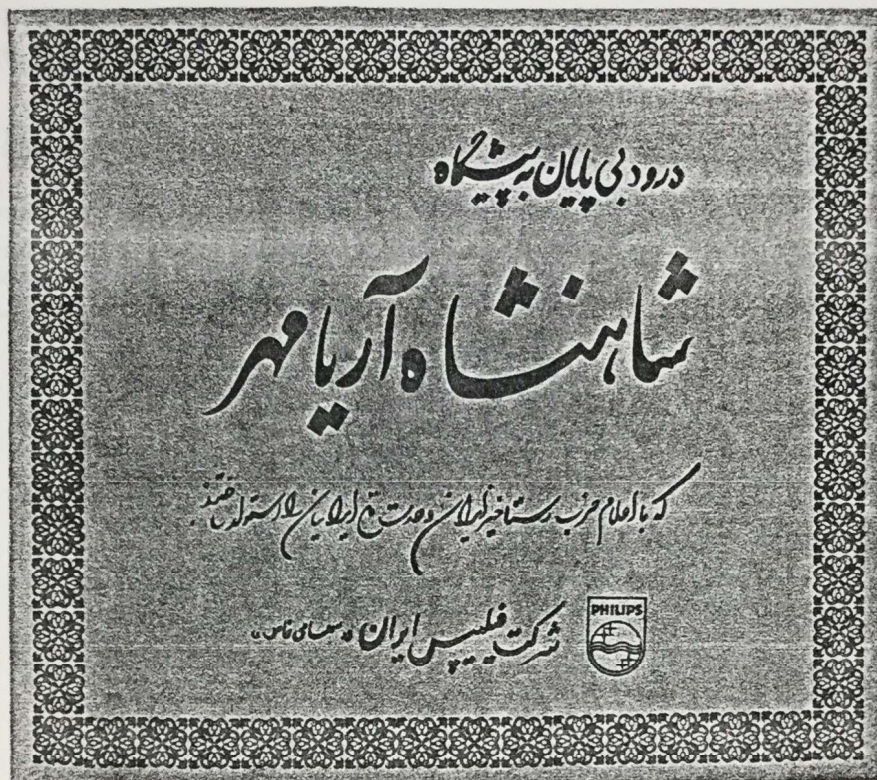
First exhibited in one-person show at Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, January 1979.

Philips, in terms of sales, is the fifth largest non-American, multinational, industrial corporation. With 383,900 (1977) employees it is surpassed worldwide only by General Motors, Ford and ITT.

Corporate headquarters are located in Eindhoven, Holland. In spite of the decline in the number of employees from 99,000 (1971) to 85,700 (1977) the company remains the largest private employer in Holland (during the same period the number of Philips employees in low wage countries rose significantly, notably in countries of the third world).

In Iran, Philips maintains production facilities and a sales organization. During the Shah's regime, the Iranian military received, among other materiél, 210 Tiger and Phantom fighter-planes, 16 Super Frelon helicopters and 1500 heavy Chieftain tanks equipped with radio-altimeters, UHF radios, and/or nightvision equipment from Philips. When the Shah left the country in January 1979, 12 vessels of the "Kaman" class with guided missile firepower were under construction for the Iranian Navy. Their missile guidance systems were produced by Hollandse Signaalapparaten BV in Hengelo, a Dutch subsidiary of Philips.

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Translation from Persian:

Philips of Iran expresses its everlasting gratitude to His Imperial Majesty, the Shah of Iran, who secured national unity by founding the Iranian Resurgence Party.

Advertisement in the Iranian newspaper Keyhan, March 5, 1975

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Toch denk ik, dat u mij niet de juiste motieven toeschrijft
(But I think you question my motives), 1978/79

Triptych of lightboxes in black formica. Left and right box
60 7/8 x 41 x 9 7/8 inches with black/white transparency. Center
box 79 3/4 x 54 x 11 3/4 inches with color transparency. Back-
ground to images and texts blue silkscreen printing.

First exhibited in one-person show at Stedelijk van Abbemuseum,
Eindhoven, January 1979.

Philips investments in South Africa amount to approx.
\$83 million. In a workforce of about 1900, Blacks,
Coloreds and Indians occupy predominately jobs for un-
trained or low-skilled work. Responding to the wishes
of the South African Government, Philips established
lamp manufacturing facilities in Rosslyn, at the border
to a bantustan. Philips dominates the South African
market for lightbulbs, radios, hi-fi-equipment, tape-
recorders and electrical appliances and has a sizable
share of the market for television sets. Moreover
Philips is active in telecommunications and sophisti-
cated electronics. Because of the low personal income
of the Black majority of the population and the wide-
spread lack of electricity in Black residential areas,
the possibility for an expansion of the market in con-
sumer electronics is limited.

The Mirage fighter-planes of the South African airforce
as well as its Alouette, Gazelle, Puma and Super Frelon
helicopters are guided by radio-altimeters and/or radar
equipment from Philips. Such fighter-planes and helicop-
ters have been on loan to or sold to Rhodesia by South
Africa. Philips also supplies the South African police
with radio equipment inspite of the UN military embargo.

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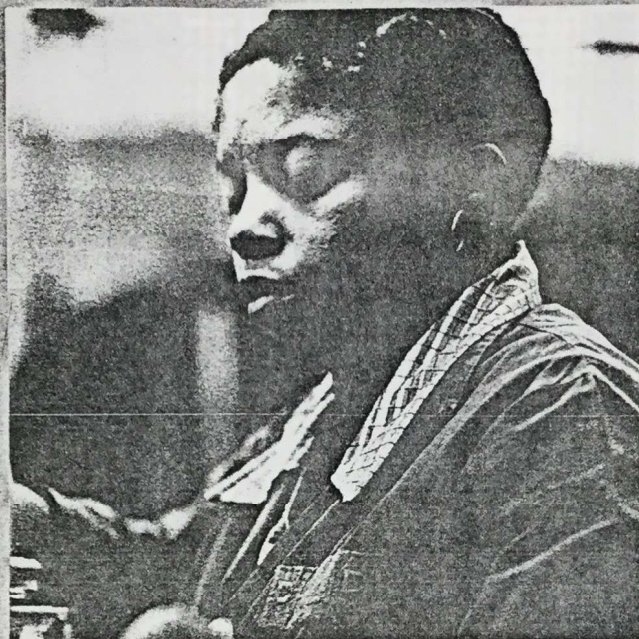


Foto: Geoff. Causton, Finances. Mail

Wij zijn zakenmensen en zoeken mogelijkheden om zaken te doen; dat is de enige factor die onze beslissing bepaald. Politieke overwegingen spelen daarbij geen rol.

Niemand helpt Zuid-Afrika tenzij hij er voor wordt betaald, en het is duidelijk dat u de know-how uit het buitenland nodig heeft.

Wij zijn hier en wij blijven hier.

Jan Timmer
Managing Director in Zuid-Afrika van Philips



We are businessmen and we look for business opportunities, which is the only factor governing our decisions. Political considerations don't come into it. Nobody is going to help South Africa unless he is paid for it, and obviously you need know-how from abroad. We are here to stay.

Jan Timmer, Managing Director in South Africa of Philips

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Toch denk ik, dat u mij niet de juiste motieven toeschrijft. U ziet in mij voor alles de man van het kapitaal. In werkelijkheid wil ik echter in de allereerste plaats dat de mensen de vrijheid hebben om zichzelf zoveel mogelijk te ontwikkelen, zelf kansen te scheppen, initiatieven te nemen en zelf daarvoor de verantwoordelijkheid te dragen.



Frits Philips in zijn autobiografie, 45 Years with Philips

But I think you question my motives. You see me just as a man of capital. However, above all I really would like people to have the freedom to develop themselves as much as possible, to create opportunities for themselves, to take initiatives and carry the responsibility for them.

Frits Philips, in his autobiography, 45 Years with Philips

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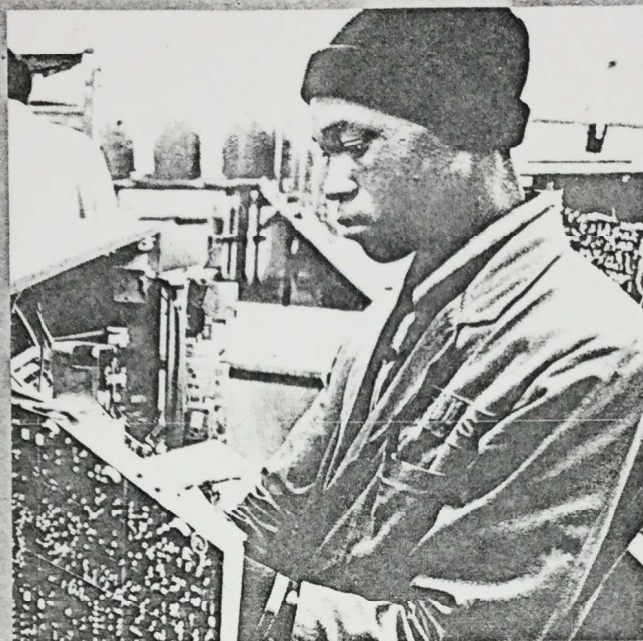


Foto: Geoff Coulson, Financial Mail

De werknemersraden zijn adviesorganen. Zij kunnen geen onderhandelingen voeren over minimum loon of arbeidscondities; in feite wordt er zelden over lonen gesproken.

De gemiddelde zwarte arbeider verdient 229 rand (fl.618) per maand.

De zwarten zijn uitgesloten van leergangen voor radio en TV technici door de Wet op de Nywerheidsversoening.

Financial Mail
Johannesburg, 22 juli 1977, supplement over Philips



The Employee Councils are advisory bodies. They are precluded from negotiating minimum wages or conditions of employment; and in fact wages are rarely discussed. The average Black worker earns R 229 a month. Blacks are excluded from apprentice training for radio and TV technicians by the Job Reservations Act.

Financial Mail, Johannesburg, July 29, 1977. Supplement on Philips

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4 works, 1978-79

Hans Haacke

John Weber Gallery

New York

May 1979

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Alcoa: We can't wait for tomorrow
1979. 9 x 192 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Mirror-polished aluminum letters on square
aluminum tubing.

The quote is taken from the Alcoa President's address to the
American Advertising Federation in Washington, June 13, 1977.

Pressed by an IRS investigation, the Aluminum Company of America
disclosed in 1976 that it had made \$166,000 in domestic political
contributions. It also admitted to \$348,300 in questionable pay-
ments abroad.

"We can't wait for tomorrow" is the current slogan used in Alcoa's
advertisements.

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Business could hold art exhibitions to tell its own story William B. Renner, President, Alcoa

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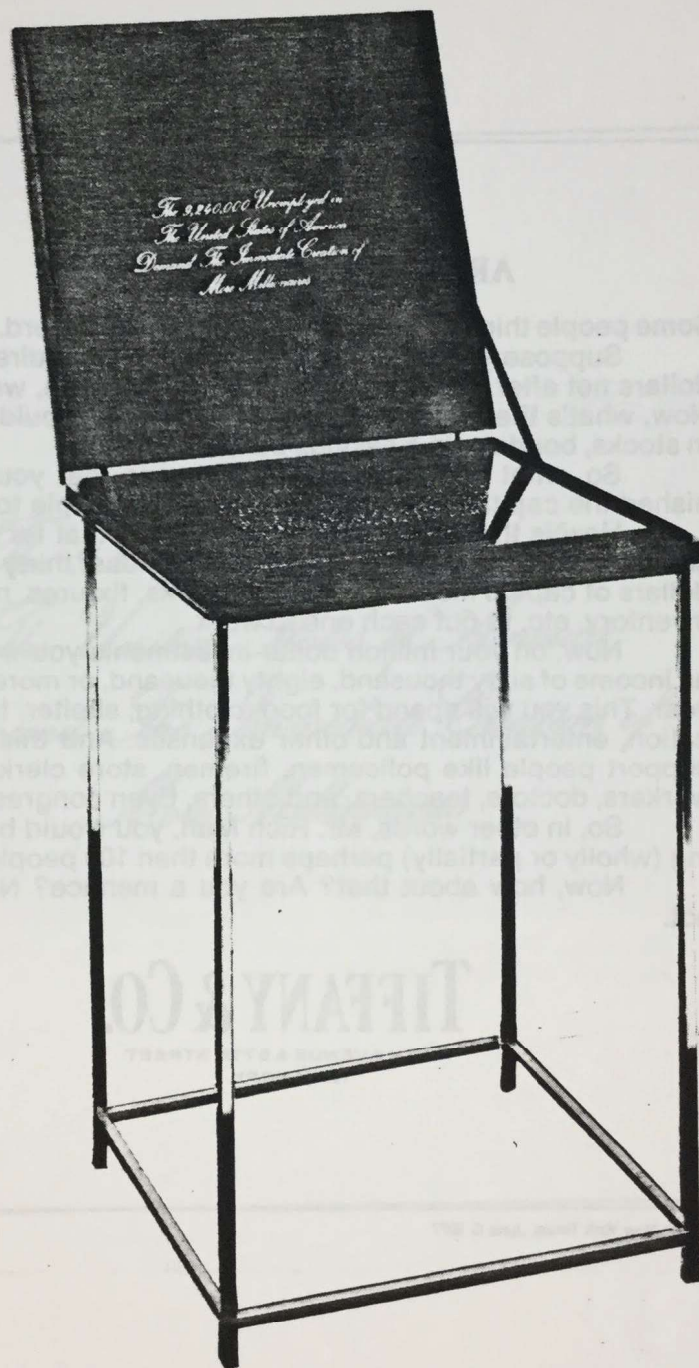
Tiffany Cares

1977-78. 32 3/4 x 22 x 22". Brass, silver-plated copper, wood, velvet, satin.

Tiffany & Co., the prominent New York purveyor of fine jewelry and silver, located on the corner of Fifth Avenue and 57th Street, with branch stores in San Francisco, Beverly Hills, Houston, Chicago and Atlanta, traditionally advertises its wares several times a week on the third page of The New York Times. Occasionally the space is used for editorial advertisements, which are said to be written by the company's chairman, Walter Hoving. He owns about 17% of the shares. Tiffany had sales of \$60 million in 1977. Net income was \$3.9 million. Avon Products, Inc. and Tiffany jointly announced in November 1978 that the cosmetics company will acquire Tiffany in exchange of stock valued at \$104 million.

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ARE THE RICH A MENACE?

Some people think they are, so let's look at the record.

Suppose you inherit, win or otherwise acquire a million dollars net after taxes. That would make you rich, wouldn't it? Now, what's the first thing you'd do? Invest it, wouldn't you?—in stocks, bonds or in a savings bank.

So, what does that mean? It means that you have furnished the capital required to put about 30 people to work.

How is that? National statistics show that for every person graduating from school or college, at least thirty thousand dollars of capital must be found for bricks, fixtures, machinery, inventory, etc. to put each one to work.

Now, on your million dollar investments you will receive an income of sixty thousand, eighty thousand, or more dollars a year. This you will spend for food, clothing, shelter, taxes, education, entertainment and other expenses. And this will help support people like policemen, firemen, store clerks, factory workers, doctors, teachers, and others. Even congressmen.

So, in other words, Mr. Rich Man, you would be supporting (wholly or partially) perhaps more than 100 people.

Now, how about that? Are you a menace? No, you are not.

TIFFANY & Co.

FIFTH AVENUE & 57TH STREET
NEW YORK

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*The 9,240,000 Unemployed in
The United States of America
Demand The Immediate Creation of
More Millionaires*

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Thank you, Paine Webber

1979. Diptych. Each panel 42 1/4 x 40 5/8". Mounted color photographs in black anodized aluminum frames under glass.

Edition: 2

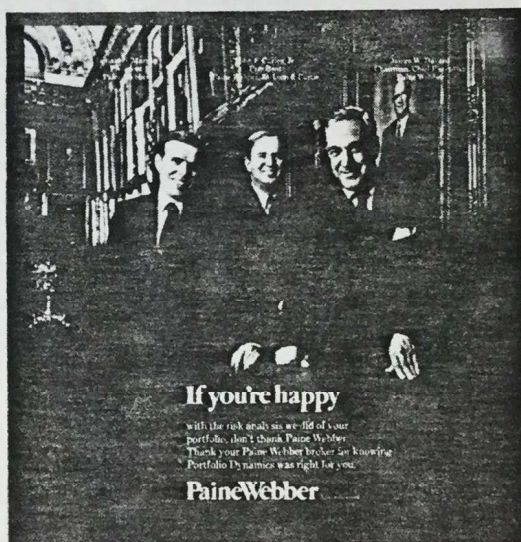
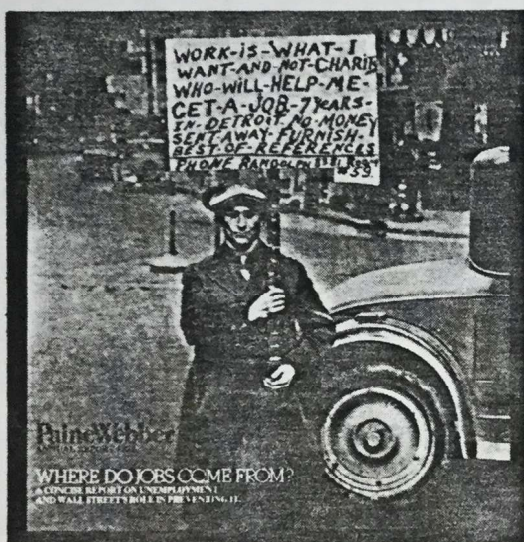
Paine Webber, one of New York's large brokerage firms, has used its annual reports of the past 3 years as vehicles to explain to stockholders and the public the workings of the economy from a neo-conservative point of view. Titles of the voluminous and richly illustrated essays were: "Who Needs Wall Street? - A Short Interpretative History of Investing in The United States" (1976); "Where Do Jobs Come From? - A Concise Report on Unemployment and Wall Street's Role in Preventing It" (1977); "Do You Really Want To Be Poor? - Paine Webber's Centennial Essay on The Future of American Capitalism"(1978).

The slogan "Thank you, Paine Webber", which was invented by the Marschalk Company, Paine Webber's advertising agency, has been used since 1976 in TV commercials, print advertisements, on balloons, and umbrellas.

Donald B. Marron. President of Paine Webber Inc., is a Trustee of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

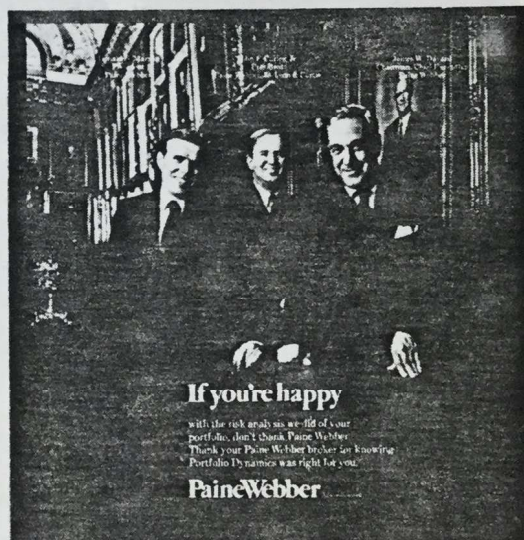
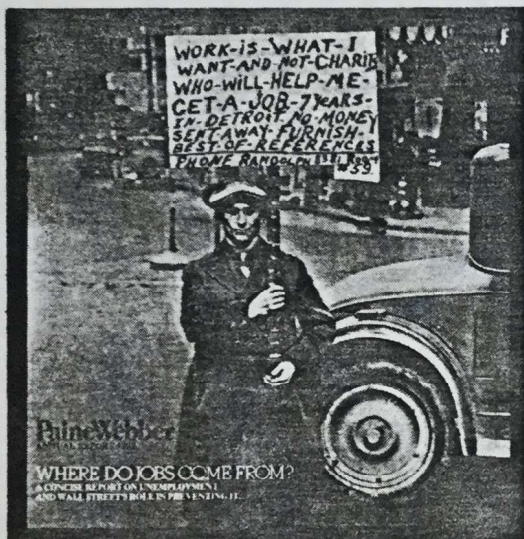
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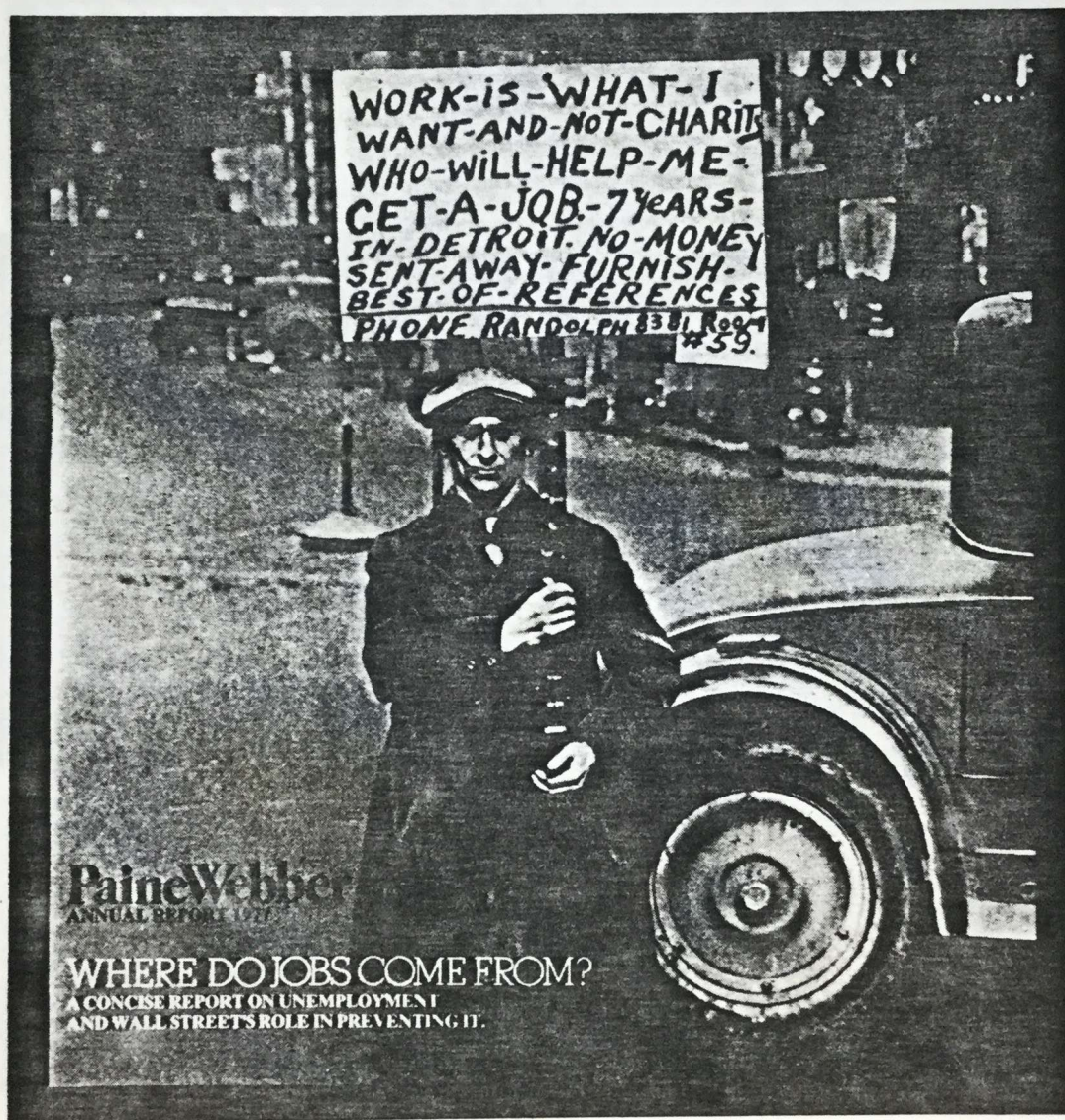
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Photo: Annual Report

Donald B. Marron
President
Paine Webber

John F. Curley, Jr.
President
Paine Webber, Jackson & Curtis

James W. Davant
Chairman, Chief Executive
Paine Webber

If you're happy

with the risk analysis we did of your
portfolio, don't thank Paine Webber.
Thank your Paine Webber broker for knowing
Portfolio Dynamics was right for you.

PaineWebber Advertisement

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The Right To Life

1979. 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Color photograph on 3-color silkscreen print, in brass frame under glass.

Silkscreen printing assisted by Day Gleeson.

Edition: 2

The Allied Chemical Corporation, like American Cyanamid, has required the sterilization of female employees of child-bearing age if they wanted to continue in certain jobs. Two women have undergone the operation there.

Other large chemical companies have also practised "protective discrimination", usually restricted to moving women of child-bearing age into often lower paying jobs within the company where they are not exposed to toxic substances. Reported among these companies are Dow Chemical, Monsanto, Du Pont, General Motors, Bunker Hill Smelting, St. Joseph Zinc, Eastman Kodak and Firestone Tire and Rubber.

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AMERICAN CYANAMID



AMERICAN CYANAMID is the parent of BRECK® Inc., maker of the shampoo which keeps the Breck Girl's hair clean, shining and beautiful.

AMERICAN CYANAMID does more for women. It knows: "We really don't run a health spa."

And therefore those of its female employees of child-bearing age who are exposed to toxic

substances are now given a choice.

They can be reassigned to a possibly lower paying job within the company. They can leave if there is no opening. Or they can have themselves sterilized and stay in their old job.

Four West Virginia women chose sterilization. AMERICAN CYANAMID...

Where Women have a Choice

Portrait of BRECK Girl by James Donnelly Text by Hans Hoacke. 1979.