

nada  
beroš

## hans haacke

borac protiv podmićivanja  
povijesti

a fighter against bribing  
history

▀ Hans Haacke, njemački konceptualni umjetnik sa stalnim boravkom u New Yorku, tijekom gotovo četiri desetljeća djelovanja priskrbio je sebi status "remetilačkog faktora" u svijetu suvremene umjetnosti. Premda umjetnici ne vole etikete, za Haackea se najčešće lijepi ona "političkog umjetnika". Doduše, i same su definicije političke umjetnosti, odnosno društveno-kritičke umjetnosti, podložne promjeni i variraju ovisno o društvenu kontekstu i vremenu u kojem nastaju. U svakom slučaju, Haackeov umjetnički angažman ima malo sličnosti s "političkom umjetnošću" na Istoču, a po mnogo čemu jedinstven je i u suvremenoj umjetnosti Zapada.

Bez obzira kojom su se brzinom i učestalošću mijenjale umjetničke mode na kraju prošlog stoljeća, Haacke je bio među rijetkim umjetnicima koji su ostali vjerni svojim početnim premisama: autonomija umjetnosti tek je modernistička floskula, a svaki umjetnički iskaz duboko je uronjen u ideologiju. Ne uklapajući se u postmodernu paradigmu "vječne promjene i nekoherentnosti", Haacke je za jedne bio primjerom anakronog modernista, dok je za druge ostao paradigmom nepotkuljivog avantgardista.

Borac protiv formalizma i *status quo*, često je uspijevao uzburkati ustajale umjetničke vode, ali i izazvati brojne polemike izvan uskih umjetničkih krugova. Paradox je u tome što je najčešća meta njegove kritike institucionalni sustav umjetnosti, drugim riječima muzeji i galerije, one iste institucije koje su ga načinile "zvijezdom" i koje ga, unatoč svemu, i dalje pozivaju da izlaže u njihovim prostorima. On te pozive prihvataća s jednostavnim obrazloženjem "da je oduvijek bio dio sistema i ne vidi načina da djeluje protiv sistema, ukoliko nije njegov dio".

Rođen u Kölnu 1936., diplomirao je na Umjetničkoj akademiji u Kasselju 1960. g. Godine 1960./61. boravi u Parizu kao DAAD stipendist u Hayterovu grafičkom atelijeru. Surađuje s grupom Zero u Düsseldorfu, gdje ga zanima predstavljanje prirodnih pojava. Godine 1961. Fullbrightov je stipendist u Philadelphiji, a od 1962. godine živi u New Yorku. Fasciniran zakonima fizike konstruirala tzv. kondenzirajuće kocke. Od 1963.-1965. živi u Njemačkoj. Akademske godine 1966./67. predaje na nekoliko američkih sveučilišta, a od 1967. predaje na jednoj od najuglednijih američkih umjetničkih akademija, Cooper Union School. Sudjelovao je na

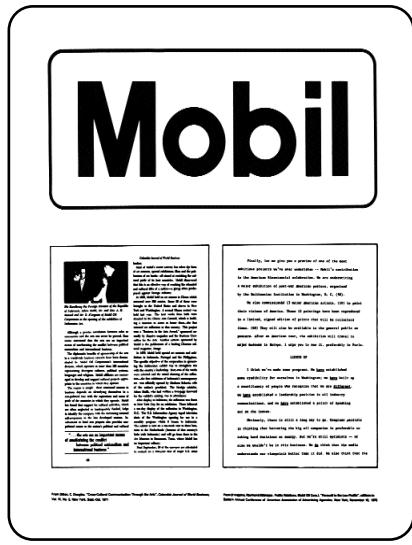
▀ Hans Haacke, the German conceptual artist permanently resident in New York, has in nearly four decades of his work acquired the status of a "disrupting factor" in the world of contemporary art. Although artists don't like being labeled, the label most often associated with Haacke is that of a "political artist". The definitions of political art and social-critical art are themselves subject to change, and vary according to the social context and the time when they are created. In any case, Haacke's political engagement has very little to do with the "political art" of the East, and is in many ways unique in the contemporary art of the West.

Regardless of the speed and rate of change in art trends at the end of the last century, Haacke was one of the few artists who lived up to their original premises. To him, autonomy of art is nothing but a modernist dogma, and every artistic expression is deeply immersed in an ideology. As he didn't fit into the postmodernist paradigm of the "constant change and incoherence", Haacke was for some an example of an anachronistic modernist, while remaining for others a paradigm of an incorruptible avant-garde artist.

A fighter against formalism and the *status quo*, he often succeeded in stirring stale artistic waters, but also provoked numerous discussions outside the narrow art community. Paradoxically enough, the most frequent target of his criticism was the institutional system of art, or in other words, the museums and galleries, which were the very same institutions that made him a star and which, in spite of everything, keep inviting him to exhibit in their spaces. He accepts these invitations by simply explaining that "he has always been a part of the system and that he doesn't see any other way to work against the system if he is not a part of it."

Born in Köln in 1936, he obtained his degree at the Art Academy in Kassel in 1960. In 1960/61 he spent a year in Paris as a DAAD scholar in S.W.Hayter's print studio. He worked with the *Group Zero* in Dusseldorf where he became interested in presenting natural phenomena. In 1961 he went to Philadelphia as a Fullbright scholar, and has been living in New York since 1962. Fascinated with the laws of physics he created the so-called Condensation Cubes. He lived in Germany from 1963

Budući da ne govorim i ne čitam hrvatski,  
a ne poznajem dovoljno ni društveno-političku  
situaciju u Jugoslaviji - ne mogu izvesti  
poseban rad za ovu izložbu u Zagrebu,  
kao što sam drugdje izveo radove primjerene  
specifičnim okolnostima. ★ Hans Haacke



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sl.2: H. Haacke, *Mobilization*, 1975.  
sl.3: H. Haacke, MoMA-Pool, 1970.



3

Documenti V, VII i X u Kasselju, a 1993. predstavlja je Njemačku na Venecijanskom Biennalu.

Početkom šezdesetih godina njegovi objekti poput *Condensation Cube* (1963.) proširuju tradicionalno poimanje skulpture. U njima Haacke gotovo znanstvenim parametrima propituje kako objekt reagira na okolinu, odnosno kako objekt utječe na promjenu okoliša. Od kraja šezdesetih godina pa sve do danas u fokusu Haackeova rada su društvo i njegovi mehanizmi moći te načini kako ih prokazati i destabilizirati. U seriji radova - fototekstova - oponašajući korporacijske reklame i njihove sloganе, Haacke razotkriva kako su ključni ljudi tih korporacija, često puta članovi počasnih odbora muzeja, povezani s eksploracijom Trećeg svijeta, s desničarima svih vrsta, s CIA-om... pokazujući kako se umjetnost

until 1965. In the academic year of 1966/67 he lectured at a number of American universities, and since 1967 he has been lecturing at one of the most prestigious American art schools, The Cooper Union. He participated in the Documenta V, VII, VIII and X in Kassel, and represented Germany at the Venice Biennale in 1993.

At the beginning of the 60's his objects, such as *Condensation Cube* (1963), added a new dimension to the traditional concept of sculpture. In them Haacke was using almost scientific parameters to question the reaction of an object to its environment or how a change in the environment is affected by an object. From the end of the 60's until today Haacke's work has been focused on the society and its power mechanisms. and the ways to

često sponzorira okrvavljenim dolarima. U povijesti provokacija u suvremenoj umjetnosti ostat će zabilježen njegov MoMA Poll iz 1970., „glasovanje“ o ne-povjerenju guverneru Rockfelleru zbog podrške Nixonovoj politici u Indokini, inače članu Počasnog odbora Muzeja moderne umjetnosti u New Yorku, u akciji održanoj na izložbi *Informacija* u dotičnom muzeju; slijedi otakzivanje samostalne izložbe u Muzeju Guggenheim 1971., u kojoj Haacke pedantno dokumentira vlasništvo tvrtke Shapolsky nad nekretninama na Manhattanu, kao i niz radova u kojima britko kritizira postulate na kojima počivaju glasovite tvrtke i njihovi poželjni proizvodi, poput Jaguara, Tiffanyja, Chase Manhattan Bank, Philip Morris, Mobila, Allied Chemicala i mnogi drugi.

*Germania*, goli zidovi i strojevima razrovan mramorni pod što pod koracima publike ispušta zastrašujuće zvukove, bez sumnje je jedan od najslavnijih Haackeovih radova u devedesetima. Tom instalacijom umjetnik tematizira ujedinjenje, rekonstrukciju i povijest Njemačke. Realizirao ju je u Njemačkom paviljonu na venecijanskom Bijenalnu 1993., i bio nagraden, zajedno s Nam June Paikom, za najbolji nacionalni paviljon.

Najnoviji „skandal“ zbio se na prošlogodišnjem Whitney bijenalu u New Yorku, a izazvala ga je Haackeova instalacija *Sanitation* (Čistoća), koja je „povrijedila“ njujorškog gradonačelnika Giulianija. Haackeov rad izazvao je veću medijsku pozornost nego cijelokupni Whitney bijenale 2000. Prije samog otvorenja, *da se Turcine dosjete*, gradonačelnik New Yorka, Rudolph Giuliani, poveo je kampanju protiv Haackea, optužujući ga da je svojim radom trivijalizirao holokaust.

A radilo se o tome da je Haacke u svojoj instalaciji doveo u neposrednu vezu Giulianijeve izjave u povodu kontroverzne izložbe *Sensation* u brooklynском muzeju, uspoređujući ih s nacističkim tretmanom moderne umjetnosti kao „degenerirane“ umjetnosti i kao smeća. U zamračenoj sobi Haacke je postavio 12 crnih plastičnih kanti za smeću iz kojih dopire zvuk vojničkog marširanja. Na zidu su američke zastave koje okružuju citati Giulianija i trojice drugih konzervativnih političara, ispisani goticom, pismom koje je na početku bilo vrlo omiljeno pismo nacista. Na podu je, posebnim reflektorom osvijetljen faksimil teksta Prvog amandmana

reveal and destabilize them. In a series of phototexts, which imitate corporate publicity materials and their slogans, Haacke reveals the involvement of the key people of these corporations, who are very often members of the Boards of Trustees of museums, in the exploitation of the Third World, with right-winger movements, with the CIA... thus demonstrating how art is very often sponsored by “blood-money”. The history of contemporary art provocations will remember his MoMA Poll from 1970, a “vote of no-confidence” in the governor Rockefeller for his support of Nixon’s politics in Indochina, in an action at the exhibition *Information* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York where Rockefeller was also a member of the Honorary Board. This was followed by the cancellation of his exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in 1971, in which Haacke meticulously documented the ownership of the Shapolsky group’s real estate properties in Manhattan. There is further a number of works in which he sharply criticized the postulates lying in the foundation of many famous companies and their desired products, such as Jaguar, Tiffany, Chase Manhattan Bank, Phillip Morris, Mobil, Allied Chemical and many others.

His *Germania*, consisting of bare walls and broken up marble floor which makes a terrifying noises under the feet of the viewer, is unquestionably the most famous of Haacke’s works of the 90’s. The issue that he is concerned with in this installation is the reunification the reconstruction and the history of Germany. It was realized in the German pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 1993 and was awarded, together with Nam June Paik, the best national pavilion.

The latest “scandal” happened at last year’s Whitney Biennale in New York, and was caused by Haacke’s installation *Sanitation*, which “hurt” the feelings of New York’s Mayor Rudolf Giuliani. Haacke’s work attracted more media attention than the whole Whitney Biennale 2000 itself. Before the opening, the Mayor of New York initiated a campaign against Haacke accusing him of trivializing the Holocaust with his work.

Controversy surrounded the fact that in his installation Haacke quoted Giuliani’s statements on the controversial exhibition *Sensation* at the Brooklyn museum, comparing them with the Nazis’ treatment of modern, art as “degenerated” art and as

američkog Ustava koji jamči slobodu govor... Haacke je instalaciju završio u posljednji tren, iznenadivši i samo osoblje Muzeja. Rad je podijelio i članove Upravnog odbora i nasljednike obitelji Whitney. Među ostalim apsurfarnim optužbama, tvrdilo se da njemu nije mjesto na Whitney bijenalu jer on nije američki umjetnik, budući da nikad nije za tražio američko državljanstvo, unatoč činjenici da tridesetak godina živi i radi u Americi!

Istodobno, su u Njemačkoj uslijedile polemike o Haackeovoj instalaciji za sjeverno unutrašnje dvorište zgrade Reichstaga u Berlinu, sa svijetlećim natpisom *Der Bevölkerung (Stanovništvo)*, koja će biti trajno sučeljena natpisu na pročelju s posvetom "Njemačkom narodu", čija poruka nedvojbeno kritizira njemački nacionalizam i ksenofobiјu, kako u prošlosti, tako i u sadašnjosti.

Razgovarala sam s Haackeom u njegovoj radnoj sobi u Cooper Union School koju je teško nazvati umjetničkim atelijerom. Skroman radni prostor odlično pristaje umjetniku koji se na sastanak dovezao biciklom. Dojam povučenog, diskretnog čovjeka posve je u suprotnosti sa žestinom njegovih radova i titulom "kovača skandala" koju mu pripisuju američki mediji. Na pitanje zašto je Cooper Union najprestižnija umjetnička akademija u Americi, bez imalo mistifikacije, lakonski je odgovorio: "Zato što je besplatna!"

U neformalnom razgovoru koji je pretvodio "pravom interviewu" što smo ga vodili u kafeteriji u susjedstvu Cooper Uniona bio je vrlo opušten, rado se prisjećajući svojeg rada na izložbi u Muzeju suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu, 1980. Međutim, od trenutka uključivanja diktafona nije me napuštala nelagoda kako ugrožavam mir i gostoprimstvo umjetnika, i nehoteći, pridružujući se "neprijateljskoj strani..."

■ ■ Vaš se cjelokupni rad temelji na ideji poticanja javne rasprave. Kad vaše djelo ne bi bilo u stanju provocirati snažne reakcije javnosti, pretpostavljam da bi ga se tada moglo nazvati promašajem. Vjerujem da ste itekako bili svjesni kako će reakcije na instalaciju *Cistoća*, predstavljenu na Whitney biennalu 2000, biti vrlo žestoke. Zanima me, međutim, jeste li očekivali da će one biti lansirane s posve suprotnih ideoloških pozicija, da će vas jedni, primjerice, optuživati za trivijalizaciju holokausta, a drugi za agit-prop?

garbage. In a darkened room Haacke put 12 black plastic garbage cans from which the sound of marching boots was coming. American flags on the wall were surrounded by Giuliani's quotations and the quotations from three other conservative politicians. These were written in the gothic script that was at the beginning much favored by the Nazis. A spotlight was directed on the floor where a facsimile of the First Amendment of the American Constitution granting the freedom of speech was lying. Haacke finished his installation at the very last moment. It divided the members of the Board of Trustees and the Whitney family. Among the other absurd accusations it was claimed that he didn't belong in the Whitney Biennale because he wasn't an American artist. He had never applied for American citizenship, in spite of the fact that he had been living and working in America for more than thirty years!

At about the same time discussions in Germany were taking place about Haacke's installation for the northern interior courtyard of the Reichstag building in Berlin. The inscription "To the German people" on the façade would be permanently faced in the courtyard by Haacke's neon sign proclaiming *Der Bevölkerung* (To the population), unquestionably criticizing German nationalism and xenophobia both in the past and present.

I talked to Haacke in his office, which can be hardly called a studio, at Cooper Union School. A modest working space suits very well the artist who rode to the meeting on a bicycle. The impression of a quiet, discreet person is in complete contrast with the intensity of his work and the label of a "trouble-maker", attributed to him by the American media. When asked why the Cooper Union was the most prestigious art school in America he, without any mystification, gave a laconic reply: "Because it is free!"

In an informal conversation proceeding the 'proper interview', which we conducted in a coffee bar, close to the Cooper Union, he was very relaxed and fondly remembered his work exhibited at the Museum of Contemporary art in Zagreb in 1980. However, as soon as I switched on my "recording device", I couldn't help feeling uneasy about disturbing the peace and hospitality of the artist and thus unwillingly taking the 'other', "enemy" side...



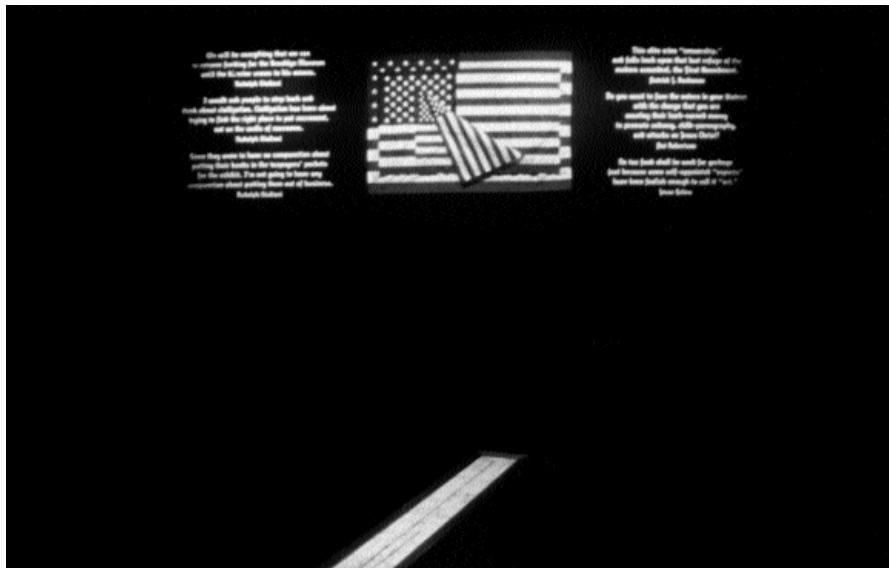
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Ne, nisam očekivao takve reakcije prije završetka samog rada i prije njegova postavljanja. Nisam mislio da će on postati predmet tako velike rasprave. A to se dogodilo zbog toga što je iz Muzeja Whitney procurila prijevremena informacija koju je iskoristio New York Times. Budući da se nalazimo usred izborne kampanje za Senat, gradonačelnik Giuliani i Hilary Clinton natječu se za jedno od dva senatska mesta u Državi New York. Gradonačelnik Giuliani je brzo reagirao, i moram reći lukavo, kako bi "otupio" moju kritiku njegova kršenja Ustava. Gradonačelnikovi ljudi našli su izvjesnu osobu koja je "skuhala" optužbu da sam trivijalizirao holokaust. (Abraham Foxman, član Lige za obranu ugleda i časti, u otvorenom pismu direktoru Muzeja Whitney, napisao je da taj rad "vrijeda uspomenu na šest milijuna Židova i drugih koje su ubili nacisti", op.a.).

I stoga što rad još uvijek nije bio izložen, morao sam se braniti. Tada su svi shvatili koliko je ta optužba smiješna. Ali šteta je bila učinjena.

● ● Your entire work is based on the idea of instigating public discourse. If it were not able to provoke strong feelings among the public I assume it could be easily considered as a failure. I believe you were strongly aware that the reactions to your installation *Sanitation* at the Whitney Biennial 2000 would be fierce. However, I am curious to know whether you expected them to be launched from quite opposite ideological stands - on the one hand you were accused for trivializing the Holocaust, on the other for the agit-prop...?

Well, I was not expecting that the work would become the subject of a big debate before it had been completed and before I had installed it. This is due to the fact that the Museum leaked information which reached the New York Times. Since we are in the middle of an election campaign - for the Senate, Mayor Giuliani and Hilary Clinton are running for one of the two Senate seats of the State of New York, he reacted very quickly, and I must say very shrewdly, to deflect my criticism of his violation of the constitution. The Mayor's people found somebody who cooked up this



sl.5: H. Haacke, Sanitation, 2000.

charge that I was trivializing the Holocaust. Because the work was not visible I was put on the defensive. Then everybody realized that this accusation was ridiculous. But the damage was done.

- ● The accusation for trivializing the Holocaust came before the opening of the exhibition?

Yes. The quotes were chosen two weeks before the opening. Nothing was in the Museum. I had not started installing it. I was still completing the work.

- ● I know that you finished the work at the last moment and, in a way, surprised the Whitney staff too, so that it was too late to change anything, but I didn't know that the accusations started before the opening. I've read the director's statement on the Internet. Max Anderson stood up for you but his statement seems to me a little bit confusing and ambiguous. I had the impression that he supported you as an artist and defended artistic freedom in general but did not stand up for the work itself. Have you had problems inside the Museum too?

No. I appreciated that he did not go so far as to say: "You can not show this!" I can give him credit for that. It's incredible that one has to give credit to the Museum for not censoring you, if you think about the implications... I am disappointed that he felt it necessary to disassociate himself from the work. That was uncalled for.

- ● But this is very American, I reckon. It's notorious that the private museums are very dependent on Boards and Trustees. They usually do not understand nor respect contemporary art, especially if its criticism is directed towards the society they represent. I've heard that Marylou Whitney, the widow of Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, has withdrawn her support from the Museum because it exhibited your installation at the Biennial?

In the process of that debate things got very mixed up. The people around the Mayor apparently got in touch with Marylou Whitney and her daughter. Marylou Whitney is a very conservative old lady and probably a sympathizer of the Republicans and in this case of Rudolph Giuliani. So, she said "*I will withdraw my support to the Whitney*". Marylou Whitney has given to the Museum every year not more than 5000 dollars. It didn't mean anything, really.

- ● Why doesn't anybody mention this publicly?

### ■ ■ Optužba o trivijalizaciji holokausta izrečena je prije samog otvorenja Biennala?

Da, citati su bili izabrani dva tjedna prije otvorenja. U to vrijeme još uvijek ničeg nije bilo u Muzeju. Još uvijek sam dovršavao rad.

■ ■ Poznato mi je da ste u posljednji trenutak završili rad i na neki način pomalo iznenadili i osoblje Muzeja, ali nisam znala da su optužbe krenule prije samog otvorenja. Pročitala sam na internetu izjavu direktora, Maxa Andersona, koji je "stao iza vas", ali mi se tekst čini pomalo dvosmislenim i zbumujućim. Imala sam dojam da on principijelno stoji iza vas kao umjetnika i brani slobodu umjetničkog govora, ali da zapravo ne podržava sâm rad. Jeste li imali problema i u samom Muzeju?

Ne. Cijenim činjenicu što direktor nije išao tako daleko i kazao: "*Vi ne možete izložiti taj rad.*" Mogu mu biti zahvalan na tome. Ali, kad malo razmislite o implikacijama, žalosno je ako morate zahvaljivati Muzeju zato što vas nije cenzurirao. Međutim, ono zbog čega sam razočaran činjenica je da se direktor javno distancira od djela. Nije bilo potrebe za tim.

■ ■ Meni se to čini jako "američkim". Poznato je kako su direktori privatnih muzeja ovisni o upravnim i počasnim odborima, sponzorima, koji ponajšeće nemaju previše razumijevanja za suvremenu umjetnost, pogotovo ako je ona kritična prema društvu koje oni reprezentiraju... Čula sam da je Marilou Whitney povukla svoju potporu Muzeju zbog izlaganja vašeg rada na Biennalu?

U tijeku te rasprave stvari su se jako zamrsile. Očito je kako su ljudi oko gradonačelnika stupili u kontakt s Marilou Whitney i njezinom kćeri. To je vrlo konzervativna osamdesetogodišnja gospoda koja, po svoj prilici, simpatizira republikance; i u ovom slučaju gradonačelnika Giulianija. Dakle, ona je rekla: "Povlačim svoju financijsku potporu Whitney muzeju." Marylou Whitney daje Muzeju godišnje ne više od 5000 dolara! A ta svota uistinu ništa ne znači.

**■ ■ Zašto taj podatak nije poznat javnosti!?**

Pročitao sam da će ona sada promijeniti svoju oporuku i darovati će svoj novac muzeju u gradiću Cody, država Wyoming. Cody je grad u Stjenjaku u kojem je rođen Buffalo Bill. Prepostavljam kako je to muzej kakve nalazimo na Zapadu, u kojem se sakupljaju predmeti iz prošlosti Zapada - tradicionalan, konzervativan... Puni je naziv tog muzeja Buffalo Bill Historical Center - on posjeduje četiri zbirke među kojima je i Whitney Gallery of Western Art, op.a.. Vjerujem da nju posebno ne zanima ono što radi Muzej Whitney u New Yorku.

**■ ■ Sad je staroj gospodi skandal oko vašeg rada dobro došao kao izlika za preusmjeravanje novca, zar ne?**

Vjerojatno. Međutim, dvije su druge članice Whitney obitelji, majka i kći, koje su vrlo aktivne u Odboru, za razliku od Marylou Whitney koja nije ni članica Odbora, stale u obranu mojeg rada i založile se da se on izloži. Flora Miller Biddle bila je citirana u tisku s riječima da sam ja važan umjetnik koji propituje socijalne teme...

**■ ■ Je li obitelj Whitney velika i moćna?**

Da, to je golema obitelj. Flora Miller Biddle još uvijek je vrlo aktivna u Odboru, kao i njezina kći. Prepostavljam da su angažirane u davanju i prikupljanju novca za Muzej...

**■ ■ Uspjeli ste, dakle, stvoriti raskol u obitelji Whitney!**

Tu su se pojavili naslovi na prvim stranicama - *Quitneys* (neprevodiva igra riječi: quit - dokinuti, skončati, otkazati - misli se na dokidanje finansijske potpore Marylou Whitney) to se odnosilo na Marylou Whitney i njezinu kći; zatim sljedeći dan, opet preko cijele stranice naslov: *Plemenska zavada u Whitney klanu*.

**■ ■ Promatrajući vašu instalaciju *Sanitation* (*Čistoća*) pomislila sam na rad američ-**

I've read that she will now change her will, and she will give her money to a museum in Cody, Wyoming. Cody is the town in the Rocky Mountains where Buffalo Bill was born and, well, I assume there is museum that collect objects of the Old West - traditional, conservative... (Haacke is referring to the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, "widely regarded as America's finest western museum featuring four collections under one roof, among them the Whitney Gallery of Western art"). I imagine that she was not particularly interested in what the Whitney in New York was doing.

**● ● Was the "scandal" about your work just a good excuse for the old lady to change the direction of her support?**

Probably. However, another member of the Whitney family and her daughter who is on the Board - Marylou Whitney is not on the Board - came out very strongly in favor of exhibiting my work. Flora Miller Biddle, the mother and a former Board member herself was quoted in the press saying that I am an important artist addressing critical social issues...

**● ● Is Whitney family a big one?**

Yes, this is a very big family. Flora Miller Biddle is still very active and so is her daughter on the Board. I assumed they are involved in giving and raising funds for the Museum.

**● ● So, you managed to divide the Whitneys too?**

Actually there were headlines on the front pages, "The Quitneys" - referring to Marylou Whitney and her daughter - and the next day, again a full page announcing: *Feud in the Whitney clan*.

**● ● While looking at your installation Sanitation, I thought of the work by Mierle Laderman Ukeles, who has been dealing with waste for years. In her probably the best known performance from 1979/8, which was entitled *Touch Sanitation*, she shook hands with every single man from NY Sanitation Department, 8500 people altogether. She found them on their working sites and while shaking their hands she pronounced the sentence: Thank you for keeping New York City alive. She tries to make waste and our attitude towards waste, visible while in your installation garbage stays in a dimly lit room...**

She deals with material garbage while I am dealing with a word used by the politicians in Washington and by Mayor Giuliani.

ke umjetnici Mierle Ukeles Laderman koja se godinama bavi smećem. Nakon velikog snježnog nevremena koje je zahvatilo New York 1979. ona se, u performansu koji je trajao gotovo godinu dana, pod nazivom *Touch Sanitation* (*Dodirni čistoću*, odnosno *čistače*), rukovala sa svim njujorškim čistačima, njih 8.500, koji su u kratkom roku očistili grad, potraživši ih na njihovu radnom mjestu, zahvalivši im riječima: "Hvala što New York održavate na životu." Smeće, i naš odnos prema smeću ona nastoji učiniti vidljivim, dok je u vašoj instalaciji smeće u mračnoj, tamnoj prostoriji...

Ona se bavi stvarnim smećem, dok mene zanima riječ kojom se koriste političari u Washingtonu i gradonačelnik Giuliani. Korijeni joj se mogu naći u prošlosti, kod nacista koji su nazivali smećem umjetnost koja im se nije svidala. To je termin koji se danas ponovno upotrebljava. I ja taj pojam sada doslovno rabim.

■ ■ Vi ste, dakle, metaforičan izraz vizualizirali doslovno?

Gradonačelnik Giuliani često kaže: "*To je bolesno, ovo je smeće...*" Takvi izrazi upućuju na to da nešto nezdravo, prljavo, nekakvo smeće... ugrožava javnost. Smeće treba negdje izolirati. U jednom od citata koje navodim u svojoj instalaciji Giuliani kaže: "*Civilizacija je pokušaj traženja pravog mesta na kojem se odlaže izmet, a to nisu zidovi muzeja.*"

■ ■ Vaša izložba koja se trebala održati u Muzeju Guggenheim davne 1971. godine, u kojoj ste kritički progovorili o vlasništvu nad nekretninama na Manhattanu, bila je otkazana u posljednji tren, a kustos koji vas je podržao dobio je otkaž. Dakle, postoji duga povijest "neprilika" koje radite etabliranim muzejima i njihovim odborima, kao što je i ova sada, u Whitneyu. Čula sam od njujorških znanaca da je bilo više osvrta na vaš rad nego na cijeli Whitney biennale te da su redovi novinara i snimatelja strpljivo čekali vašu izjavu...

Točno. Bilo je mnogo osvrta, ali većinom su to bili pogrešni ili neupućeni prikazi. I nisam zbog toga sretan. Uvijek se postavljalo jedno te isto pitanje - jesam li trivijalizirao holokaust ili nisam. A ja sam

It can be traced back to the Nazis who were calling art they did not like - garbage. That is the term that is used again today. And I took it literally.

● ● So you literally visualized this metaphoric expression?

Mayor Giuliani often says: "*This is sick, this is garbage...*" The implication is that something unhealthy, dirty, garbage is endangering the public. It must be taken away. As a matter of fact in one of his quotes Giuliani said: "*Civilization has been about trying to find the right place to put excrement, not on the walls of museums.*"

● ● Your show, scheduled for the Guggenheim Museum back in 1971, critically focused on real estate ownership in Manhattan, but was cancelled at the last moment while the curator, who stood up for you, was fired. You have a long "trouble-maker" career, if one considers the opinion of some of the most prominent American museums and their boards, like this one now in Whitney.

My New York friends told me that you had more mentions in the American press than the whole Whitney show and that reporters were queuing up to get your statement...

That's right. It got a lot of coverage. Most of it was factually wrong or uninformed, and I am not happy for that. There was always the question whether I trivialized the Holocaust or not. I wanted to focus on the violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution by the Mayor. In effect, this became a side issue or was totally ignored.

● ● It didn't help that you focused a light onto the floor with a wooden plaque and the quotation of the First Amendment...

The reception was preconditioned by the debate before the work could be examined.

● ● Knowing the fact that your wife and consequently your sons are Jews, I assume that of all the accusations you were faced with, the most painful was the one that you trivialized the Holocaust...

Until then, neither my wife nor I ever thought of talking about our background in public. This is the sick part of the whole story. Do I have to be connected to Jewish causes, either through my work or personal relations to recognize parallels between the



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svoj rad htio usredotočiti na kršenje Ustava, odnosno njegova Prvog amandmana od strane gradonačelnika Giulianija. A sada je to, kao praktična posljedica, postalo nevažno pitanje ili je bilo posve ignorirano.

■ ■ Nije pomoglo ni to što ste u toj mračnoj prostoriji svjetlo usmjerili upravo na pod, na dasku na kojoj je navod Prvog amandmana?

Recepacija djela bila je unaprijed uvjetovana kroz rasprave koje su započele prije nego je rad uopće bilo moguće vidjeti.

■ ■ Vjerujem da je od svih "kritika" za vas najmučnija baš ta da ste trivijalizirali holokaust, znajući da su vaša supruga, a prema tome i vaši sinovi, Židovi?

Sve do sada ni moja supruga ni ja, nismo nikada pomicali da je potrebno izjašnjavati se javno o svojim korijenima. Bolesno u cijeloj toj priči je ovo: Moram li ja uistinu biti povezan sa "židovskim pitanjem", bilo kroz umjetnički rad ili osobne, obiteljske veze, da prepoznam paralele između kršenja slobode govora u nacis-

violations of Freedom of Speech in Nazi Germany and the violation of the Constitution here? That logic I find absolutely reprehensible.

● ● These days your proposed installation for the Reichstag in Berlin caused many discussions in Germany. Could you please explain the core of that discussion and the controversies about it?

In my project I made reference to the inscription on the façade of the Reichstag building that was installed there in 1916 by the Kaiser Wilhelm I. It is a dedication "To the German People". The Kaiser needed enthusiasm for the war, and he needed the Parliament to sign off on war credits to carry on. It was the bribe, so to speak.

In the thirties, during the Nazi period, 113 members of the German Parliament, of the Reichstag, were stripped of German citizenship...

● ● Because of their Jewish origin, I suppose?

Many of them were Jewish but not all of them. 75 died in prison, or concentration camps and 8 committed suicide. They were



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sl.6: H. Haacke, projekt Der Bevölkerung za sjeverno predvorje zgrade Reichstaga / Der Bevölkerung project for the northern hall of Reichstag, Berlin, 1999. Foto i simulacija / Photo and simulation: B. Hesse

sl.7: H. Haacke, projekt Der Bevölkerung za sjeverno predvorje zgrade Reichstaga / Der Bevölkerung project for the northern hall of Reichstag, Berlin, 1999. Foto / Photo: U. Hesse

tičkoj Njemačkoj i kršenja Ustava ovdje? Takvu logiku smatram apsolutno neprihvativom.

■ ■ Ovih dana prozivaju vas i u Njemačkoj zbog instalacije koja će biti postavljena u Berlinu, u zgradi Reichstaga. Možete li objasniti o čemu se tu radi i zbog čega kontroverze oko tog rada?

U svom projektu referiram na natpis na pročelju zgrade. Taj je natpis postavljen 1916. godine, postavio ga je car Wilhelm II. On je posveta "njemačkom narodu". Potrebno je znati nešto o povijesnom kontekstu u kojem je nastao taj natpis. Car je morao pobuditi entuzijastične osjećaje spram rata i privoljeti parlament da potpiše izdvajanje novca koji mu je bio potreban za nastavak rata. Natpis je bio zahvala parlamentu kojeg je trebao. Bila je to neka vrst mita, da tako kažem... Ne znam je li to bilo prvo podmićivanje parlamenta, jer povijest malo govori o tome. U tridesetim godinama, u vrijeme nacizma, njemačko državljanstvo bilo je oduzeto sto i trinaestorici zastupnika.

■ ■ Zbog njihova židovskog porijekla, prepostavljam?

Mnogi su bili Židovi, ali ne svi. Sedamdeset petero je umrlo u zatvorima ili koncentracijskim logorima, osam je počinilo samoubojstvo... Oni više nisu smatrani Nijemcima. Tako da taj natpis nosi na sebi strašan povijesni teret. Za mnoge, u razdoblju nacizma, riječ VOLK imala je poživot opasno značenje. Korištena je za opravdanje totalnog etničkog čišćenja. Istočnonjemački režim još jednom je uzurpirao tu riječ: sve je bilo narodno - narodna vojska, narodna policija... Tako su dva prilično suprotstavljena režima opteretila taj natpis. Čak i danas možemo čitati u novinama, gotovo svakog tjedna, kako neonacisti u Njemačkoj napadaju ljudе na ulicama jer im oni ne izgledaju dovoljno njemački kako pale kuće u kojima žive stranci, sinagoge...

■ ■ Poznato mi je da su vaš spomenik u znak sjećanja na holokaust, podignut u Grazu 1988., uništili neonacisti. Čini li vam se da je neonacizam u porastu?

Danas je to vidljivije nego ranije. Definicija tko pripada, a tko ne pripada

no longer considered Germans. So, this inscription has a horrific historical baggage. For many, the word "Volk" had a life threatening meaning during the Nazi period. It was used as justification for wholesale "ethnic cleansing." The East German regime usurped it once again: everything was called Volk. The People's Army, the People's Police etc. So, two ideologically rather opposed regimes have burdened this inscription. Even today you read in the newspapers almost every week that people are assaulted in Germany by neo-Nazis because they don't look sufficiently German to them. Houses are burnt down where foreigners live, synagogues...

● ● Your Holocaust monument, installed in Graz in 1988, was destroyed by neo-nazis. Do you find that neo-nazism, rearing its ugly head again, shows a pertinent increase nowadays?

It is more visible today than before. The definition of who belongs and who does not belong to the German people is still a hot issue, and consequently, my proposal to add another dedication has caused a big debate. Indeed, some of the parliamentarians who participated in the debate, reported that they received lots of letters of a strictly nationalist tenor and full of xenophobia.

● ● What is the present situation with your installation? Did the parliamentarians start to bring the earth from their counties already?

It's too early for that. Once the physical frame is built - the box, the letters - then the next stage is the process of getting everybody to participate. I've heard that a lot of parliamentarians are already been thinking about where the earth should come from. Many discuss the locations with their constituents. It's not only about the participation of the parliamentarians but also about the participation of the people in their election district.

● ● Right now your position in American art and culture is questioned by the fact that you've never applied for American citizenship and consequently you have never become an American citizen, although you have been living and working in the States for more than thirty years. I must confess that the arguments that some of the critics employed to expel you from the Whitney

njemačkom narodu, još uvijek je vruća tema. A to, dakako, dovodi u pitanje moj prijedlog da se doda druga posveta i stoga je on prouzročio tako žestoke rasprave. Doista, neki zastupnici koji su sudjelovali u raspravi izvijestili su o tome da su dobili hrpe i hrpe pisama koja su vrlo nacionalistička, neonacionalistička, prepuna ksenofobije.

■ ■ ■ U kojoj je fazi sada taj vaš rad? Jesu li zastupnici već počeli donositi zemlju iz svojih okruga za vašu instalaciju?

Još je rano za to. Kada budu stvoreni fizički uvjeti, sanduk i slova, tada je sljedeći korak pridobivanje sviju za sudjelovanje. Čuo sam da su mnogi od njih već počeli razmišljati o tome iz kojeg kraja treba uzeti zemlju. Mnogi raspravljaju o mogućim lokacijama sa svojim biračima. Dakle, ne radi se samo o uključivanju zastupnika, nego i o uključivanju ljudi koje oni zastupaju.

■ ■ ■ Upravo se i sami sada nalazite usred diskusije o tome kojem narodu, odnosno umjetnosti, pripadate, jer unatoč činjenici što više od trideset godina živite i radite u Sjedinjenim Državama nikada niste zatražili američko državljanstvo. Moram priznati da su argumenti nekih vaših kritičara koji su tvrdili kako vama nema mjesta na Whitney biennalu, koji je posvećen američkoj umjetnosti, u najmanju ruku čudni.

Da, doista iznenađujuće. To se pitanje ranije nije postavljalo. Ono zapravo razotkriva ljude koji postavljaju pitanje o mome državljanstvu. Ujedno, ono implicira kako Ustav nije univerzalno primjenjiv, premda se Ustav zapravo odnosi na sve ljude koji žive u Sjedinjenim Državama - čak ga se i gradonačelnik Giuliani mora pridržavati. ▼

These questions and your answers are part of  
**DO YOU WANT BROADWAY VISITORS' PROFILE?**  
 a work in progress by Branka Račić at the John Weber Gallery, October 7 through 24, 1972

Please fill out this questionnaire and drop it into the box provided for this. Don't 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  Don't know

4) How old are you?  years

5) If elections were held today, for which presidential candidate would you vote? Mc Govern  Nixon  None  Don't know

6) In your opinion, are the interests of profit-oriented business usually compatible with the common good? Yes  No  Don't 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 ban YOUR child to integrate schools? Yes  No  Don't 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  Finch College Museum  Guggenheim Museum  Jewish Museum  Metropolitan Museum  Museum Of Modern Art  New York Cultural Center  Whitney Museum  All museums  None Of These Museums  Don't Know

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  Don't 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  Don't know

20) Do you consider yourself politically a conservative, liberal or radical? Conservative  Liberal  Radical  Don't 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.

Biennial "dedicated solely to the American art and artists" were, to say the least, very strange for me...

Yes, they were surprising. It has never been an issue before. To question me whether I am a citizen sheds light on the person who raises that question. It implies that this Constitution is not generally applicable, although the Constitution covers in fact everyone who lives in the United States - even Mayor Giuliani must uphold it. ●

prijevod / translation: Branka Žaja  
 Nada Beroš

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