

The Spectrum of Response: Postdemocratic Literacy at Thomas Hirschhorn's
"Gramsci Monument"

By

Mack Sjogren

B.A. University of Colorado, 1976 and 1981

M.A., University of Colorado, 1995

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Written by Mack Sjogren

Has been approved for the Department of Art and Art History

Kira van Lil

Claire Farago

Richard Saxton

Date _____

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we
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Sjogren, Mack (M.A., Art History)

The Spectrum of Response: Postdemocratic Literacy at Thomas Hirschhorn's "Gramsci Monument"

Thesis directed by Professor Kira van Lil

Thomas Hirschhorn's 2002 Bataille Monument came under some attack for improperly treating an ethnic neighborhood of Turkish-German people as an exotic other. Hirschhorn is said to have made the art world viewers from Documenta 11 feel like they were invading another's space. I will argue here that the evaluation of works like this, including Hirschhorn's recent Gramsci Monument (2013), needs to be informed by the artistic tradition of which the work is a part, and also by the cultural and social milieu in which the work takes place. Although the artistic tradition is so vast that any attempt to summarize or characterize it risks parody, it cannot be overlooked. Félix Guattari and Jacques Rancière are two who have theorized the contemporary cultural and social milieu in ways that bring out significant aspects of Hirschhorn's work. Rancière's concept of postdemocracy is particularly relevant for characterizing not only what Hirschhorn's art is doing, and trying to do, but also for conceptualizing a field of art in which Hirschhorn is but one contributor, with limitations which need to be investigated to more fully understand how they might be overcome.

Félix Guattari argues that contemporary culture is marked by a revalorisation of aesthetic experience, part of which is an emphasis on new subjectivity marked by nascent creativity. Postdemocracy, Rancière says, is marked by the collusion of governmental and economic forces to fully demarcate the people, so that there is no longer any place where they can make an appearance of their own. What is missing from the postdemocratic order is any sense of equality, so the *demos* as traditionally understood does not exist.

This presents a dilemma for art that has aspirations to be politically relevant and effective. If the *demos* does not exist within postdemocratic order, then the demands of the people stand little chance of being accepted. Any changes to the constitution of the people, when not socially engineered, tend to be readily subsumed, and catered to, by opportunistic market forces. The strategy employed by the countermonument works of art examined here is to place the locus of art within the audience, to make the audience of the work of art the place where the *demos* can and does exist. The artistic language of the countermonument, which has its roots in Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument to the Third International* and the fusion of art and life, has been established in large measure by the *Harburg Monument Against Fascism* (1986-1993), of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Through an emphasis on extended temporal process, a focus on the audience, and the use of a kind of transaction as the unit of art, it begins the development of a new kind of literacy. Here, and in Hirschhorn's "Gramsci Monument," the experience of equality becomes the foundation for a sustained collaboration in which this new stuttering literacy can be developed.

This art is not political in the sense of being in a dialectic with the established order. Instead the new literacy effectively alters some of the methods by which an order gets established, by which it is maintained, and by which it may be called into question. I believe this new voice is just beginning to be heard.

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Contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
1. From the ‘Empty Place’ of Democracy to the Streets of Lower Manhattan.....	3
I. The Rebuilding of Ground Zero	9
II. Feminizing History and Inverting the Gaze: Allyson Vieira’s “The Plural Present” (2013/4)	16
2. The Fusion of Art and Life	19
I. From the Side of Life: works by Vladimir Tatlin	22
II. From the Side of Art: works by Ilya Kabakov	23
3. The Shift from Space to Time: change through public transactions in the work of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz	29
I. The Public Transaction: early work of Jochen Gerz.....	31
II. The New Literacy: The Harburg Monument (1986-1993) of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz	33
4. The Machinic Interface of Systems of Value: Thomas Hirschhorn’s “Diachronic Pool” (2013).....	38
5. Antagonism, Amelioration and Ethico-Aesthetics: Bishop, Kester and Guattari	49
6. Equality, Postdemocracy and Ethico-Politics: works of Jeremy Deller and Thomas Hirschhorn.....	54
I. Interfaces to the Intersubjective: Jeremy Deller’s “The Battle of Orgreave” (2001)	58
II. The Call to Respond: Jeremy Deller’s “English Magic” (2013-4).....	62
III. Occupying and Evacuating the Public: Thomas Hirschhorn’s “Gramsci Monument” (2013)	64
IV. Radical Equality at the Gramsci Monument	72
V. The Shift to Space in Time.....	73
VI. The Artist and the Postdemocratic Audience.....	76
VII. The Voice and the Non-Exclusive Audience.....	79
Conclusion	84
Bibliography	85
Appendix.....	93
Figures.....	97

List of Figures

Figure 1. Photographs clockwise from top left of installation views of the Allegory of Charity, the Marquis de Lafayette statue, the George Washington statue, and the Abraham Lincoln statue, the *Homeless Projection, A Proposal for Union Square*. Photos: 49th Parallel, Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York, 1986. Reproduced in Deutsche, Rosalyn, et al. 2011. *Krzysztof Wodiczko*. London: Black Dog.

Figure 2. Daniel Libeskind design drawings for “Foundations of Memory.” Drawing: Daniel Libeskind. Reproduced in *What Ever Happened to Daniel Libeskind's Original WTC Freedom Tower Design Inhabitat New York City*. (<http://inhabitat.com/nyc/the-tower-that-could-have-been-daniel-libeskind-award-winning-wtc-design/>).

Figure 3. Michael Arad design drawing showing underground gallery for 9/11 Memorial. Drawing: Michael Arad. Reproduced in *The Effect of Moving 9-11 Names to Street Level - New York Times*. (http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/22/nyregion/22blocks.html?_r=0).

Figure 4. Photograph of 1 World Trade Center under construction. Photograph: Mack Sjogren, July 17, 2013.

Figure 5. Allyson Vieira, “The Plural Present” installation view at Swiss Institute, New York, 2014. Photo: Daniel Perez. Reproduced at *Allyson Vieira “The Plural Present” at Swiss Institute, New York - MOUSSE CONTEMPORARY ART MAGAZINE*. (<http://moussemagazine.it/allyson-vieira-swissinstitute/#sthash.ZRmua4kQ.dpuf>).

Figure 6. Photographs of Allyson Vieira, *Ups and Downs (Olympia) I & II* and *Beauty, Mirth and Abundance*. Installation view, Kunsthalle, Basel, Switzerland. Photographs: Mack Sjogren, October 24, 2013.

Figure 7. Photographs of Vladimir Tatlin, *Corner Counter-Relief*, 1914. Wood, metal, rope, fixtures, 71x118 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Reproduced in Tatlin, Vladimir Evgrafovich, and Simon Baier. 2012. *Tatlin: new art for a new world*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, page 71.

Figure 8. Photograph of Tatlin with assistant in front of the model of the *Monument to the Third International* in the workshop Material, Space, and Construction, Petrograd 1920. Photographer: Unknown. Reproduced in Tatlin, Vladimir Evgrafovich, and Simon Baier. 2012. *Tatlin: new art for a new world*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, page 113.

Figure 9. Photographs of installation view of Ilya Kabakov, *Blickst Du hinauf und liest die Worte... (Looking Up, Reading the Words...)*. Reproduced in *Contemporary sculpture. projects in münster, 1997 / edited by klaus bussman, kasper könig and florian matzner*. 1997. Ostfildern-Ruit : New York : Verlag Gerd Hatje, Distributed Art Publishers [distributor], page 239.

Figure 10. Photographs of Ilya Kabakov, *Monument to a Lost Glove*, Basel, Switzerland. Photographs: Mack Sjogren, October 23, 2013.

Figure 11. Photographs of installation view of Jochen Gerz, *Attenzione l'arte corrompe (Caution Art Corrupts)*, Florence, Italy, 1968. Reproduced in Gerz, Jochen. c1999. *Jochen gerz, res publica : The public works, 1968-1999* / [edited by museion, museum for modern art, bolzano]. Ostfildern : H. Cantz, pages 40-1.

Figure 12. Photographs of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument Against Fascism*, Harburg, Germany. Left: *The Harburg Monument Against War and Fascism and for Peace at its unveiling, 1986*. Photographer: Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Reproduced in Young, James Edward. 2000. *At memory's edge : After-images of the holocaust in contemporary art and architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, page 129. Right: Signing her name on the Harburg Monument, 1989. Reproduced at *cities squared art and public places - the visible and the invisible* (<http://citiessquared.blogspot.com/2013/05/art-and-public-places-visible-and.html>).

Figure 13. Photographs of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument Against Fascism*, Harburg, Germany. Left: *The Harburg monument after its seventh lowering, 1992*. Photographer: Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Right: Graffiti scrawl on Harburg's disappearing monument, 1989. Photographer: James E. Young. Reproduced in Young, James Edward. 2000. *At memory's edge : After-images of the holocaust in contemporary art and architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, page 136 and 132.

Figure 14. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (the splitters)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjögren, October 253, 2013.

Figure 15. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (Somali militant altar)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjögren, October 253, 2013.

Figure 16. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (the megaform)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjögren, October 253, 2013.

Figure 17. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *Battle of Orgreave*, 2001. Photograph: © Linda Nyland. Reproduced in Deller, Jeremy. 2001. *The English Civil War part II: personal accounts of the 1984-85 miner's strike*. [Great Britain]: Artangel.

Figure 18. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *Battle of Orgreave*, 2001. Photograph: © Martin Jenkinson. Reproduced at *Battle of Orgreave - Martin Jenkinson Photography* (<http://mjenkinsonphotography.co.uk/galleries/Artangel/>).

Figure 19. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *English Magic (showing 'I want to be invisible' mural)*, Venice, Italy, 2013. Reproduced at *Jeremy Deller's Venice Biennale exhibition to tour UK - News - Art Fund* (<http://www.artfund.org/news/2013/05/29/jeremy-dellers-venice-biennale-exhibition-to-tour-uk>).

Figure 20. Photograph of *Gramsci Monument (with portrait of philosopher Antonio Gramsci)*. Photographer: Lee Rosenbaum. Reproduced at *CultureGrrl Thomas Hirschhorn's Lively Gramsci Monument Brings Intellectual Gobbledygook to the Masses (with video)* (<https://www.artsjournal.com/culturegrrl/2013/07/thomas-hirschhorns-lively-gramsci-monument-brings-intellectual-gobbledygook-to-the-masses-with-video.html>).

Figure 21. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, Sculpture, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *SCULPTURE* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page29.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 22. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's *Gramsci Monument-Map*. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *THE MAP* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page44.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 23. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Art School July 19, 2013*, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *AS03* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page152.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 24. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Gramsci Theater July 22, 2013*, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *GT 04* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page162.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 25. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Open Microphone July 21, 2013*, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *OM03* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page159.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 26. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Open Microphone July 21, 2013*, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *OM03* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page159.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 27. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Gramsci exhibition objects*. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *OBJECTS* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page67.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 28. Thomas Hirschhorn, *Spectre of Evaluation*, (drawing also included on Gramsci Monument-Map). Reproduced at *Owl's Analysis Thomas Hirschhorn Spectre of Evaluation*. (<http://incommunism.blogspot.com/2009/06/thomas-hirschhorn-spectre-of-evaluation.html>).

Introduction

Thomas Hirschhorn's 2002 Bataille Monument came under some attack for improperly treating an ethnic neighborhood of Turkish-German people as an exotic other. Hirschhorn is said to have made the art world viewers from Documenta 11 "feel like hapless intruders."¹ I will argue here that the evaluation of works like this, including Hirschhorn's recent Gramsci Monument (2013), needs to be informed by the artistic tradition of which the work is a part, and also by the cultural and social milieu in which the work takes place. Although the artistic tradition is so vast that any attempt to summarize or characterize it risks parody, it cannot be overlooked. Félix Guattari and Jacques Rancière are two who have theorized the contemporary cultural and social milieu in ways that bring out significant aspects of Hirschhorn's work. Rancière's concept of postdemocracy is particularly relevant for characterizing not only what Hirschhorn's art is doing, and trying to do, but also for conceptualizing a field of art in which Hirschhorn is but one contributor.

Félix Guattari argues that contemporary culture is marked by a revalorisation of aesthetic experience, part of which is an emphasis on new subjectivity marked by nascent creativity. Guattari's aesthetic paradigm, which is not limited in any way to institutionalized art, he says has:

ethico-political implications because to speak of creation is to speak of the responsibility of the creative instance with regard to the thing created, reflection of the state of things, bifurcation beyond pre-established schemas, once again taking into account the fate of alterity in its extreme modalities. But this ethical choice no longer emanates from a transcendent enunciation, a code of law or a unique and all-powerful god. The genesis of enunciation is itself caught up in the movement of processual creation.²

¹ (Kester "The One" 61)

² (Guattari "Chaosmosis" 107)

While this describes well the ethico-political implications involved in the act of creation, it does not directly address the implications that arise in the viewer from the act of spectatorship. Those implications arise out of the specifics of the social milieu in which the spectator is placed. In the case of Hirschhorn's monuments that social milieu is close to what Jacques Rancière characterizes as postdemocracy. The utopia of postdemocracy, Rancière says, is:

the absolute removal of the sphere of appearance of the people. In it the community is continually presented to itself. In it the people are never again uneven, uncountable, or unrepresentable. They are always both totally present and totally absent at once. They are entirely caught in a structure of the visible where everything is on show and where there is thus no longer any place for appearance.³

What is missing from the postdemocratic order is any sense of equality, so the *demos* as traditionally understood does not exist.

This presents a dilemma for art that has aspirations to be politically relevant and effective. If the *demos* does not exist within postdemocratic order, then the demands of the people stand little chance of being accepted. Any changes to the constitution of the people, when not socially engineered, tend to be readily subsumed, and catered to, by opportunistic market forces. The strategy employed by the countermonument works of art examined here is to place the locus of art within the audience, to make the audience of the work of art the place where the *demos* can and does exist. The artistic language of the countermonument, which has its roots in Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument to the Third International* and the fusion of art and life, has been established in large measure by the *Harburg Monument Against Fascism* (1986-1993), of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Through an emphasis on extended temporal process, a focus on the audience, and the use of a kind of transaction as the unit of art, it begins the development of a new kind of literacy. Here, and in Hirschhorn's "Gramsci Monument," the experience of

³ (Rancière "Disagreement" 103)

equality becomes the foundation for a sustained collaboration in which this new stuttering literacy can be developed.

This art is not political in the sense of being in a dialectic with the established order. Instead the new literacy effectively alters some of the methods by which an order gets established, by which it is maintained, and by which it may be called into question. I believe this new voice is just beginning to be heard.

1. From the ‘Empty Place’ of Democracy to the Streets of Lower Manhattan

Two books, Rosalyn Deutsche’s *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (1996) and Jacques Rancière’s *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (1995, English translation 1999), mark a shift from democracy to postdemocracy in the 1990s. While art that functions according to the democratic principles that Deutsche describes has not gone away, there has been a surge in what might be called postdemocratic art, i.e. art that responds to the conditions and forces Rancière describes as those of postdemocracy. Jeremy Deller’s “The Battle of Orgreave” and Thomas Hirschhorn’s “Gramsci Monument” are examples here, responding to the collusion of governmental and economic interests that, in many ways, have appropriated power to themselves.

Deutsche’s *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* can be seen as an attempt to restore democratic principles to a Manhattan where those principles were coming under siege. Deutsche cites French philosopher Claude Lefort to establish the significant place that public space occupies in democracies. Lefort says that in a democracy “the locus of power becomes an empty place.”⁴ He writes:

⁴ (Lefort “Democracy” 17)

Democracy is instituted and sustained by the *dissolution of the markers of certainty*. It inaugurates a history in which people experience a fundamental indeterminacy as to the basis of power, law and knowledge, as to the basis of relations between *self* and *other*.⁵

The institutional apparatus of the democracy “prevents governments from appropriating power for their own ends, from incorporating it into themselves. The exercise of power is subject to the procedures of periodical redistributions. It represents the outcome of a controlled contest with permanent rules.”⁶ For Deutsche public space is Lefort’s empty place:

Linked to the image of an empty place, democracy is a concept capable of interrupting the dominant language of democracy that engulfs us today. But democracy retains the capacity continually to question power and put existing social orders into question only if we do not flee from the question—the unknowability of the social—that generates the public space at democracy’s heart.⁷

The danger Deutsche sees is that “democracy can be mobilized to compel acquiescence in new forms of subordination.”⁸ For Deutsche what is important is that public space is open to contestation and can effectively be appropriated by “those who have been rendered invisible” if they “make an appearance”⁹ in that space. In a more recent work, *Hiroshima After Iraq*, Deutsche says that for Lefort, after the French and American democratic revolutions, power now derived from “the people,”¹⁰ but the identity of the people is indeterminate and uncertain. “Precisely because the social order is uncertain, it is open to contestation, so what is recognized in public space is the legitimacy of debate about what is legitimate and what is illegitimate.”¹¹

In *Evictions* Deutsche shows how, in the case of the homeless produced in New York City in the 1980s and 1990s, governmental and corporate power in New York City threatened to effectively appropriate power unto itself. The development of Battery Park City and the

⁵ (Lefort “Democracy” 19)

⁶ (Lefort “Democracy” 17)

⁷ (Deutsche “Evictions” 274)

⁸ (Deutsche “Evictions” 275)

⁹ (Deutsche “Hiroshima” 64)

¹⁰ (Deutsche “Hiroshima” 63)

¹¹ (Deutsche “Hiroshima” 63)

redevelopment of Union Square were part of a series of moves that worked to displace long-term residents of Manhattan and produce homelessness. After excluding low-income residents from Battery Park City the developers then cast themselves as the helpers of the homeless by using some revenues to renovate apartments for low-income residents in other parts of the city. While the Battery Park City and Union Square projects were not officially veiled in secrecy, they are part of a large “cleaning up” of New York that often effectively concealed the measures being taken and which resulted in the marginalization and/or relocation of large numbers of residents. The example of Battery Park City, in particular, exposes the structural logic of a late capitalist enterprise that works by naturalizing the inevitability of invisible economic forces. Deutsche works to show that this so-called “inevitability” is actually produced by and through specific social relations.

The Battery Park City story began in May 1966 when Governor Rockefeller proposed it as part of a Lower Manhattan redevelopment plan, to include “14,000 apartments: 6,600 luxury, 6,000 middle-income, and 1,400 subsidized low-income units.”¹² The plan was meant to reconfigure the financial district to accommodate the needs of Manhattan’s growing large corporation-based white-collar population. On April 12, 1969 Mayor Lindsay and Rockefeller came up with a compromise plan of 19,000 apartments with only 1,266 for the poor and 5,000 for middle-income residents. By 1972 the demographics of Manhattan had changed to the point that Maynard Robinson noted that “the cost of ‘middle-income’ housing was such that its residents would be quite well off.”¹³ Also in that year changes were made to the Master Lease to permit the low-income housing portion of the project to be segregated rather than integrated into the whole. In 1979 a “fiscal crisis” provided the impetus to transfer the spatial resources of the

¹² (Deutsche “Evictions” 83)

¹³ (Deutsche “Evictions” 85)

project to the private sector. Also in 1979 “a new legal framework, financial scheme, and master design plan were adopted to ‘make something useful’ out of the site.”¹⁴ The new plan was designed to make Battery Park City look much like Manhattan’s other prestigious neighborhoods, to fit right in as if it had always been there. Because of the “fiscal crisis” the provisions for subsidized lower- income housing were dropped. “Fiscal crisis” was used as an excuse, when the diminishing number of blue-collar jobs in the city meant a reduced demand for lower-income workers. They became expendable, and many people became homeless. In 1986 provisions to meet the housing needs of the homeless were resurrected in the Housing New York Corporation, a state agency which would issue bonds backed by Battery Park City revenues to finance “the renovation of 1,850 apartments in Harlem and the South Bronx, with one-third of the units reserved for the homeless.”¹⁵ Deutsche notes that the cause of homelessness, the construction of high-income housing, was now being promoted as the cure.¹⁶

This can be regarded, up to a point, as simply politics and economics as usual. Democracy and capitalism have very often been somewhat at odds in America, with the tension between them seen as healthy and productive. Danger signs, however, can be seen here, first of all in the willingness to produce a homeless population, which is potentially destabilizing to capitalism. The renovation of about 600 apartments in Harlem and the South Bronx appears to have been a token gesture. Not only was this production naturalized as “inevitable,” but attempts were also made to effectively legislate the homeless population out of existence. Then Mayor Ed Koch attempted to exclude any and all homeless people from Grand Central Station by appealing to the “common sense” understanding of the proper public use of a transportation terminal. He would

¹⁴ (Deutsche “Evictions” 87)

¹⁵ (Deutsche “Evictions” 91)

¹⁶ (The exact quote from Deutsche “Evictions” is: “Since redevelopment, as part of broader restructuring, produces homelessness, no matter what palliatives are administered to mitigate and push out of sight its worst effects, we are being asked to believe that the housing crisis can be cured only by publicly encouraging its causes” (92))

have prohibited, if he had been able, any other use of that space by any segment of the public.¹⁷

Deutsche also talks about a group of citizens who took it upon themselves to protect a small park in New York City by locking it up at night so that nobody could use it. Public space must be defended, one might say, but those saying so have already decided who belongs to the public.

Deutsche advocates a kind of art that operates in the ‘empty place’ of democracy. She describes how, as part of the Union Square area redevelopment, drug dealers were systematically eliminated from Union Square (after which they relocated to Stuyvesant Square¹⁸). Union Square was beautified, appropriated for the purposes of redevelopment, with its public statues transformed into part of the project’s “reassuring illusions of a continuous and stable tradition symbolized by transcendent aesthetic forms.”¹⁹ For *The Homeless Projection* (Figure 1)

Wodiczko proposed projecting images on to the Union Square monuments of heroes of the American revolution and the Civil War (George Washington, Lafayette, and Abraham Lincoln), as well as on the “Allegory of Charity” monument of a mother and children. The projection, which would recast these heroic figures as homeless people, is an almost literal countermonument. For Deutsche, this new kind of art makes public space a contested place, effectively emptying it of its planned and sanitized meanings, and permitting an excluded portion of the population (the homeless but also anyone who may not share the desires of developers), to make an appearance there. They can be interpreted as advocating for the cause of the homeless, but here we can also see how the Union Square developers, as well as collaborating city officials, use the art and architecture to construct a meaning that serves their own ends. They involve the audience in ruminations about the role such monuments play in the construction of public consciousness, and show that the meaning we find in such monuments involves a “projection.”

¹⁷ (Deutsche “Evictions” 53-4)

¹⁸ (Deutsche “Evictions” 32)

¹⁹ (Deutsche “Evictions” 6)

Deutsche mentions that the work is “useless to those forces taking possession of Union Square in order to exploit it for profit.”²⁰ Here, in striving to avoid such exploitation, there is a link between this more democratic art and the postdemocratic art discussed later in this paper. A difference lies in the way the audience becomes involved in the work. Deutsche describes *The Homeless Projection* as “collaborative with its audience,”²¹ which is constructed in opposition to the developers. The works discussed later here put the onus on the audience, as the place where art is located and where change should occur.

In *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, French philosopher Jacques Rancière says that in today’s postdemocratic world exclusion has become another word for consensus. In “consensus democracy” no one is invisible, everyone appears, and so it has become impossible to make an appearance in anything but the most obvious way that affirms what everyone could already see. Rancière provides a history of democracy to back up his claim that consensus democracy is a contradiction in terms in which the meaning that democracy has come to have through the course of the history of the term has been lost. Although he provides historical justification for his analysis, Rancière’s thrust is forward-looking, preparing people for the challenges that are with us now and into the foreseeable future. Postdemocracy is, then, a term that exposes the hypocrisy of “consensus democracy.” It “is the government practice and conceptual legitimization of a democracy after the *demos*, a democracy that has eliminated the appearance, miscount, and dispute of the people and is thereby reducible to the sole interplay of state mechanisms and combinations of social energies and interests.”²² Here the dispute of the people becomes a kind of quaintly predictable, and often easily overcome, part of capital’s path. It can be used to preserve the illusion that democratic process is being followed.

²⁰ (Deutsche “Evictions” 6)

²¹ (Deutsche “Evictions” 6)

²² (Rancière “Disagreement” 102)

For Rancière “the absolute identification of politics with the management of capital is no longer the shameful secret hidden behind the ‘forms’ of democracy; it is the openly declared truth by which our governments acquire legitimacy.”²³ He is not the only one to describe this changed playing field, nor the only one to question how to formulate a solution to this problem of the totalization of the economic. David Harvey points out that the problem is confounded when hegemonic institutions promote the cause as the cure:

When the widely held belief takes hold (in part promoted within hegemonic institutions such as the media and the universities, themselves subjected to neoliberal pressures and market determinations) that the answers to global poverty and environmental degradation lie in the extension of market logics and private property arrangements (everything from ridiculously inefficient as well as inequalitarian carbon-trading regimes to microcredit institutions that shamelessly prey on the poor) then there is precious little critical basis left for struggling to construct a more globally just social order.²⁴

Indeed, Deutsche also admits that, seen from an economic perspective, the cause of the homeless may be lost: “Once the drive for profits thru capital accumulation and appropriation of rents is seen as the principle factor governing the provision and condition of housing, serious doubts arise as to whether the needs of low-income residents can ever be met.”²⁵ A tactic being taken by some recent art is to look for a solution elsewhere than in the economic, or indeed in any kind of top-down approach that partakes of social engineering.

I. The Rebuilding of Ground Zero

Postdemocracy, from a perspective taken from art produced in response to it, is the elimination, or at least extreme reduction, of the sense of equality from the public sphere. The rebuilding of the World Trade Center site serves as a case in point. Multiple parties, with

²³ (Rancière “Disagreement” 113)

²⁴ (Harvey in Smith “Uneven” ix)

²⁵ (Deutsche “Evictions” 180)

differing and sometimes contradictory perspectives, have felt that they should have a say in the rebuilding process. These have included survivors, city and state governments, the leaseholder of the land, Manhattanites, and, interestingly for this discussion, the general public. The events were so public and so impactful that the general public came to believe that it should have a say in what would become of the site. It was an event that deeply affected almost everyone. The rebuilding of the site is a story of how any sense of the voice of the people was eliminated, or else very much hemmed in and circumscribed.

As Elizabeth Greenspan points out, in her book *The Battle for Ground Zero*, there has been a deliberate effort by some parties to depoliticize or neutralize the site. The proposed “Freedom Center” was eliminated, largely because some thought it was too much of a political appropriation of the site.²⁶ The “Freedom Tower” has been turned into “1 World Trade Center.” The redesign of the 1 World Trade Center building has conflated American identity with corporate interests in a way that substantiates Rancière’s claims. The entire process of rebuilding has maintained the semblance of being democratic, a semblance in which the entire process is visible and only the visible can appear. Nothing that is unknown or unexpected has the opportunity to emerge. Indeed there is little available space for the public to make any kind of appearance, with the “9/11 Memorial” designed by Michael Arad and Peter Walker being the sole on-site, but again largely neutralized, exception to this rule.

In her introduction to *Battle for Ground Zero* Greenspan, a writer and urban anthropologist who teaches at Harvard University, says that it “is partly a story about owners and politicians sitting around tables in conference rooms,”²⁷ but it is also “a story about people in streets, public hearings, and living rooms voicing desires, demands, concerns, and beliefs—and occasionally

²⁶ (Greenspan devotes a chapter called “The Freedom Center” to how this unfolded. “The Battle” 131-44)

²⁷ (Greenspan “Battle” xiii)

garnering the attention of the influential men. It is a story about capitalism and democracy.”²⁸

The most democratic part of the process she describes is that of selecting an architect and a vision for the master rebuilding plan, culminating in the choice of Daniel Libeskind and “Foundations of Memory” (Figure 2). Libeskind, an American architect of Polish Jewish ancestry, had developed a reputation as the architect of the Jewish Museum in Berlin and the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester, England. Key parts of Libeskind’s master plan included the siting of a memorial in the footprints of the Twin Towers, the construction of a 1,776-foot high Freedom Tower that would echo the form of the Statue of Liberty, the winding arc of four office buildings, including the Freedom Tower, which would redefine the New York City skyline, and the restoration of the city streets in the 16 acre site.

If the choice of Libeskind represents the culmination of the most democratic part of the process, then the continued involvement of Larry Silverstein, the owner of the lease for the 16 acres, represents the height of the capitalist part of the process. It was Silverstein who announced plans to rebuild the WTC site barely a week after 9/11. Silverstein chose David Childs of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill to be his architect for the Freedom Tower which later came to be known as 1 World Trade Center. Childs, who has been described as the anti-Libeskind, has developed a reputation as a corporate architect. Power was gradually wrested from Libeskind, who ended up being the actual architect of none of the buildings at the site.

Yet also in the end Libeskind has returned to become something of an advocate and spokesperson for how the site was rebuilt. Some parts of his design did get implemented, including the 9/11 Memorial designed by Michael Arad and Peter Walker. Arad, a young Israeli-American architect, won the competition for the memorial with his “Reflecting Absence” design. Walker, a landscape architect, has worked with Arad on the design. This is the part of

²⁸ (Greenspan “Battle” xiii)

the site that best evidences the public's involvement in it. In an interview with Joshua Ellison, Arad describes his originary vision of a memorial on the Hudson River: "I was drawn to this idea of the water being shorn open, forming two square voids, two sort of empty vessels the water would flow into; they would never fill up."²⁹ Arad also says that he was making absence visible, that his aim was to "evoke a persistent absence, one that isn't erased by the passage of time."³⁰ The work is a memorial to those who lost their lives in the 9/11 attacks, and will be judged according to how well it works as a memorial. Although its enduring power is tied to those considerations, Arad and Walker's work also stands as an example of how a large segment of the public can make its desires public and have a say in public space. There is in Arad's visible absence a sense of loss that is a basis for community (Figure 3).³¹ But, as he says, beyond the loss there is also something that endures through the passage of time—a basic human characteristic that emerges out of the void.

The place where the struggle for power, and what is at stake therein, is most dramatic is in the redesign of 1 World Trade Center. Libeskind designed an office building that echoes the Statue of Liberty with its offset spire echoing the offset torch of Lady Liberty. His brilliant illustrations of the building in his master plan reveal a very graceful, twisting office building indeed. But it is still, after all, an office building. There was a contradiction already there in the master plan. The skyline was to belong to the public while corporate clients were measuring and paying for almost every cubic foot of space inside the buildings. Libeskind chose to emphasize the symbolic meaning of the building and the empathic beauty of the design, but in his design

²⁹ (Arad as quoted in Greenspan "Battle" 119)

³⁰ (Arad as quoted in Kamin "9/11" 4.1)

³¹ (In "The Inoperative Community" Jean-Luc Nancy elaborates on how loss is a basis of community, saying: "But the true consciousness of the loss of community is Christian," (10) and also "What this community has 'lost'—the immanence and the intimacy of a communion—is lost only in the sense that such a 'loss' is constitutive of 'community' itself." (12))

these things were in tension with the actual functioning of the building. Silverstein and Childs were more concerned with the economics of it as a Lower Manhattan office building. Childs's design eliminates tension and naturalizes the capitalist function.

The New York Police Department entered into the argument with concerns about the safety and security of the building, particularly as a possible terrorist target. This resulted in the redesign and reinforcement of the lower part of the building. Childs says that the need for this redesign forced him to remove any remaining twist from the office building, with the result that 1 World Trade Center now looks very much like any other office building (Figure 4), with the height of the main part of the building being that of one of the two Twin Towers. The spire on top still reaches to 1,776 feet, but in Childs's redesign it is not offset, so any resemblance to the Statue of Liberty, and any particular reference to democracy, is gone. The "empty place" of democracy, with its undetermined and uncertain outcome, could well have been symbolized by the offset spire, but, in Childs's redesign, it is replaced by a central spire that admits of no possibility of compromise or discussion. 1 World Trade Center now looks very much like a sign of the inevitability of corporate and economic power. Childs claims for the redesign that "the scheme has a simple, iconic form, much like that of the Washington Monument."³² Childs would seem to want his 1 World Trade Center to make corporate interests and the civic identity of Americans one and the same.

It should be noted that 1 World Trade Center has changed hands, apparently because it became economically unfeasible for private ownership. It is said to be "by far, the most expensive office building ever constructed in America,"³³ and the redesign to make it more safe and secure made it even more expensive. As a result of this, Larry Silverstein relinquished

³² (Gonchar "Controversial" 60)

³³ (Nocera "9/11's" 19)

control of the building, and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey now owns the building. Joe Nocera reports that, to pay for the building, “the Port Authority, with the complicity of Andrew Cuomo and Chris Christie, the governors of New York and New Jersey, who oversee the agency, approved a series of toll increases so onerous that by 2015, a typical commuter who uses the George Washington Bridge will have to pay \$62.50 a week to get to work.”³⁴ Furthermore, the offices of Cuomo and Christie tried to make the two governors “look like heroes” by persuading the Port Authority to accept lower increases than it had first proposed. There are shades of Battery Park City here. One can speculate how George Washington Bridge users might view the profile of 1 World Trade Center on the New York skyline.

Libeskind, for his part, now deemphasizes the importance of the Freedom Tower design and points to other aspects of the master plan as well as the rebuilding process as a whole:

I consider this really fundamental that New Yorkers responded and the master plan, and all the other people—the investors, the families of the victims, the different governors, the mayor, PATH train authorities, architects—came together with a consensus. That this is really not just business as usual and that it will be something attractive, that it will be something that will draw people with a meaning.³⁵

Both Libeskind and Greenspan see in the hodgepodge of architectural styles something of the spirit of New York, which includes both the spirit of capitalist competition and that of democratic process.³⁶ Joseph Giavannini, however, writes that the use of many different architects and architectural styles has put the “coherence of the ensemble”³⁷ at risk. Libeskind stretched credulity when he said that “he discerned Liberty’s torch in the sculptural enclosure planned for the antenna.”³⁸ Yet that sculptural sheath too was later dispensed with, in favor of “an exposed latticework

³⁴ (Nocera “9/11’s” 19, That is \$12.50 per day, but Nocera does not say exactly how much of an increase this is.)

³⁵ (Nessen “Q&A” 2)

³⁶ (see Greenspan “Daniel”)

³⁷ (Giovannini “Disappearing” 57)

³⁸ (Dunlap and Collins “Redesign” 2)

structure.”³⁹ It is hard not to notice how the *demos* that seemed to be making an appearance has been reined in and circumscribed along the way. The configuration of skyscrapers that are being built at the site is said now to resemble the original plan for the site that those involved in public meetings immediately rejected. Giovannini said: “now that Libeskind’s designs are evaporating, the site plan looks disturbingly similar to the one by New York firm Beyer Blinder Belle that was shouted down in a town-hall forum.”⁴⁰

The way the 9/11 Memorial has been effectively neutralized needs also to be interrogated. Nicolai Ouroussoff of the New York Times has been critical of the revisions to the design since very early on, saying in 2006: “The gutting of the memorial is only the latest step in a decision-making process that has virtually scorned the potential of architecture to address the magnitude of what happened on that day.”⁴¹ The underground viewing galleries have been eliminated, for cost reasons⁴²; the “bathtub wall” that is said to have saved lower Manhattan from complete inundation is barely visible, for safety reasons⁴³; Peter Walker’s landscaping tends to give the memorial the feel of a solemn city park; and the redesign of the rest of the site has turned the memorial into a small oasis within a lower Manhattan that is very much conducting business as usual. Michael Arad’s “visible absence” can still be found, and affect can be produced, but that affect has been muted and delimited so that its power to motivate change is effectively curtailed. The people that make an appearance at the 9/11 Memorial may indeed occupy an empty place, but the relationship of the people to the enduring part of this particular empty place is one that emphasizes a common ground at the expense

³⁹ (Dunlap “World” 3)

⁴⁰ (Giovannini “Disappearing” 57)

⁴¹ (Ouroussoff “The Ground” 6/22/2006)

⁴² (Ouroussoff “The Ground” 6/22/2006)

⁴³ (The recommendation to modify plans for preserving the slurry wall came in a cost reducing report led by New York developer Frank Sciamé. See Lubell “Proposed” 26. Later commentators justified the modification by saying that the slurry wall would be more likely to give way without more support. David W. Dunlap’s “For 9/11 Wall, a Little Support and a Permanent Place” of April 28, 2008 details the debate and the plans for reinforcing the wall and exposing only small sections.)

of any possible battleground. There is nothing unexpected or unknown that is allowed or encouraged to make an appearance.

In some ways the World Trade Center site is exceptional, because of the exceptional nature of what happened there, but its rebuilding exemplifies the way in which postdemocracy works. It is typical of postdemocracy—a current running through society of which the rebuilding is a part. One achievement Daniel Libeskind claims for his master plan for the World Trade Center site is that it restores public streets to the areas in between the tall office buildings.⁴⁴ The largely vacant public plaza of the old World Trade Center is being replaced by public streets that are presumed to become energetic and bustling. His comment actually betrays the limitations of architecture. The public streets are equally likely to be virtually deserted at night and on weekends, except perhaps for the queue at the memorial. What happens during the day may appear to be bustling, but the nature of the activity is likely to be largely determined by the corporate interests that dominate the area.

II. Feminizing History and Inverting the Gaze: Allyson Vieira's "The Plural Present" (2013/4)

The question for art, then, is how to address this situation. Allyson Vieira is one artist who has done so, in a relatively straightforward manner. Her "The Plural Present" (2013) is an installation of three works at the Kunsthalle Basel (2013), and at the Swiss Institute in New York (2013-4), one of which is "Site (40.7117°N, 74.0125°W, 05/03/2013, 15:14-15:39)," a video of the construction of 1 World Trade Center. Vieira, a young American artist living and working in New York, received her BFA from The Cooper Union in 2001 and her MFA from Bard College

⁴⁴ (see Needham "Daniel")

in 2009. In this work it is as if Vieira has decided to keep an eye on 1 World Trade Center, as it is being built, to effectively reverse the gaze and put the corporate builders under surveillance. Yet Vieira changes the nature of the gaze, and the gazer, as well. The video viewing room has been divided in two, with a small hole in the wall between the two, so that it is organized as a large ‘camera obscura’. In one room the “Freedom Tower” video is shown. In the other room can be seen, after one becomes adjusted to the dark, an inverted image of the video in the other room (Figure 5). “To invert an object is to deprive it of its significance.” Inversion refuses orientation. The juxtaposition of the inverted tower with the oriented tower is a lesson in undoing the habits of seeing, specifically those associated with the construction of a monumental office building.

“The Plural Present,” however, includes two more rooms that qualify and contextualize how the office tower, and its inversion, should be seen. In a small room next to the Freedom Tower video are two fairly small photographic compositions, called “Ups and Downs (Olympia) I & II,” hung on a large white wall (Figure 6). Here we have photographs of a Hellenic ruin, and their inversion. The ruins are so overgrown with vegetation that they are difficult to discern. The viewer must also make the effort to figure out that the photographs have been rotated 180 degrees and placed next to each other. Only after figuring out what we are looking at can we reflect that there is a process of growth and decay being depicted in both sets of photographs. The architecture is being slowly returned to nature as the vegetation grows over it. The ruins and their inversion are juxtaposed with the Freedom Tower and its inversion. In this context, the inversion of the site of the 1 World Trade Center, on 05/03/2013 from 15:14 to 15:39, becomes a brief intervention in a very long history of growth and decay, of meaning accruing and then falling back away again over time.

Both of these smaller exhibition rooms are reached only by going through the main hall of the exhibition space. In the work in the main hall, called “Beauty, Mirth, and Abundance” (Figure 6) Vieira takes a very familiar (to Western audiences) work of art, a Greek sculpture of the second century B.C. known as the “The Three Graces,” and defamiliarizes it. It is still recognizable in the demure bend of a leg or the attitude of an arm or the sway of a hip, aspects that have become very much a part of Western civilization. They are made up of perhaps discarded (though they appear new) shards of building materials. The modern building materials root us firmly in the present.

After bodily winding our way through the main hall, we go through the involuted and winding viewing process of “Ups and Downs (Olympia) I & II” and the 1 World Trade Center video and ‘camera obscura’. The only way out is to wind our way back through the main hall. The three graces of “Beauty, Mirth and Abundance” now serve to remind that these virtues have been constructed through their allegorical association with women. The three graces of “Beauty, Mirth and Abundance” might also now be compared to three Atlases who together hold up the weight of the world. They are part and parcel of how buildings get constructed, how they are used, and how they can also fall into ruin. Greenspan notes that “it was almost exclusively men” who decided how the World Trade Center site was to be rebuilt. Vieira says that women nonetheless have a say in how it is to mean.

Vieira unfortunately neglects to consider the place of the 9/11 Memorial in this. If Arad’s visible absence is something that endures through the passage of time, then Vieira should probably include at least a nod to it. Otherwise, despite her broad historical view, she risks making the exigencies of the political power struggle the only basis for action. Her feminist

view does offer a necessary corrective lens for part of the battle over ground zero, but to include only the building of skyscrapers at the site overlooks an important dimension of the site.

2. The Fusion of Art and Life

The idea of the fusion of art and life has been around at least since the time of Vladimir Tatlin. Tatlin's corner counter-reliefs and his "Monument to the Third International" (also known as "Tatlin's Tower") are among the first works recognized as fusing art and life. Leon Trotsky, who saw such art as "a schematic and utopian error"⁴⁵ when so much revolutionary activity still needed to be carried out, was nonetheless cogently perceptive about the art, of which he said it "is not a mirror, but a hammer: it does not reflect, it shapes."⁴⁶ Preferring more reflective art, Trotsky maintained that some historic vision was needed "to understand that between our present day economic and cultural poverty and the time of the fusion of art with life...more than one generation will have come and gone."⁴⁷

Trotsky's perspective on the fusion of art and life in Tatlin is taken from the side of life. That is to say that life is taken as the starting point and the infusion of art into life is a way of making life better. Art, which has often been placed in a realm apart, becomes liberated from those domains so it can have effects and consequences on many parts of life. The more unusual approach, shared by Ilya Kabakov and Thomas Hirschhorn, is to take art as the starting point and appropriate all of life into art. In Kabakov we find a motivation for this approach. Life has become so stultifying, and so resistant to art, that the so-called retreat into art becomes a valuable alternative. Kabakov chose a life as an unofficial artist even though "If I had continued only

⁴⁵ (Walsh "Vladimir Tatlin" 38)

⁴⁶ (Walsh "Vladimir Tatlin" 38)

⁴⁷ (Walsh "Vladimir Tatlin" 38)

making children's illustrations I would have made a great deal of money and risen up the official hierarchy."⁴⁸ Life as an unofficial artist meant, for one thing, that for about twenty-eight years there was a feeling that "at any moment somebody could come and take your work away or destroy it."⁴⁹ For twenty-eight years of Kabakov's life he produced children's books so fast that he would spend "only two and a half months a year doing this job." Here the approach is basically to transform life by incorporating it into art.

The result in both cases is a blurring of the boundary between the two. For Tatlin the blurring is the result of an action that breaks down the boundary. In Kabakov's case it is more an effect of creating an interface at that boundary through which they can be seen and treated as one. In today's "relational aesthetics" this distinction often does not seem particularly relevant. In Rirkrit Tiravanija's food pieces, for instance, there is a breaking down of a boundary, but the social interaction around the food can also take on the nature of an interface through which one can see how art invades life and vice versa. Certainly this factor of having it both ways pertains to the work of Jeremy Deller and Thomas Hirschhorn discussed later as well, but by emphasizing one side or the other one can bring out certain aspects that may need to be highlighted.

The fusion of art and life has not received much theoretical treatment. Certainly some of the work of M. M. Bakhtin is a valuable contribution. In "Relational Aesthetics" Nicolas Bourriaud pays particular attention to the work of Félix Guattari. Bourriaud recognizes Guattari, who is known for his collaborations with Gilles Deleuze on such works as "A Thousand Plateaus" and "Anti-Oedipus," as having his own distinct body of thought on the formation of subjectivity which has been (and continues to be) underappreciated. Guattari starts from the

⁴⁸ (Kabakov "Ilya" 14)

⁴⁹ (Kabakov "Ilya" 16)

assumption that art is part of life.⁵⁰ In “Chaosmosis” Guattari says that “The aesthetic power of feeling, although equal in principle with the other powers of thinking philosophically, knowing scientifically, acting politically, seems on the verge of occupying a privileged position within the collective Assemblages of enunciation of our era.”⁵¹ Guattari makes clear that he is not speaking of institutionalised art, to works of art as they are usually delimited, but to “a dimension of creation in a nascent state”⁵² which, far from representing weakness, has the power to “bring immaterial Universes into being.”⁵³ Guattari represents the condition, then, not so much as a fusion of art and life as an emergence and activation of a previously neglected or minimized dimension. It may be that the “institutionalisation” of art is precisely the mechanism by which this dimension was previously minimized. Although the institution of art impedes the fusion of art and life, it also works to prevent a too hasty abolition of artistic practice—a censorship, an iconoclasm, or a tyranny. As long as this thing called art sustains itself, each work of art produced, says Guattari, “possesses a double finality: to insert itself into a social network which will either appropriate or reject it, and to celebrate, once again, the Universe of art as such, precisely because it is always in danger of collapsing.”⁵⁴ The appropriation or rejection may be uneven, and occur over some time. The danger of collapse can be averted by the artist by the creation of a work that demonstrates that the distinction is still useful.

Thus the fusion of art and life is balanced by something as prosaic as the state of language at a particular moment in time. The word “art” exists, and has a certain conventional

⁵⁰ (Bourriaud says that for Guattari art “was a form of living matter rather than a category of thought, and this difference informs the very spirit of his philosophical undertaking.” “Relational” 86)

⁵¹ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 101)

⁵² (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 102)

⁵³ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 102)

⁵⁴ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 130)

usage, which corresponds to a certain limit at which discourse about the matter takes place. At some point, however, one has to set discourse aside and look at the works of art.

I. From the Side of Life: works by Vladimir Tatlin

Vladimir Tatlin's corner counter-reliefs, constructed before the revolution of 1918, are often seen as a progenitor of post-revolution Constructivist art. Although often considered the father of the Russian Constructivists, Tatlin wrote that he "applies art to technology" while the Constructivists "apply technology mechanically to art." That is to say that the Constructivists take art as a pre-established, functional category. Tatlin regards it more as a force to be used and applied.

Tatlin creates a space "that is both real and part of the imagination." The "Corner Counter-Relief" (1915) (Figure 7) that Martyn Chalk reconstructs uses iron, wood, steel, wire, cord, pulleys, etc. Materials are used not to depict something else but instead, as Gian Casper Bott puts it, they "win back their primeval autonomy." In Tatlin, as in Hirschhorn, the use of "lowly" materials in the immediate space of the viewer creates an atmosphere of equality and integrity. In Tatlin these materials are put in "movement, tension, and the interrelationship between the two," as if to signify the revolution that is underway. For the first time, sculpture is taken off the pedestal and put in real space, the space of life, where it becomes an installation.

The "Monument to the Third International" (Figure 8), the work for which Tatlin is best known, is a monument to the revolution that Trotsky and others felt had only just begun. The work, which has only ever existed as a model, contains within it a cyclical-time-based model for how representative government should work to stay in tune with the needs of the people, i.e. to

become permanent. “The lowest cube, accommodating conference halls and meeting rooms, would revolve on its axis once a year; the middle pyramid, housing executive offices, once a month; and the upper cylinder, the information station, featuring telegraph and radio, would turn on its axis once a day.” His monument is conceived as a way of bringing the revolution into harmony with the natural cycles of the earth and the sun. By laying open the materials and methods of its own construction, it gives its audience a tactile foundation from which they can tune their bodies to its rhythms. The cosmos supports a revolution that is in tune with it, so people can fulfill the revolution and become in tune with the cosmos at the same time. Making such an idea part of permanent architecture, however, is problematic because it tends to institutionalize a specific relationship between natural cycles and the proper destiny of humankind, a relationship that it is difficult to guarantee will always hold. The monument, probably fortunately, was never made a part of permanent architecture, and so has served as an inspiration to succeeding generations of artists wishing to capture some of the revolution by fusing art and life.

II. From the Side of Art: works by Ilya Kabakov

Ilya Kabakov, a Soviet-born American conceptual artist, lived and worked in Moscow for 30 years until the late 1980s, where he became known as one of the Moscow Conceptualists. He has continued a successful artistic career with wife Emilia since moving to the West in 1987 and settling in Long Island, New York in 1992. He is probably best-known for his large-scale installations that often draw on his Soviet experience.

In Kabakov the so-called retreat into art turns out to be not a retreat at all. It afforded him the opportunity to express not a solipsistic romanticism, but instead a “unity with banal everyday life.”⁵⁵ In his installations he often seems to appropriate the entire everyday world into his art. The works chosen here, however, are atypical, positioning the viewer to see what it means to bring the world into art. They are situated in public places, where they are accessible to almost anyone, but their audience is those people who would take time to experience them. They situate the viewer on the dividing line between life and art, on the art side looking out, so that viewers can see the change that comes over life when it becomes part of the material of art.

Kabakov’s “Monument to a Lost Glove” was first displayed in Lyon, France in 1996 at the time and near the site of the G7 summit. In 1997 it was displayed on a sidewalk in New York, near the Flatiron Building, a few blocks from Union Square. In 1998 it was permanently installed near the Museum für Gegenwartskunst in Basel, Switzerland. It consists of a small, red, plastic glove surrounded at some distance by nine stands and placards. Each placard (with English, French, German, and Russian on each Basel placard) gives the poetic response of a different person to the glove. They range from expressions of loneliness, of nostalgic longing, suspicion, disgust at city garbage removal, to waxing poetic about the human condition, to joy at discovery, to dismay at the number of people on the street. The poetic texts are modified slightly to fit the particularities of the installation. For instance, the Basel monument includes reference to the Rhine River flowing nearby, beyond a street and a sidewalk frequented by joggers, pedestrians, and people pushing strollers. In New York the languages used are modified to English, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese.

The work came at about the same time as his “Looking Up, Reading the Words...” (Figure 9), which was installed in a park for the “Skulptur. Projekte in Münster 1997” and has become a

⁵⁵ (Kabakov “Ilya” 14)

permanent installation. In some ways the work complements his “Monument to a Lost Glove.”

Kabakov describes the Münster work as follows:

In an open place, not far from a river where the slightly hilly shore in the summer is covered with grass and where there are not too many people around, a metal construction is erected which is similar in appearance to a radio antenna that gives and receives signals. When the viewer approaches closer to it and looks at it from bottom to top, he notices with surprise how barely visible letters that combine into words are arranged between the ‘feelers’ of the antennas. If you muster your attention, you can read an entire text: “My Dear One! You are lying in the grass, with your head thrown back, there is no one around you, and only the sound of the wind can be heard and you look up into the open sky—there, up above, is the blue sky and the clouds floating by—perhaps this is the very best thing that you have ever done or seen in your life.”⁵⁶

Ingeborg Hoesterey reports that the passage on Kabakov’s antenna “is identified on a paratextual item, an exhibition paper bag, as Goethe’s.”⁵⁷ It certainly sounds like something from *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Surprisingly, it is nowhere to be found in that text. “The Russian artist pastiched the German poet of poets by means of feigned quotation to exhibit our image of his textuality.”⁵⁸ Although we think we are receiving a message from Goethe, the message is actually constructed out of our relationship to our past. We become aware, as it were, of that part of ourselves that is made of Goethe and his particular kind of romanticism. It constructs a quite unromantic, or at least distanced, relationship to that romanticism.

Remember, however, that this occurs while the viewer is straining to keep the words in focus against the sky. The work seems to expect a viewer who will return after searching *Werther* for the passage, to once again take a position on the ground, aligned with the text, gazing up to focus and sustain attention, in the right way, on the thin wires hovering in the sky. The work “functions as an unusual kind of *interface* between a sender and a receiver.”⁵⁹ Ursula

⁵⁶ (Kabakov “Installations” volume II 213)

⁵⁷ (Hoesterey “Pastiche” 90)

⁵⁸ (Hoesterey “Pastiche” 90)

⁵⁹ (Tomas “The Threshold” 186)

Seibold-Bultmann says that here “the possibility of epiphany through nature is bound up with a memory of the unfragmented Romantic self, even if such a retrieval here does not mean a simple reinstatement.”⁶⁰ Gregg Horowitz, referring to the large-scale installations, suggests that Kabakov cultivates loss, because the loss produces a privation that the artist then transcends, by directing outward, while remaining grounded.⁶¹ In “Looking Up, Reading the Words...,” however, the longing supposedly embodied in the words of Goethe turns out to have no basis but a certain relationship to the past. We long for what we never had, but the intensity of the longing, which here is also bound up in a desire to read the words, sustains an interface through which some message can be received. It should be noted that the message received bears little resemblance to the literal meaning of the words. Instead, it hinges on a difference between the two.

“Monument to a Lost Glove” (Figure 10) extends this sense of precarious communication to a link between individual human beings. The work has nine distinct poetic messages, each having a persona distinct from that of the artist and each responding to the same event, the spotting of a lost glove which the viewer now shares in perceiving. As viewers read the messages, they participate in the poetry of another person’s soul. And they do so in the presence of those members of the people passing by and through that section of the banks of the Rhine on that day. Verse numbers given here refer to the English-language texts, included in the Appendix, on the placards of the Basel installation, moving from left to right. The sequence hinges on the dramatic, and perhaps traumatic, event contained in verse IV. A crime occurred

⁶⁰ (Seibold-Bultmann “New” 210)

⁶¹ (In Hegel, says Horowitz, it is only by transcending that privation that the artist is then “capable of representing what has been lost.” In Kabakov, however, the longing is not motivated by a desire to represent the lost loved object, but, says Horowitz, to “unlock the longing” which, lacking any object, becomes “a reproach to the conditions that have made it necessary.” Horowitz, however, is referring primarily to Kabakov’s large-scale installations that mimic Soviet conditions.)

some two months previously, the meaning of which, it seems, might be endlessly deferred, and yet the author is determined to find that meaning. The preceding three verses set the stage for the explosion of verse IV. Verse I establishes the art context for the work, a context that is always open to negotiation and questioning. Verse II calls attention to the immediate surroundings of this particular installation. The third verse brings in love, with its happiness and grief, and with the glove as the object that becomes the bearer of those emotions. The succeeding verses V through VIII read as laments or complaints about the loss of meaning in the world. Verse V laments the lost world of the Impressionists. Verse VI complains about the lack of public cleanliness. Verse VII laments lost love and loneliness; verse VIII the loss of authenticity. Verse IX returns us to a sense of order, but with a sense of transformation as well. The world has changed. The woman author was happy then, before all this change, but she is also happy now recalling the memories of her youth. He comes back with “a large yellow rose in the other hand” in the authorial present. For Kabakov, and for male viewers, she is surely an ‘other’, but we can identify with her and the way she constructs meaning.

Each placard then reads as a product of an individual history, as revealed in a particular poetic voice. Each person has some secret longing built up through a certain relationship to the past. The force that turns that longing into poetry is what has come to be known as art. At the interface between life and art but uniting them there is again a message being delivered. The artist himself is like such an interface, or rather like part of the medium that serves as one.

The weakness of the work lies in the glove itself—a red plastic glove that does not seem capable of meaning quite so much to so many different people. It has to be a bit generic, so that it does not embody any one particular person’s history, but it comes off as a bit too ordinary, too much culled from the everyday run of life. The red color brightens it up, but the plastic material,

though useful for preservation purposes, drags it down. A lost hat, with its connotations of the soul, might have served better, but risks becoming too precious. It needs to have personal meaning, but not too much—something of value that one would not lose, except regrettably in the haste of the moment—there!

Although the work can be transported to different sites, the specificities of the site are part of what and how meaning gets constructed. Kabakov, in talking about the work, makes an appeal to a lost tradition of personal poetry written in response to events of the day. In the shadow of the G7 summit, this mood of melancholy for lost grace takes on additional meaning. On the busy sidewalks of New York City, within a few blocks of Union Square, near the Flatiron Building, it might call up various lost periods from New York's past. Basel near the Rhine is perhaps closer to that lost refinement for which Kabakov longs, that genteel world to which he still can hearken.

The countermonument artists discussed below, who put the focus more directly on the audience, do not generally rely on such a world to fuel their art. There is some new more chaotic energy source, to which Guattari seems to be attuned. In both of the works discussed here, Kabakov uses space and distance to set up the parameters of his art. The Münster work uses the space between viewer and antenna, and between viewer and sky. The Basel piece uses the space between the stanchions on which the text is placed to interrupt any sense of continuous narrative, and to set up a space between viewer and textual subject that gets echoed in the space between the art work and the general public passing by. The artists below shift to an emphasis on time and temporal process, but the ideas of interface and of breaking down boundaries still apply.

In "Chaosmosis" Guattari describes two modalities of the folding of infinity in the new aesthetic paradigm. First, "an initial chaosmic folding consists in making the powers of chaos

co-exist with those of the highest complexity.”⁶² Secondly, an interface is installed, “between the sensible finitude of existential Territories and the trans-sensible infinitude of the Universes of reference bound to them.”⁶³ Already we see this aesthetics being described in largely temporal terms, not referring to spatial characteristics. The chaosmic folding captures the energy which the interface processually sublimates into art. Before looking at works that take this on, however, we need to investigate some of the roots of how the locus of art becomes placed in the audience.

3. The Shift from Space to Time: change through public transactions in the work of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz

From 1981-1989 Richard Serra’s *Tilted Arc* tested the limits of what art could do through direct action in a governmentally sanctioned public space.⁶⁴ More recently artists have instead made the audience the locus of the work of public art by focusing more on the temporal dimension. Jochen Gerz has been involved in the development of two very different strategies for handling the time in which an audience makes itself public. One strategy, which I call the momentary public transaction, can be seen in early work of Jochen Gerz beginning in the 1960s. This early work, particularly “Caution Art Corrupts,” exposes some problematic aspects of permanent art, i.e. it either wears out its welcome, as with *Tilted Arc*, or else it loses its impact or, as Gerz puts it, it corrupts. The other strategy, in which a new literacy begins to be seen, comes to the fore in the “Harburg Monument” which Gerz did in collaboration with Esther

⁶² (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 110)

⁶³ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 111)

⁶⁴ (Deutsche has written about this work saying that *The Destruction of Tilted Arc: Documents*, which defended *Tilted Arc*, “abandons public art discourse as a site of struggle over the meaning of democracy.” “Evictions” 267. Instead it emphasized the rights of the artist. I would say that in this case what is happening in the artistic tradition discourse, i.e. the shift from space to time, is actually more relevant than what is happening in the contemporary social milieu.)

Shalev-Gerz from 1986-1993.⁶⁵ This latter strategy has continued to be developed by the other artists considered here, Deller and Hirschhorn, with the more momentary strategy often included within the more extended temporal framework that is needed for this new literacy. The Gerzes' "Harburg Monument," which kept its audience engaged for over seven years, used collective memory to support this longer duration, a method also employed in Deller's Battle of Orgreave. Hirschhorn's "Gramsci Monument" relied largely on the ongoing presence of the artist for the duration of its run.

The momentary public transaction is summed up by Marion Hohlfeldt as follows: "A space has no existence until someone completes it, or as Jochen Gerz puts it: the visitor visits him/herself."⁶⁶ Hohlfeldt cites Michel de Certeau in "The Practice of Everyday Life" saying that "he tells us that a place (*lieu*) becomes a space (*espace*) by virtue of the occurrence of a transaction, a movement, an interactive process."⁶⁷ Yet Certeau is actually more interested in actions, rather than the sorts of transactions we see in Gerz, saying that "A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables."⁶⁸ These actions, or movements, are the physical coordinates of "narrated adventures, simultaneously producing geographies of actions and drifting into the commonplaces of an order."⁶⁹ In these early works

⁶⁵ (Both Lefort and Deutsche emphasize the contested nature of public space which can be threatened by totalizing forces. They tend to insist on the uncertain identity of the people. Near the end of "Hiroshima After Iraq" Deutsche presents Levinas's "face of the other" as a non-totalizing basis for social interaction (see pages 65-8). The "face of the other" is an experience of equality that does not so much constitute identity as motivate the enterprise of creating meaning together. She says that "the face cries out for *inadequate* vision, which is to say, response." ⁶⁷ The book concludes by saying "Showing how representation fails in the presence of the face-of-the-other, the *Hiroshima Projection* (by Wodiczko) also facilitated the emergence of a public sphere in which the appearance of others is prized because, questioning the social order, it keeps democracy from disappearing. This activity is crucial at a historical moment when the rhetoric of security, which justifies both continuous war and the suspension of democratic politics, is still threatening to engulf us." ⁷⁰ Thus Deutsche has moved to address issues of postdemocracy. In this context my argument is that she does not sufficiently emphasize the need to include other kinds of responses and other aspects of polyphonic subjectivity in this effort of both resistance and growth.)

⁶⁶ (Hohlfeldt "Caution" 11)

⁶⁷ (Hohlfeldt "Caution" 11)

⁶⁸ (Certeau "The Practice" 117)

⁶⁹ (Certeau "The Practice" 116)

Gerz is going a step further, intervening in those stories to inflect them, to call upon the visitor to visit him/herself. In effect, he calls upon the visitor to engage in a *dérive*,⁷⁰ to abandon the routine space and recreate it. The transaction involved is one which calls upon the audience member to engage in fusing art and life in a public setting.

I. The Public Transaction: early work of Jochen Gerz

The early works of Jochen Gerz, a German artist who moved to Paris, France in 1966, earned him a reputation as a conceptual artist. “Caution Art Corrupts” (1968) and “The Book of Gestures” (1969) use a kind of prick of the moment to encourage a certain audience to make an appearance. The audience in question, in these works, may not have even realized they had become invisible. Although for many the year 1968 was the beginning of the end of something, for Jochen Gerz it was, for one thing, the year that “he started his projects in public spaces, which he called *pièces* (in the sense of ‘theater pieces’) because passers-by could become actors in them.”⁷¹ For “Caution Art Corrupts” (Figure 11) Gerz placed a small sticker saying “Attenzione L’Arte Corrompe” at various locations in Florence, Italy including on the copy of Michelangelo’s “David” outside the Palazzo Vecchio on Signoria Square. He repeated the work in Basel in 1969, in German (“Achtung Kunst korrumpiert”). The sticker acts as a small interruption, or prick, in the daily lives of passers-by, one which inaugurates a temporal process of some finite duration. Gerz is interested in the zone between image and text, between the statue seen in the public plaza and the text that seems to indicate what that statue means. The

⁷⁰ (*Dérive* is a term coined by the Situationist International, a French revolutionary group of the 1950s and 1960s led by Guy Debord. Debord wrote “Theory of the *Dérive*” in 1956. It was conceived as part of psychogeography, i.e. as a way of occupying urban space physically and psychologically so as to produce a revolutionarily authentic experience.)

⁷¹ (Schmidt “Jochen” 16)

text that he chooses is one that has a certain prick to it, enough to interrupt and arrest the attention.

Art, which is habitually thought to be uplifting and among the noblest expressions of the human spirit, is said instead to be a corrupting influence. Hans-Peter Schwarz says that “Art corrupts if it only refers to art, withdraws itself from the present, from life.”⁷² Hohlfeldt says: “Without active participation—without being completed and reflected upon—the work becomes a lifeless landmark: a simple signal that announces the name of a place, and which itself is consigned to non-visibility.”⁷³ Art corrupts if it gets taken for granted, if it becomes a mere marker of the official ownership of the square and an intimidation of resistance. Yet it takes a relatively small gesture to demonstrate resistance and effectively assert ownership of art. The audience here becomes the place of incorruption, and of the renewal of the connection of art with life.

For “The Book of Gestures” Gerz distributed small cards with a text printed on them around the streets in the center of Heidelberg. Later in 1969 he repeated this work in Basel, and in 1973 in Frankfurt. On the cards was printed a number, 326 or 329, along with, in Basel, the text:

If you have found the above number, on a red card, you are the missing part of a book which I have been writing for a long time. I would like to ask you to spend the afternoon in Basel as if nothing had happened and not to alter your behaviour as a result of this information. Only in this way will I be able to succeed in finishing the book that I want to dedicate to you, my refund presence.⁷⁴

Here the time of the interruption is to be extended over the rest of the afternoon, with the viewer participating in art because of the sense of heightened presence produced by the intervention of the card. There is I think a bit of deception, or misinformation, here in saying that the recipient

⁷² (Stephen “The Berkeley” 199)

⁷³ (Hohlfeldt “Caution” 13)

⁷⁴ (Gerz “People Speak” 33)

is the missing part of the book that the artist has been writing for a long time. The work relies on the special status of the artist, or author, to elevate the cityscape to the arena of art. The onus is actually placed on the recipient to overcome that ruse and rise to the level of art. In other words, it is up to recipients to interpret the text on the card as being addressed to themselves as equals, as partners in the creation of the work of art. Doing so completes the transaction, establishing “equality” as a value that sustains the public space. As soon as the transaction is completed, the immediate impact of the work is done. In a sense that is enough, enough for art. Perhaps inadvertently here, the equality established has become not that of a people engaged in democratic process, but instead that of a people engaged in art.

II. The New Literacy: The Harburg Monument (1986-1993) of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz

Barbara Maria Stafford uses a dispute originating in the seventeenth century “between the Palladian Inigo Jones and the Epicurean Walter Charleton concerning the interpretation of Stonehenge”⁷⁵ to develop an antithesis “between classical, or ‘literate,’ monuments and barbaric, Gothic, or ‘illiterate,’ memorials.”⁷⁶ Jones interpreted Stonehenge as Roman in origin, indeed as the finest example of Roman architecture. He hears it speaking to him in a classical language, though, as Stafford puts it, a broken classic. Charleton insists that they are Druid ruins from a barbaric past, which, like runic writing, are not “absolutely dumb” but speak in a “more obscure” dialect.⁷⁷ Stafford extends this association of ruins with runes to mark a contrast between “the barbarous, illegible, monstrous, polyvalent, shattered from” of Charleton and the “cultured,

⁷⁵ (Stafford “Illiterate” 64)

⁷⁶ (Stafford “Illiterate” 64)

⁷⁷ (Stafford quoting Charleton “Illiterate” 74)

legible, fixed, classical articulation susceptible to a single invariant interpretation” of Jones.⁷⁸ In the Harburg Monument the Gerzes develop a third approach, a new kind of literacy that moves from the polyvalent to the stutteringly articulate.

Jochen and Esther Shalev-Gerz won the international competition to build a monument organized by the city of Hamburg, Germany in 1986. Esther, who grew up in Lithuania and Israel, was living and working in Paris, France at the time and lives there still. The “Mahnmal gegen Faschismus” (“Monument Against Fascism”) of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz was built in Harburg, a blue-collar suburb of Hamburg, in 1986 (Figure 12 and 13). The monument began as a twelve-meter high, one-meter square, ugly aluminum pillar covered with soft lead. At the base of the pillar was an inscription in seven languages which read, in English:

We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here to ours. In doing so, we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12-meter tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will disappear completely, and the site of the Harburg Monument against Fascism will be empty. In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice.⁷⁹

The column was lowered eight times, as it was covered with names, from November 10, 1986 to November 10, 1993. Today the plaque has been placed on top of the pillar, which is all that can be seen from the top. Those who participated by signing their names would become involved in the process of the pillar’s disappearance. They would become individually complicit, both in remembering the fascist crimes and in watching the pillar gradually get buried. They would, hopefully, acquire a sense of individual responsibility in the formation of a communal pact.

That was the ideal scenario, but what played out in reality was quite different. The monument became covered with illegible graffiti. Gerz said: “We were surprised by the violence of the public. All the signatures were immediately scratched over, blotted out by

⁷⁸ (Stafford “Illiterate” 74)

⁷⁹ (Gerz “Res Publica” 53)

insults. Some people fired shots at the monument, others used knives, even saws, to cut into it.”⁸⁰ The last thing they wanted, they said, was to create another work in public space “that presumed to tell people what they ought to think.”⁸¹ Indeed, leaving the response so open and then making the monument disappear made it impossible for people to rely on any external authority to prop up identity.

In an interview Jochen Gerz said: “Since Freud’s teachings, it is well known that things we have repressed continue to haunt us. My intention is to turn this relation to the past into a public event.”⁸² The repressed in this case would, in all likelihood, be memories of Nazism and the Holocaust. In this context the violence of some of the responses is not that surprising. Making this a public event means that people have to face how much that part of them, a part they may have tried to deny or keep private, is actually nonetheless a part of collective memory.

The time it takes to lower the column, here, is determined by how fast people fill up the blank space on a section of the column. The fact that the time is public and finite puts pressure on each audience member to develop his or her own response. Furthermore, because it is other members of the public that are causing the column to be lowered, the time of the lowering becomes an extended and dramatized time of “making an appearance.” There is a future time when the opportunity will be gone, and there is a past memory returning to haunt. These converge in a present that asks for some kind of public answer. Being part of the audience implies a need to respond, and a response performs that one is part of the public audience—an equal among equals.

⁸⁰ (as quoted in Novakov “Veiled” 66)

⁸¹ (Gerz and Shalev-Gerz as quoted in Young “At Memory’s” 120)

⁸² (as quoted in Novakov “Veiled” 68)

“Participation is the opposite of neutrality.”⁸³ The Harburg Monument addresses a very broad public audience, but it does not aim a message at everyone. Instead it solicits participation from those who are interested, and the “lesson” learned is one they mostly teach themselves. They become part of an open-ended process, the outcome of which is never completely decided. The emphasis is on the process of finding and articulating a response—which in this case could never be completely adequate. Something illiterate is involved here, but the emphasis is on developing a new kind of literacy in which the inadequacy or incompleteness of language is foregrounded.

Returning to the ideal spectator, that person might still deliberately take the stylus and sign her or his name on the leaden column, after having come to a realization that that is an act that he or she is committed to and can take. Proper names are conventional ways of signifying a person. Language, in this ordinary and conventionalized sense, has a social function that the Harburg Monument indexes. The proper name indexes both the person and the society to which that person, in some sense, belongs. In this case, however, the function uniting the two is not one that particularly subordinates the individual, or renders him or her particularly docile. Even facets sometimes, or previously, considered undesirable might somehow be acknowledged and accepted, or celebrated, here.

Two primary aspects of this new literacy are the inadequacy of language to experience and the functional, conventional and social use of language. A third aspect is found in the inscription at the base of the pillar, which we might call a more poetic use. “In the end, it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice.” This line provides, like an emblem of the experience, an affect to which one can return after the personal temporal process of engaging with the Harburg Monument. It finishes the transaction between monument and audience

⁸³ (Stephen “The Berkeley” 199)

member. James Young writes that “Ultimately, such a monument undermines its own authority by inviting and then incorporating the authority of passers-by.”⁸⁴ Because audience members can identify with such an emblem, after going through the experience, they authenticate the monument and carry it with them.

Again here, only those members of the public who are audience members are involved in this transaction. In Guattarian terms, Gerz helps produce a creative subjectivity. He counters the rising demands in the contemporary world for “subjective singularity”⁸⁵ with a Bakhtinian recognition that subjectivity “is in fact plural and polyphonic.”⁸⁶ This is a subjectivity beyond a subject-object dichotomy, and one Guattari develops in relation to the machine—which I will return to later when discussing Hirschhorn’s “Diachronic Pool.” The important point here is that emphasis is placed on “the founding instance of intentionality,”⁸⁷ in the case of the Harburg Monument the intentionality of the person signing his or her name. This intentionality is like the relation between subject and object. This subjectivity tends to follow the movement between the two, in a feeling of activeness that Bakhtin calls, when speaking of poetry, “the whole inner directedness of my personality.”⁸⁸ It is “a feeling of moving and assuming a position as a whole human being—of a movement into which both the organism and the meaning-directed activity are drawn, because both the flesh and the spirit of the word are generated together in their concrete unity.”⁸⁹ These experiences of oneness with art become fragments of partial

⁸⁴ (Young “Monument” 85)

⁸⁵ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 3)

⁸⁶ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 1)

⁸⁷ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 22)

⁸⁸ (Bakhtin “Art” 309. This active movement of the whole inner directedness of the personality also contains other dimensions, such as 1. The phonic side of the word; 2. The referential meaning of the word; 3. The constituent of verbal connection; 4. The intonational constituent of the word, the axiological directedness of the word that expresses the diversity of the speaker’s axiological relations. See Bakhtin “Art” 308-9)

⁸⁹ (Bakhtin “Art” 309)

subjectivation that Guattari calls “existential refrains.”⁹⁰ The subjectivity Guattari finds in Bakhtin is built up from a process of remembering and reenacting the experience, the experience in which one found a movement and a direction. Guattari extends this temporal process into an ongoing present which continues to echo with the past that is built into it. Through these refrains the transaction of the work of art can extend into the world beyond its immediate context. The way Gerz positions his work in the everyday world, and blurs the boundary between the two, encourages this.

The entire process of the monument allows for the formation of additional connections between different members of the audience, as the column is lowered. Additional transactions can occur, new kinds of bonds and alliances formed, within the community of the monument. Once the column has disappeared, without any visible anchor, those bonds may become subject to dissolution and wearing away. The duration of the monument, the fact that it was lowered multiple times over a period of multiple years, tends to make the memories and bonds more lasting as well, but without a mechanism of periodic renewal even these will weaken. Deller and Hirschhorn have sought for such a mechanism.

4. The Machinic Interface of Systems of Value: Thomas Hirschhorn’s “Diachronic Pool” (2013)

Thomas Hirschhorn is a Swiss artist living and working in Paris, France who has developed a reputation based largely on his very large-scale, immersive, and often claustrophobic installations, like *Diachronic Pool* (2013), that use ordinary materials from everyday life. He is

⁹⁰ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 15)

also known for his works in public space, and for his incorporation of works of literature and philosophy into his art. “Diachronic Pool” announces its interest in time, and Saussurean semiotics in the name. The work, a large-scale environment made for the Museum Tinguely’s “Metamatic Reloaded” exhibition, credits the linguistic theory of Ferdinand de Saussure and works about that theory, but also refers to Leon Trotsky’s “History of the Russian Revolution” as a source for the ideas that gave rise to the work.

Trotsky’s work, consisting of over 1200 pages in the three volumes, resists summation. The concept of the primitive peasant assembly described in the work, as representing a direct connection between the fears and desires of the people and the government that can implement measures on their behalf, is relevant here. If in postdemocracy, the sense of democratic equality has been lost, then the primitive assembly stands for the possibility of overcoming that loss, so that the experience of equality found in art can still be heard by the powers that be. In Appendix Three of his history, Trotsky presents a dispute between two parties, a Trotskyist and a Stalinist, over the direction the Russian revolution should take. Trotsky’s theory, known as the theory of “Permanent Revolution,” stated that Russia would have to go through a series of revolutions in order to arrive, inexorably, at the “dictatorship of the proletariat.”⁹¹ The Stalinist cries: “But you are ignoring the Russian village—that is, the backward peasantry stuck in the mud of semi-serfdom,”⁹² to which the Trotskyist replies: “On the contrary, it is only the depth of the agrarian problem that opens the immediate prospect of a dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia.”⁹³ “That class which is not one” never did come to power. The revolution did not become permanent, but for brief times in certain instances, as with the peasant assemblies that the investigator Shestakov describes, the under

⁹¹ (Trotsky “History” volume 3 420)

⁹² (Trotsky “History” volume 3 420)

⁹³ (Trotsky “History” volume 3 420)

classes did seize and administer power. “By means of the assembly the peasants divide the appropriated goods, through the assembly they conduct negotiations with the landlord and overseers, with the county commissars and with punitive expeditions of all kinds.”⁹⁴ Trotsky remarks here that “the highest tension of the struggle led to a temporary retirement of the representative organs in favor of primitive peasant democracy in the form of the assembly and the communal decree.”⁹⁵ Trotsky regards this as an unusual circumstance to be embraced, but still regards the heart of the revolution as lying with the proletariat. Yet the model of the primitive assembly, with its equality of the people and use of an interruption of the established order to permit direct negotiation between government and people, has become relevant in postdemocracy.

The primitive, in “Diachronic Pool,” is seen best in the industrial materials of its construction: the tires, black plastic, clothes hangers, industrial lights, packing tape, and the aluminum foil and cardboard boxes of the megaform. It is part swimming pool and part junkyard or salvage depot. The tires are like life preservers one can don if one feels that one is drowning. Like Tatlin’s materials, these industrial materials have a certain autonomy from the sculptural tradition of noble and aestheticized materials. In their autonomy Tatlin’s materials call attention to their physical properties as materials. Hirschhorn’s materials go further to also be seen as “low” and common—a kind of lowest common denominator of contemporary experience.

In “Diachronic Pool” (Figures 14, 15, and 16) Hirschhorn is “gluing” the axes of diachrony and synchrony, of succession and contemporaneity, back together again. Hirschhorn says that he used a number of books by and about Saussure to make the work, including Jean-Claude

⁹⁴ (Trotsky “History” volume 3 32)

⁹⁵ (Trotsky “History” volume 3 32)

Milner's *For the Love of Language* and Jean Starobinski's *Words Upon Words*. Milner's work is helpful for understanding the diachronic dimension of the work, while Starobinski's helps illuminate its synchronic aspects. Milner also helps clarify some of what is at stake in the anagrams with which Starobinski's work deals. Saussure is known today as the father of semiotics, a branch of linguistics concerned with language in its synchronic dimension. Saussure, however, made the distinction between diachrony and synchrony not to favor one over the other, but as a methodological distinction necessary to the scientific study of language. As Jonathan Culler says, Saussure "insists that the two be kept separate lest the diachronic point of view contaminate and falsify one's synchronic description."⁹⁶ In his "Notes for the Course in General Linguistics" Saussure makes notes that "even disciplines which deal with *things* ought really to respect more fully the difference between the two axes on which the things exist."⁹⁷ There he makes a diagram of the two axes: the "axis of contemporaneity (in which the Time factor can be made to *disappear*)" and the "axis of succession (thingsXTime)."⁹⁸ The axis of contemporaneity is the axis of synchronicity. The axis of synchronicity, then, theoretically consists of all of the difference that exists at any moment in time.

Starobinski's book looks at Saussure's theory of anagrams, which amounts to a theory of poetic language. Very briefly, Saussure discerned, or thought he discerned, a consistent pattern in ancient poetry of starting with a theme-word and then developing a poetic text out of that theme-word, by repeating the syllabic elements of the theme word throughout the poetic text. For instance, the name of Delphi can be seen in the phrase "Dvello perfecto,"⁹⁹ and the theme-

⁹⁶ (Culler "Introduction" xx)

⁹⁷ (Saussure "Writings" 237)

⁹⁸ (Saussure "Writings" 237)

⁹⁹ (Starobinski "Words" 53)

word “cave” can be found in a word like “condemnavisse.”¹⁰⁰ Saussure developed the theory much further, but these simple examples will suffice for this discussion. Starobinski extrapolates from Saussure to offer a more cosmic interpretation of what Saussure is recognizing: “The developed text is concealed in the concentrated unity of the theme-word which precedes it. It is not, properly speaking, a case of ‘creation’ but rather a deployment through multiplicity of the energy already fully present at the heart of the antecedent Monad.”¹⁰¹ Starobinski’s theory is basically that the Monad had only to issue a few basic words and names to give rise to a whole linguistic universe, provided, that is, that there were humans around to extend the language over the range of their experiences. Saussure, however, never quite goes in that direction. He looks for, but never quite finds, the basis of this system in laws of poetry handed down from poetic generation to poetic generation. He wanted to find the scientific basis of the phenomenon.

In Hirschhorn’s *Diachronic Pool*, the splitters use discursive language to create a semblance of meaning, i.e. by using a single aspect of the whole to determine the direction in which change should occur. The discursive language tends to break down a whole and reduces things to just parts of their full being. In Hirschhorn’s terms, it “splits” the whole. Poetic language then is a way of restoring some of that fullness of being to a text. It does this by finding ways to restore what we might call synchronicity to the text, i.e. having many different things happening at the same time. In Saussure’s anagrams different things are linked together through synchronous participation in the more primal sense of the theme-word.

Another Hirschhorn key-word in Starobinski’s theory is, of course, the word “energy.” Starobinski presents it as an alternative to the word “creation,” and places the source of the

¹⁰⁰ (Starobinski “Words” 87)

¹⁰¹ (Starobinski “Words” 43)

artist's art outside of the artist's conscious awareness and intent. The artist does not have "his own ideas," but ideas that come from somewhere else, from an outside. Jean-Claude Milner shows how this condition can be developed into a theory of the diachronic. It should be noted here that the diachronic is not the same as the historical, at least not as developed here, for the diachronic finds its source in something that lies outside history conceived of as the realm of human projects and endeavors.

Milner takes a post-Lacanian look at Saussure and linguistics. Linguistics, he says, is often seen as an academic discourse of the rules and paradigms that linguists have assigned to "meanings of order and regularity"¹⁰² that they find in language. Certainly this describes well the effort Saussure makes concerning anagrams, to which he devoted fully 99 notebooks, without seemingly ever letting on why he found them so fascinating. He wanted to write the truth about anagrams as a function of their existence in material reality, i.e. without recourse to anything completely outside of the system. But, as Milner points out, "make no mistake about it, it is in the drawn-out repetition constructed from the symmetry of rules and paradigms that the flash of sense is released which the rule simultaneously stands for and effaces."¹⁰³ Milner continues: "In this unique instant, it is no longer the linguist who knows, but *lalangue* who knows through the linguist, for this is the truth of the linguist's competence—not mastery, but subjection and the discovery that *lalangue* knows."¹⁰⁴ *Lalangue*, says Ann Banfield in the introduction to the books, "is the name of the real in language; it is thus what escapes linguistic theory: the not-all."¹⁰⁵ Even though, in this discourse, there is nothing completely outside the system, the

¹⁰² (Milner "For the love" 139)

¹⁰³ (Milner "For the love" 139)

¹⁰⁴ (Milner "For the love" 139)

¹⁰⁵ (Banfield "Introduction" 31)

condition of being in the discourse constructs an outside. That outside, the not-all, is what guides the path of the discourse, what causes it to change through time.

This, then, forms some of the backdrop against which Hirschhorn constructed his work, which, he says, “CONSISTS IN MAKING A COLLAGE <<DIACHRONIC—POOL>>.”¹⁰⁶ The pool is the synchronous, which, in Saussure, is the state of language at a particular moment in time. Saussure is concerned with that part of that state that can be known, or rather he would like to find a form of knowledge that applies to all parts of it, but runs up against a roadblock in the anagrams. The real of homophony, which is certainly part of polyphonic subjectivity, resists systematic knowledge. Since Saussure’s time the discipline of linguistics has adopted a different stance toward the anagrams. Milner says that now “linguistics wants to know nothing of what it is that underlies the anagrams. But what this implies is not that it wants to remain ignorant; but rather it wishes for no knowledge to be statable in this area.”¹⁰⁷ He says further that “What is fundamental then is that Saussure should have posited in terms of a subjectivisable knowledge the point where *lalangue* is tied to language.”¹⁰⁸ It is not that no one ever has experience of that point, but rather that knowledge of that point is not particularly subjectivisable. Discourse cannot very well claim to occupy that point.

There is a temptation to conclude that the artist can and does occupy such a point, and thereby return the artist to a position of heroic grandeur. “Diachronic Pool” effectively refuses that position, by instead placing viewers in an environment where they (we) not only must fend for themselves, but where they are called upon to experience the synchronous directly. The viewer is confronted with the sense of not knowing in what direction change should necessarily occur. The synchronic dimension is invoked here through the wide range of difference that

¹⁰⁶ (Hirschhorn “Diachronic-Pool” 14)

¹⁰⁷ (Milner “For the love” 115)

¹⁰⁸ (Milner “For the love” 115)

actually exists in the world today. One of the “altars” is dedicated to showing pictures of a dead French soldier that Somali militants posted on Twitter (Figure 15). He was killed while trying to save a hostage. The Twitter posting provoked outrage in Western media, where it seemed to signify the barbarity of the Somali militants. What the Somali militants saw as a sign of their superiority was seen as a sign of their inferiority in the West. This is the kind of radical dichotomy that Hirschhorn specializes in. He uses such a polarization as a way of including virtually the whole world in his art. So, even though the Somali militants seem to be worlds apart, they are included in the range of difference to be found in the contemporary moment. By straddling such a huge divide, Hirschhorn’s art allows us, for a bit, to see a segment that includes a broad swath of humanity. Indeed the swath is so broad that it is challenging to regard it all as part of the same synchronous dimension.

Here it is as if the megaform, with its rather inchoate intelligence, has been folded into the pool. The megaform is a massive hollow cylinder which takes up most of the space in the pool (Figure 16). It threatens to suck us in, and there is a temptation to enter, but something prohibits one from casually entering. By virtue of its size, it conditions and impinges on all movement within the pool. It is a chaotic power, with the splitters serving as the interface between it and the outside world. The splitters act to interpret the oscillations of the megaform, but they are also able to take advantage of its movements and bend them to their own purposes.

The five splitters—economics, aesthetics, ecology, politics and culture—produce texts, which hang from clothes hangers all about them, as well as images and videos on screens (Figure 14). The texts have the feel of words produced automatically by machines running a certain kind of text-producing software. Pages even from “Words Upon Words” and “For the Love of Language” are included among these texts. “Words Upon Words” is an

“aesthetic” text; “For the Love of Language” appears in both the “aesthetics” and “ecology” areas. Texts are represented here as capable of being transmitted in partial form, for instance, in a third of a page at a time. It is only when recomposed into full pages that they become intelligible, but there could be other environments of culture in which additional meaning could be found in them. Much of the text they produce portends that the splitter’s segment of meaning has severe ramifications and consequences. For instance, one of the “cultural” texts is about the impact that visual recognition software may soon have on our lives. It is as if the splitters have discovered the secret of *lalangue*, that is, that language both textual and visual includes an element of the real. For the most part, however, the splitters keep repeating the same story.

“All systems of value—religious, aesthetic, scientific, ecosophic...—install themselves at this machinic interface between the necessary actual and the possibilist virtual.”¹⁰⁹ The machinic interface Guattari is talking about here is one of a dimension of alterity that machines possess. The “Diachronic Pool” literalizes this machinic aspect of these systems of value. These, however, are like metamachines, akin in that respect to the metamatic machines of Jean Tinguely that occupy the space outside of the pool. They are conceived “in opposition to structure” and associated with “an awareness of finitude, precariousness, destruction and death.”¹¹⁰ Unlike Tinguely’s machines, in which a sense of fun and whimsy often dominates, the splitters of Diachronic Pool have a definite dark side. In both cases, the machines work for their own destruction—Tinguely’s sometimes literally; Hirschhorn’s with an openness of interpretation that leaves the meaning up to the audience. They have an alterity that heightens the awareness of other alterities, other people, with whom one must

¹⁰⁹ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 54-5)

¹¹⁰ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 58)

needs connect to produce a holistic change. To the sense that there is so much difference in the world that it challenges the notion of one world, these machines counter the realization that the world has grown so small that we can very often see the effect that actions have on others, including those in very different cultures. The ethics and the politics are bound up together. A political decision can have devastating effects on the lives of others around the globe. There are observable ethico-political implications, of which the splitters are but dimly aware, involved.

The machinic interfaces of the systems of value are necessary. As Hirschhorn puts it, they are “fighting for an order”¹¹¹ while being without order. They split the meaning before analyzing content, so that it can become part of discourse. As machinic interfaces they also work for their own destruction. In this sense, they are beyond a subject-object dichotomy. That is to say that as the meaning they produce becomes trash we no longer believe in it, and the meaning they produce becomes trash as we no longer believe in it. In a sense, they have built “loss” into the system, for the meaning the systems of value create, as machinic interfaces, is destined to become lost. Learning to live with a precognition of loss provides a means of anticipating it and making something from it.

Pamela M. Lee says that “In connecting the terms ‘diachronic’ and ‘pool’, Hirschhorn hardly affirms their relation as harmonious or co-present but flags their connection as interdependent *and* contradictory.”¹¹² Saussure explicitly separates the diachronic and synchronic, saying that it was a methodological necessity in order to arrive at scientific knowledge. Hirschhorn brings them back together, forcing us to think through the dichotomy. The pool of the synchronous undergoes diachronic change through time. A

¹¹¹ (Hirschhorn “Diachronic-Pool” 3)

¹¹² (Lee “Metamatic” 85)

contradiction is that the assertion of a particular direction of change almost certainly now neglects to consider the effect that change will have on some other part of the pool. The point would seem to be to merge the two, so that change through time occurs with an awareness of as much of the synchronous as possible. When they become merged the dichotomy collapses, which can become an opportunity for more holistic change.

Although in some discursive contexts they accrue added value, Guattari's ethico-aesthetics and Rancière's postdemocracy can also be seen as kinds of splitter texts. Guattari is produced by the ecology splitter, the aesthetic splitter and probably the cultural splitter as well; Rancière by the political machine and the aesthetic machine. As is the fate of probably all discursive text, they produce partial interpretations which interface between chaos and meaning. Rancière connects art in general to certain contemporary political and social conditions; Guattari to something that is cultural in a very broad sense of the term. Rancière makes art seem as if it is part of a continuous, secular tradition; Guattari calls attention to larger cycles that are bringing forth something new. Both of these tendencies are in fact needed. Rancière looks forward, to see what art means for tomorrow; Guattari looks back, to see what is creeping up on us from behind, what we may have overlooked or left out, in our effort to have a discussion about our condition. This does not really mean that we are constantly correcting our course, for the course of change, even when engaged in intelligently or artistically, has its source in something coming from the outside.

Hirschhorn has said that for him "participation is the activity of thinking."¹¹³ Thinking is participation. In his installations, like "Diachronic Pool" and other museum pieces that thought may help build intellectual and emotive bodily resistance, but does not extend beyond the walls of the museum in any direct way. In his works in public space, however,

¹¹³ (Hirschhorn "Thomas Hirschhorn: Artist's Talk")

thinking occurs in a public setting, and, in many of his later public works, in the context of activities and events and interaction with other people. The works involve a fusion of art and life, and at least a partial breaking down of the boundary between the two. Despite Hirschhorn's claims that "my work has never had anything to do with 'relational aesthetics'," ¹¹⁴ his works nonetheless are evaluated along with other works of relational art. It is in that context that the Gramsci Monument is treated here, with the purpose of observing its contribution to this arena, how it fuses art and life, and at what point Hirschhorn asserts his autonomy and returns to art world practice.

5. Antagonism, Amelioration and Ethico-Aesthetics: Bishop, Kester and Guattari

The field of participatory or relational or collaborative art has become split between the ameliorative camp, represented by Grant Kester, and the antagonistic camp, upheld by Claire Bishop. Kester advocates a dialogical aesthetics and criticizes the antagonistic camp for, among other things, believing that direct political activity can never result in positive change. Bishop wishes to defend the value of antagonistic art, which is often in need of defense because it tends to provoke disagreement and opposition.

Both Bishop's antagonism in "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics" and Kester's dialogical aesthetics in "Conversation Pieces" are seen here as having restricted applicability under postdemocracy. Bishop's antagonism, in particular, restricts its focus so much to the seemingly democratic process that it diverts attention from other aspects of works that may have more potential under postdemocracy. Bishop's "antagonism" works as a method by which a community, the art community, can continue to determine who they are to become, but generally

¹¹⁴ (Hirschhorn "Critical" 377)

neglects to consider the world outside that of art as well as some opportunities for growth that exist irrespective of art world membership. Kester's dialogism is a method by which an artist can help a community, a non-art community, determine who they are to become, which suffers from a reluctance to consider antagonistic methods or other methods that might involve disruption of order. Questions, for Bishop, are whether this antagonism can have any real impact on the postdemocratic order beyond the art world, and whether the community that is becoming through antagonistic art has any greater role to play beyond determining who they are becoming. Questions, for Kester, are whether the artist should be limited strictly to collaborative and dialogic methods of helping other people, particularly in a time when new polyphonic subjectivities are making themselves heard, and whether the "politically coherent community" could benefit from a vision of some larger community to which they also belong.

Bishop takes the concept of antagonism from Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau and uses it to expand on Deutsche's view that the public sphere is democratic only in so far as it takes naturalized exclusions into account and contests them in the empty place where social identity is unknown. Bishop says that a democratic society is one that sustains these conflicts: "Without antagonism there is only the imposed consensus of authoritarian order—a total suppression of debate and discussion."¹¹⁵ Laclau and Mouffe take from Antonio Gramsci the idea that the hegemony of the working class consists in its ability to articulate the democratic plurality of voices. Laclau and Mouffe basically drop the phrase "of the working class" from this formulation. In Laclau and Mouffe any hegemony is subject to being contested by a counter-hegemony. The political field has become more one of constant contestation and shifting alliances, but united now by the aesthetic field where the elements exist in a relatively

¹¹⁵ (Bishop "Antagonism" 66)

unarticulated fashion, i.e. before they cohere into a hegemonic formation. In Laclau and Mouffe this field of unarticulation is the product of antagonism. As they say:

The ultimate character of this unfixity, the ultimate precariousness of all difference, will thus show itself in a relation of total equivalence, where the differential positivity of all its terms is dissolved. This is precisely the formula of antagonism, which thus establishes itself as the limit of the social.¹¹⁶

In Bishop, “when played out on a social level, antagonism can be viewed as the limits of society’s ability to fully constitute itself.”¹¹⁷ Her relational antagonism is “predicated not on social harmony, but on exposing that which is repressed in sustaining the semblance of this harmony.”¹¹⁸ Hegemony, then, is the process of articulation by which society comes to partially and provisionally reconstitute itself. The process appears to be quite democratic. In postdemocracy, however, the process of articulation is always manipulated to achieve predetermined results. One problem for postdemocratic art is how to achieve an unfixity that is not immediately appropriated. This is not merely to avoid exploitation, but rather to permit the formation of a new kind of voice and to allow it to be heard. Antagonism can still be part of the strategy for making this happen, but the emphasis is on sustaining the resulting disarticulation to produce an experience undertaken in a spirit of equality.

In “Artificial Hells” Bishop points out that this antagonism was already being done in the 1960s with the Situationist International’s attempts to surpass art into life, and with the Happenings and particularly Jean-Jacques Lebel’s ‘negation of negation’.¹¹⁹ Lebel was a French artist and activist, known for events like “120 Minutes Dedicated to the Divine Marquis” (1965),

¹¹⁶ (Laclau and Mouffe 128)

¹¹⁷ (Bishop “Antagonism” 67)

¹¹⁸ (Bishop “Antagonism” 79)

¹¹⁹ (Bishop “Artificial” 104)

who is said to have had a profound influence on Deleuze and Guattari.¹²⁰ “Lebel’s Festivals (from 1964-1967) outraged the public, forcing open otherwise rigidly conventional canons of art and society.”¹²¹ Bishop quotes Günter Berghaus, who says:

Life as experienced in a Happening was no longer a mere reproduction or symbolic interpretation of our existential reality. It was rather a confrontation with our alienated existence in late-capitalist society, a discourse on the conflict between our real self and its alienated state...Alienating through artistic means an alienated existence (reality) approximates the Hegelian triad of negation of negation. Dialectics as ‘the mother of progress’ lies at the basis of many Happenings in Europe.¹²²

As Berghaus says, in the 1960s this fusion of art and life was part of a movement to create a space of freedom from which an alternative society could counter and oppose the dominant society. More recent works of art often disengage from notions of progress, using methods of alienation of alienation that are not so much dialectic as simply partaking of alterity. For instance, in “The Battle of Orgreave” the mineworkers in particular are already alienated, not only from the means of production but more generally, often expressing profound bitterness toward the Thatcher government. For the re-enactment they alienate themselves from their alienation, choosing to play a part “as if” they identified with it. In the “Gramsci Monument” alienation is generally assumed to be the condition of contemporary existence. Hirschhorn asks that we alienate ourselves from that existence by participating in the distinctly artificial world of the monument. By this means a gap is created between the space of equality, which is in art, and the space of inequality or hierarchy, which is postdemocracy. That gap is an area where a new voice can be heard.

¹²⁰ (Kristine Stiles reports that Lebel, Deleuze and Guattari took a trip to the US in 1975 where “Lebel’s network of alliances and friends became a tutorial for what they would eventually theorize as the rhizome.” “Jean-Jacques Lebel” 7)

¹²¹ (Stiles “Jean-Jacques Lebel” 3)

¹²² (Berghaus “Happenings” 162)

It is somewhat helpful to think of Grant Kester's dialogical aesthetics as similar to a democratic process, but one in which the artist takes the place of Lefort's 'empty place'. It is the artist who is able to sustain conflict and help to generate what Kester calls a "politically coherent community."¹²³ In Kester there is conflict, though it can often be conflict that the artist actually helps articulate. Rather than simply sustain it, the artist does work toward some successful solution in which the views of all interested parties are somehow taken into account. He is willing to accept that direct political action can have a positive effect, and that people can get beyond their differences to recognize the value of what they have in common. The art Kester advocates moves toward mutually agreed upon courses of action: "It is in the nature of dialogical projects to be impure, to represent a practical negotiation (self-reflexive but nevertheless compromised) around issues of power, identity, and difference, even as they strive toward something more."¹²⁴ The artist is the facilitator of the process, whose job is typically to enable others to articulate their needs and desires—needs and desires which are usually held to come from an identity based on the "politically coherent community" to which one belongs. The process is open-ended, but this circumscription of identity tends to limit the direction of movement. Furthermore, this process can become like a compensatory mechanism, one of the "thousand points of light," for government's failure to provide social services. It can still have value, but is often in need of some greater vision to give it more direction. For instance, it too can begin to develop a gap between the community of equals and the postdemocratic order.

While Kester and Bishop have drawn the lines of the debate around political effectiveness, the copresence and even complementary nature of both elements within the same work suggests the need for a framework, like Guattari's ethico-aesthetics, that encompasses both positions.

¹²³ (Kester "Conversation" 161)

¹²⁴ (Kester "Conversation" 123)

Kester observes that some works have both aspects, noting that Hirschhorn's Bataille Monument, though regarded as antagonistic, "also involved an extended collaboration with Turkish-German youth from the neighborhood, who helped him construct a temporary library, snack bar, and television studio."¹²⁵ The question, then, is what this collaborative component is doing in this work as a whole. Claire Bishop also notes that many of the best works, such as Jeremy Deller's "The Battle of Orgreave" (discussed below), combine approaches, blurring the territory between poles.¹²⁶ The question, then, is what this blurring is accomplishing. Bishop and Kester have so polarized the debate that a large middle ground is left without a spokesperson. This middle ground is developing in directions for which they have no account. These other directions constitute an important part of many of the works discussed here, and can have an effect well beyond the art work. Judging the work in terms of its political effect, which is often insisted on when other options for evaluation seem to have disappeared, can so narrow the vision that it blinds one to other effects. Looking for ethico-aesthetic dimensions, polyphonic subjectivities, and ethico-political implications helps to open up the vision once again.

6. Equality, Postdemocracy and Ethico-Politics: works of Jeremy Deller and Thomas

Hirschhorn

Equality, which traditionally has been associated with democracy, is not democracy, says French philosopher Jacques Rancière.¹²⁷ Without equality, however, Lefort's "controlled contest with permanent rules" becomes little more than just that. For Rancière democracy is an antecedent form that needs equality added to it to have real political effect. Equality is what

¹²⁵ (Kester "The One" 64)

¹²⁶ (Bishop "Claire" 24)

¹²⁷ (Rancière "Disagreement" 62)

allows a wronged party to claim the freedom to demand justice. It is a necessary precondition for effective democratic politics. Without equality, democracy is susceptible to being used to subordinate. That is to say that if what passes as democracy is bereft of equality then democracy has already been turned to the uses of those who are justifying what they do with the name of democracy. In postdemocracy, an equality that is missing in the civic realm is found in the realm of art, in certain art works. That art that generates a sense of equality has already begun to involve its audience in a sustained collaboration.

As Rancière describes in “Aesthetics and Its Discontents” there has been an ethical turn in the relationship between aesthetics and politics. Aesthetics has been found to be largely in collusion with power interests. Since aesthetics has been discredited, there has been a turn to ethics as an evaluative principle for art. Unfortunately, very often the ethics being formulated amounts to adherence to an orthodoxy, or to a doxa of social opinion. Rancière says the contemporary “ethical turn” is largely the subordination of any real ethics, or morality, to law:

Ethics, then, is the kind of thinking in which an identity is established between an environment, a way of being and a principle of action. The contemporary ethical turn is the specific conjunction of these two phenomena. On the one hand, the instance of judgement, which evaluates and decides, finds itself humbled by the compelling power of the law. On the other, the radicality of this law, which leaves no alternative, equates to the simple constraint of an order of things. The growing indistinction between fact and law gives way to an unprecedented dramaturgy of infinite evil, justice and reparation.¹²⁸

It is this kind of ethics to which Claire Bishop objects in “The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents,” where she uses Hirschhorn’s Bataille Monument as a case in point. A specific criticism to which Bishop responds is the following from Maria Lind:

In my opinion, the residents in the working class neighbourhood appeared as a different and colorful element in a project that was primarily a criticism of an art genre and not of social structures. Hirschhorn’s work has therefore understandably been criticised for ‘exhibiting’ and making exotic marginalized groups and thereby contributing to a form of

¹²⁸ (Rancière “Aesthetics” 1109)

social pornography.¹²⁹

Bishop's critique is that a too heavy reliance on ethical principles for evaluation tends to completely overlook and disregard what the piece does as a work of art.

While I agree with Bishop we should not be too hasty in dismissing the term ethics. Both Rancière and Guattari take a considered look at what the term ethics means. Rancière distinguishes it from 'morals', which is the distinction "between what is and what ought to be," saying that ethos instead "signifies two things: both the dwelling and the way of being, or lifestyle, that corresponds to this dwelling."¹³⁰ This can be made to align with Guattari's ecosophy, an ethico-political articulation between the ecological registers of "the environment, social relations and human subjectivity."¹³¹ If the earth has today become the dwelling, then the way of life that corresponds to this dwelling may indeed be something like ecosophy, remembering that for Guattari human subjectivity is bound up with art. Again Guattari derives this subjectivity from Bakhtin, who describes "a feeling of moving and assuming a position as a whole human being—of a movement into which both the organism and the meaning-directed activity are drawn, because both the flesh and the spirit of the word are generated together in their concrete unity."¹³² Guattari basically updates Bakhtin to contemporary times.

For Rancière "There is politics from the moment there exists the sphere of appearance of a subject, *the people*, whose peculiar attribute is to be different from itself, internally divided."¹³³ However, the postdemocratic situation is altered. Here, says Rancière, politics consists in interpreting "the gap between a place where the demos exists and a place where it does not, where there are only populations, individuals, employers and employees, heads of households

¹²⁹ (Lind "'Actualisation'" 114)

¹³⁰ (Rancière "Aesthetics" 110)

¹³¹ (Guattari "The Three" 28)

¹³² (Bakhtin "Art" 309)

¹³³ (Rancière "Disagreement" 87)

and spouses, and so on.”¹³⁴ It is a matter of theatrically connecting the unconnected, which Rancière says is the work of the proletarian, “that class which is not one.”¹³⁵ Yet the cause of the proletarian comes from a time when the classless society still seemed like a valid possibility. Interpreting the gap may be the task of a proletarian consciousness, but the task of developing a voice in that gap requires something more. In the process of making themselves heard the people act not so much as the proletariat but more like the primitive assembly that Trotsky described in “The History of the Russian Revolution.” Like with the primitive assembly, the equality that the audience experiences becomes the platform from which it lets its needs and desires and thoughts and attitudes be heard. The audience of these postdemocratic works of art, positioned in a gap between the world of art and the postdemocratic order, adopts a position of alterity.

The gap can be opened by suspending the usual rules so that something from outside can be heard. Deller’s re-enactment and Hirschhorn’s countermonument both accomplish this. But then it becomes a matter of sustaining the gap to allow for the development of the new literacy. Deller uses techniques of repetition and intersubjectivity. Hirschhorn uses spatial edifices and encounters. This is the area where Guattari’s ethico-politics, or ecosophy, can be developed. Guattari is speaking of a large reorganization of society:

No question here of aleatory neo-liberalism with its fanaticism for the market economy, for a univocal market, for a market of redundancies of capitalist power, but of a heterogenesis of systems of valorisation and the spawning of new social, artistic and analytical practices.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ (Rancière “Disagreement” 88)

¹³⁵ (Rancière “Disagreement” 89)

¹³⁶ (Guattari “Chaosmosis” 117)

I want to suggest that the process can begin at a small scale and that there is potential here for a synergistic relationship between the polyphonic subjectivity that is formed in this gap and the ‘dialogical aesthetics’ that Kester advocates.

In her response to Grant Kester in 2006 Claire Bishop advocates work along the lines of Rancière’s description of political art in “The Politics of Aesthetics,” work which “would ensure, at one and the same time, the production of a double effect: the readability of a political signification and a sensible or perceptual shock caused, conversely, by the uncanny, by that which resists signification.”¹³⁷ Bishop says this art “transmits meanings in the form of a rupture.”¹³⁸ What I want to stress about this formulation is that the actual political effect of this rupture becomes uncertain. It actually calls into question the meaning of the political, the extent to which a political signification carries the significance of the event. The “readability of a political signification” provides a useful political hook on which to hang one’s hat, but the rupture generates a bit of trauma that can have multiple meanings and can give rise to multiple interpretations. There is a role here for an artist-facilitator who can handle this multiplicity without “normalizing” it, who can, as it were, find the poetic in the various responses.

I. Interfaces to the Intersubjective: Jeremy Deller’s “The Battle of Orgreave” (2001)

Jeremy Deller is an English conceptual artist who studied art history, receiving an MA in Art History from the University of Sussex. In the early 1990s, at the age of 27, he decided to become an artist, holding his first solo exhibition, called “Open Bedroom,” in his parents’ home while they were away on holiday in 1993. The “Battle of Orgreave” (2001) (Figure 17 and 18) exemplifies how,

¹³⁷ (Rancière “The Politics” 63)

¹³⁸ (Bishop “Claire” 24)

despite a sense that the present has been determined by past events, people can nevertheless change their memories of the past. Deller describes the “Battle of Orgreave” as “digging up a corpse and giving it a proper post-mortem, or as a thousand-person crime re-enactment.”¹³⁹ Deller had followed, in the press and on television, the events of the 1984-5 coalminers’ strike and had been dissatisfied with the way it was portrayed. The coalminers were depicted as selfishly betraying the interests of the nation. The events culminated in the police routing upwards of 5000 strikers and protesters through the town. For the re-enactment, which is documented in a widely available video by Mike Figgis, Deller got together a combination of about 200 people who had participated in the strike event and 800 historical re-enactors who, in some cases, might not even sympathize with the strikers.

The documentary, which has been described as more pro-miner than the actual re-enactment, is the best available evidence for the way the re-enactment worked. In it we find that then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher rather infamously referred to the coalminers as “the enemy within.”¹⁴⁰ It is also revealed that the BBC made it appear that the police moved on the strikers only after the strikers hurled stones at them, when in fact the strikers hurled rocks only after the police moved on them. One of the policemen recalls, in the documentary, that they had received special riot training in anticipation of the role they would play in breaking the strike. One former miner says that it was “a civil war launched by Mrs. Thatcher against the National Union of Mineworkers,”¹⁴¹ with the purpose of putting industrial time back on the clock on an efficient basis. Resentful feelings among the former miners in the documentary are not isolated, but instead almost unanimous. There is a clear feeling among many of the people of Orgreave,

¹³⁹ (Deller “Joy in People” 98)

¹⁴⁰ (from Deller, Figgis et al “The Battle of Orgreave”)

¹⁴¹ (from Deller, Figgis et al “The Battle of Orgreave”)

and more generally the county of South Yorkshire, that the battle was a “crossroads of history”¹⁴² that has had a hand in determining the course of many peoples’ lives as well as the subsequent direction of the coal mining industry and of England as a whole. Many of the original participants involved in the re-enactment look back on the battle, though with some of the distance provided by time, as a pivotal moment in their own lives and as a moment when they were grievously wronged. Certainly, some people suffered greatly as a result, and some lives were devastated.

The opening scene in the Figgis documentary shows the police line bracing themselves as a line of mineworkers, with arms interlocked, approaches and engages them in direct physical conflict. This scene cuts to a meeting of historical re-enactors with the re-enactment director, which cuts to a short statement by Deller recounting his original impressions of the riots, and the coverage of them, when he was eighteen years old. What we are watching is not a documentary of the riots but of their re-enactment. It is important, as those directing the re-enactment emphasize, not to refight the battle, or to mimic it in every detail, but to make it as lifelike as possible. It is important not to put any spin on it but to try to show it as it happened and to get in the spirit of it as if one really had something at stake in the event.

This “as if” could be read as the autonomy of art, but also as the fusion of art and life. This “as if” is what permits the re-enactors to imagine what the other people involved in the action are feeling. In the documentary, near the end, there is a scene that shows mineworkers and policemen walking toward each other in a spirit of convivial equality. This is not so much an equality of policemen and mineworkers, but an equality of present day re-enactors who have recovered a fundamental aspect of life—the ability to go beyond one’s own territory to the intersubjective in which all have a part.

¹⁴² (from Deller, Figgis et al “The Battle of Orgreave”)

This blurring of art and life occurs for the documentary viewer at home as well as for the historical re-enactor. One gets the sense that almost all of England was affected by the battle, and the documentary provides the means by which they too repeat the event and change their memories of the event. Deller says that he went from being an artist who makes things to being an artist who makes things happen. It is in the area of collective memory where the “Battle of Orgreave” really makes things happen. Like in Jochen Gerz’s early work both the re-enactors and the viewers visit themselves, but the appearance they make is not so much in the arena of public space, but in that of collective, and media-inflected, memory. Whereas in the Harburg Monument public space and collective memory were still linked, and one could visually inspect the surface of the monument to see how, here the idea of public space does not really apply. The “transaction” for the viewing audience occurs wherever they happen to be watching the video, the placeless realm of cyberspace. That the effects are no less real is one thing that Deller demonstrates in “English Magic.”

The work is antagonistic to the way the event was depicted by the BBC and the Thatcherian government. It succeeds in reducing and disarticulating that construction and establishing a field of equality. All of this depends on the collaborative effort of the artist, the directors, and the re-enactors, as well as Mike Figgis and the documentary team. Ultimately, it is ameliorative in that it replaced feelings of shame and regret and bitterness with those of empowerment and togetherness.

Certainly ramifications from this art could be felt at the polls. One is tempted here to take the position that that effect depends on Deller not having a particular political agenda and maintaining the autonomy of art. But any effect, whatever it may be, is really more the result of the artist’s ability to make people get “swept up” in it and through that process come to an

experience of equality. Autonomy alone is not enough. In Deller's case, he downplays the autonomy, which has the effect of encouraging people to engage with their actual memories and get involved in the spirit of the thing. In the end the work as a whole effectively appropriates that area of collective memory to itself,¹⁴³ so that discussion of the battle, and related issues, will be done in the wake of the "Battle of Orgreave." In that sense, it can be said to be hegemonic, though there is a sense that the English government is perfectly willing to cede the territory. Although the work is resistant to easy appropriation, its eventual fate, without some means of renewal, may be to become part of a new orthodoxy subject to some kind of counter-hegemony.

II. The Call to Respond: Jeremy Deller's "English Magic" (2013-4)

The rest of the meaning of the "Battle of Orgreave," particularly how it extends into the future, would have to wait some years to be made. The fact that Jeremy Deller was selected to represent England at the 2013 Venice Biennale is probably at least partially a result of voices from "The Battle of Orgreave" being heard throughout the country. Deller's work for the English pavilion at the biennale is called "English Magic." Part of the work, a mural called 'I want to be invisible' (Figure 19) depicts an event that is to occur in St. Helier, Jersey on 12 June 2017. Deller describes it as follows:

In June 2017 a large demonstration occurs in St Helier, the capital of Jersey. The UK general public descend on the town, angered by Jersey's status as a tax haven and its secretive banking culture. The event quickly gets out of hand; protesters overwhelm the local police force, ransack buildings and then burn the town to the ground.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ (Deutsche notes that Lefort and Lefebvre use the term appropriation in opposite senses. "For Lefort, appropriation refers to an action of state power; for Lefebvre, it denotes an action against such power." "Evictions" 364-5. My use here is a third sense. Deller's appropriation of the meaning of the battle of Orgreave is not an action against state power but an action taken on behalf of the people irrespective of state power. It is not an act of opposition but one of multiplying the sources of power.)

¹⁴⁴ (Deller "English Magic" 19)

One needs to know that ‘I want to be invisible’ is a work by the Jeremy Deller who made the “Battle of Orgreave,” the work which rallied the English around the events of the coalminers’ strike of 1984. As Hal Foster has noted, in this work “a past event (such as a miners’ strike) is linked up with a future one (such as a tax revolt) and together they pressure the neoliberal present.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, Deller is calling on the English people to live and act so well in the present, in the spirit of the re-enactment of the “Battle of Orgreave,” that they can prevent the tragedy of 2017, which he implies they may otherwise be headed for, from happening.

One could say that “The Battle of Orgreave” was like a riddle that activated a future from which one could look back on it as having been solved. The sense of an ability to remake the past now transforms into an ability to put pressure on the present and live up to its demands. It is as if Deller is saying that since the English government does not provide any inspiration to lead the people, then it is up to artists to do the job. There is a kind of playful hegemony here, appropriate for a dissident artist selected to represent the country at the Venice Biennale. It is as if he is making fun of his seeming collusion with the government. His hegemony has its antagonistic side. In this resides a mechanism for ongoing renewal within the audience, which is constructed as distinct from the government though not in a dialectic with it. Deller provides a larger direction for his audience. The work interrupts the sort of tailspin that will lead to future riots, and calls on people to respond in the way in which they live their everyday lives. There is a basis here for the audience to continue to renew the work on their own, and in their own way, as they encounter each other in the streets. May the newly reopening streets of the World Trade Center site enjoy such a rejuvenation.

Here we can see Deller’s version of alienation of alienation, as audience members alienate themselves from their alienated condition. If “The Battle of Orgreave” produced a critical

¹⁴⁵ (Foster “History” 15)

viewer who could resist the manipulations of the media, then this part of “English Magic” says that criticality alone is not enough. One has a responsibility to act as part of the community of re-enactors. This action, although not necessarily taken as advocating a particular political point-of-view, can still have political and other effect in so far as it alters the terrain of public life. By finding a way to reproduce some of the experience of the Battle of Orgreave, to go back over that terrain and repeat its terms yet again in another way, Deller further opens the gap between its particular kind of *demos*, or so it could be called, and the postdemocracy of Thatcherian government.

III. Occupying and Evacuating the Public: Thomas Hirschhorn’s “Gramsci Monument” (2013)

Thomas Hirschhorn’s recent “Gramsci Monument” (2013) (Figure 20) at the Forest Houses housing project in the South Bronx is the latest in a series of monuments and festivals in public space that includes the Deleuze Monument (1999), Spinoza Monument (2000), Bataille Monument (2002), and the Bijlmer-Spinoza Festival (2009) among others. They have received generally mixed response and present a challenge to conventional standards for evaluating works of art.¹⁴⁶ The Bataille Monument made for Documenta 11 made a bold and dramatic move into the area of soliciting encounters between the art world and those living in public housing who very often are not part of that world. The Bijlmer-Spinoza Festival and the Gramsci Monument continue that line of development, which Hirschhorn has been

¹⁴⁶ (Claire Bishop writes: “If participatory, socially engaged art aims to perturb not just the stability of the viewer (who is now a ‘participant’ or collaborator), the artist (who is now a producer), and the work of art (which is now reframed as an open-ended, long-term ‘project’), then surely the role of the critic must be placed under pressure too. Is it possible, for example, to overhaul the single-authored essay to increase its fidelity to the work itself?” “Establishing” 8)

developing, for one thing by the inclusion of a full schedule of events held at the festival or monument. These works are paradoxical in that they are deliberately held outside the art world, with Hirschhorn expressing indifference, or even disdain, for what the art world thinks of them, while at the same time encouraging art world enthusiasts to attend and participate in them. The art world generally differs from the people of the Forest Houses housing project in the South Bronx. It differs according to race, socioeconomic class, whether or not they live in this housing project, and other factors not the least of which is whether they consider themselves to be part of the art world.

Sarah Lookofsky suggests that works like these can be understood as a response to conditions of the welfare state. Lookofsky says that welfare programs “amount to a buying-off of the working class. Since the private sector alone cannot support its work force, an elaborate support system is needed, providing basic resources, health care, pensions as well as transportation and education infrastructure. Here, the welfare state occupies the paradoxical role of stabilizing capitalism.”¹⁴⁷ Yet in times when the coalition of government and business interests are apparently willing to risk the destabilization posed by a large population of homeless people, welfare recipients are at risk of losing some security. Furthermore, they are often in the unusual position of receiving security that they would rather not have to receive. French philosopher Henri Lefebvre developed the concept of “abstract space” to describe the space that capital creates, a space which might well apply to Forest Houses:

In this same abstract space, as it is being constituted, a substitution is effected that is no less significant than those mentioned above: the replacement of residence by housing, the latter being characterized by its functional abstraction. The ruling classes seize hold of abstract space as it comes into being...; and they then use that space as a tool of power, without for all that forgetting its other uses: the organization of production and of the

¹⁴⁷ (Lookofsky “No Such” 19)

means of production—in a word, the generation of profit.¹⁴⁸

The residents of Forest Houses live more in “housing” than in “residences,” a circumstance tending not only to make them somewhat docile but also placing them in a position from which they are fairly accessible to the needs of production. The people who live in these projects embody many of the contradictions of contemporary life. Hirschhorn, who has his studio in one of Paris’s banlieues, finds that these places have the strongest sense of life and hope of anywhere today.

Nowhere is the high value placed on the seemingly “low” seen any better than in the materials of the monument’s construction. The buildings are made of plywood and two by fours, with plexiglass windows, on top of a foundation of some 45,000 wooden pallets.¹⁴⁹ The signature material adorning this structure is approximately fifteen miles of “Thomas tape,”¹⁵⁰ slick brown packing tape used for everything from holding windows in place, to sticking up signs, to wrapping sofas. The “sculpture” of the monument is a small blue tarpaulin-lined wading pool with a shower head raining water down into it (Figure 21). Hirschhorn always says that he chooses these materials because he likes to work with them, but also because he wants them to seem very approachable. He avoids the traditional noble materials of sculpture with their connotations of elitism and aesthetic authority. This includes the some of the very materials Tatlin used in his counter-reliefs which have been appropriated by the aesthetic establishment. He uses deliberately “low” materials,¹⁵¹ but at the same time the materials make a sharp distinction from every other building in the

¹⁴⁸ (Lefebvre “The Production” 314)

¹⁴⁹ (as reported by Patricia C. Phillips “CAA”)

¹⁵⁰ (as reported by Patricia C. Phillips “CAA”)

¹⁵¹ (As early as 1994 Hirschhorn said: “Nothing must be sublimated, nothing must be heightened, nothing selected; leave everything low so that there isn’t a high.” “Critical” 27 This is seen here as a technique for preventing, or forestalling, the assimilation of the work into a hierarchy of supposed value.)

neighborhood. While the monumental is nowhere to be seen, it is not possible to visually mistake Hirschhorn's "monument."

The social aspect of the monument rivals, and to some overshadows, its more intellectual and artistic concerns. Yet the intellectual and artistic side of the monument strives to produce such an experience of precarity, and of the baselessness of so much human endeavor, that the more social side of the monument is not just so much fluff. It becomes a big part of what makes the predicament sustainable.

On the monument's website, one of the icons on the main menu of the home page is for "THE MAP." This "Gramsci Monument Map" (Figure 22), which was also available on flyers distributed at the site, is a logical place to look to try to figure out what the monument is all about. It is a somewhat confusing collage of circles, pictures, rectangles, lists, statements, other maps, and keywords all connected by red, orange, and black lines. Hirschhorn has tried to think of everything; he has tried to work everything out; and he has made the effort to convey that to his audience and other interested parties. Maybe the most interesting part of the "Gramsci Monument Map" is the white space, the areas that have not been filled in, the space between the things that have been laid out. The layout calls on others to fill in the empty spots and make the monument happen during the time of its run. There is the cyclical time of the daily and weekly schedules of events; the precarious time that is built in to the nature of the events; and there is the duration of the entire run of the monument. Weekly events at the monument included the Gramsci Theater on Monday; a Running Event featuring local artists on Tuesday; a Poetry Session and Workshop with artists from outside the neighborhood on Wednesday; Fieldtrips on Thursday; Art School with Thomas Hirschhorn on Friday; the Gramsci Seminar with writers and thinkers from outside on Saturday; and an Open Microphone session on Sunday. Daily events included a daily philosophy lecture by Marcus Steinweg, a children's art class, the daily

newspaper, the radio station and others. This cyclical time recalls the time that Tatlin incorporated into his tower. Here, however, it is not built into a static structure, and the artist is present on site to manage, somewhat imperiously, the interface between cyclical time and human needs.

The event which most directly exemplifies “antagonism” is the “Art School,”¹⁵² which was held on Fridays from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. (Figure 23). Although it achieves antagonism, it also awakens the poetic. When I attended the first half hour was set up and discussion. The next hour and a half was devoted to making art on our own. Then from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. we told each other one-by-one whether we thought each other’s art had “energy” or not. Each person had a chance to respond to what others had said about their “energy.” The guiding idea of the workshop was Hirschhorn’s slogan <<Quality = No, Energy = Yes>>. The setup provokes encounters between people, as participants evaluate each other’s artwork. It provokes encounters between audience members whether they are residents or visitors, regardless of racial classification or socio-economic class. We all encounter the ‘other’ and are asked to identify with him or her. In Bishop, from Mouffe and Laclau, “the presence of what is not me renders my identity precarious and vulnerable, and the threat that the other represents transforms my *own* sense of self into something questionable.”¹⁵³ This is true as far as it goes, but the identification with the ‘other’ also expands the self, perhaps because the other corresponds to some unknown, or previously unrecognized, aspect of the self. This does not mean that we come to know the other, or even I would say to understand the other, but we do come to know more of ourselves. Furthermore, in this art school, Hirschhorn acts as a moderating influence who generously and firmly draws out the creative identity of the individual person.

¹⁵² (Hirschhorn “Art”)

¹⁵³ (Bishop “Antagonism” 66)

The encounter opens the person to some of the synchronic, some of the difference between that person and others at the same moment in time. Awareness of that difference involves as well an awareness of that which is held in common, which today includes the legacy of the unthinkable. It is impossible to find words adequate to it, but now, with this new literacy, we have to try. One transaction that takes place in his “Art School” is that each one of us is responsible to our own practice. Although potentially there are multiple transactions taking place in the “Art School,” these transactions do not actually add up to anything quantifiable, or better qualifiable. “Energy=yes, Quality=no.” There is no abstraction from there to a larger system of thought in which these transactions accrue value or are justified. As soon as the transaction is completed, and one visits oneself, it is done. Through this emptying out Hirschhorn preserves access to the experience of equality traditionally associated with democracy but coming under threat in postdemocratic times. One could say that the unfixity of antagonism is achieved, which opens to a poetic and individual awakening of desire. Bishop’s articulation of the plurality of voices may and will proceed but should do so now with a countermovement back to the poetic articulation of desire. By so doing one can interrogate, and possibly open up, the process of articulation.

A problem that the “Gramsci Theater” (Figure 24) runs into is one of making the transactions occur in the first place. Hirschhorn has said that the “Child’s Play” at the “Bijlmer-Spinoza Festival” of 2009 was a disaster.¹⁵⁴ He said, nevertheless, that it made him happy, because “I fulfilled the mission I set myself to perform every day, and maintained that mission and stuck to it at whatever cost.”¹⁵⁵ In the follow-up interviews of participants in that festival that Claire Bishop did some time later, there is a wide range of response but people generally

¹⁵⁴ (Hirschhorn “Critical” 303)

¹⁵⁵ (Hirschhorn “Critical” 303)

looked back on it as at least memorable.¹⁵⁶ Hirschhorn also did a “Theatre Precaire” for “Ce qui vient” in 2010, apparently with the use of professional actors, that he considered to be a success. His notes on “Theatre Precaire” formulate a new kind of theater that gets away from traditional theater. It does use a script, though not a traditional one. The script is intended more as a framework or a prompt for what happens on and off stage. The script for the Gramsci Theater was written by Marcus Steinweg, who says of its construction:

There are ‘materials’ inserted between the scenes. These materials are short texts, copies of which one or several actors hand out to the public between the scenes. Their function is to establish fitful contact between actors and audience. The texts are meant to produce unrest. They can be read during the performance or at home. They create an asynchronicity at the time of the performance and continue the performance—at least optionally—at a later time.¹⁵⁷

In his notes Hirschhorn describes what he is trying to achieve in these theater events:

I want there to be for a very brief instant—precarious—the doubt, question, dream, the project that enters one’s head because of the questions that are posed: Who is actor? Who is spectator? Who is playing a role? Who is someone? These questions interest me not because of the sensation of not knowing who is who, but because they interrogate our consciousness of our own reality and of the reality of others.¹⁵⁸

There is a bit of a disconnect, surely intentional, between Steinweg’s ideas about his script and Hirschhorn’s ideas about what should happen in the theater event. It is as if the theater purposely sets out to disrupt and frustrate traditional ideas of communication between stage and audience. Actors and audience are meant to be equal participants in an interruption that crosses over into the field of life. This is not the same interruption we saw in “Caution Art Corrupts.” Here the environment is structured in such a way that the actor or audience member performs his or her own interruption in a context where the reality of others is also called into question. The

¹⁵⁶ (For instance Henk says: “The play was beautiful. There were some texts on cardboard and I wish I had them—you could think for half an hour about one text. Texts from Spinoza that the kids walked with across the stage. Sometimes the texts were so...wow!” Hans says: “It didn’t work as a real play, so he made an absurd theater. And the words! All the lines were awful. But he made it work.” See Bishop “And This” 6-97)

¹⁵⁷ (Steinweg “Gramsci” 1)

¹⁵⁸ (see Hirschhorn “Critical” 309)

frustration of communication breaks down preconceived notions of the theater experience, but it also breaks down habitual ideas of inner subjective experience as being insulated from the outside world. The precarious instant is an instant of both alienation and agency.

Hirschhorn apparently relies on his skills as a theater coach to bridge the gap between script and performance, but he has also admitted that “I am really a bad theater director.”¹⁵⁹ He has reported that his usual method of coaching, appropriate he says for an artist, is to tell the actors what he wants them to do.¹⁶⁰ Even if he has a firm sense of what he wants them to do, which I think he does, the method chosen to relate that is not necessarily the best. He could probably benefit from more of a sense of dialogical aesthetics, wherein actors could effectively rehearse the effects for which he is striving. Actors could also potentially do this on stage, so later iterations of the play may more successfully have arrived at the precarious.

If the only thing for which he is striving is a sense of chaos, then the theater probably succeeds. Bishop, reporting on the “Child’s Play” at the Bijlmer-Spinoza Festival, suggests that this may be enough: “Everyone was there for no reason other than the desire to see and do the same thing: to share a play initiated by an artist, whose singular energy propelled a self-selecting, entirely disparate bunch of people to show up every night and perform or watch an abstract play that nobody fully understood.”¹⁶¹ I would suggest that, in the case of the Gramsci Theater, that is actually not quite enough. In order for the confusion and chaos to be more than just that, the theater needs the kind of transaction that the precarious would provide. That kind of interruption would provide perspective on the experience of a lack of communication. Hopefully he will continue to work on the theater to make it more successfully achieve what he wants.

¹⁵⁹ (Hirschhorn “Critical” 303)

¹⁶⁰ (Hirschhorn writes: “What makes me happy is that I maintained the egalitarian (everyone in the play is of the same importance) and totalitarian direction (no discussion) which I imposed upon my actors.” “Critical” 304)

¹⁶¹ (Bishop “Artificial” 263)

Hirschhorn's approach to making things public is, instead of responding to a request for proposal, to decide for himself where he wants to make his temporary project. He wants to appropriate the whole world. The audience decides to what extent it will collaborate with Hirschhorn's art, and in so doing determines, in significant measure, what impact the art will have and how successful it will be. In a manner reminiscent of the Gerzes, the art is placed "within the people." The fact that he succeeded in getting his structure built and run in public space is, to some extent, a performative act that performs the audience that gives value to his art.

IV. Radical Equality at the Gramsci Monument

Hirschhorn has been reported as having said that he had to assert his will to make the Latin-American and African-American communities in the South Bronx work together on the art project.¹⁶² Because the monument was located in an African-American "territory" some Latin-Americans were reluctant to participate. I will return later to the question of whether assertion of will is the best technique to employ, but the incident reveals something about Hirschhorn's artistic vision for the work. Pre-established boundaries between communities are no longer recognized as such. Territorialization has to be relinquished for the sake of art. The erection of territories within the bounds of the monument, while it still sometimes occurs as workers strive to acquire some prestige for themselves, is frowned upon. Indeed any such assertion of hierarchy tends to be immediately leveled, so the artistic vision of the monument prevails. In this kind of environment, where structures of meaning are disregarded, in favor of an experience of the precarity of the human condition, social friendship acquires additional

¹⁶² (Lerer "CAA")

value. In the particular case of the Latin-American and Africa-American communities, Hirschhorn's will carried at least part of the day. At one of the Sunday "Open Mike" sessions a large number of Latino conga musicians arrived enthusiastically and energized the setting with their music and sometimes improvised vocals (Figures 25 and 26).

V. The Shift to Space in Time

The historical time of the monument is the gap between Gramsci's time and our own. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian communist leader and writer who was imprisoned by the Fascists in 1926. He remained in prison for eight years, during which time he wrote extensively. He received release in 1934 for health reasons and died in 1937 at the age of 46. He is depicted at the Gramsci Monument as an influential historical other, whose revolutionary thought and way of life continue to have meaning for us today. He is known for his theory of cultural hegemony, as well as for the value he placed on being an 'organic intellectual', i.e. one who learned revolutionary strategy by practicing it in the field. Especially in the Gramsci exhibition and in the portrait of Gramsci painted on an exterior wall of the monument we see, in the visual difference between that time and ours, a person of a very different time from our own. His wallet, his eating utensils, his slippers look very different from our own (Figure 27). The photograph from which the painted portrait comes looks very different from contemporary photographs. This visual difference indexes the time over which the monument spans.

When considering how the public sphere in New York City has changed since the mid-1990s when Rosalyn Deutsche wrote *Evictions* it is immediately obvious that the events of 9/11 have intervened. When considering how things in the world have changed since

Gramsci's time when revolution was in the air to today when the possibility of revolution seems foreclosed, one becomes aware of a big void that occurred in the late 1930s and 1940s with the Holocaust. This is certainly part of the time that the Gramsci Monument spans over. Because some relationship to that event is an experience that so many people have in common, and since we are still responding to that event, it becomes part of how we interpret the intervening time that the visual difference indexes.¹⁶³

The stuttering literacy, seen both here and in the Gerzes' work, is being developed as part of a response to that event. The Harburg Monument responds fairly directly to that event, using collective memory. The Gramsci Monument is a much more indirect response, seeking a more comprehensive approach that can apply to all of post-Holocaust life. Since it does not use collective memory, it needs some other mechanism to support the extended duration needed for the new literacy. The presence of the artist on-site is one part of this, but this requires that there be a site. For his site, Hirschhorn constructs a spatial edifice integral with the goals of the project.

The saga of capitalist expansion, or accumulation, would, for its part, fill time with the production of a kind of space that it represents as homogeneous. This homogeneity, as Henri Lefebvre points out, is illusory. Lefebvre has developed the concept of 'abstract space' for the kind of space produced by capitalism. Lefebvre says:

Abstract space works in a highly complex way. It has something of a dialogue about it, in that it implies a tacit agreement, a non-aggression pact, a contract, as it were, of non-violence. It imposes reciprocity, and a communality of use... The subject experiences space as an obstacle, as a resistant 'objectivity' at times as implacably hard as a concrete wall, being not only extremely difficult to modify in any way but also hedged about by Draconian rules prohibiting any attempt at such modification.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ (The question of how to interpret that intervening time is a question of art history. A matter for further research is to investigate whether, and in what way, the visual difference can be interpreted as a spatial difference.)

¹⁶⁴ (Lefebvre "Production" 56-7)

This abstract space, which is seen in public housing as much as in corporate skyscrapers, is, however, also contradictory. It serves the needs of the state by subordinating and rendering docile, but also serves the needs of capitalism by fragmenting space into exchangeable units and by producing difference which can be translated into economic demand. This difference is a source of instability, a contradiction, a line of possible fracture. Urban life is rife with such contradictions, many of which are embodied by the residents of housing projects. The prohibition against modification of abstract space is the opportunity for some transgressive act to explore those lines of fracture. Art is needed so the transgression does not provoke a punitive response.

Hirschhorn dedicates his monuments to philosophers, and then constructs spatial edifices to on which to celebrate their thought. These spatial edifices are produced socially, but the space so produced is subordinated to the time of their construction and their use. Indeed, the only permit the Gramsci Monument had was a building construction permit,¹⁶⁵ so they were constantly prepared, should a building inspector show up, to pretend to be engaged in further construction. The collaborative component, which starts with the building of the platform, is indeed a part of the monument's mode of existence. Yet in that mode of existence the spatial remains completely conditioned by the temporal. These edifices are predestined to be dismantled, with all of their parts being given away to those who enter into a free tombola. The contrast with the space of 1 World Trade Center is radical and distinct. Space is occupied with a foreknowledge that it will be evacuated, as if that space already contains its own inversion.

The construction, the run, and the dismantling of the structure are part of the principle of its making. The construction is social as the construction team made up of residents works together to build the monument in the grassy common area of Forest Houses. The run is

¹⁶⁵ (Raymond "Personal")

made up of the cyclical time of the monument that mimics the cyclical time of life. Within the cyclical time of the daily and weekly schedules of events there are interfaces to a more precarious experience of time. The repetition of events of the everyday yields up to an ability to alter those events, more on a micro level than in Deller, as they are interrupted. This production of space as always conditioned by time places that production against a background of the vanity of human endeavor, emptying it against the void. In the context of the historical time that the monument spans, it is a production of space in the light, or the shadow, of the crimes of the last century.

Rosalyn Deutsche says:

To a great extent, specific spatial relations within the city correspond to the broader circumstances of accumulation under advanced capitalism. Today, accumulation occurs not by absolute expansion but through the internal differentiation of space. It is, then, a process of uneven development.¹⁶⁶

The process of uneven development, which has produced the homeless, gets turned on its head in the Gramsci Monument. Internal differentiation for economic gain is replaced by grass-roots growth and mutation. This alternative production of space, in so far as it disrupts capitalist production, does afford some hope for the homeless. That hope, however, may be limited largely to their ability to join in on the production, because it is the voice of those who experience the radical equality of the monument that is going to be heard through the gap between the Gramsci Monument and abstract space.

VI. The Artist and the Postdemocratic Audience

The entire run of the monument is largely ruled by Hirschhorn's somewhat imperious will. When asked how the monument was going, he responded: "It is going well. Because it

¹⁶⁶ (Deutsche "Evictions" 74)

must.”¹⁶⁷ The certainty of that resolve revealed a kernel of doubt in the question. In looking back on the project now that it has run its course, one has to wonder whether it succeeded according to its own standards. On the monument map there is a quote from Antonio Gramsci: “The only justifiable enthusiasm is that which accompanies the intelligent will, intelligent activity, the inventive richness of concrete initiatives which change existing reality.”¹⁶⁸ Certainly the monument changed existing reality for a time, but for how long? The follow-up interviews that Claire Bishop conducted on the Bijlmer-Spinoza Festival reveal a wide range of responses, some of which convinced her that “the project was more than just social animation for a particular community.”¹⁶⁹ People responded in many ways to different aspects of the project. That openness of response is key, because the postdemocratic audience is here again the locus of the art.

At first glance the Gramsci Monument project might seem to focus on exposing the people of the South Bronx to the life and work of Antonio Gramsci. As such, it would be subject to the charge of patronizing them. Holding a Spinoza festival in a Dutch setting is a way of fostering the culture of a place, but holding a Gramsci monument in the Bronx smacks of importing European culture to the unenlightened masses. That the Gramsci Monument is not actually so patronizing does not absolve it of the charge of having a somewhat questionable project. The reason a Gramsci monument was held in the South Bronx appears primarily to be because Gramsci was the last one on Hirschhorn’s self-assigned list of monuments. The lack of any identifiable reason why Gramsci should be associated with the Bronx makes those particularities of the project a matter of the imperious will of the artist, or in this case one could say the arrogance of the artist.

¹⁶⁷ (Hirschhorn “Personal”)

¹⁶⁸ (Hirschhorn “Gramsci” back)

¹⁶⁹ (Bishop “Establishing” 36)

That Gramsci is more of a pretext for the project than the actual focus means that that artistic decision can still be charged up to artistic license, i.e. the artistic license of an artist whose will is very much a part of what makes the monument work, or in some ways perhaps not work. The scope of the project is large and ambitious, but it falls short of its goals simply because there are certain practical details that it does not effectively address. One of these is the makeup of the actual audience of the monument. The hours of the monument were such that even many residents of Forest Houses, particularly those with regular full-time jobs, could not attend except perhaps on weekends. Those who could regularly attend included those employed by the monument, those retired or semi-retired, those in single-income families whose spouse works, children, and those not employed in regular, full-time jobs. Visitors to the monument primarily consisted of those art world enthusiasts who also could get away during weekdays, or else on weekends. Visitors, for the most part, would come only for one day or two, so their interaction with Forest Houses residents and others at the monument was generally quite limited. The nature of the project, as an art project and despite the approachability of the materials used in the construction, tended to create a threshold over which many people, even those in the neighborhood, would not naturally cross. How many homeless people visited the Gramsci Monument? Many of these are factors not very much within Hirschhorn's control. The fact that he did open his art work to such a broad potential audience is commendable, even daring, but the fact also remains that the actual audience, and the actual interaction between different audience members, probably did not achieve the optimal.

Since the locus of the art is placed within the audience, these practical matters constitute a fairly significant drawback. Such a work of art opens a gap between a place where the *demos* exists (in art) and the postdemocratic order. I argue here (see also below) that this work seeks to

create the conditions necessary for a new voice to be heard in that gap. The character of that voice, then, would seem to be closely tied to factors conditioning the ability of different peoples to actively participate. The imperious will of the artist may be necessary to make such a project actually happen, but the arrogance of the artist may be a factor contributing to a lack of attention to certain practical details that can compromise some of the project's aim.

VII. The Voice and the Non-Exclusive Audience

The question of extension beyond the duration of the project remains. Certainly people would have different ways of incorporating the experience into their lives. Although evaluators are not bound to follow what the artist says, it is still useful to consider the vision of the artist. In Hirschhorn's vision, the lasting change comes as a result of the interaction between, and overlap amongst, the art world and what he calls "THE OTHER – the non-exclusive audience."¹⁷⁰ This is revealed in Hirschhorn's drawing of the non-exclusive audience inserted at the top of the Gramsci-Monument map—of the relationship between the artist, the non-exclusive audience, and what he calls the spectrum, or spectre, of evaluation (Figure 28). In it the artist aims the work at the non-exclusive audience, and the spectrum of evaluation evaluates the artist. But there is also an area of overlap between the spectrum of evaluation, which consists of critics, curators, collectors, art historians and other members of the art world, and the non-exclusive audience. There is a red area in the drawing which expands outside of the area of overlap between the two, to effect a larger portion of the art world and the non-exclusive audience. Hirschhorn seems to intend that works like the Gramsci Monument should produce change over time through encounters between

¹⁷⁰ (Hirschhorn "Gramsci" back)

audiences. The unusual thing about this model is that it asserts very little control over the direction that that creation of meaning should take. What actually happens in that red zone is left completely open. The question is whether that is enough. Do the various members of his audience think their lives have been affected, and has the monument succeeded in creating an event? These questions are in the process of being answered.

Hirschhorn evacuates the public, making the overlap between the non-exclusive audience and the spectrum of evaluation the locus of interest. This amounts to a way of keeping the gap open, the gap between art and the postdemocratic order. Instead of engaging in dialectics as the “mother of progress,” this art says that a bringing down of order, leading to an opening on to alterity, and on to an awareness of ethico-political implications, is what is needed. The non-exclusive audience to which the work is addressed is not the same thing as the actual audience, but by addressing the work to a non-exclusive audience Hirschhorn constructs a relationship between the actual audience and the audience to which the work is addressed. He also relates both the non-exclusive audience and the spectrum of evaluation to the red zone, which begins with those members of both groups who have crossed over and entered the area of overlap. This area of overlap is an area of a degree of separation from the familiar, of a degree of exile, of alterity. This is where a new literacy is being formed.

This alterity is a condition of understanding that others is what we all are. If the antagonism of the Art School “renders my identity precarious and vulnerable,” this becomes an opportunity to form it anew, through a precarious voicing of who I am. If the Open Microphone brings together ethnic neighborhoods that often respect turf, then that is still an opportunity to spontaneously take the microphone and sing anew a lyric from one’s past (see person at lower right in fig. 35). And if there is a question and answer session at the end of one of the

philosophy lectures or one of the presentations on Gramsci, then that is a chance to ask a question that cuts to the heart of things. For instance, after former union leader turned CUNY Graduate Center professor Stanley Aronowitz finished his talk on grass roots organization in the 1960s and 1970s, Hirschhorn asked him how, as an organic intellectual, did he justify spending so much time with traditional intellectuals. Aronowitz responded, with a smile, that he actually anticipated that he might get such a question, but he didn't think it would be the first one and he didn't think it would come from Thomas Hirschhorn himself! Certainly, the process does not go completely smoothly, as seen with the Gramsci Theater, but that is surely to be expected.

This new literacy, like that of the Harburg Monument, is formed beginning from the assumption of its own inadequacy. The Gramsci Monument is extending the formation of that literacy to the world of the everyday. The way in which the Gramsci Monument suspends its audience in a land of exile is similar in some ways to the way the Harburg Monument treats its audience. The Harburg Monument effectively challenges its audience to face the Holocaust and respond to it, even though adequate response to such an unthinkable thing is impossible. When the audience of the Gramsci Monument is suspended in exile, with no foundation and with little beyond social relationships and friendship to fall back on, they are put in a position of responding to the chaotic energy of a void that generates a polyphonic subjectivity. They too are put in a position of needing to formulate a response when no adequate response is possible. The lack of an adequate response, however, is not considered to be any hindrance to trying. Indeed, part of this new literacy is to listen for what does not quite work, or fit, or has been left out.

Fortunately, the response can begin at a small scale. The language of everyday life, for instance, indexes a community of conventional usage of which the language user is a part. In the

user's idiosyncrasies and modifications of conventional usage it also invokes some of the alterity in the world. This also indexes the poetry of the soul of the user, some of her or his inner thoughts and fears and desires which, in a suspended usage, can become the material of a re-enactment and development of this new kind of literacy. Now the social can become a celebration of this development.

The Gramsci Monument, even in the events that celebrate thought and the lives of thinkers, almost always provides a mechanism for that voice to come through. Marcus Steinweg's philosophy lectures are performed in a setting where they might get interrupted at any time, and where the audience comprehends only part of what they are hearing. There is a kind of planned chaos that disrupts the rational purposes that the larger society has assigned to philosophy lectures. This actually enhances the philosophy, allowing it to be heard afresh as if for the first time. It also keeps an ear open to that voice that might emerge through the chaos, beginning to articulate a new subjectivity. The social here has one ear, or perhaps a third ear, turned toward the void.

To say that this is the voice of the non-exclusive audience is not quite right. It tends to be the voice of those whose needs and desires are not being heard, but it could also be the voice of those inspired to speak, or it could simply be static having no discernible voice. The ear that is turned to hear is also not quite the ear of the non-exclusive audience. It is the ear of those who are aware of the gap, or who in some cases are maintaining the gap. This is closer to the ear of the red zone, though it may not be necessary to identify to whom the ear belongs. Like in Tatlin this voice and ear are "both real and part of the imagination,"¹⁷¹ existing in the space where life is shaped by art. Here there is also a Kabakov-like interface deployed, enabling a reflection on

¹⁷¹ (Bott "Tatlin" 23)

the quality of the interaction between them. The audience might be able to take this situation and make more of it than Hirschhorn actually provides.

In this context, the fact that Hirschhorn writes so much about his work is somewhat problematic. The writings tends to guide responses on to the one authorized response, making the writings another thing that has to be transcended for the audience to come up with its own response. On the other hand, the artist writings do present a counterpoint to the more philosophical content of the work, and can serve as a helpful orientation device. Their limitations, however, should be kept in mind by the audience member wishing to go beyond Hirschhorn.

The question, then, is not only what Hirschhorn offers to the wide audience that he addresses and that works like the Gramsci Monument receive. It is also what he offers that audience that would like to extend some of the principles of his work beyond the limits of the monument. Certainly there are many directions in which such an extension could take place. Particularly speaking, what I want to suggest is that the installation of the Kabakov-like interface on the Tatlinesque fusion of art and life provides a reflexive mechanism that can help an audience member evaluate and improve the nature of the Gramscian organic experience,¹⁷² both as an artistic revolutionary practitioner in the field and as an organic intellectual. This experience is Gramscian in that it happens in the field, but has become artistic, retaining some of the spirit of Tatlin.

¹⁷² (This use of the Gramscian idea of the organic intellectual is based not on a study of his writings, but on the sense derived from participation in the Gramsci Monument and the use made of the term by Hirschhorn and Aronowitz, i.e. on a common usage that the idea has come to have.)

Conclusion

The future of the whole project, from Hirschhorn's point-of-view, was always one of looking back at itself as past. Hirschhorn has said that from the run of the monument he hopes only to get something to enhance his art.¹⁷³ He insists on the autonomy of art, which in Hirschhorn's case translates as the autonomy of the artist. The insistence on the autonomy of art has its self-serving side. It justifies the move back to a profitable art market practice. Yet it also shows how close he is to Ilya Kabakov in some respects. Hirschhorn wants to appropriate the whole world to his art. He fuses art and life from the side of art. He starts from art and never strays very far from it. This can be seen even in his early video works, like "Thank You" in which he directly faces the camera while slapping his face with pop music blaring in the background. "Equality in confrontation"¹⁷⁴ is a phrase used now looking back at that work, a phrase still so applicable that it may be motivated in part by more recent work. His gratitude is a gift he offers to the audience as his art, and he expresses it through the length of the video.

Autonomy, however, is also a way of putting the ball in the audience's court. "Autonomy, far from being incompatible with hegemony, is a form of hegemonic construction."¹⁷⁵ By asserting his autonomy, Hirschhorn is effectively calling on the audience to take control/responsibility for the task that he initiated. The call to respond, heard and felt in Jeremy Deller's work, can be heeded here. There are many ways in which one could do this. One is to disrupt an official production of meaning so other voices can be heard. Another is to produce an alternative social space. A third is probably to produce art or engage in the production of art. And another is to engage in activity similar to that of Kester's facilitator. The artistic

¹⁷³ (Regarding the Bataille Monument Hirschhorn said: "I am not a social worker; I am not trying to revive this neighborhood. For me, art is a tool to get to know the world. Art is a tool to make me confront reality; art is a tool to experience the time in which I am living." "Critical" 226.)

¹⁷⁴ (Moisdon "Videos" 1)

¹⁷⁵ (Laclau and Mouffe "Hegemony" 140)

revolutionary practitioner that Hirschhorn constructs has a polyphonic subjectivity with a reflexive mechanism that could be put to use in the polyvocality of the dialogic, collaborative experience.

There is something that escapes language in dialogic aesthetics, too. It does not need to comport itself so much as if it were a “controlled contest with permanent rules.”¹⁷⁶ It can learn from the combination of antagonistic and ameliorative aspects seen in “The Battle of Orgreave.” It can learn also from some of the techniques of the deployment of space in time seen at the Gramsci Monument, to make a temporary space the focus of a communal endeavor. It can connect its audience to an outside that may help chart the path the community wishes to take. Those who have formed the ear, by installing the Kabakov interface, have some of the tools needed for this kind of art, i.e. a reflexive interface to use to keep the gap open so that the voice, like that of the “primitive assembly,” can be heard. This new literacy offers some hope, as it is part of a new paradigm of far-reaching ramifications. The question of how it can solve specific problems, like that of the homeless, depends largely on the people who contribute to that voice. The first step is that they (we) together take responsibility with regard to the thing created.

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¹⁷⁶ (Lefort “Democracy” 17)

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Appendix

“Monument to a Lost Glove” text

I.

You wanted to kick this old glove aside
With your boot, but be careful:
You could do this in just about any place, but
Not near a museum of contemporary art today:
It is very difficult to decide not knowing
Whether it is lying here accidentally, or on purpose
By the artist's will. The most diverse kind of junk,
Metal scraps that can be found in any of our homes,
Fill museum collections today –
It is only the museum walls that impart value to them.
But what if beyond the walls there is junk, like this glove,
Lying near the entrance? The problem is entirely solvable.
You merely have to calculate subtly just how close is it to the door.

II.

The sun reflecting on the flowing water,
The noise of the water, a glove forgotten by someone –
All of this carries us away to a time when romanticism was in fashion,
And long poetic strolls, like here, for example –
Along the rapid Rhine, under the trees;
On one side the city walls,
On the opposite side there is a dock, from where the boatman, fighting the current,
Transported you to the other side that is overgrown with trees.
To a time when students loved and could write verse
And published it, hiding the pseudonyms ...
It's strange, but where could the poetry and strolls have vanished to –
And where are we rushing to in our tin boxes,
Not even noticing either the blue river, or the high clear sky ...

III.

Like two drops of water, it is identical to the one she had left in the hotel,
The same kind of strap, the same color, reddish-orange.
We went just for two days which we decided to spend together,
To be totally alone together, so that no one would see us alone together ...
What time of the year was that? The last days of summer? No, probably it was fall:
The little boat we decided to take a ride on was leaving on its last run, there was no
one else aboard ...
Or was it spring? I can't remember when it was;
I remember only the tears of happiness in her eyes that we were together,
But more out of grief that we would part again.

IV.

V.

VI.

94

should come to visit,
They say, presidents of other countries – I heard about that,
But it's somehow hard to believe –
What would they say about us, the residents, if they
See garbage like this at their feet –
I think that they couldn't say anything good.
Of course, I could pick it up myself and throw it away,
But why should I do the work for them when they are getting paid for it?

VII.

The glove of a right hand is lying there all alone, but where is its companion?
Everything has its counterpart, its second half.
Just like this glove, I have remained alone and it is unbearable
To experience and feel my loneliness!
I didn't even know that this would be so horrible while we were together and everything
Was fine – we travelled a lot, we never separated,
He called me his sister, his child.
No one foresaw what happened, and I don't even know when he became dissatisfied with me.
He was always happy, even on that day when he left, not leaving me even one line of explanation.
Here, in our city, it is so sad, so impossible to remain alone,
Especially in our region where there aren't many people: you are forbid to stay at home
Closing the door behind you. But loneliness is even more difficult to bear sitting at home.
You go out, run down the street – and you find this glove
In which, like in a mirror, you see your own fate.

VIII.

... I bent down, took a closer look ... I thought the glove was leather, it turns out it's plastic ...
And again the same old pain, the same thoughts which torment me all the time:
Everything is now an imitation, there is nothing real, nothing is genuine, everything is fake.
My daughter made the walls "like wood" – but it is painted paper;
The parquet in the kitchen is done "like stone" – but it's linoleum;
Flowers I saw in one home were artificial;
They say they are laying artificial grass on the ground,
So it won't dry out and will be bright, like real grass ...
They say all of this is cheaper – what's the difference, everything looks real and is
even more practical,
So what? Interest in the genuine, the real was lost long ago
And will unlikely ever return ...
But don't those who talk like this realize that everything will become second quality
because of this,
And that our nature is being replaced by mere appearances, by deceit,
Our values, our attitudes and even to ourselves we are becoming
Merely ghosts, murky shadows among other shadows in the world surrounding us?

IX.

A lost red glove near the jogging path.

When I was young, I also ran along these paths.

We would run next to each other, we always ran together ...

I tried never to fall behind him, and he would hold himself back so he
wouldn't run too fast.

True, we ran here not in shorts and T-shirts,

Like they do now, totally uninhibited ...

And their heads uncovered as well, their hair fluttering in the wind.

And I still remember when you couldn't even go outside

With an uncovered head. And we also ran in straw hats with short round visors.

I had a favourite hat with a wide blue ribbon.

Once, the wind blew it off as I was running, and it rolled around on the grass
like a wheel ...

He took off after it ... caught it ... and came back with the hat

And a large yellow rose in the other hand.

Figures

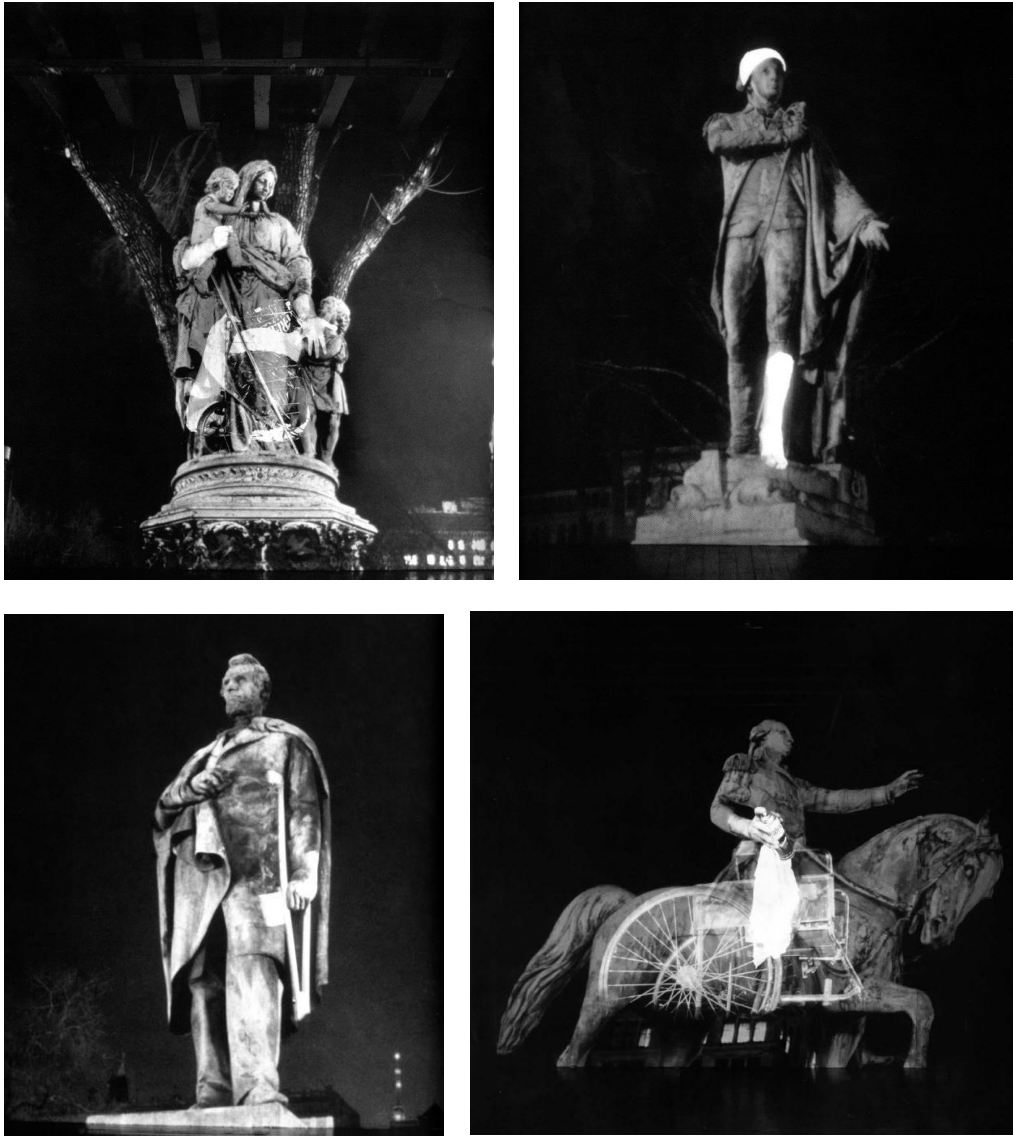


Figure 1. Photographs clockwise from top left of installation views of the Allegory of Charity, the Marquis de Lafayette statue, the George Washington statue, and the Abraham Lincoln statue, the *Homeless Projection, A Proposal for Union Square*. Photos: 49th Parallel, Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, New York, 1986. Reproduced in Deutsche, Rosalyn, et al. 2011. *Krzysztof Wodiczko*. London: Black Dog.



Figure 2. Daniel Libeskind design drawings for “Foundations of Memory.” Drawing: Daniel Libeskind. Reproduced in *What Ever Happened to Daniel Libeskind's Original WTC Freedom Tower Design Inhabitat New York City*. (<http://inhabitat.com/nyc/the-tower-that-could-have-been-daniel-libeskind's-award-winning-wtc-design/>).



Figure 3. Michael Arad design drawing showing underground gallery for 9/11 Memorial. Drawing: Michael Arad. Reproduced in *The Effect of Moving 9-11 Names to Street Level - New York Times*. (http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/22/nyregion/22blocks.html?_r=0).



Figure 4. Photograph of 1 World Trade Center under construction. Photograph: Mack Sjogren, July 17, 2013.

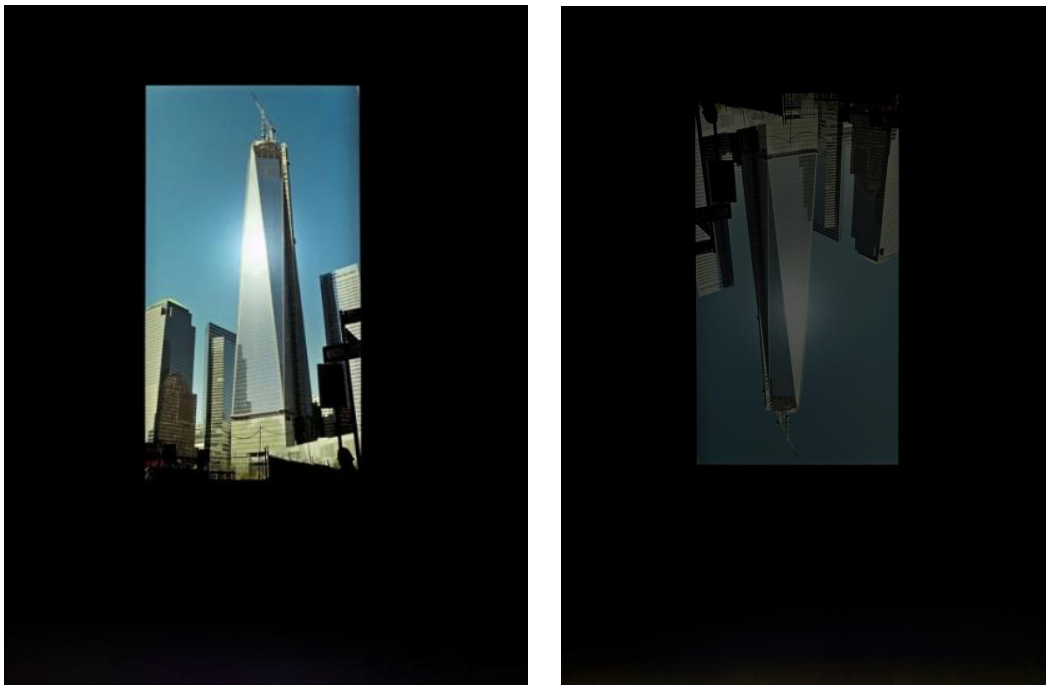


Figure 5. Allyson Vieira, “The Plural Present” installation view at Swiss Institute, New York, 2014. Photo: Daniel Perez. Reproduced at *Allyson Vieira “The Plural Present” at Swiss Institute, New York - MOUSSE CONTEMPORARY ART MAGAZINE*. (<http://moussemagazine.it/allyson-vieira-swissinstitute/#sthash.ZRmua4kQ.dpuf>).



Figure 6. Photographs of Allyson Vieira, *Ups and Downs (Olympia) I & II* and *Beauty, Mirth and Abundance*. Installation view, Kunsthalle, Basel, Switzerland. Photographs: Mack Sjogren, October 24, 2013.

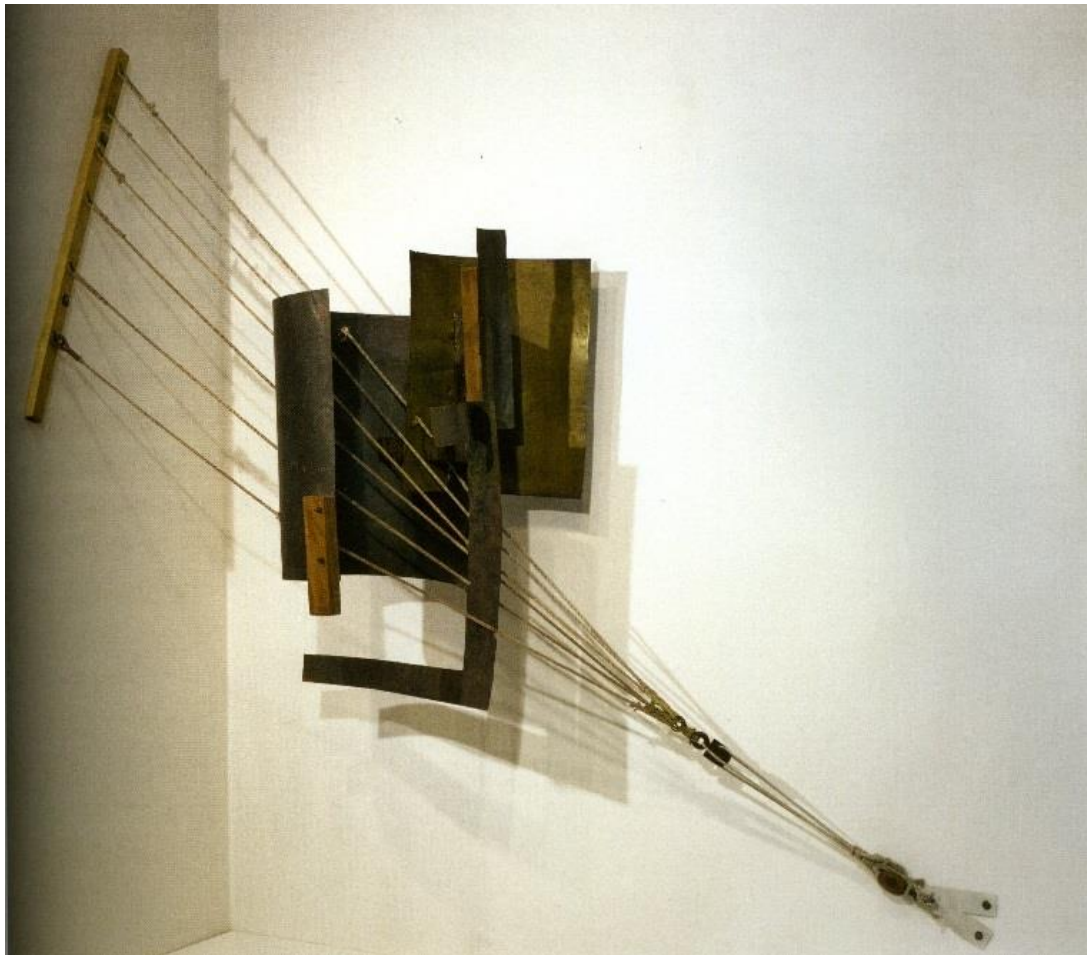


Figure 7. Photographs of Vladimir Tatlin, *Corner Counter-Relief*, 1914. Wood, metal, rope, fixtures, 71x118 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Reproduced in Tatlin, Vladimir Evgrafovich, and Simon Baier. 2012. *Tatlin: new art for a new world*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, page 71.



Figure 8. Photograph of Tatlin with assistant in front of the model of the *Monument to the Third International* in the workshop Material, Space, and Construction, Petrograd 1920. Photographer: Unknown. Reproduced in Tatlin, Vladimir Evgrafovich, and Simon Baier. 2012. *Tatlin: new art for a new world*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, page 113.



Figure 9. Photographs of installation view of Ilya Kabakov, *Blickst Du hinauf und liest die Worte...* (*Looking Up, Reading the Words...*). Reproduced in *Contemporary sculpture. projects in münster, 1997 / edited by klaus bussman, kasper könig and florian matzner*. 1997. Ostfildern-Ruit : New York : Verlag Gerd Hatje, Distributed Art Publishers [distributor], page 239.



Figure 10. Photographs of Ilya Kabakov, *Monument to a Lost Glove*, Basel, Switzerland. Photographs: Mack Sjogren, October 23, 2013.



Figure 11. Photographs of installation view of Jochen Gerz, *Attenzione l'arte corrompe* (*Caution Art Corrupts*), Florence, Italy, 1968. Reproduced in Gerz, Jochen. c1999. *Jochen gerz, res publica : The public works, 1968-1999* / [edited by museion, museum for modern art, bolzano]. Ostfildern : H. Cantz, pages 40-1.



Figure 12. Photographs of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument Against Fascism*, Harburg, Germany. Left: *The Harburg Monument Against War and Fascism and for Peace at its unveiling, 1986*. Photographer: Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Reproduced in Young, James Edward. 2000. *At memory's edge : After-images of the holocaust in contemporary art and architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, page 129. Right: Signing her name on the Harburg Monument, 1989. Reproduced at *cities squared art and public places - the visible and the invisible* (<http://citiessquared.blogspot.com/2013/05/art-and-public-places-visible-and.html>).



Figure 13. Photographs of Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument Against Fascism*, Harburg, Germany. Left: *The Harburg monument after its seventh lowering, 1992*. Photographer: Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. Right: Graffiti scrawl on Harburg's disappearing monument, 1989. Photographer: James E. Young. Reproduced in Young, James Edward. 2000. *At memory's edge : After-images of the holocaust in contemporary art and architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, page 136 and 132.



Figure 14. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (the splitters)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjogren, October 253, 2013.



Figure 15. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (Somali militant altar)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjogren, October 253, 2013.



Figure 16. Photograph of installation view of Thomas Hirschhorn, *Diachronic Pool (the megaform)*, Museum Tinguely, Basel, Switzerland. Photograph: Mack Sjogren, October 253, 2013.



Figure 17. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *Battle of Orgreave*, 2001. Photograph: © Linda Nylind. Reproduced in Deller, Jeremy. 2001. *The English Civil War part II: personal accounts of the 1984-85 miner's strike*. [Great Britain]: Artangel.



Figure 18. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *Battle of Orgreave*, 2001. Photograph: © Martin Jenkinson. Reproduced at *Battle of Orgreave - Martin Jenkinson Photography* (<http://mjenkinsonphotography.co.uk/galleries/Artangel/>).



Figure 19. Photograph of Jeremy Deller, *English Magic* (showing 'I want to be invisible' mural), Venice, Italy, 2013. Reproduced at *Jeremy Deller's Venice Biennale exhibition to tour UK - News - Art Fund* (<http://www.artfund.org/news/2013/05/29/jeremy-dellers-venice-biennale-exhibition-to-tour-uk>).



Figure 20. Photograph of *Gramsci Monument* (with portrait of philosopher Antonio Gramsci).
 Photographer: Lee Rosenbaum. Reproduced at *CultureGrrl* *Thomas Hirschhorn's Lively Gramsci Monument Brings Intellectual Gobbledygook to the Masses* (with video)
 (<https://www.artsjournal.com/culturegrrl/2013/07/thomas-hirschhorns-lively-gramsci-monument-brings-intellectual-gobbledygook-to-the-masses-with-video.html>).



Figure 21. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's *Gramsci Monument*, Sculpture, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at *gramsci-monument.com*, *SCULPTURE* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page29.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

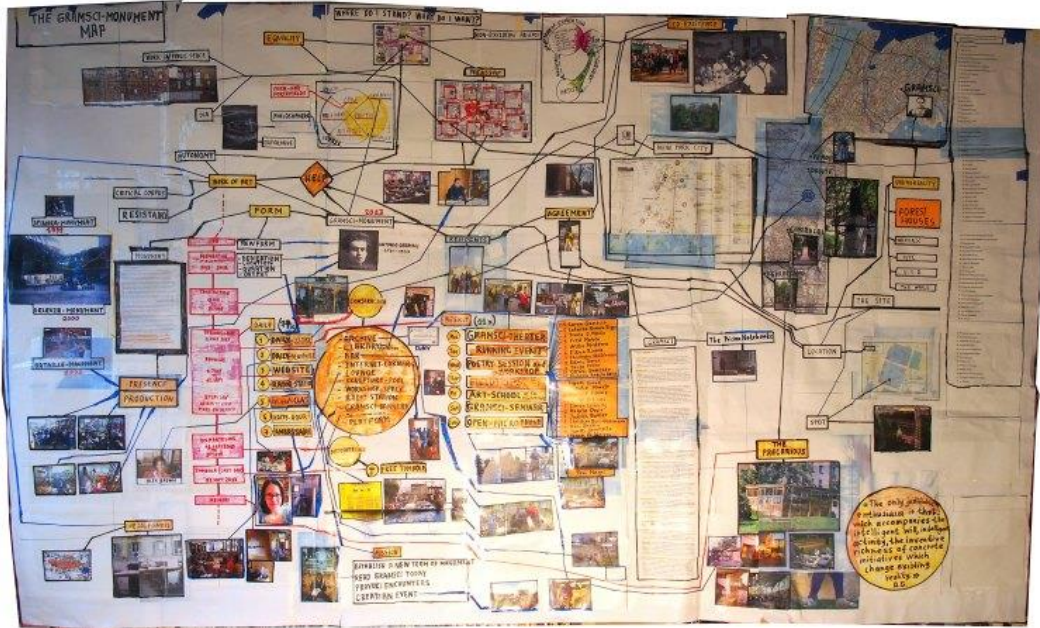


Figure 22. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's *Gramsci Monument-Map*. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *THE MAP* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page44.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.



Figure 23. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Art School July 19, 2013*, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *AS03* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page152.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.



Figure 24. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Gramsci Theater* July 22, 2013, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *GT 04* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page162.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.



Figure 25. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Open Microphone* July 21, 2013, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *OM03* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page159.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.



Figure 26. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, Open Microphone July 21, 2013, Forest Houses, New York, New York. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, OM03 (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page159.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.



Figure 27. Photograph of Thomas Hirschhorn's Gramsci Monument, *Gramsci exhibition objects*. Reproduced at gramsci-monument.com, *OBJECTS* (<http://gramsci-monument.com/page67.html>). Accessed November 15, 2013.

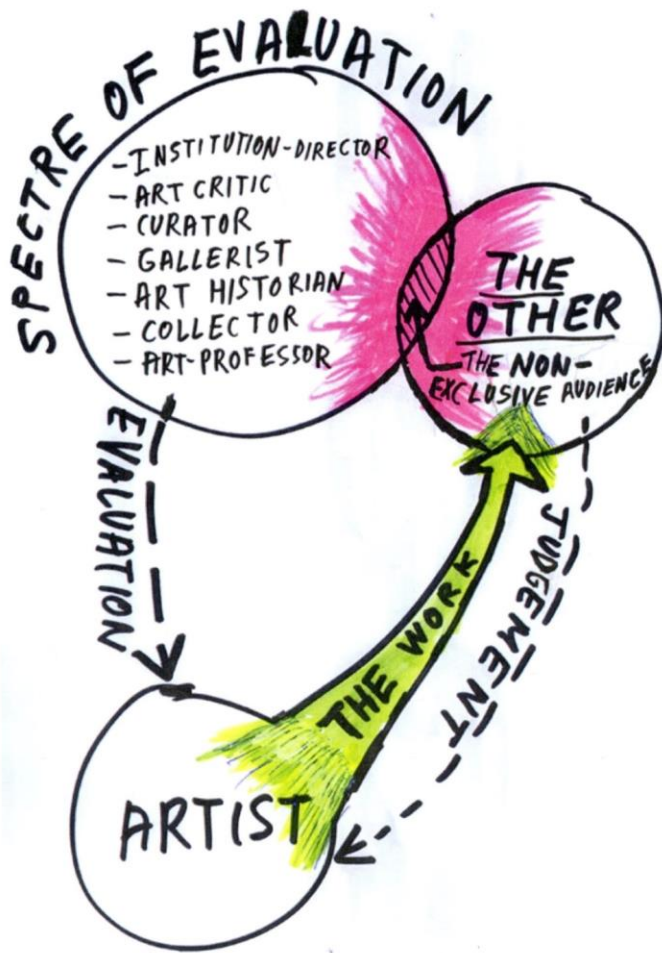


Figure 28. Thomas Hirschhorn, *Spectre of Evaluation*, (drawing also included on Gramsci Monument-Map). Reproduced at Owl's Analysis Thomas Hirschhorn *Spectre of Evaluation*. (<http://incommunism.blogspot.com/2009/06/thomas-hirschhorn-spectre-of-evaluation.html>).