INFORMATION TO USERS

A Fragment of the Berlin Wall in the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal': Notes Toward a Theory of the Public Artefact at the "End of History"

Marc James Léger

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 1997

0-612-40228-2

Canada

ABSTRACT

A Berlin Wall Fragment in the 'Centre de commerce
Mondial de Montréal': Notes Toward a Theory of the Public
Artefact at the "End of History"

Marc James Léger

The contemporary critical art practices of situational
aesthetics and site specificity have affected and transformed
the production and reception of monumental public art. This
thesis examines the placement of a fragment of the Berlin Wall
in the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal' in light of
the knowledge produced by these political and aesthetic
practices. In keeping with materialist approaches to the
study of art as well as to urban space, the production of the
Wall fragment as a public monument is understood in terms of
social relations and representation. By paying close
attention to multiple spatial, aesthetic and social contexts,
it is argued that the placement of the fragment in the CCMM
yields specific meanings and preferred readings. While the
interpretation provided in this thesis is situated and
partial, it nevertheless makes the claim that the site chosen
for this example of public art puts into question and
undermines the very notion of the public sphere, that is, the
same political ideal which establishes and legitimates "public
art" as a social practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations...

Illustrations...

Venez découvrir le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal
le nouveau monde des affaires et point névralgique du commerce mondial de
Montréal. Entrez dans une extraordinaire ville intérieure au coeur de la vie
montréalaise.
Affaires internationales ♦ Congrès ♦ Missions commerciales ♦ Expositions
♦ Bureaux ♦ Boutiques ♦ Restaurants ♦ Hôtel Inter-Continental Montréal.

Come and discover the Montreal World Trade Centre
the new era of business and Montreal focal point for international trade. Step
within, and discover an extraordinary neighbourhood in the heart of Montreal.
International Affairs ♦ Congress ♦ Commercial Missions ♦ Exhibits
♦ Offices ♦ Boutiques ♦ Restaurants ♦ Hôtel Inter-Continental Montréal.

747, SQUARE VICTORIA, MONTRÉAL, QUÉBEC, CANADA, H2Y 3Y9 ☎ 514-982-9888

Voyez un segment du Mur de Berlin (collection d'art public de la ville de Montréal)
See a segment of the Berlin Wall (collection of public art of the City of Montreal)

INTRODUCTION

> Whoever has emerged victorious participates to
> this day in the triumphal procession in which the
> present rulers step over those who are lying
> prostrate. According to traditional practice, the
> spoils are carried along in the procession. They
> are called cultural treasures, and a historical
> materialist views them with cautious detachment.
> For without exception the cultural treasures he
> surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate
> without horror.
>
> > - Walter Benjamin[1]

> But we are faced with a difficult task: to review
> the basic assumption and the unfolding of this
> history stage by stage, document by document, to
> evaluate its results and see how it meets the
> demands of the present day. A mass of dogmas which
> hardly anyone believes in anymore will be discarded
> in the process: among others, the dogma that history
> has "winners."
>
> > - Christa Wolf[2]

Since the time and place I began my research for this
thesis, I have considered Benjamin's reflection on the notion
of progress in secular time as an emblem for my approach to
the study of the dispersal and consequent display of
monumental fragments of the Berlin Wall. In her short article
on the consumption of Wall souvenirs, Lori Turner fittingly
cited Benjamin's "Thesis on the Philosophy of History" as her
epigraph.[3] I repeat that passage here as an opening

---

[1]Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in
Hannah Arendt, ed. Illuminations: Essays and Reflections
trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968, 1969) 256.

[2]Christa Wolf in Alexander Stephan, ed. The Author's
Dimension, Selected Essays trans. Jan Van Heurck (New York:
Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993) 301.

[3]Lori Turner, "The Berlin Wall: Fragment as Commodity,"
Border/Lines #19 (Fall 1990) 2-4.

reflection. But I have also added Christa Wolf's critique of the notion that there are "winners" in the first place, and by extension, that there are "losers," or histories that have ostensibly been forgotten. These entrenched notions impede the imagining of an alternative to the view of history as a "state of emergency" awaiting revolutionary liberation, and, related to the former, a nostalgic quietism mourning the loss of utopian hopes. Wolf wrote that for the East Germans, the concept of the Communist "victory" over Fascism during WWII prevented people from confronting the past and effectively resisting the oppressive structures and attitudes of Stalinism. In this thesis, I am making a similar claim for the resistance to the notion of a Western capitalist victory over Communism. This is not a defense of State socialism, but rather a critique of the assumptions surrounding concepts of history and progress in the age of "global competitiveness" and a triumphant New World Order. In the present historical conjuncture, this claim expresses a call for alternatives to the austerity politics of the hegemonic form of conservative neo-liberalism.

Writing in October of 1989 at the height of the superpower arms buildup and simultaneous public discussions of deterrence and disarmament, Wolf called for disarmament in the area of ideas and ideology. In light of such a plea, the task at hand would be to move parallel to, and beyond, the critical work of remembering and writing the history of the forgotten, and to

deconstruct the very language of competition, progress, restoration, and victory. I believe that this dual principle is characteristic of critical postmodernism. (Fig.1) Critical postmodernism contests the combative features of struggle while at the same time remaining committed to its emancipatory promise and social analytic. Rosemary Hennessy has posed this very problem of deconstruction and critical engagement from the perspective of materialist feminism.[4] Similarly, Stanley Aronowitz questions the supposed improbability of postmodernism as an affirmative culture, often pessimistically explained away with regard to its ironic stance toward the utopias of modernity. With regard to the work of criticism, however, he warns that "our desire for closure is lodged too deeply in the wounded psyche to be eradicated by even the most powerful weapons of criticism."[5] Aronowitz suggests that if critical postmodernism "has not wholly succeeded, part of the fault lies with the immensity of its aspirations."[6] Ironically, the ambitions of contemporary theory – including feminism, postcolonialism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, post-Althusserian ideology critique, critical theory, queer theory, materialist philosophy, identity politics, and so on –

---

[4]Rosemary Hennessy, Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse (New York: Routledge, 1993); for an alternate view, see Michèle Barrett, The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[5]Stanley Aronowitz, Dead Artists, Live Theories, and Other Cultural Problems (New York: Routledge, 1994) 43.

[6]Aronowitz, 43.

have been on the monumental scale of the metadiscourses of the past. Their methods, however, operate on a different register, with temperate utopian disclosures.

Critical postmodernism describes the theoretical direction of this work. While many approaches are taken up, I would emphasize that this is not in the service of a theoretical pluralism. Throughout this project I have been reminded of the necessity of a sustained critical and historically grounded understanding of the structures that overdetermine social space and the public articulation of critical democracy. The general subject of my thesis is contemporary forms of monumental public art. In Chapter Two I examine some of the aspects of situational aesthetics and site specificity. These art practices participate in the material enunciation of critical postmodernism and question the function of representation in the production of a public. On the subject of the monumental form, I am largely in agreement with James E. Young's study, The Texture of Memory. Young opens with a reflection on the near total destruction of the Berlin Wall and the industrious and efficient consumption of its memory. This phenomenon is a perfect example of the ability of aesthetic forms - say, Berlin Wall souvenirs and monuments - to mediate, displace, and perhaps even erase memory. Young understands the constructedness of such cultural artefacts, which makes of them dialogical sites of remembrance and

meaning. These artefacts are affected by their uses and contexts and in turn affect their contexts as well as related social practices. Young's study mentions how state-sponsored memorials often marshall images of a heroic national past, triumphs over barbarism and solemn commemorations of defeated martyrs. He argues that "only rarely does a nation call upon itself to remember the victims of crimes it has perpetrated."[7] This problematic of critical versus monumental (pedagogical) history points to a discrepancy between the characteristics of critical and community public art on the one hand, and official public art in the form of public relations management and its discourse of unity, beauty and public utility.

It is my argument that elements of critical public art can be recognized in the representational strategy of the Berlin Wall fragment/monument located in the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal' (CCMM or Montreal World Trade Centre). (Fig.2) I also believe that these persist, however, in an inverted or diverted form, this having much to do with the inability of liberal culture to picture the dismantling of Stalinist regimes as anything other than a sign of the unquestionable hegemony of its own (always mutating) socio-economic and aesthetic logic. As Wolf aptly remarked, this rhetorical stance has much to do with capitalism's need to

---

[7]James E. Young, The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 21.

cover up its own contradictions and problems.[8]   I would

identify this cynical liberalism as a not uncommon instance of

ironic   or   conservative   postmodernism.[9]   What   makes

conservative postmodernism such a remarkably effective

discourse is that it denies progressive practices cultural

legitimacy at the same time as it manipulates these to its own

ends.   Critical and conceptual art works, for instance, are

routinely critiqued in liberal art discourse for being

authoritarian in manner and communicational intention.[10]

With the Berlin Wall fragment viewed as an aesthetic artefact,

and in the display rhetoric of its contextualization, one can

recognize an informed use of contemporary strategies of

critical public art and a simultaneous discarding of its

vanguardist principles.   This can be observed in the

synchronous emphasis on and disavowal of context as a defining

element in the meaning of the art work/artefact - a typical

---

[8]Wolf, 296.

[9]For a critique of conservative postmodernism, see Terry
Eagleton, "Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism," in
Francis Frascin and Jonathan Harris, eds. Art in Modern
Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts (London: Phaidon
Press, 1992) 91.

[10]Work influenced by conceptualism, for instance, work which
is politically challenging and which critiques pervasive forms
of cynicism is attacked as authoritarian or propagandistic, or
even more insidiously, as bad art. For a look at the workings
of liberal art discourse in New York in the late 1970s and
early 1980s, see Rosalyn Deutsche and Cara Gendel Ryan, "The
Fine Art of Gentrification," October #31 (Winter 1984) 91-111.

strategy of "post-indexical" site specific works.[11] The simultaneous fetishization and disavowal of context (Deutsche), the abandonment of institutional critique, the "unreflexive manipulation of one's surroundings" (Molesworth), and the reification of the reification of perception by the exhibition space (Kibbins) are prime examples of how displays such as the CCMM's invert the critical strategies of site specificity.[12] These shifts partially explain why we can now find so many Wall monuments installed in such variable yet still "specific" contexts.

I would like to consider this problematic of display as an issue of representation and turn on this subject to questions of spatial theory. Based on modern linguistics, semiotics, materialism, psychoanalysis, feminism and postcolonialism, postmodern theory has destabilized the epistemological truth claims of realist philosophies. In the field of social and critical theory, marxists have reacted strongly to the

[11]On the nature of the "post-indexical" installation, see Johanne Lamoureux, "Places and Commonplaces of the Picturesque," trans. Donald McGrath, in Jessica Bradley and Lesley Johnstone, eds. Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art (Montreal: Artextes, 1994) 284-309; see also Lamoureux, "Exhibitionitis: A Contemporary Ailment," in The Institute for Contemporary Art, PS1 Museum, Theatergarden Bestiarium: The Garden as Theater as Museum (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990) 114-127.

[12]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," October #47 (Winter 1988) 14; Helen Molesworth et. al., "On Site Specificity," Documents 2:4/5 (Spring 1994) 11; Gary Kibbins, "The Enduring of the Artsystem," Parachute #29 (Dec/Jan/Feb 1982-83) 6.

aesthetic and visual primacy of postmodernist culture and have discussed the features of contemporary culture in spatial terms.[13] As a result, the field of cultural and marxist geography has had much influence in other disciplines. From a marxist and feminist perspective, Doreen Massey has charted some of the theoretical outlines of this emerging field of study.

In her essay, "The Politics of Space/Time," Massey provides a critical review of the use of spatial metaphors and temporal categories in contemporary theory. She questions the views of postmodernism that separate time/space, which she sees as an integrated concept, one which contains within its conditions of possibility the prospect of politics as being socially constituted. The distinction between space and time, she argues, has been complicated by radical geography,

---

[13]Some of the more well-known critiques include the work of Guy Debord (1967), Frederic Jameson (1991), David Harvey (1989), Edward Soja (1989), and Martin Jay (1994). Jameson and Soja have different approaches to the understanding of the primacy of the spatial in postmodern culture. Anne Friedberg reiterates this critical view when she states that postmodernism annihilates time by space; Friedberg, "Les Flâneurs du Mal(l): Cinema and the Postmodern Condition," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 106:3 (May 1991) 419-431. For important feminist critiques of Jameson and Soja, see: Rosalyn Deutsche, "Men in Space," Artforum (February 1990) 21-23, "Boys Town," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space Vol.9 (1991) 5-30, and "City Fathers," Art & Text #42 (1992) 56-86; Doreen Massey, "Flexible Sexism," in her text, Space, Place, and Gender (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 212-248.

feminist criticism and by physics.[14] Some of the implications
of physics for the social sciences are that the spatial can be
thought of as a temporal movement; this movement, in turn, can
be seen to have spatial relations. Space, as interrelations,
is conceptualized as "the simultaneous coexistence of social
interaction at all spatial scales".[15] The spatial implies
disruption, dislocation and movement. This understanding goes
some distance in disturbing the fixity of notions of the
postmodern as synchronic and schizophrenic intensities.

In reviewing the criticism of postmodernity, Massey
attempts to shift the framework for marxist cultural analysis
and to bring to theory an understanding of time/space which
partially recovers some of the ground lost to negative
dialectics and revolutionary nostalgia. She refutes the
desire for a novel archimedean perspective on contemporary
culture. Equally, she challenges the economism of culture
critique and its obliviousness to the ways that time/spaces
are gendered.

Another alternative view of postmodernism has been put
forth by Andreas Huyssen. In _Twilight Memories_, Huyssen looks
at the anxious production of monuments and museums in
contemporary Western society. Against the prevailing

---

[14]Doreen Massey, "Politics of Space/Time," _New Left Review_ #196
(1992) 65-84. See also Gillian Rose, _Feminism & Geography:
The Limits of Geographical Knowledge_ (Minneapolis: University
of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[15]Massey, "Politics of Space/Time," 80.

dismissal of dis-located representational constructions or spaces of representation, Huyssen is interested in the play of memory and forgetting which underwrites all such reconstructions. Rather than alter our understanding of the malaise of postmodernity, Huyssen maintains this general perception of the crisis of historicity, while focusing instead on the dialectic of the utopian imaginary which is apparent in the "museal" sensibility. He writes:

> It is in this context of a loss of confidence in the utopian powers of art to either conjure up, approximate, or embody a utopian plenitude - in life, in the text, or in transcendence - that the contemporary turn to history, memory, and the past assumes its full significance.[16]

The monumentalization of Berlin Wall fragments, then, even if displayed as the trophies of the victors of the Cold War, could at the same time be interpreted as the embodiments of gestures of remembrance. What Huyssen makes clear, and what I would like to relate to Massey's understanding of time/space, is that in discussing postmodernity, neither the spatial nor the temporal should be prioritized against a reductive understanding of the other. Furthermore, a materialist study should not privilege the categories of economy and class over forms of historical practice such as gender and race, which intersect and ground time/space relations in different ways. For this study, issues of space and place will be understood as problems of representation.

---

[16]Andreas Huyssen, _Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia_ (New York: Routledge, 1995) 100.

These representations narrativize social relations but are nevertheless also sites of interpretive work and consumption.

Doreen Massey proposes an alternative notion of space which simultaneously comprises a number of spatial scales and interrelations. Her concept of space incorporates elements of radical geography, a way of thinking space in terms of lived practice, and which is exemplified by the writings of the philosopher Henri Lefebvre. In The Production of Space, Lefebvre presents his theory of "social space" which is an implicit critique of the scientific (Cartesian) division of Object (the world of things) and Subject (mental and mathematical reference point). Social space is not reducible to language and thus provides Lefebvre's concept with a rhetorical - if somewhat naturalist - distinction from the theoretical approaches of much post-structuralist thinking.[17]

Lefebvre's theory has appeared in the sociological literature as an attempt to overcome the difficulties of the structure-agency dichotomy. His focus on the processual and on "everyday life" provides a language to represent space as something that is the ground of action (relations of production and social reproduction) and a social product. His well-known aphorism states that "(social) space is a (social)

[17]Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

product".[18]   Lefebvre's theory describes the course of
European spatial history to present-day abstract capitalist
space. As a "concrete abstraction," capitalist space takes on
the qualities of the commodity-form.   Within this spatial
economy, spatial relations and modes of behaviour are
culturally   circumscribed.   Routines,   habits   and
predispositions are partly consensual. "Abstract space," he
writes,

> works in a highly complex way.   It has something of a
> dialogue about it, in that it implies a tacit agreement,
> a non-aggressive pact, a contract, as it were, of non-
> violence. It imposes a reciprocity, and a communality of
> use.[19]

The emphasis on process means that structures are subject to
change, appropriation and transformation over time.
Lefebvre's terminology in this statement, far from being a
romantic endorsement of transgression, has to do with his
insistence that violence and coercion are dissimulated but
omnipresent aspects of a capitalist space which requires the
legal machinations of a contractual society.

Lefebvre's concept of the everyday resembles Pierre
Bourdieu's theory of the 'habitus', a process of experience

---

[18]On the relation of Lefebvre's theory of everyday life to
marxist writing, see his "Toward a Leftist Cultural Politics:
Remarks Occasioned by the Centenary of Marx's Death," in Cary
Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. Marxism and the
Interpretation of Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1988) 78-88. A review of The Production of Space by
Hayden White can be found in Design Book Review #29/30
(Summer/Fall 1993) 90-93.

[19]Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 56.

that leads to individual and cultural predispositions. As Rob Shields explains in Places on the Margin, Bourdieu's notion of the 'habitus' reworks concepts of ideological determination and interpellation which are often based on economistic theories. The 'habitus' mediates structures and individual predispositions. Shields cautions, however, that "even though structures are said to be produced in and through the medium of practice, structures are later treated as if dissociated from practice."[20]

Shields compares Bourdieu's focus on 'habitus' as disposition to Michel Foucault's term 'dispositif' or apparatus. Here, a spatial logic describes positionalities as they relate to power and discipline and as they are inscribed within discourses. "The human body enters a spatial machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down, and rearranges it, allocating to each person a place, and to each place a person."[21] Nevertheless, Shields argues that Foucault's theory is also inadequate in that it fails to account for the discursive ruptures, suppressed voices, and the formation of individual predispositions. It is not clear, however, to what extent Shields himself is willing to debate the nature of the subject as it is constituted in ideology.

---

[20]Rob Shields, Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity (London: Routledge, 1991) 37. See Bourdieu's theory in La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement (Paris: Les Éditions de minuit, 1979).

[21]Shields, 40.

Shields attempts to overcome the limitations of Bourdieu's and Foucault's approaches by looking at both the discursive and the non-discursive (circumventing the terminology of materialism), and by avoiding a unified structure that attempts to discover the secret of the mediation between everyday life and reality. Instead, his concept of "social spatialization" is interested in the "pre-constructed cultural discourse about sites." Social spatialization, he writes,

> recodes disparate problematics to show that anomalies and paradoxes in social theory... resulted because of numerous dichotomies and dualisms (public-private; base-superstructure; economy-culture).[22]

To counter this, Shields returns to Lefebvre's understanding of the spatial as that which is both materially produced and a concrete abstraction. A point of contact between the two theories will be Shields' focus on place-images which then translate into routines or social relations. I believe that it is worth pursuing this point further as it affects my understanding of the production of the CCMM as a place-image.

In Shields' re-reading of Lefebvre, the representational (imaginary/mythical) is related to social practice. This is conceded in light of Lefebvre's three-point dialectic or unified (rhetorical) theory of spatialization. The first of these three categories is that of **spatial practices**. Spatial practices include individual routines and places that are perceived or produced in specific ways. Lefebvre mentions

---

[22]Shields, 31.

that a spatial practice "ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion... this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance."[23]   The sedimentation of spatial practices affirms structures over time which in turn suggest the "propriety" of particular actions.   In this sense, even someone's private life falls under this rubric.   A spatial practice implies the use of the body.

The second of this three-part theory is the category of the conceived called **representations of space**.   These representations are tied to the capitalist relations of production and to their underlying systems of knowledge and value.   Representations of space are designed by the specialists who interest themselves in both spatial practices and spaces of representation (the third point).   Lefebvre implies that there is a desire to control space since representations of space are more commonly produced instrumentally by real estate developers, urban planners, technocratic subdividers, scientists, social engineers and so on; he also adds ethnographers, psychologists and social scientists to this group.   Marketing agents and public relations specialists would undoubtedly also fit into this category.   Their representations of space contribute to a second order common sense which, as Shields mentions, are

---

[23]Lefebvre, <u>The Production of Space</u>, 56.

"central to forms of knowledge and claims of truth".[24]

The category of the lived is termed **representational spaces** or as Shields prefers, **spaces of representation**. Such spaces are codified and symbolic. As with language, their meaning is conventional; as such, dominant practices associated with spaces of representation can and will inevitably be transgressed. Representational space, Lefebvre writes, is

> space as directly **lived** through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users"... This is the dominated - and hence passively experienced - space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.[25]

Shields describes this category as that of the discursive which entails a conditioning of the possibilities and conceptions of reality, of expectations and desires as well as expressions of symbolic resistance.

In order to bring these three categories together in a study of space, Lefebvre would recommend taking into account the history of the site, of its representations, and the spatial practices that constitute the associated relations of production. This implies that places undergo transformations in terms of individual as well as collective uses and

---

[24]Shields, 45. This notion of a second order level of meaning resembles Roland Barthes' early text, Mythologies trans. Annette Lavers (New York: The Noonday Press, 1990).

[25]Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 39.

perceptions. The original site of the Berlin Wall affords a good example of such a layered space of both domination and resistance, a place of particular social practices, a space represented by artists and professionals, and a representational space used most effectively in the post-Wall era by competitive business and government interests. The focus of my study, however, is more specifically concerned with the placement of a particular fragment of the Wall in a particular time and place. As a space of representation, the CCMM transforms the 'ruelle des Fortifications' from a street to an indoor arcade which is accessible to the public, but which is privately owned. A shopping area on the main floor provides luxury conveniences for the Centre's users. The placement of the Berlin Wall fragment on the site of Montreal's eighteenth-century fortifications and on the site of the CCMM arcade, effectively transforms the uses, perceptions and representations of a local context. It also brings to date this city's image as a regional node in an international system of capital exchange.

In the chapters to follow, I will examine the case study with respect to different modes of analysis. Chapter One provides a brief introduction to the Berlin Wall as a site of aesthetic curiosity. Its nuanced and highly charged significance made the Berlin Wall an object destined to be preserved in paradoxical and contradictory ways. This idea

will be related to the problematic of "proper" contexts and means of display. The next chapter moves away from the case study to the terrain of contemporary art and the work that artists Michael Asher, Krzysztof Wodiczko, Komar & Melamid, Mark Lewis, and Esther Shalev-Gerz with Jochen Gerz have contributed to the contemporary discourse of monumentality, and in particular, with regard to the fate of the totalitarian public art of East European countries. This section is prefaced by some reflections on the normative category of "the public." Chapter Three extends the theme of construction/destruction and commemoration which is developed in the previous chapter. It shifts the focus to the CCMM and its function in the redevelopment of Old Montreal. Finally, Chapter Four brings many of these elements together in a discussion of the significance of placing a segment of the Berlin Wall in the newly built World Trade Centre. While a discussion of the rhetoric of the New World Order seems to have gained some historicity and has already been dismissed from critical fashionability, I believe that it is nevertheless important to review some of the early instances of its expression, so that these do not simply find themselves deposited in the collected imaginary like the monuments of a colonial metropolis.

Because the City of Montreal's 'Service de la culture' took great care in choosing a site for its Wall fragment, a significant collection of documents can be found in its

archive. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, I have listed a chronology of the fragment's handling in the Appendix section. I have also included the course of the Ottawa fragment in order to provide a comparative study. (Fig.3) Appendices on the history of the Berlin Wall as well as on the dismantling and dispersal of Wall souvenirs and monumental (slab) fragments have also been included. The last appendix is a proposal for a temporary sound installation that I have developed and have proposed for transmission in the CCMM as an addition to the Wall fragment display.

The proposal that I have made as an artist furthers my theoretical claim that public representations make claims on us as citizens. A critical approach to public art requires involvement with the democratic process of representation inside and outside of established institutions. What I have attempted to emphasize in both written and artistic projects is that no unified theory of space or culture is adequate to the study of the Berlin Wall fragment and the architectural site of the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal.' Theory is used as a device for helping to understand, analyze and live in the materiality of sites and social relations. It is not their replacement. On the other hand, to insist on the priority of objects, I believe, is to misconceive the nature of the representational activity of academic and cultural practices.

CHAPTER 1

In its present North American location, the Montreal fragment synthesizes a specific history with the meaning of the site in which it is placed. Although outside of its referential context, it nevertheless carries with it a certain baggage which includes not only the history of its construction, but of its destruction as well and the consequent conditions in which it was produced as a symbol of the end of the Cold War. In the following section I will briefly examine the aesthetic interest of the Wall for artists in the 1980s and relate this to issues of site specificity.

By the mid-1980s, long stretches of the Berlin Wall were covered with layers of graffiti and paintings in the neo-expressionist manner. The Wall's artistic character made it so that pre-cast slabs like the Montreal fragment were sold for twice the amount of segments with no obvious aesthetic interest. In Monte Carlo, in June of 1990, the Government of the German Democratic Republic, through the auspices of Limex-Bau Export-Import, placed 81 Wall segments on the auction block.[1] In the auction catalogue, the graffiti artists' names were provided when identification was possible. (Fig.4) This aesthetic element, which in the 1980s made the Berlin Wall the

---

[1]Galerie Park Palace, Die Mauer: The Berlin Wall, Special Auction (Saturday 23 June, 21.00 Hours, Monte Carlo, Hotel Metropole Palace (Berlin: LeLé Berlin Wall Verkaufs – und Wirtschaftswerbung GmbH, 1990). The East German government is reported to have saved 360 of the 45,000 pre-cast concrete slabs. This restricted number allowed the authorities to control the sale and value of Wall segments.

eighth wonder of the world and a popular tourist destination, later constituted the defunct artefact as a highly charged object of conspicuous consumption.

I would identify two broad phases in the dispersal of slab segments. The first relates to its ludic consumption, purchased from an obsolete communist government as a symbol of the capitalist victory of the Cold War; the second phase begins when a newly united Germany donates fragments to cities and governments as symbolic diplomatic gifts. The Montreal and Ottawa segments both correspond to this second phase. What I would emphasize, however, is that while the two phases are separated in terms of social practice, the objects themselves carry residual meanings that maintain the fragments' broad historical significance as much as their ironic value as post-Cold War follies.

An equally important aspect of the Wall's dispersal and fragmentation are the small pieces that individuals chiselled off from the time of the opening of the border in November of 1989 to the time of its almost complete demolition one year later. Souvenir hunters were called "Mauer-sprecht" (wall-peckers). The sale of segments in shopping centres throughout the Western world was the most widespread aspect of the consumption of the Wall. (Figs.5,6) As with the pre-cast slabs, these small mnemonic objects have variable and conflicting meanings that flow along a continuum from personal memento to symbol of capitalist victory in the form of novelty

item. And like the slabs, these souvenirs were valued for the signs of artistic intervention (graffiti) that functioned as a metaphor for the desire to overcome the Wall.

Graffiti played a significant role in the public reception of Berlin Wall fragments and in the construction of a dichotomy between East and West embodied in the material duality of a Wall bearing signs of individual expression on the one side, and an officially maintained "absence" of expression on the other. It is this false rhetorical duality, moreover, which remains - monumentally - as the manifest ideology of the Montreal fragment display and of many other similar installations. Wall artefacts on display give attention to the object, that is, pieces of the Western face of the wall bearing graffiti, coded in terms of freedom of expression. Wall fragments such as the Montreal piece make a claim for the universality of the enlightenment concept of freedom provided through liberal democracy. Such displays place in abeyance the voices and actions of the East Germans whose demands for socialist reform made the wall an anachronism even before it was dismantled.

As was mentioned, the graffiti-covered Wall was by the mid-1980s a site of aesthetic production and consumption. Tourists not only visited the site, but produced a significant proportion of the graffiti on the Wall's urban stretch. Since the Western face of the border system was set back on East

German territory, graffiti on the Wall conformed to the practice of graffiti writing as defacement of property and transgression. This particular instance of transgression, despite its disruption of an appropriate use of the space, found ready acceptance in the West. In his study of spatial theory and of social practices that are "out of place," Tim Cresswell argues that media coverage of the falling Wall emphasized the graffiti-painted surface which for ideological purposes represented a "desired disorder" in the face of an authoritarian regime. Cresswell contrasts this to the discourse surrounding the policing of graffiti in New York City, a place that epitomizes the discrepancy of wealth and poverty in a supposed free-market economy. He writes:

> In one context graffiti is seen as a symptom of the end of civilization, of anarchy and decaying moral values, and in another it is a sign of a free spirit closing the curtain on the stifling bureaucracy of Communist authoritarianism.[2]

The parallel with New York City, though, goes beyond Cresswell's brief mention of Berlin.

In the early eighties both New York and Berlin were sites for the emergence of post-graffiti. Post-graffiti signals the move of graffiti from its subcultural sources to the marketplace of commercial art galleries.[3] In Berlin,

---

[2]Tim Cresswell, In Place, Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 45.

[3]On the shift from graffiti as a "street" art to its acceptance as "high art," see in particular, Sidney Janis, Post-Graffiti (New York: Sidney Janis Gallery, 1983). An

Christophe Bouchet and Thierry Noir's Statues of Liberty soon

became the support for Keith Haring's work, an American

graffiti artist who rapidly gained notoriety by aggressively

marketing his work. (Fig.7) What makes the Berlin Wall a

particularly odd site in terms of graffiti is that its most

notable phase comes after graffiti's subcultural vitality has

already been absorbed by the gallery system. With post-

graffiti, the social practices that distinguished graffiti-as-

crime from graffiti-as-art are dissolved. Writing at that

time, Hal Foster stated that graffiti had become a reified

form, fixed by its own code.[4] Post-graffiti as an empty form

of transgression, however, is revitalized by the political

significance of the Wall. Unlike most graffiti art, which

makes its chosen site less of an issue, Berlin Wall graffiti

connotes site specificity. Emerging from the minimalist and

conceptual art movements, site specificity as a concept gains

acceptance by post-graffiti and neo-expressionist artists who

---

excellent source of images of Berlin Wall graffiti can be
found in Heinz J. Kuzdas, Berliner MauerKunst (Berlin:
Elefanten Press, 1990) - I would like to thank Angela Terfloth
of the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany
for providing me with a copy of this text. I would also like
to thank professor Pieter Sijpkes for the reference to a
catalogue of art works about the Berlin Wall: Maler
interpretieren Die Mauer (Berlin: Verlag Haus Am Checkpoint
Charlie, 1985). Pieter Sijpkes, Professor of Architecture,
McGill University, interview, Montreal, 20 March 1997.

[4]Hal Foster, Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics
(Seattle: Bay Press, 1985, 1993) 51-52. See also, Susan
Stewart, "'Ceci Tuera Cela': Graffiti as Crime and Art," in
John Fekete, ed. Life After Postmodernism: Essays on Value and
Culture (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987) 161-180.

reference its language but deny it its critical activity. The materialist basis to site specific works gets co-opted in Wall art's footing in realist and modenist modes of representation as well as in its spectacularization of the viewing process.

It has largely been agreed upon that the dominant aesthetic style of Berlin Wall graffiti is neo-expressionism. (i.e. Fig.8) This is not surprising since West Berlin was the place where this art movement most clearly developed. In the exhibition catalogue to the 1982 Zeitgeist exhibition - which took place just a few feet from the Wall at the Martin-Gropius Bau - Robert Rosenblum described the neo-expressionist spirit as an overthrowing of the conceptualism that "dominated" the 1970s and its replacement with a "reckless" expressionism "that smack[s] more of the kindergarten than of the aesthetic laboratory."[5] Indeed this movement was celebrated as a return to order of sorts, dredging up many of the outworn cliches of aesthetic autonomy and artistic genius that had been critiqued over the years.[6] In historicist art criticism, Berlin neo-expressionism was heralded as a renewal with the spirit of expressionism, by-passing disruptive avant-garde movements and the theoretical insights of contemporary art. Critiquing neo-

---

[5]Robert Rosenblum cited in Christos M. Joachimides and Norman Rosenthal, eds. Zeitgeist: International Art Exhibition Berlin 1982 (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983) 11.

[6]See for instance: Janet Wolff (1981, 1993); Terry Eagleton, (1983, 1995); Victor Burgin, (1986, 1990).

expressionism's acquiescence to the logic of authoritarian conservativism, critic Craig Owens bemoaned the movement's reductive understanding of expressionism itself and the flippant simulation of its codes; he termed this new art "pseudo-expressionism."[7]

One of Berlin neo-expressionism's more well-known group of artists is the Moritzplatz painters, known as the "Neue Wilde" or "violent" painters. This group included Rainer Fetting, Helmut Middendorf, Salomé and Bernd Zimmer. A 1977 poster for an exhibition of works by Fetting depicts one of his paintings of the Berlin Wall. The Wall, in fact, as it was depicted in Fetting's Van Gogh and Wall, became the group's emblem. (Fig.9) As Rosalyn Deutsche explains, the Wall was considered by these artists to be an expression of a universal condition and also a metaphor for the schizoid character of the alienated urban individual.[8] For a film in which Fetting plays Van Gogh, the artist paints an illegible scribble onto the Berlin Wall, the work's incoherence reflecting the artist's inner psychic conflict.

In 1982, at about the same time as Fetting's performance, American artist Jonathan Borofsky painted one of his recurring

---

[7]Craig Owens, "Honor, Power, and the Love of Women," Art in America 71:1 (January 1983) 7-13.

[8]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Representing Berlin: Urban Ideology and Aesthetic Practice," in Irit Rogoff, ed. The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 327. In this study Deutsche links the aesthetic ideology of neo-expressionism to the urban conditions of the Kreuzberg district, the SoHo of West Berlin.

archetypal symbols onto the Wall. This so-called site specific project was created for the _Zeitgeist_ exhibition. As with Fetting's piece, the work deals more with essentialist notions of the self than with the historical and political conditions of the site. Like much neo-expressionist art, Borofsky's _Running Man_ also attracts attention because of its monumental and heroic dimensions. (Fig.10) Another important issue is the intended violence of the action. Borofsky states:

> My first choice was to blow a hole in the Wall, and I'm telling this publicly for the first time. I consulted some people who knew about explosives in Germany. I thought that the most important thing I could do was to blow a hole in the Wall and I didn't even have to take credit for it; it didn't have to be an artistic performance, but it was something that would be in the paper the next day. But on further consultation it seemed also potentially dangerous to somebody who would be walking by the Wall; there were enough negative things, it was a little frightening, a kind of violent act for me. But it just seemed like I was angry enough there to want to.
> So I started putting an image on the wall. The _Running Man_ is that, it's a way of trying to put the hole in the Wall but symbolically. The image itself is one of ambiguous fear, running, tension and anxiety.[9]

After these first few cases of high-profile aesthetic attention, the Wall became a site for continuous and noteworthy graffiti interventions. But what of the taste for Wall segments as public art? I would argue that the investment of the obsolete with exchange value was at the source of the graffiti artist's interest in the Wall and that

[9]Borofsky cited in Sandy Nairne, _State of the Art: Ideas & Images in the 1980s_ (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987, 1990) 51-52.

this fascinated interest continues with the production and consumption of Wall segments as ruins.

The aesthetic attacks against the Wall also conform to an ideological confrontation which Peter Sloterdijk identifies as a feature of the critical aspect of enlightenment rationalism. For this author, graffiti on the Berlin Wall illustrates ideology critique as an "inscription on the other's defense."[10] In the miscarried dialogue of ideology critique, the discourse of the disputing party - in this case, of the Eastern Communist regimes - can only occupy the position of lie, error or ill will; this is labelled ideology. The function of the rhetoric of Berlin Wall graffiti is to proclaim the freedom of expression allowed in the West. Fittingly, this is heralded in the language of "expressionism" which became the aesthetic ideology of U.S. imperialism after the Second World War.[11] Historically, this type of work was used to legitimate a limitation of the notion of freedom in the disavowal of the contradictions and inequalities of Western illiberal capitalism. The newly wrought neo-expressionism constitutes a well-established feature of the bourgeois public sphere; its exposure of the private self in a public forum signals an acceptable form of opposition that

---

[10]Peter Sloterdijk, Critique of Cynical Reason trans. Michael Eldred (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 17.

[11]See Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

reinscribes, and therefore de-politicizes, the duality of private and public spheres.[12] Individual expression does not necessarily produce a corresponding social effectiveness, and can therefore function as a convenient alibi for conditions of relative freedom and equality. Individual expression is both the condition for and the limit of liberal/illiberal democracy.[13]

Both the graffiti work on the original site of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent installation of the Montreal segment in the CCMM are premised on the aesthetic codes of contextualist art practice or site specificity. As critical public art, site specificity challenged the idealist notions of the transhistorical and universal art object. This materialist approach to the meaning of objects was extended in site specific works to the institutional frame or the chosen site. As such

> context was extended to encompass the individual site's symbolic, social, and political meanings as well as the discursive and historical circumstances within which artwork, spectator, and site are situated.[14]

Contextual and situational art practices understand space as

---

[12]See Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, 1992).

[13]See for instance, Andrzej Ostrowski and Karl Beveridge, "East * West: The Depoliticization of Art," Fuse (March 1980) 140-143 and also, Arthur Kroker and David Cook, The Postmodern Scene: Excremental Culture in Hyper Aesthetics (Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1986, 1991).

[14]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," October #47 (Winter 1988) 14.

socially constructed and therefore as contingent and mutating in a field of variegated and contestatory circumstances. The idealist discourse of public art, however, appropriates notions of site specificity and applies these to the production of works that are designed to re-enchant the urban environment. In this functionalist optic, the public, the artwork and the city space are thought of in a frame of reference that occludes contradictions as well as changing meanings and uses.

The painting of neo-expressionist and post-graffiti works on the Berlin Wall was said by its critics to be instances of site specific work, and public art. Richard Hambleton's 1984 series of trademark menacing silhouettes, for example, were appropriate for the Berlin Wall, creating resonances with the military structure as the keep of soldiers. Nevertheless, works such as these simply transferred the idealist discourse of art to an exterior setting, failing, as Deutsche argues, to "confront the political nature of the site or to politicise art practice itself."[15]   The discrepancy between the

[15]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Representing Berlin," 328. In this essay Deutsche relates the ideology of neo-expressionism to broader social conditions such as the gentrification of the Kreuzberg district. She describes in contrast Hans Haacke's The Broadness of Diversity of the Ludwig Brigade (1984) and Louise Lawler's Interesting... (1985). Distinct from the dominant art practices found in Berlin, a 1990 exhibition titled Die Endlichkeit der Freiheit (The Finitude of Freedom) showed site specific works addressing the social and historical context of the East/West border. See: Laurie Palmer, "...And the Wall Came Tumbling Down," High Performance #53 (Spring 1991) 36-39; David Galloway, "The New Berlin: 'I Want My Wall Back!" Art in America (September 1991) 98-103+.

aesthetic interest and political vigilance was recognized by a group of peace activists from East Germany who in 1986 painted a white stripe across the entire graffiti section of the Wall between Mariannenplatz and Potsdamer Platz - the sections closest to art galleries and studios. (Fig.11) Unwittingly perhaps, this action had more in common with critical contextual work than the hyped neo-expressionist Wall art. What the white stripe signalled was the need for a critical relationship to representation which seeks to activate public space as a site of dialogue and participation, a relationship that is more difficult to imagine when we are presented with a public monument such as the Montreal fragment.

The Montreal fragment was a donation of the Federal Republic of Germany presented to the city in 1992. After lengthy deliberation concerning a suitable location for the object, the city's 'Service de la culture,' under the now defunct CIDEC ('Commission d'initiative et de développement culturel'), chose the site of the 'ruelle des Fortifications' in the CCMM.[16] It was installed in 1994 and remains in the

---

[16]Hélène Thibodeau, Agente de développement culturel, Service de la culture, Ville de Montréal, Montreal, interview, 9 November 1995. Archival file #C920022/Mur de Berlin contains documents pertaining to the management of the Wall fragment by the 'Service de la culture.' This file was made available to me for consultation; please refer to the Appendix for a detailed chronology of the installation of the object.

Note that CIDEC was created in 1987 by the City in response to

city's public art collection. Due to the problem of graffiti in terms of city maintenance, and in order to emphasize a solemn commemorative function, CIDEC insisted that the fragment be approached as an artefact and not an art object to be installed contextually and aesthetically. The emphasis on history in this case, however, differs from the motives of the painters of the white stripe. The Montreal fragment in its present context is hypostatized in a fixed museological manner. The avoidance of aesthetic issues seems in a part a desire to allow for the broadest interpretational breadth. Two interpretation panels have been added to the display. These briefly mention the conditions under which the city received the gift, the reasons for the construction of the Berlin Wall, Wall graffiti, the fall of the Wall, a list of important dates, and a list of people who died while attempting to cross the Wall. Installed directly on the base at the back of the fragment is a short poem by German author Fritz Grasshoff.

In comparison with other installations of monumental pre-cast Wall slabs, the Montreal display is conceptually rigorous; its captioning strategy underwrites the 'Service de la culture''s desire to privilege certain readings over

---

initiatives by the Montreal business community. It was devised to prepare the city for the 1992 350th anniversary. Its projects were to be directed by the municipal government in partnership with the private sector. CIDEC was dismantled in the mid-1990s. The 'Service de la culture' now maintains CIDEC's principle functions.

others.[17] In an early study of the implications of receiving
a Wall segment in Montreal, a cultural officer described how
the multiple and contradictory meanings of the object produce
a cacaphonic communicational barrier of high intensity; this,
the study stated, does not imply a dialogue.[18] In light of
the segment's chosen site, the 'Service' hired a specialist to
devise an interpretational concept that would restrict
undesired readings and privilege other, specific meanings.
The structuring of interpretation in terms of captioning
strategy was used as a solution to the segment's volatile and
multivalent significance.[19]

---

[17]To my knowledge, the only other North American display which
parallels the Montreal installation in its interpretive rigour
is that of the Newseum in Arlington, Virginia. This museum is
dedicated to the history of media and broadcast news. In its
adjoining Freedom Park, three monumental slabs are installed
along with a large interpretation panel. This display alludes
to the role played by news media in Cold War détente. A
headless statue of Lenin accompanies the Wall fragments. This
biased view can be challenged by the fact that news reports
from the West alienated East European viewers and made them
aware of problems such as crime and unemployment which
afflicted capitalist countries. As such, the news media may
equally have perpetuated the division between East and Western
blocks.

[18]"Le mur de Berlin: Analyse de la signification de l'artefact
urbain et réflexions sur de possibles paramètres d'intégration
dans un lieu Montréalais," August 1992, Archival file
#C920022/Mur de Berlin. For studies of the changing meanings
of the Wall, see: Mary Beth Stein, "The Politics of Humour:
The Berlin Wall in Jokes and Graffiti," Western Folklore #48
(April 1989) 85-108; Michael S. Bruner, "Symbolic Uses of the
Berlin Wall, 1961-1989," Communication Quarterly 37:4 (Fall
1989) 319-328.

[19]An early description of the function of the caption was
described by Walter Benjamin in his "Short History of
Photography," trans. Phil Patton, Artforum (February 1977)
46-51.

By emphasizing the interpretative management of the meaning of the Montreal fragment display, there are a number of critical pitfalls which I do not want to imply. The first has to do with the concept of a proper form of commemoration. In his study of the preservation and consumption of the Berlin Wall, Frederick Baker argues that the methods of preserving the Wall as object and as memory must be diverse, reflecting the multiple meanings of the Wall itself.[20] I am in agreement with Baker's conclusion and would like to insist on the always partial and incomplete nature of representation and the various social and political practices that these suggest. Secondly, I would add Deutsche's critique of the idea of an appropriate site for any work of public art. To muddy the distinction between art object and context, she argues, is to reaffirm the hierarchical division between the two and to reinscribe the notion of a "pure art experience."[21]   In keeping with Deutsche's suggestion, this essay seeks in no way to critique nor to commend the 'Service' for its choice of location. What I would assert, however, is that the final choice of site and placement of the object do have implications and produce meanings that are related to the

---

[20]Frederick Baker, "The Berlin Wall: Production, Preservation and Consumption of a 20th-century Monument," Antiquity Vol.67 (December 1993) 731.

[21]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Alternative Space," in Brian Wallis, ed. If You Lived Here.... The City in Art, Theory and Social Activism: A Project by Martha Rosler (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991) 49.

material and historical reality of the space.

What is equally crucial to my argument is the understanding that public monuments like the Montreal Wall segment are representations inscribed in social space; their contexts constitute spaces of representation which construct norms of appropriate spatial practice, their representational features assemble preferred readings. This, however, does not preclude various appropriations and interpretations of the monument's meaning. James Young's work effectively develops this problematic. He writes:

> On the one hand, official agencies are in position to shape memory explicitly as they see fit, memory that best serves a national interest. On the other hand, once created, memorials take on lives of their own, often stubbornly resistant to the state's original intentions. In some cases, memorials created in the image of a state's ideals actually turn around to recast these ideals in the memorial's own image. New generations visit memorials under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings. The result is an evolution in the memorial's significance, generated in the new times and company in which it finds itself.[22]

I would also agree with Young in asserting that this study of the Montreal fragment is dependent on my own narrative reconstruction and the contingencies of the historical moment in which I have written this work.

In opening up this section onto the following chapters I would like to reinsert the notion that the CCMM display has specific connotations that are related to the history of its construction, use and consequent consumption. These

[22]James E. Young, <u>The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 3.

connotations become sharper when we consider that the site of the 'ruelle des Fortifications' within the CCMM is a recent instance of the fabrication of a pseudo-public space, created with the use of public funds for the benefit of private interests. Given that the CCMM is one of the hundreds of World Trade Centres around the globe and that it is situated in a newly gentrified sector of the city on the historical site of the city's eighteenth-century fortifications, I do not consider the Montreal display to be an innocuous and innocent gesture of commemoration. The implications of these specificities will be examined in the pages below. It is crucial that contextual factors be brought to bear on an interpretation of the Wall display. In the following chapter I will examine some of the aspects of contemporary critical public art and the work that artists have produced dealing with the issues concerning public monuments at the time of the East European revolutions. The debates and problems encountered in the destruction and preservation of Stalinist statuary, for instance, greatly resembles the course of events surrounding the dismantling and consumption of Berlin Wall segments. Of central concern in this discussion is the construction of the "public" in liberal discourse and the educational imperative behind the notion of heritage.

CHAPTER 2

Current public art and aesthetic considerations of the city function quite often within a logic of preservation and commemoration termed "heritage." No singular concept has more forcefully influenced the reception of the public monument in modern capitalist culture. Heritage produces two predominant representational and temporal forms: the first, the preserved monument or building, arrested in its state of decay or perhaps returned to a pristine condition; and the second, the new monument and public artwork which, under a pretext of sensitivity towards the vernacular and the urban tissue, incorporates signs of history and memory into its communicative, mediatized structure.

Since the 1960s at least, the conservation and preservation movement has gained mounting and often unquestioned acceptance. The unconditional imperative towards conservation, argues Françoise Choay, short-circuits the analysis of our own motivations and criteria for selection.[1] This transparency of the notion of heritage, she believes, masks an opacity which frustrates our understanding of both the historical and the contemporary. In her articles on gentrification and urban revitalization, Rosalyn Deutsche decries the "preservationist aesthetic," a predominant feature of postmodernism, for its idealist and historicizing narrative

---

[1] Françoise Choay, "A propos de culte et de monuments," in Aloïs Riegl, <u>Le Culte moderne des monuments: son essence et sa genèse</u> trans. Daniel Wieczorek (Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1984) 10-11.

of culture. Acts of preservation are "ideologically motivated," she insists, "determined by particular interests and investments".[2] The motivated interests of these acts are introduced as common sense and as public utility; furthermore, normalizations are generalized through the useful concepts of idealist aesthetics.

Alongside the movement for conservation and urban renewal, and following its international institutionalization, we have witnessed a mounting interest in public art. With the integration of art and architecture, the radically new museum art of the 1960s exited the white cube and entered the city square. At the same time, the dematerialization of the art object produced new forms of aesthetic creation including performance, conceptual art, earthworks, installation, and site specificity. Much of this art was intentionally ephemeral. By the 1980s, the new public art often expressed some of the political and social issues brought forth by these art movements, but in officially sanctioned and permanent forms. The criteria of selection in these instances, such as accessibility, decorative value, integration and use, follow in the tradition mentioned by Deutsche of modernist aesthetics and functionalism. But today's public art is all too often "public" merely by virtue of its spatial designation, outside, on the street or in the park. As Canadian artist and theorist

---

[2]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Krzysztof Wodiczko's Homeless Projection and the Site of Urban Revitalization," October #38 (Fall 1986) 79.

Mark Lewis states,

> The "idea" of public art is currently enjoying a lot of
> attention by art curators and museums. Usually, their
> idea of being public means literally placing the work
> "out on the street." Not only is this a very narrow
> understanding of what forms publicity can take, but by
> circumventing any critical discussion of the role of art
> in creating a public and its historical projects in this
> regard, such a move often unwittingly re-duplicates the
> very division of labour and systems of control, etc.,
> that it ostensibly sets out to challenge and undermine.[3]

Changes in how we think of the city and of public space should

directly affect the changes in how we conceive the collective.

I would like to contrast these thoughts on heritage with

artist Krzysztof Wodiczko's concept of critical public art.

There are important differences between critical public art

and a public art based in a tradition of idealist aesthetics.

These differences affect the character of the artist's role in

society, notions of the public, and conditions for viewing or

experiencing works. Wodiczko's critique of capitalist culture

and the liberal rationalist concept of aesthetic autonomy

focuses on the urban public realm and the dominant

understanding of progress and social unity. The artist

maintains a distinction between critical public art and the

"art in public places" approach of urbanists and

administrators. The latter type reflects the conditions of

social space within a capitalist social organization - its

idealist quality applies to art as it does to the general

perception of city forms as much as to social relations. In

---

[3]Mark Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," Parachute #61 (Jan/Feb/Mar
1991) 36.

a sort of Nietzschean "active forgetting," the discourse of modern capitalist development presents a unified and unproblematic image of social harmony.[4]   A public art conforming to the idealist notion of aesthetic autonomy underwrites this vision of the built environment.   In contrast, Wodiczko proposes a critical public art. He writes:

> To believe that the city can be affected by open-air public art galleries or enriched by outdoor curatorial adventures (through state and corporate purchases, lendings and displays) is to commit an ultimate philosophical and political error. For, since the 18th century at least, the city has operated as a grand aesthetic curatorial project.... To attempt to "enrich" this powerful, dynamic art gallery (the city public domain) with "artistic art" collections or commissions - all in the name of the public - is to decorate the city with a pseudocreativity irrelevant to urban space and experience alike; it is also to contaminate this space and experience with the most pretentious and patronizing bureaucratic-aesthetic environmental pollution.
>
> The aim of critical public art is neither a happy self-exhibition nor a passive collaboration with the grand gallery of the city, its ideological theater and architectural-social system. Rather, it is an engagement in strategic challenges to the city structures and mediums that mediate our everyday perception of the world....[5]

I wonder, though, just how "artistic art" comes to "pollute" urban space.   For surely,   if these   aesthetic   projects represent specific and not universal interests, they all the

---

[4]On Friedrich Nietzsche's distinction between monumental and critical history, see his text, The Use and Abuse of History trans. Adrian Collins (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949, 1957).

[5]Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Strategies of Public Address: Which Media, Which Publics?" in Hal Foster, ed. Discussions in Contemporary Art 1 (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987) 41-42.

same share in the collective investment in the notion of what is public. At the root of this problematic is the Enlightenment view of politics and aesthetics, categories that while both universal, were rationalized as separate and irreconcilable spheres. The aesthetic should have stayed "inside," in the place of interiority and subjectivity. The polis, or the public sphere, was to be the site of ethics and of political debate. Now, if "aesthetic art" can come to pollute the city, it is in championing a partisan position - that is, in championing a politics which seeks to universalize its logic of exchange and equivalence, and which erases differences. In this ideologically naturalized environment, critical public art can only seem out of place. As Habermas noted, the German term 'räsonnement,' or criticality, is simultaneously an "invocation of reason" and "malcontent griping."[6] It is an instance of the critical spirit defamed by bourgeois publicity. Public space in the age of scientific progress (without a notion of social progress) limits and quarantines criticality as an archaic and disruptive model of communication.

Part of the problematic of the liberal tradition is the question of representation, a political doctrine that seeks to subsume individual interests within public discourse. The

---

[6]Yürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, 1992) 27.

apparent contradiction, which becomes the ground for socialist critique, is that the public realm also functions as a vehicle for the guarantee and protection of private (property) interests. Political and aesthetic education are proffered as means for the integration of the "public" into the rank and file of a well-informed citizenry. As a feature of the landscape of urban culture, "public art" has had the task of mending the philosophical fault line between the private and the public - and here, in contradistinction to museum and gallery art - from the side of the collective rather than the subjective. Despite its pretensions to universality, public art nevertheless expresses the consciousness and desires of particular groups or individuals, even though this is glossed over by its rhetorical function.

In the Western liberal tradition, the public sphere was originally the realm of wealthy men, and in particular, the property-owning subject. Excluded from this category were women, slaves and servants, children, foreigners and the poor; in other words, the majority of the population. The history of liberalism and of representative democracy, with the corresponding ideals of freedom and individual human rights, is the story of the struggle for the consummation of the category of the public. But the abstract public realm has never and cannot account in all instances for the differentiated needs of particular groups or individuals. "Actually existing democracy," as Stuart Hall states, "depends

on a unified vision of the public which represses differences and conflicts at the social and political level."[7]

How then, can the "public" be salvaged as a safeguard against undemocratic practices, while at the same time representing the needs of diverse and competing interests?[8] Part of the problem lies in the rhetoric of public representation, a philosophical and pragmatic approach which ignores the conflicts that underwrite the control of social space. Deutsche argues that the articulation of democracy has two conditions. The first necessitates the elimination of the essentialist understanding of the public as a singular and fixed category which should be conceptualized instead as "continuously emerging and mutating in a public space." The second condition requires that the state apparatus be distinguished from an open public realm from which the power of the state arises.[9]

Deutsche's conception of the public resembles the radical democracy advocated by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau.

---

[7]Stuart Hall draws on Ernesto Laclau's critique of "actually existing democracy" in his writings on Thatcherism: see Rosalyn Deutsche, "Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy," Social Text #33 (1992) 35-36.

[8]An area of analysis which will not be developed in this study is Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge's study of oppositional "public spheres of production." See their collaborative text, The Public Sphere and Experience trans. Peter Labanyi et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[9]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Excerpt from 'Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy'," in Judith Mastai, ed. Art in Public Places: A Vancouver Casebook (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1993) 31.

Based on Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Derridean deconstruction, radical democracy refutes the totalizations of Marxism, while at the same time ensuring political vigilance and maintaining a critical engagement with notions of power, history, and politics. (Post-marxist criticism is predicated on a simplification of marxism's original anti-orthodoxy.)[10] According to Mouffe, "the political community should be conceived as a discursive surface and not as an empirical fact."[11] Unlike the liberal conception of public citizenship, within Laclau and Mouffe's social logic of contingency one's political identity is engaged in a number of different communities. While the distinction between public and private is maintained, the one cannot be privileged over the other.

Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation offers pragmatic modalities for the construction of socialist coalition politics that do not trample over specificities of identity. Their work, however, is based on formalist theories of signification and meaning that evade a historically grounded understanding of hegemony. This critique is put forth in Rosemary Hennessy's discussion of materialist feminism and the politics of discourse theories. In response

---

[10]Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics (London: Verso, 1985, 1994). See also Angela McRobbie, "Post-Marxism and Cultural Studies," in her book of essays Postmodernism and Popular Culture (London: Routledge, 1994) 44-60.

[11]Chantal Mouffe, "Citizenship and Political Identity," October #61 (Summer 1992) 30.

to Laclau and Mouffe's view of struggle as an effect of signification, she writes:

> Explaining antagonism as an effect of the instability of signification mystifies the relationship between signification and the commodity, between alienation at the level of cultural meaning and at the level of economic and political relations. It reifies in the processes of signification the highly mediated relation between discursive and nondiscursive practices, in other words, what is at stake in the history of struggles over words.[12]

Hennessy proposes critical democracy and a continuation of the work of ideology critique "as a mode of reading that recognizes the contesting interests at stake in discursive constructions of the social."[13] The author's model insists on a committed position within social analysis and takes feminism as its point of departure.

To acknowledge this view of contesting interests and oppositional public spheres is to also challenge the notion of representation and of public art. As Deutsche holds, if the "public" is subject to appropriation, then the "concrete mechanisms" of power of private identities and interests must be perceived. This is to emphasize, as Hennessy mentions, the marxist insistence on the historical specificity of contents as much as on categories of thought. What sort of public art, then, would be appropriate to critical democracy or other political models that recognize a multiplicity of publics

---

[12]Rosemary Hennessy, *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 63.

[13]Hennessy, 15.

within an analytic of history or hegemony? If the public is understood as a field of different and competing interests, will a viable public art, as Diana Nemiroff suggests, be a critical, anti-monumental, impermanent and marginal one?[14] Or, alternately, are the already numerous works dedicated to specific communities and local heroes already fulfilling this function of accountability? In a typically post-structuralist capitulation, Mark Lewis reviews this problem of representation. He writes,

> As soon as anyone or any group begins to speak on behalf of a given community what is revealed precisely, often because of the need to keep it as a repressed, is an acknowledgement of the contamination of public rights by private interests. This is not to say that the latter is alien to the aesthetic experience of the public sphere; on the contrary it is the dialectic of public and private which makes the experience of the public realm so significant, so radically public. If we grasp this in advance and refuse the temptation to believe that these conflicting interests can be reconciled, then we will be one step closer to releasing public art from its own obligatory interest.[15]

I would like to open this next section on revolutionary history with a consideration of the authority of context. The descriptions of artists' works that follow deal with public art or monuments and the contextual as well as material issues

---

[14] Diana Nemiroff, Melvin Charney, Krzysztof Wodiczko: Canada, XLII Biennale di Venezia 1986 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1986) 8.

[15] Mark Lewis, "Public Interest," in George Baird and Mark Lewis, eds. Queues, Rendezvous, Riots: Questioning the Public in Art and Architecture (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1994) 126.

that disrupt the ideological coherence of the public monument's communicative function. The study of such works provides a frame of references for the evaluation of the Montreal Wall installation as a work of aesthetic recontextualization. Let us begin with an appropriate figure, a statue of George Washington. (Fig.12) The statue is a 1917 bronze replica of a 1788 marble sculpture by the French sculptor, Houdon. In a project by the American artist Michael Asher, the statue was recontextualized, thereby creating for the viewer, a subtle "before and after" effect. (Fig.13) The artistic strategy of the project is an instance of what Asher described as situational aesthetics:

> an aesthetic system that juxtaposes predetermined elements occurring within the institutional framework, that are recognizable and identifiable to the public because they are drawn from the institutional context itself."[16]

For the 73rd American Exhibition held at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1979, Asher had the George Washington statue moved from the front of the Institute's Michigan avenue entrance to an appropriate historical context inside the museum. The statue was placed in Gallery 219, an eighteenth-century period room containing paintings and decorative arts from 1786 to 1795. Asher describes the effect of this recontextualization:

> As a decorative object disrupting the museum's exterior

---

[16]Michael Asher cited in Claude Ginz, "Michael Asher and the Transformation of 'Situational Aesthetics'," October #66 (Fall 1993) 113.

architectural continuity, the sculpture had undergone changes to its own surface [it had a weathered outdoor appearance]. Once it was reintroduced into its original period context, however, it disrupted the continuity of the interior: in its outdoor context the sculpture by Jean-Antoine Houdon seemed to have had a different use or function and had acquired material features which now conflicted with its setting as an object of high art in a well-guarded museum interior. In the interior, the sculpture of [Washington] no longer had the appearance of being a public monument, which it possessed while installed on its granite pedestal outside the museum. Stripped of its monumentality, it could be compared stylistically to other artifacts in Gallery 219 and could be observed almost exclusively in aesthetic and art-historical terms.[17]

Without going further into Asher's reasons for this operation, I would simply suggest its pertinence as a template for the consideration of the effects of context and discourses in the understanding and differentiation of aesthetic and political forms.

What Asher executed as a conceptual art project is in fact a process that was not so easily conceived and executed at the time of the French Revolution. Under the "Ancien Régime," art was understood as a display of sovereignty, or in Habermas' terms, "representative publicity" - an extension of the King's body. In the years after 1790, feudal monuments, symbols and insignia were routinely destroyed or broken down for materials. An essay by Daniel Hermant describes how in the context of a return to order in the course of the Revolution, Republican parties (opposed to Royalists) wished to somehow

---

[17]Michael Asher in Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, ed. Michael Asher: Writings 1973-1983 on Works 1969-1979 (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983) 208.

distance themselves from the destruction wrought by the "populace" during the Revolution. At the same time, there emerged a movement in favour of the establishment of National Museums which laboured to preserve the country's cultural heritage. This would include monuments of aesthetic worth. In this revolutionary atmosphere, and for the first time in modern history, a discourse on vandalism was constructed; it counterpoised vandalism to Enlightenment. Despite denunciations and calls for arrests, few "vandals" were convicted. This was not surprising since the Revolutionary Legislative Assembly had earlier declared:

> It is the manifest will of the people that no monument continue to exist that recalls the reign of tyranny... the statues in public squares in Paris will be taken away and statues in honor of liberty will replace them.[18]

At the time of the call for the preservation of monuments and for the apprehension of offenders, police reports reflected the undeveloped state of the concept of vandalism in the public imaginary. One report read:

> We are flooded with complaints which state that patriots are offended by the sight of monuments erected by despotism in the years of slavery, monuments that obviously should not be left standing under the rule of liberty and equality.[19]

Control over the realm of the arts, as Hermant argues, was but one aspect of the broader suppression of popular initiative at this time (9 Thermidore). In the form of the Commission on

---

[18]Cited in Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 31.

[19]Cited in Daniel Hermant, "Destruction and Vandalism During the French Revolution," in Baird and Lewis, 118.

Monuments and the Temporary Commission on the Arts, scholarly discourse opposed popular iconoclasm. By specifying the technical criteria for evaluating art objects, and by affirming art's independence from society, scholars such as the Abbé Grégoire argued that the preservation of monuments could serve a national and pedagogical function, if only by negative example as reminders of tyranny.

Two related conclusions can be drawn from these events. The first is Hermant's contention that the discourse on vandalism, which was put into effect as a conspiracy against the goals of the Revolution, was actually contrary to the Revolution's ideals. He writes:

> Faced with the reality of Republican destruction, the vandal conspiracy made it possible to maintain the fiction of an ideology, that of the 'lumières'; it was a bourgeois reading of revolutionary events (for the 'lumières' were not neutral).[20]

National heritage, then, did not represent the interests of all Republicans. Paradoxically, the coming into being of national patrimony was linked to the construction of a discourse on vandalism.[21] Although this created a division between the people and the dominant bourgeois class, it was progressive inasmuch as it severed the notion of heritage from natural birthright. Heritage became historical. Conservation efforts at this time depended on impending and actual

---

[20]Hermant, 120-121.

[21]Anthony Vidler, discussed in Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 31-32.

destruction.

A second conclusion can be surmised. Grégoire's desire to preserve monuments and works of art as "permanent reminders of tyranny" expressed a fundamental contradiction between the monument as a permanent reminder on the one hand, and the monument as something whose meaning had just undergone, and could therefore undergo, changes of historical proportions. As Lewis claims,

> Grégoire was beginning to articulate a sense of the discontinuity which overdetermines the symbolic realm and how that discontinuity would always already be part of any monument's history. It is a discontinuity that ultimately inscribes within the work a built-in obsolescence; and it is this built-in obsolescence which will ultimately allow the work to be rescued by a museum where it will also take its place in the national history of a country, its patrimony of permanence.[22]

Enlightened revolutionaries such as the Abbé Grégoire articulated a concept of conservation that synthesized the values of instruction, patriotism, aesthetics and heritage. As the concept of history itself was developed in the nineteenth century, entire historical periods, styles and peoples, such as the Goths and the Vandals, gained scholarly favour. It is at this time that the idealist notion of aesthetics was consolidated.

Another revolutionary event, the Paris Commune of 1871, brings to light the continuing struggle over public symbols. In this case the Vendôme Column, monument to Napoleon and his Grand Army, became a focus of revolutionary attention. A

---

[22]Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 32.

Commune decree stated:

> Considering that the imperial column at the Place Vendôme
> is a monument to barbarism, a symbol of brute force and
> glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of
> international law, a permanent insult to the vanquished
> by the victors, a perpetual assault on one of the three
> great principles of the French Republic, Fraternity, it
> is thereby decreed: Article One: The column at the Place
> Vendôme will be abolished.[23]

After the monument's destruction, the French poet Catulle
Mendès decried: "It wasn't enough for you, in a word, to have
destroyed the present and compromised the future, you still
want to annihilate the past!"[24] For the Communards, however,
it was the Column itself, as a permanent insult, which
destroyed history by freezing time, and by converting
hierarchy into an ahistorical ideal.[25] However, as Linda
Nochlin has demonstrated, the Commune also quickly established
an Art Commission charged with the protection of heritage.
Even in a situation in which social hierarchy was symbolically
challenged, humanist values maintained their ideological
power. In 1871 as in the 1790s, the ideals of the revolution
were to make humanist values available to more people.[26]

By the time of the Commune, the concepts of conservation

---

[23]Cited in Kristin Ross, The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud
and the Paris Commune (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota
Press, 1988) 5.

[24]Mendès cited in Ross, 5-6.

[25]Ross, 7.

[26]Linda Nochlin, "Museums and Radicals: A History of
Emergencies," in Brian O'Doherty, ed. Museums in Crisis (New
York: George Braziller, 1972) 20.

and historicism had taken hold. Figures such as Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) championed a preservationist aesthetic which sought not only to restore buildings of historic significance, but also the virtues that they were perceived to embody. For the Viennese art historian, Aloïs Riegl (1858-1905), the practice of preservation represented an amalgamation of newness-value and historical value. These terms were but a few of the classifications included in Riegl's 1903 study, "The Modern Cult of Monuments." Despite the fact that he wrote this as a preface to a legislative proposal for the protection of historic monuments in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the study challenged many of the unwritten laws of conservation. Riegl distinguished intentional from unintentional monuments. Unintentional monuments, brought to the fore by age-value, historical value or relative art-value, were said to be given their meaning by contemporary society. None of these values were absolute and one type could be in competition with another. Although any given historic monument was seen as irreplaceable, something such as age-value could rightfully stand in the way of its preservation and allow it to "submit to incessant transformation and violent destruction".[27] Use-value, newness-value, and historical value, on the other hand, are more interested in the original status of the monument and may seek to return it

---

[27]Aloïs Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," in Kurt W. Forster, ed. Oppositions (Fall 1982) 32.

to this condition.

Riegl's theoretical insight is that the meaning of a monument does not reside immutably in a singular past, as both Viollet-le-Duc and the Communards would have held it to, but is rather transitory and contradictory, relative to the present. As Françoise Choay asserts, Riegl demonstrates that on both a theoretical and a practical level, the problematic of destruction/conservation cannot be settled once and for all, and furthermore, that the what and how of conservation never entails just one solution, but many alternative solutions, each of relative pertinence.[28] Another insight of Riegl's study is that it is the establishment of criteria to help define unintentional monuments that allows them to be recontextualized and as such preserved as heritage.

The problematic of destruction/conservation that was registered in a unique way in the aftermath of the French Revolution surfaces once again but differently in Walter Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History." Benjamin reads the two contradictory movements of destruction/ conservation in dialectical images, images which nonetheless are subject to the course of historical transformation. As with Riegl, Benjamin challenges historicism's view of the past as eternal and unchanging. Thesis number V reads: "every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one

---

[28]Choay, 17.

of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably."[29] His concern, however, was not so much with preservation but with redemption.

Benjamin's writings on historical materialism and his allegorical strategy of "exploding history's continuum" is central to the work of contemporary artists Krzysztof Wodiczko and Mark Lewis. Their work is examined below. A few words on Benjamin, however, are included in order to structure the argument I am making in this chapter. Benjamin was particularly averse to tradition in the form of heritage. In her reading of Benjamin's unpublished Arcades Project, Susan Buck-Morss examines this question of conservation. She suggests that although Benjamin was not in favour of a conservative preservation for its own sake, he nevertheless opposed the destruction of the past produced by political and economic interests and which was made possible by the modern technical capacities for destruction. For instance, Buck-Morss discusses how Benjamin did not criticize the Paris Commune for the damage they wrought on the city of Paris, but rather, for "falsely equating the city's destruction with that of the social order."[30] "For him", she writes,

> the political choice was not between historically
> preserving Paris and modernizing it, but between

---

[29]Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in Illuminations, 255.

[30]Susan Buck-Morss, The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, 1993) 316.

destruction of the historical record - which alone makes revolutionary consciousness possible - and destruction in remembrance of this record. In short, it was a choice between obliterating the past, or actualizing it.[31]

Buck-Morss further examines how this relates to urban renewal projects which "attempted to create social utopias by changing the arrangement of buildings and streets - objects in space - while leaving social arrangements intact."[32] This for Benjamin was a symptom of the deep sleep that the nineteenth century had fallen into. In the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, and after the July Revolution of 1830, the newly victorious bourgeoisie begins to show an ambivalence toward its own concept of utopia. At that moment, progress is affirmed in terms of positivist science and technology, but no longer in terms of society. Social progress is then equated with technological development. This is the historical continuum that Benjamin wishes to explode. His method was to see in allegory an antidote to the mythic, natural state in which the present is shrouded. Benjamin was attentive to what he called the now-time of revolutionary moments, for at such times of danger, the illuminated past places the conjuncture of the present in a critical position. This now-time is akin to the allegorical procedure which "brings to consciousness the nonidentity between signs and meaning."[33] Thus for

---

[31]Buck-Morss, 316-317.

[32]Buck-Morss, 89.

[33]Buck-Morss, 224.

Benjamin, knowledge of the past entails a redemption of its remaining fragments.

Allegorical methods have been used by a number of contemporary artists as a means to question not only the idealist construction of the art object, but also the formalist aestheticization of social contexts and spaces.[34] Krzysztof Wodiczko's projection works, for instance, self-consciously actualize Benjamin's notion that the historical materialist "'blasts apart' the continuum of history, constructing 'historical objects' in a politically explosive constellation of past and present, as a 'lightening flash' of truth."[35] I will limit this section to the examination of Wodiczko's 1990 projection onto the Lenin monument in Leninplatz, East Berlin. (Fig.14)

Since the early 1980s, Wodiczko has projected images onto architectural bodies and monuments. His basic strategy is to project images that resonate with contemporary significance. The visual montage contests the idea that the structures possess a universal and unchanging symbolic meaning. Rather, it demonstrates how the transformative nature of symbols can

---

[34]See for example, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriations in Contemporary Art," Artforum 21:1 (September 1982) 43-56.

[35]Buck-Morss, 241.

be used and manipulated in different circumstances.[36]
Wodiczko's work takes a dialogical approach to audience and to
art's relation to everyday life. It seeks to affect the
normative understanding of public monuments as much as it does
complacent dismissals of the critique of the society of the
spectacle (while critically infiltrating spectacle).

Wodiczko's projection projects make use of popular images
that have a current, if fleeting, meaning and value. They are
'au courant,' denoting their shock value and relevance to the
viewers at a particular time and place. The paradoxical
givenness of these images is on a par with the significance of
the monuments which the public is also expected to readily
understand. The projections, however, function as counter-
images which reveal the architecture's activity of ideological
projection, its actual symbolic purpose which is often
subsumed under the cloak of a transparent functionality. The
projections' supplemental sign-value make visible the original
symbolic meanings of the monuments by opposing or enhancing
them, by making them contemporary, or by suggesting their
connotative implications in other terms. By piling allegory
on top of allegory, the projections make the monuments speak
otherwise, once again.

For the East Berlin projection, the artist brought the
image of the Russian leader to date by superimposing onto the

---

[36]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Homeless Projection and the Site of Urban
'Revitalization'," October #38 (Fall 1986) 66.

body of the statue a shopping-cart filled with Western consumer goods which had become available to East Europeans after the social revolutions of 1989. The humour that is produced by the work is underwritten by the incongruence between the sedimented understanding of East and West. It is also produced by the fact that it is an iconoclastic gesture against a once protected, if reviled, figure, a sort of wish image. It is equally an outcome of an awareness of the real poverty of the Polish shoppers who purchase goods in the West for resale at higher prices back home. After public debates, the Stalinist statue of Leninplatz was dismantled.[37]

The wry humour with which Wodiczko treats this particular subject is telling since the destruction of the monuments to communism was met here in the West with very little concern. Rarely did news reports mention anything about conservation or about vandalism. This was perhaps due to the dubious quality of socialist realist statuary, but most likely, the symbolic meaning of the destruction pre-empted reflections on issues of style or aesthetics.

Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, two Russian emigre artists living in New York, responded to the destruction of communist monuments with a mixture of seriousness tinged with irony. Komar & Melamid are the forerunners of a Russian art

---

[37]Phil Freshman, Krzysztof Wodiczko: Public Address (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1992) 158.

movement known as "Sots Art," a play on the terms Socialist Realism (the official aesthetic style of the former Soviet Union, inaugurated by Stalin) and Pop Art.[38] Sots Art is to Socialist Realism, what Pop art is to consumer culture. In each case the given culture is inundated with visual slogans which the artist both accepts and rejects.

In may of 1992, and after the destruction of countless Socialist Realist Monuments, Komar & Melamid published a call for submissions for artists to make proposals on how to transform the monuments to totalitarianism. A letter was sent to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, explaining the concept and requesting the temporary installation (display and preservation) of monuments that by 1993 had remained intact. Their open call to artists was titled "What Is To Be Done With Monumental Propaganda?" It read:

> From the time of the revolution of 1917 to the advent of glasnost, each new regime has attempted to destroy the monuments commemorating their predecessors – Brezhnev, Kruschev, Stalin. The destruction continues today, and any effort to save, unchanged, Russia's remaining Socialist Realist monuments would surely be seen as an attempt to preserve a totalitarian tradition. The time has come to stop this destruction! We have had enough of revolutions! Historic monuments are a non-renewable resource. Instead of further destruction we propose transformation through art.
> Fate has provided a unique opportunity. It would seem a shame to miss this chance. Creative interventions by artists from around the world could make it possible to re-configure the content of existing monuments while preserving them. Moscow could become a phantasmagoric

---

[38]It is my contention that Berlin Wall fragments on display can be examined within the parameters of Sots Art. Please refer to the bibliography for writings on this art movement.

garden of "post-totalitarian" art.[39]

Artists' submissions were published in a 1993 issue of the New
Yorker. Komar & Melamid's suggested project stated:

> we propose to mount an electronic tableau with the moving
> word "Leninism" over the entrance to Lenin's mausoleum.
> The familiar "Lenin" will appear on days traditionally
> associated with his name. ...At other times artists and
> poets could use the tableau for their own purposes.
> Political and community organizations could take
> advantage of the tableau to make announcements. Its
> limitless usage could also include news and weather
> reports, commercial advertisements, and so on.[40] (Fig.15)

While Komar & Melamid's work is intentionally ambiguous,

ironic and at the same time caustic, their work is afforded

the luxury of a base in the United States.[41] For East

[39]Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, "What Is To Be Done With
Monumental Propaganda?" New Formations #22 (Spring 1994) 1-3;
reprinted with images of proposals in "Monumental Propaganda,"
in Michael D. Kennedy, ed. Envisioning Eastern Europe:
Postcommunist Cultural Studies (Ann Arbour: The University of
Michigan Press, 1994) 66-72. The problems raised in Komar and
Melamid's work were taken up by Mikhail Ryklin in the lecture,
"Les déchets sublimes: le sort fait aux monuments en Russie
après août 1991," delivered at the conference, Memory of
Waste, Université de Montréal, 23-26 March 1995.

[40]Lawrence Weschler, "Slight Modifications," The New Yorker (12
July 1993) 59-65. The article is captioned on the cover as
"The Great Lenin Garage Sale: Recycling Your Old Soviet Art."

[41]Krzysztof Wodiczko has criticized these artists, stating:
"Komar and Melamid are not clearly critical of either system.
They submerge themselves with perverse pleasure in the
repressive realities of both Soviet and American experiences,
wallowing in what they see as the equivalent decadence of both
empires. They perform art-historical manipulations to support
their political nihilism, creating, for example, pop-art
versions of socialist realism. I question the political
clarity and social effectiveness of adopting pop-art
strategies for the critique of Soviet culture."
Cited in Douglas Crimp et al., "Interview with Krzysztof
Wodiczko," in Russell Ferguson et al., eds. Discourses:
Conversations in Postmodern Art and Culture (New York: New
Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990) 320.

Europeans who would have to live with reminders of the police state they endured, destruction and not conservation was the most coherent opinion. Note that statues of local officials, rather than the ubiquitous Lenin or Stalin, were often the first figures to be vandalized. Still, in the years following the thaw of State communism the symbolic value of public monuments kept them in currency, and this was because of, and not in spite of, their changed meanings.[42] There took place in Budapest, for example, a management of Stalinist monuments similar to that proposed by Komar & Melamid. In the summer of 1993, an open-air museum or theme park of socialist statues was opened on the outskirts of the city. An article by Régine Robin includes a newspaper report from Le Monde. It reads:

> Covering four hectares on the outskirts of the city, the museum includes some forty statues and a dozen or so commemorative plaques dating from the previous regime. This is one of the few places in Hungary where one can still display the red flag without having to be concerned about breaking a recent ban that prohibits the use of communist insignia except for "cultural" or "educational" purposes. ...The opening of the park was preceded by a spirited debate between those who favoured destroying the statues and those who wanted them preserved – not to mention, of course, those who advocated selling them (but to whom?) and donating the proceeds to the "victims of Communism."[43]

---

[42]In "La muséification du 'socialisme réel'," Berthold Unfried discusses the participation of Czech citizens in a making public of their personal museums and propaganda objects. This local instance of coming to terms with and remembering the past is noticeably different from the official preservation of communist monuments such as Berlin Wall fragments. See his article in Communications #55 (1992) 23-42.

[43]Yves Michel Riols, "Hongrie, les statues socialistes au musée," Le Monde (30 June 1993) cited in Régine Robin, "Requiem for a Toppled Statue: History as Kitsch and Remake,"

One could well understand that in dire circumstances the Hungarian government would take the opportunity to make some money by opening a socialist theme park for Western tourists.

This phenomenon is somewhat similar to the dispersal and sale of the Berlin Wall, also a sort of monument to Communism. Shortly after 1989, the East German government sold off the pre-cast slabs that formed the outer Wall to private individuals. Test marketing was done in New York City and auctions were eventually held, first at the Inter-Continental Hotel in West Berlin and then in Monte-Carlo as was mentioned above. Segments can now be found throughout Europe and North America. The identity of individuals and institutions that own slab segments is also telling of the transformation of defense wall into kitsch object. American Presidents Kennedy (family), Nixon, Reagan and Bush were given a segment each, the CIA has en entire row outside its headquarters, and even the Vatican has its own piece of authentic Berlin Wall. Despite the banality of shipping these three-tonne cement slabs all over the world, the donation received by Montreal is treated with fitting seriousness. It is presented as a solemn commemorative monument. In contrast to the original surface which was defenceless before graffiti artists, this monument is now protected heritage; arrested in proper museological fashion and conserved for educational purposes.

---

in Baird and Lewis, 83.

Is it possible to preserve the memory of the events that the Montreal fragment is designed to solicit without coarsening historical knowledge? What does it mean to bring to North America an object that even in its own place of origin had undergone changes in meaning? The problematic that arises in Komar & Melamid's "What Is To Be Done With Monumental Propaganda?" appeared earlier in Canadian artist Mark Lewis' three-part project: "What Is To Be Done." Unlike Komar & Melamid, and Lenin's own posing of the phrase, Lewis' title does not end with a question mark. Lewis' project, consisting of an exhibition of photographs, a series of site-specific public art works, and a theoretical essay, put forward a number of challenging observations about the technology of the public monument.

In considering the history of the monument since the time of the French Revolution, Lewis concludes that the problem of construction and destruction is inscribed within the logic of monumentality. Preservation attempts to synthesize these two forces. Now, if iconoclasm reveals an underlying "respect for the image," then we can only expect, given further acts of destruction, that the reproduction of monumentality and its terrorization of the public sphere will manifest itself repeatedly, with variations on symbolic content and historical circumstance.⁴⁴ Such a process of replacing the monuments of

---

⁴⁴Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 30. Please note that a comparative study of the works of Krzysztof Wodiczko and Mark Lewis with respect to the concept of collective memory can be

the "Ancien Régime" with newer statues, or to recontextualize
the original works, reveals that the meaning of the monument
can change. That possibility is also inscribed within its
logic. As Lewis puts it, "the continued efficacy of the
monument [is] its ability to be always more and less than the
figure which it ostensibly represents".[45] The possibility of
its re-appraisal, he argues, "is already contained within the
work from the start".[46] Lewis addresses this symbolic
remainder in a discussion of the toppled Bucharest Lenin
(Fig.16):

> For certainly victory monuments will forever be memorials
> to what "the victory" refuses to announce, but ultimately
> must reveal: that as communism has collapsed, for
> instance, its victor, which needed its "enemy" in order
> to articulate its own truth, is now equally haunted by
> the slights of hand which have sustained the conceit of
> a certain public freedom.
>
> The impossible transformation of the monument to
> communism into a monument to the demise of communism, is
> also the monument to the impossibility of Capital, a
> monument to its excess, its contradictions and
> ultimately, its lack of identity. Let us say, that all
> of this is to be revealed, glimpsed precisely in the
> liminal image of the monument's removal, that moment when
> one discourse will attempt to appropriate another.[47]

---

found in Niall Atkinson, <u>The Bewildered Monument: Postscript
to a Memory in Ruins</u> In partial fulfilment for the M.A. in Art
History (Toronto: York University, 1996).

[45]Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 29.

[46]Lewis, "What Is To Be Done," 30.

[47]Mark Lewis, "What Is To Be Done?" in Scott Watson, ed. <u>Mark
Lewis: Public Art, Photographs and Projects</u> (Vancouver: UBC
Fine Arts Gallery, 1994) 70. A film produced by Mark Lewis
and Laura Mulvey examines the replacement of Stalinist
statuary with the repressed religious and royalist iconography
of the past. See <u>Disgraced Monuments</u> 16 mm film, 1993. A

Lewis' site specific work began with the making of fibreglass, metal and plaster replicas of the Bucharest Lenin. These were reduced copies of the 30-foot bronze statue which the mayor of the city wished to sell for hard currency. Lewis' copies were one third the size of the original. They were exhibited individually in Oxford, England (June 1990), Quebec City (November 1990), Montreal (February 1991), and Toronto (July 1991). In the case of all three Canadian cities, the individual statues were vandalized. In each location, a tall base supported a plaque with the inscription:

> This statue is a one third replica of a twelve ton bronze statue of Lenin recently removed from the city of Bucharest. An anonymous collector has purchased the statue from the Mayor of Bucharest and would like to donate it for public display in this city. This is the proposed site for the statue.

The acts of vandalism were perhaps rejoinders to Lewis' proposal, which anticipates the multiplicity of possible

---

similar film by Stephan Sachs, And saw what should be done..., documents the recent reconstruction of a gigantic statue of Kaiser Wilhelm (at Koblenz) which was destroyed by American troops in 1945. See "Images of History," Kinema Kommunale (March/April 1995).

Structural dominants described in Lewis' theoretical project can be noticed in the occupation of the former no-man's land in Berlin with the new architecture that heralds the victory of capitalism. For instance, Daimler Benz have publicized their desire to display some Wall segments on their new site at Potsdamer Platz. Note also that Wall concrete has been used to build the roads that now pass through the old section of the city that was once sectioned by the Wall.

responses including a negative, destructive one.[48]   But more

should   be   said   first   about   this   particular   Lenin's

specificity.

In a move analogous to Michael Asher's re-location of the

Washington monument into the museum, Lewis displaces his Lenin

reproduction from the political context of communist Eastern

Europe to the sphere of North American capitalism.[49]   "It goes

without saying," suggests Andrew Payne,

> that such a gesture depends for its effect in the
> capitalist West, that is to say, in a political culture
> in which the space of the aesthetic and the space of the
> political   are   understood   to   be   functionally
> differentiated.[50]

Another element of specificity has to do with the context of

the 'Parc Lafontaine' installation in Montreal.   In each city,

Lewis placed the work near an already existing monument.   The

Montreal   Lenin   was   located   directly   in   front   of   Roger

Langevin's <u>Debout</u>, a statue commemorating the Quebec writer,

---

[48]Vandalism is the sublimated telos of Lewis' project.   It
physically enacts the theoretical "horizon" his post-
structuralist approach to the question of representation and
meaning.   This can be gleaned from the fact that the title
belongs not only to Lenin but to his predecessor, the
philosopher Tchernychevsky.   The latter, whose writings
influenced anarchists and youth movements, is known for his
prison work, <u>What Is To Be Done?</u>, which can be classified as
utopian literature.   I assume that the artist understands the
rejection of his artistic proposal through youthful vandalism
as equally a (unintentional/symptomatic) rejection of the idea
of a fullness of meaning in representation, and consequently,
a rejection of the possibility of socialist utopia.

[49]Note that this is not entirely accurate as Lewis' project
only begins after East European countries have begun the
reform and dismantling of State communism.

[50]Andrew Payne, "The Statue Man," in Watson, 29.

poet and 'chansonnier' Félix Leclerc. (Fig.17,18) Leclerc, who died in 1988, was also well-known for his support of the cause of Quebec sovereignty. Formally, the bronze Leclerc was derided by federalists and nationalists alike. Critic Lise Lamarche noted its style, reminiscent of socialist realism, and its similarity to the Lenin statue.[51] The works were contrasted inasmuch as Langevin's work has little or no base; Leclerc's legs are made to resemble tree trunks, alluding to his rootedness in the soil of the nation.

Langevin's statue, unveiled in 1990, was purchased by the 'Mouvement National des Québécois' by manner of public subscription. It is but one of many political (nationalist) public monuments in the park — the latest of which is Olivier Debré's monument to Charles de Gaulle which was donated to Montreal by the Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, in 1992. The context for public art in 'Parc Lafontaine' is highly charged politically. Lewis' Lenin, which was placed directly in front of the Leclerc statue on February 10th, 1991, was scheduled to remain there for three weeks. Only nine days later, however, it had been stolen, and this, after people had seen it tipped over and pulled off its pedestal. Was Lenin kidnapped by the 'indépendantistes' as Johanne Lamoureux mused? Did the complaints from the Soviet Consulate have anything to do with

[51]Lise Lamarche, "Les Monuments de l'Est: Notes à partir d'une exposition de Mark Lewis," Espace #28 (Summer 1991) 28-30.

its destruction?[52]

Inviting viewers to respond to his proposal for the site, Lewis was complicit with the act of iconoclasm or vandalism, for, as the artist himself wishes to make symbolically visible, the work of public art's construction and destruction share the same economy. The response, though, could have been less a reaction to this site specific and temporary artwork and its theoretical armature, than perhaps to: 1) its very ephemerality; 2) its ironic stance; 3) its rhetorical proposal; 4) its mockery of the Langevin monument and the nationalist cause. In view of the latter, Andrew Payne is perhaps correct in his estimation of the North American context when he intimates Lewis' complicity with his detractors,

> with those who refuse to accept, like good sports, the liberal credo that everything is permitted because nothing is for real. For the very defacement of these works returns to them something of that dignity and danger which spoils in an atmosphere of cynical consumption.[53]

Indeed, and this points to a flaw in Lewis' seamless description of the technology of public art, and that is his systematic approach to differences in historical and geographical contexts which ascribes to monuments and their symbolic economy ahistorical and formal properties. But before accusing Lewis of a fashionable cultural hermeneutics,

---

[52]Johanne Lamoureux, "Mark Lewis and the Pollution of Monuments," in Watson, 7-17.

[53]Payne, 31.

it should be remarked that his many contextualizations seem to foresee specificities of place that could fracture and weigh down each reincarnation of the Lenin statue. His rhetorical gesture is productive and positions his viewers, as members of multiple publics, in a better position to participate in the project than does the average work of public art, and this, if only negatively.

I would like to conclude this section on the contemporary questioning of the public monument with a brief description of a project that was produced in West Germany before the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. This piece deals with the contemporary condition of the monument as I have described it on a theoretical level, and the problem of not only critiquing public art in an abstract manner but in practical terms. In this case the city of Hamburg invited Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz to submit a project for a monument against Fascism, War and Violence and for Peace and Human Rights. (Fig.19) Their monument, which was unveiled in 1986, is described by James Young in his essay on the counter-monument.[54] For the Gerzes there was an obvious dilemma in building a permanent didactic monument against fascism which to them would seem to be a contradiction. They were

---

[54]James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today," in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed. Art and the Public Sphere (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, 1992) 49-78; reprinted in The Texture of Memory.

"ethically certain" but "aesthetically sceptical" about of the memorial form as something which supplants memory as much as it preserves it.[55] The Gerzes chose to place their work in Harburg, a working-class suburb of Hamburg. Harburg is populated by a mix of ethnic groups, many of them guest-workers. The monument they created stood 12 metres in height and one metre square. It consisted of a hollow column of aluminum, which was plated with a layer of lead. Viewers were invited to scratch their names or message into the lead surface with a steel pen. Off to the side, an inscription was added with a message written in seven different languages. It read:

> 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 the 12 meter tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day, it will have disappeared 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.

In the course of four years, the active participation of people, some vandalizing it, others simply inscribing their names and personal message, allowed the monument to be lowered, one half meter sections at a time, into an empty shaft. Each lowering was celebrated with another unveiling ceremony until it finally disappeared altogether. Today, only

---

[55]Young in Mitchell, 53. The issues of dealing with the past as a means of wishing it done away with is discussed in Theodor W. Adorno, "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed. Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) 114-129.

a stone remains, with the inscription: "Harburg's Monument
Against Fascism." For the artists, as Young mentions, the
monument objectifies

> not only the Germans' secret desire that all these
> monuments just hurry up and disappear but also the urge
> to strike back at such memory, to sever it from the
> national body like a wounded limb.[56]

This particular monument, however, also reveals much about
the limitations of all monuments, particularly those which
would ostensibly require the work of remembrance. In its
self-destruction, the counter-monument points to the tension
between memory and forgetfulness, between aesthetic form and
social process. In the course of time and space, the mnemonic
form, that is to say, the monument, changes meaning. In this
sense, permanence can only be counterpoised to memory, for as
Young puts it, "the life of memory exists in historical
time."[57] The past then, while immutably fixed, is only ever
remembered in the present conjuncture.

Contemporary critical art practices produce works that
embody the contradictions of the public sphere and of
monumental representation. In some instances they clarify
these contradictions inasmuch as they make them temporarily

---

[56]Young in Mitchell, 63. This issue of commemoration as a
comforting discourse is analyzed in Irit Rogoff, "The
Aesthetics of Post-History: A German Perspective," in Stephen
Melville and Bill Readings, eds. Vision and Textuality
(Durham: Duke University Press, 1995) 115-140.

[57]Young in Mitchell, 78.

visible. In each case, the art works I have mentioned accentuate the public monument's changing meaning and cultural value. More than just effects of discourse, these meanings are grounded in social practices and produce a public as much as they represent it. Representations entail the constitution of social spaces and social practices, they are also shaped by these. As the notion of the public sphere becomes the object of both deconstruction and radical politicization, notions of public art change with it. In the case of the Montreal Wall fragment, a municipal government programme took great care in determining the context of the object and its interpretive framework. I have suggested that critical art practices are not just the preserve of a separate and specialized art public, but can and have affected the way contemporary culture consumes and produces public monuments. It is my contention that the CCMM display can be considered in light of contemporary site specific and situational works particularly since the new official works of public art in Montreal reflect an awareness of a broad range of contextual strategies, from simple iconic marking (tourist information) to more detailed site specific and deconstructive work.

In the following chapter I will discuss the particular context chosen to display the Montreal Wall fragment. Although the chosen site was the last in a series of deliberations, which in itself indicates a plurality of possible interpretive frameworks, the final decision and

implementation ('mise en valeur') determines more than any other consideration, the situational parameters of public interpretation and response to the monument. This, of course, involves the decision to maintain the object in its physical entirety with the graffiti preserved and protected.

Site and context have played an important role in the art work of contemporary artists who have dealt with the condition of the monument in contemporary culture. The aesthetics and strategies of contextualism inform my reading of the Berlin Wall fragment display. As part of a detailed study of the Montreal installation, this chapter will examine the particularities of the CCMM in relation to the categories of place-image, representational space and the social practices that are favoured by them. The history of the CCMM site will also be shown to have a crucial bearing on the reading of the Wall fragment.

The development of the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal' was celebrated and legitimized by the discourse of heritage. Heritage, as will be shown, is a flexible and therefore malleable concept, subject to different uses and orchestrations. Many facets of the heritage phenomenon are currently enjoying a privileged status in contemporary culture. Under the epithet of postmodernism, heritage has gained an incomparable ascendancy and legitimation, albeit, not without having undergone simulacral and commodified mutations.

Postmodernism, more than just a regrettable cultural side-effect of late capitalism, represents a cultural 'rattrapage' with the implications of modernist cultural values and assumptions. In this sense, postmodernism must be understood to have implications for our modernist culture, and not simply

seen as a solution to, or extension of, bad old modernism. To put it simply, we must reject the facile oedipal analogy. Heritage, as an aspect of postmodern culture, undergoes transformations that permeate both aesthetic and economic considerations.

In the pages below, I will examine a section of real estate and the office complex which presently occupies its site, that is, the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal.' Built between 1985 and 1992, the CCMM incorporates many of the attributes of architectural and social postmodernism. Its scale and the speed at which it was planned and executed are also characteristic of transformations in the construction/destruction capacities of contemporary bureaucracies and technologies. The CCMM will be examined according to knowledge produced by materialist theory. It will therefore be understood in its local context as much as in relation to the global forces that helped shape its development. The aesthetic and symbolic design of the Centre will also be considered as well as its material use of heritage and the attendant construction of particular histories and memories.

For the sake of argument, let us begin with the assumption that the CCMM represents a clear instance of postmodern architecture. A comparison of the CCMM with the neighbouring Montreal Stock Exchange building (Nervi and Moretti, 1962-

1965) will help substantiate this assumption. Forty seven storeys tall, this curtain-wall construction of glass and metal dominates the skyline. Across the square, on the city block circumscribed by McGill, St. Antoine, St. Pierre and St. Jacques streets, is located the Montreal World Trade Centre. A modest ten to twelve storeys tall and composed of separately articulated units, some of these nineteenth-century buildings, the Centre is blended into its urban context. (Fig.20)

The distinction between the two architectural genres is not accidental, but an intentional feature of the CCMM's self-conscious insertion into the fabric of Old Montreal. Developers of the Centre made a virtue of its distinguishing features, its horizontality and its environmental sensitivity. The latter affects both its internal design as well as its external form. Journalist Isabel Corral comments on its internal conceptualization and its differentiation from modernist buildings like the Stock Exchange. She writes:

> A sense of place is something that is very important to us. Being able to identify where we are makes us feel comfortable. Modern buildings, with their repetitive facades and floor plans, can be said to lack a sense of place - if you get off on the wrong floor you may not notice it until you have travelled a long way. In the WTC, special attention has been devoted to creating spaces that are unique and identifiable to each corporate client and to individuals. ...over 100 easily identifiable spaces in the project have been created for the public users.[1]

Corral's remarks on environmental quality are paralleled by

---

[1] Isabel Corral, "Innovative World Trade Centre takes up challenge: 'Horizontal skyscraper' aims for a better type of office," The Gazette (5 January 1991).

the developers' focus on the horizontality of the building and its attention to environmental sensitivity, as a feature of urban planning.[2]

In the critical literature and in the architectural milieu in particular there persists the widely disseminated belief that architectural modernism and postmodernism represent antithetical movements. In this type of argumentation, modernism and modernity are defined by the formal concerns of aesthetic autonomy and self-referentialily. Movements such as the International Style and the derisively named "brutalism" are critiqued for destroying local particularities of place and for their inhuman scales and environments. Modern architecture is equally associated with Enlightenment rationalism as well as modernity's futurist and utopian ambitions. While advocates of postmodernism pit themselves against the austerity and insensitivity of modern architecture, its critics, on the other hand, routinely mention postmodernism's populist penchant, its suburbanization of the urban landscape, its spurious concessions to historicism, scenography, commercialism and pretentious display of wealth. Although advocates rightfully offer nuanced and differentiated opinions of postmodernism, they are less likely to do as much for its precursor. Subscribing to the evolutionary and progressive reasoning they ostensibly

---

[2]Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, "Une architecture nouvelle pour le Centre de commerce mondial," La Presse (29 September 1988).

repudiate, these critics ignore modernism's instability as a cultural process.[3] Heritage, for instance, emerged as a response to and in parallel with modernity. Today, we are undeniably faced with postmodern heritage.

The alibi of postmodern urbanism is its retro function, its acknowledged desire to recycle, retrieve and revive earlier forms and functions of modern spatial types (parks, squares, arcades), and thereby to restore to the city a lost coherence. Rosalyn Deutsche argues that the rhetoric of postmodern preservation covers up the contradictions brought forth by "real destructive acts"; it also seeks, like its modernist antecedent, to create a "unified spatial order," but this time without the utopian aspirations.[4] Projects like the CCMM, said to be sensitive to local context, often manufacture the opposite. Transforming and recoding urban space, they can altogether alter a site's meaning, change its uses and accessibility, and even recontextualize the neighbouring area. Conservative celebrations of postmodernism as unproblematic re-enchantment and free-play of meaning are inadequate. To differentiate definitions of both modernism and postmodernism, then, is to surmount the simplifying

---

[3]This concept is developed in Yürgen Habermas, "Modern and Postmodern Architecture," in John Forester, ed. Critical Theory and Public Life (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985) 317-329. See also, Martin Jay, "Habermas and Postmodernism," in Irit Rogoff, ed. The Divided Heritage, 75-85.

[4]Rosalyn Deutsche, "Architecture of the Evicted," in Krzysztof Wodiczko: New York City Tableau: Tomkins Square/The Homeless Vehicle Project (New York: Exit Art, 1990) 28.

historicist tendencies that attend the evaluations of the new

as progress.[5]

Postmodernism, however, cannot be simply reabsorbed within

a discourse on modernity. Things have changed. Contemporary

anxiety about the state of global financial rentier circuits,

for instance, accompanies two related phenomena: the

abandonment of the modernist project and the continuation of

productivist overbuilding, this time in the form of postmodern

spaces. In the case of the former, Buck-Morss satirically

remarks:

> In this cynical time of the "end-of-history," adults know
> better than to believe in social utopias of any kind -
> those of production and consumption. Utopian fantasy is
> quarantined, contained within the boundaries of theme
> parks and tourist preserves, like some ecologically
> threatened but nonetheless dangerous zoo animal.[6]

Examining the "regressive utopias" of contemporary architects,

Dan Graham goes further than Buck-Morss and suggests that

postmodern architecture envisions the city itself as a

degenerate theme park or museum.[7] What remains certain is

that the postmodern movement in architecture, however short-

lived it may prove to be, offers no social solutions to urban

---

[5]See for instance Kevin Robins' critique of "critical
regionalism" in his "Prisoners of the City: Whatever Could a
Postmodern City Be?" New Formations #15 (Winter 1991) 1-22.

[6]Susan Buck-Morss, "The City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe,"
October #73 (Summer 1995) 26.

[7]Dan Graham, "The City as Museum," in Brian Wallis, ed. Rock
My Religion: Writings and Projects, 1965-1990 (Cambridge: The
MIT Press, 1993). Please note that Graham's analysis is quite
distinct from Baudrillard's theory of the "precession of the
simulacrum."

problems that have not been conceived in the past. One is more likely to see in it compensatory rather than utopian tendencies. But perhaps this is to expect too much from a movement which proffers simulation as a solution to the contradictions of modernism.

To examine the development of the CCMM is to already be aware that buildings are not discreet physical objects - nor are cities for that matter. Aesthetic and art historical discourses, however, tend to examine objects as unified, transhistorical essences. In making a materialist critique of idealist aesthetic and urban discourses, Deutsche contends that the work done by conceptual artists in the late 1960s and 1970s coincides with transformations taking place in urban theory. Her numerous publications examine the implications of materialist practices and theories on the understanding of both space and representation. "Aestheticist dogma," she writes,

> holds that the visual components of the city - monuments, buildings, parks, art - contain inherent, fixed and autonomous aesthetic value. The "beautiful city," by definition, has no social function except an ahistorical one - to nourish the transcendent inner visions of the unchanging human spirit. From yet another point of view, the symbolic nature of urban structures is openly celebrated, but such objects are believed to express essential values and beliefs adhered to by a united society. All these idealist notions, projected onto architecture, disavow the social production of meaning. When, in turn, they are projected by architecture, they are instrumental in securing consent to urban political

processes such as, most recently, redevelopment.[8]
Deutsche critiques the ecological model of sociology and the emphasis on functionalism which produce a naturalized vision of the "built environment," its "growth" a result of technological and social development. Here, function and utility appear "to be controlled by natural, mechanical, and organic laws."[9] Buildings and spaces would seem to provide proper functions for people understood as "users." This essentialist view of space is predicated on idealist notions of space as abstract, neutral, and practical. It is instituted in the discourse of realism. Deutsche contrasts to this the approach of writers such as Henri Lefebvre who examine space as imbricated in social relations.[10] If we accept that space is a medium that is socially produced and productive of social relations, subjectivities and meanings, then the city and the built environment must be seen as sites of struggle and conflicting uses. Far from embodying essential and transcendental functions, spaces are materially embedded constructions, their uses and meanings contested politically. Deutsche relates this to contemporary heritage restoration and simulation, practices that are no less

---

[8]Deutsche, "Architecture of the Evicted," 32.

[9]Deutsche, "Uneven Development," 6.

[10]From the perspective of political economy, see Mark Gottdiener, The Social Production of Urban Space (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).

ideologically motivated.[11]

As an instance of contemporary "heritage" construction, the CCMM figures as part of a three-fold strategy of redevelopment. The three objectives correspond to the spatial scales of urban sector, metropolitan area and international level. As part of the central business district of the early twentieth century, the sector in which the CCMM is located was once animated by successful legal, financial, and business offices. In the late nineteenth century, St. James (Saint-Jacques) Street was the "Wall Street" of Montreal and perhaps even the whole of Canada. (Fig.21) By the 1960s, though, the Ville-Marie expressway separated this sector from the business district to the north. Although the decline of the area began with the move of retail and office spaces in the early twentieth century, the years following WWII marked a particularly difficult period for this sector as disinvestment and abandonment of spaces left it in a state of decline. By the late 1970s, however, the projected redevelopment of Old Montreal lent the fabled St. James Street a newly foreseeable cachet.[12]

As the developers acknowledge, the CCMM was designed to connect Old Montreal with the St. Catherine and René Lévesque

[11]Deutsche, "Krzysztof Wodiczko's Homeless Projection," 63-98.

[12]See Ludger Beauregard, La rue Saint-Jacques à Montréal: Une géographie des bureaux (Montreal: Université de Montréal, Département de Géographie, Notes et Documents No.81-02, 1981).

business district - and to the floundering 'Cité Internationale' projects. The transformation of this block anchors the redevelopment of Old Montreal while providing a focal point for extensions of this process to the west, in the 'Faubourg des Récollets' and Lachine canal area. At the same time, the project's effect on the entire city centre was said by promoters to be as momentous as the building of Place Ville-Marie in 1962. Its only comparable projects in this latter phase of the city's development are the IBM-Marathon Realties tower on René Lévesque and the Lavalin/BCED/Teleglobe high-rise, better known as '1000 de la Gauchetière.' The CCMM outnumbered these projects in its square footage; of its modest height it made a supreme virtue. The third spatial consideration was to help make Montreal a global city, capable of competing with other metropolitan cities in the international marketplace. By extension, this would benefit the entire province.

By emphasizing the lateral extensions and spatial dislocations of the "development" of this particular piece of real estate, however, I would like to posit the interconnectedness of socio-economic processes across spatial scales.[13] Deutsche has also examined the literature on gentrification in order to account for the urban and aesthetic

---

[13]For the theorization of spatial scales in the global context, see Neil Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale," Social Text #33 (1992) 54-81.

changes to downtown city cores. She emphasizes the fact that redevelopment is not an inevitable process, explained by the whimsy of entrepreneurialism or by an unavoidable "back-to-the-city" movement, but is a socio-economic process that is structural rather than incidental.[14] Here she draws from work in political economy and geography.

In many of the essays already mentioned, Deutsche connects redevelopment with the economic process of disinvestment. From David Harvey's 1973 study, Social Justice and the City, she preserves the idea that capitalist urbanization embodies the contradictory aspects of land's commodification into real estate. The contradiction is between land's status as privately owned commodity and its social character.[15] With regard to redevelopment, this contradiction allows speculators to devalorize certain neighbourhoods or districts and then later re-exploit the same site when high returns can be counted on. From geographer Neil Smith's studies, she recounts how the financial process of capital overaccumulation often leads to real estate investment and development as a means to counteract falling rates of profit.[16] Smith's theory is that the devalorization of a sector creates a gap between

---

[14]See for instance, Deutsche, "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum," in Brian Wallis, ed. Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986) 20-37.

[15]Deutsche, "Alternative Space," 57.

[16]Deutsche, "Uneven Development," 26.

its original and potential value. The discrepancy between devalorized and gentrified neighbourhoods is what he calls uneven development. Gentrification constitutes a social process that dislodges redundant and surplus populations and businesses from an area, only to alter its uses and conditions in order to accommodate new users - in most instances, white middle-class professionals, members of the emerging business and service economy.

The redevelopment of city centres is also structurally linked to changes taking place in the "new," global economy. As David Harvey argues, highly mobile multinational capital seeks to invest in a region with high production, consumer, service and business capacities.[17] In order to attract such capital, the "entrepreneurial city" will market its distinct image, capitalizing on particularities of place. Ironically, the historical restoration and imitation schemes that such projects promote are often homages to a local past as much as to international pressures and standards. Needless to say, these heritage projects are often indistinguishable from one city to another.

Montreal has undertaken such measures and the CCMM is but one aspect of a broad governmental strategy to redefine the

[17]David Harvey, "Urban Places in the 'Global Village': Reflections on the World Condition in Late Twentieth Century Capitalism," in Luigi Mazza, ed. World Cities and the Future of the Metropoles: International Participations (Milan: Electa/XVII Triennale, 1988) 21-33. A more detailed elaboration of this thesis can be found in his The Condition of Postmodernity (1989).

city as one of North America's international centres. While
aesthetic refashioning and heritage preservation are pleasing
and warranted actions, Montreal's socio-economic context has
changed a good deal since the development boom of the 1980s.
By the 1990s, the city faced real problems in terms of
unemployment (20-40%), a high percentage of people on welfare,
homelessness, and poverty level incomes. The problems were
compounded by a general exodus to the suburbs and an
anglophone exodus reaching total numbers of about 500,000
people. A polarization of rich and poor becomes more evident
in the city centre which counts high numbers of elderly people
and new immigrants. By the early 1990s, the City was losing
hundreds of millions of dollars a year on interest payments
alone, further reducing its bond rating performance.[18] The
present municipal government's solution has been corporate-
style downsizing and privatization of services. In 1996, the
City of Montreal spent two million dollars of public funds to
conduct research on privatization.[19] These facts cannot be
separated from the signs of prosperity that distinguish the
new development projects of Old Montreal from other urban
sectors.

---

[18]André Picard and Ann Gibbon, "In the hole...and there's no
way out: Montreal Malady/Thousands of people have fled the
city for the suburbs, taking their tax dollars, jobs and
political clout with them," The Globe and Mail (8 January
1993).

[19]André Picard, "Closed-door politics opens privatization
rumours," The Globe and Mail (19 March 1996).

The redevelopment of Old Montreal is not legitimized solely on the merit of what physically occupies the site, but for the compounded economic investments these projects are intended to produce in the years ahead. The "Old Montreal Project" was designed to reproduce what had already taken place in other comparable North American cities such as Boston, Baltimore, New York, San Francisco, and also Vancouver and Toronto. Boston's Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market, developed by the firm of James Rouse, were considered in the 1970s and 80s to be examples of the newest means of conversion for waning industrial sectors. With the help of government backing, Rouse would restore spaces in decline and transform them into mixed-use pseudo-traditional environments. Other projects of his include Baltimore's Inner Harbour and New York's South Street Seaport. Despite the vicarious forms of communal consumption that these types of projects manufacture, they have served as models for the redevelopment of the Old Port of Montreal.[20]

The redevelopment of Old Montreal begins with the Montreal Citizen's Movement, a party elected on the promise of creating a master plan for the downtown region. Although the plan never came to fruition, the MCM did "rediscover" Old Montreal as a new site for investment. This should have come as no

---

[20]This is well-documented in Jean-Claude Marsan's Sauver Montréal: Chroniques d'architecture et d'urbanisme (Montréal: Boréal, 1990).

surprise, however, as public consultations on the redevelopment of the Old Port took place as early as 1979. That year, the City and province established 'l'Entente sur la mise en valeur du Vieux Montréal' which was in effect until 1989 and which resulted in annual tax abatements and subsidies for private investors of up to $1.5 million. (Fig.22) At the end of that term the two governments agreed to a five year plan representing another $34 million. A few years before 1989, the federal government created the 'Société du Vieux Montréal' corporation in order to inject one half billion dollars into Old Montreal before the 1992 celebrations of the city's 350th anniversary. Public hearings also took place on the future development of the 'Faubourg des Récollets' and Lachine canal area to the west. A paramunicipal society, le 'Centre d'intervention pour la revitalisation des quartiers' (CIRQ) was established by the 'Société de développement de Montréal' (SDM or Sodemont) in order to oversee investment in the latter areas.

CIRQ, however, is but a pale example of the paramunicipal responsible for the redevelopment of Old Montreal, the 'Société immobilière du patrimoine architectural' or SIMPA. The SIMPA was created two years after the 1979 'Entente' in order to attract private investment to the sector. By 1992, the SIMPA had invested hundreds of thousands of dollars into 22 projects in Old Montreal, with private investment estimated to be up to at least six times greater. The population of the

area doubled at this time to 2,000 and was foreseen to triple in the near future. The projects it helped promote are numerous and of very different characteristics; their common feature is their historicism and heritage aspects. As an architectural artefact, the CCMM must therefore be understood in relation to spatial patterns of development and economic distribution. As its developers intimated, its effect on its context was hoped to be dynamic. If the redevelopment of Old Montreal remains limited to those projects in existence, its promoters will have at least been successful in creating an image of the City that corresponds to international standards of post-industrial accomplishment.

Unlike most large business complexes, the CCMM is unusual in its mixture of private and public interests. The concept of bringing a World Trade Centre franchise to Montreal was supported by the Drapeau administration in 1985.[21] The proposal was put forth by Devencore Inc. Devencore president, Philip O'Brien, was vice-president of Trizec at the time of the building of the 'Place Ville-Marie.' He has been president of the Montreal Chamber of Commerce and was a promoter of the 'Place Mercantile' on Sherbrooke street. With

---

[21]Note that the number of WTCs has practically doubled since that time. There are now approximately 280 WTCs in over 81 countries. Under pressure from the GATT organization, these have been developed at an incredible speed. Presenting itself as "non-political," the World Trade Centre Association coordinates the activities of global WTCs; the New York-based Association was founded in 1968.

the backing of the Chamber of Commerce and representing "several unidentified Quebec-based financial institutions," Devencore spearheaded the development of the Centre.[22] Through the Association of the CCMM (later, 'Société de promotion du CCMM'), the Chamber of Commerce would oversee the management of the project.

From the outset, the CCMM received the support of both the municipal government as well as major companies and banks. The rationales mentioned earlier, the benefits of the project for Old Montreal and for the city as a whole, are repeated throughout the 6 year phase of its development. Its site, function and size made it the most newsworthy project of the period. Its conservation scheme, which the developers initiated after consultation with professional organizations, sweetened the proposal. By the construction phase, the owners of the project were identified: 37.5% was held by the provincial pension fund, the 'Caîsse de dépot et placement du Québec' (through its subsidiary, 'Les Immeubles Cadev Inc.'); 30% by Devencore International (25% of which belonged to O'Brien's holding company, Capitex); another 25% was divided between the City's two paramunicipals, the SIMPA and the SHDU

---

[22]Fran Halter, "Office, stores planned on St.Jacques," The Gazette (25 February 1986). See also Jean Chartier, "Prêt de $80 millions pour le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: La CIBC veut accroître sa présence dans le secteur immobilier à Montréal," Le Devoir (8 March 1989); Robert Winters, "Construction chief confounds his critics: College dropout heads one of city's most ambitious new real-estate projects," The Gazette (23 July 1989).

(Société d'habitation et du développement urbain); a final 7.5% belonged to the Canada Life Assurance Company. An $80 million short-term loan was secured through the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce which had no difficulty finding support from international banks. The city would eventually agree to finance 40% of the underground parking as well as half of the shares in the Inter-Continental Hotel which brought the value of the entire CCMM project to about $240 million.

A number of more unusual aspects to this arrangement were eventually announced. A nineteenth-century building called the Nordheimer was sold to the developers before public consultations. As well, the entire stretch of the 'ruelle des Fortifications' between McGill and St. Pierre streets, estimated at a value of $400,000, was allocated to the promoters. The issue of government subsidies to private interests was also in evidence with the backing of the underground parking garage which would incur a half million dollar annual loss for the foreseeable future. The City's legal services, however, considered both the garage and the expropriation of property to be justifiable as the municipal government is not in the money-making business and as these projects are beneficial to the city.[23]

---

[23]Service du contentieux, Études des avocats, Montréal, February 9, 1987. Cited in Ville de Montréal, Comité consultatif sur l'implantation du Centre de commerce de Montréal, Annexes: Rapport final du Comité (Montreal: Ville de Montréal, 1987). This is the most useful source of official

Although the protection of old buildings served as a distinguishing feature of the project, and despite the builders' efforts to initiate conservation and contextual efforts, many groups were critical of the CCMM's public consultation process. The two open meetings scheduled in the fall of 1987 appeared to be exercises in public relations more than actual consultations. Only two days of notice were given before the first hearing and no consultations were held on the public aspect of the funding. The balance between private and public cooperation became obviously skewed shortly after the official opening of the Centre in 1992. Confronted with a 70% inoccupancy rate, the CCMM association was forced to renegotiate a new loan under poor bargaining conditions. The paramunicipals absorbed Capitex's shares and refinanced the project with a new loan of $86 million which cost the municipality $2.7 million in brokerage expenses.[24] Another blind spot in the promoters' consultation was neglecting to secure prospective tenants before building. The scandals accrued as the City tried to offset its losses by moving its own offices into the high-priced grade A office space of the

---

documents concerning the government planning of the CCMM. See also Ville de Montréal, Comité consultatif sur l'implantation du Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: Rapport final du Comité (Montreal: Ville de Montréal, 1987).

[24]Gilles Gauthier, "Montréal doit emprunter 86 millions pour financer le Centre de commerce mondial," La Presse (16 October 1992); François Shalom, "City to bail out World Trade Centre: Goes to international bond market to finance Old Montreal complex," The Gazette (16 October 1992).

Centre.

The guaranteed security that the CCMM could manage is a sign that no matter how improbable a project may seem, bureaucratized decision-making mixed with resource speculation can help authorize changes to the built environment. Clearly, this takes us beyond notions of trends and waves of development to the commissioned production of such processes by accumulation, disinvestment and redevelopment. How are we to make sense of the overlap between real estate speculation and governmentally assured conditions of profitability and survival? If this issue poses itself as a problem - i.e. of the blurring of the lines between private and public sectors - it is likely due to the assumption that private and public can be considered discreet categories in the first place.

Following the response of Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt to Habermas' theory of the public sphere, Rosalyn Deutsche suggests that the assumption of a distinction between private and public spheres enacts a repression. "This repression," she writes,

> a hallmark of the bourgeois public sphere, results from its origins in the false demarcation drawn in bourgeois society between the private and public realms. Because economic gain, protected from public accountability by its seclusion within the private domain, actually depends on conditions that are publicly provided, the bourgeois public sphere developed as a means by which private interests seek to control public activity. But since capitalism requires the preservation of the illusion that a well-defined boundary divides the public and private realms, the contradictions that gave birth to the public sphere are perpetuated and "reconciled" in its operations. Conflicts between groups are obfuscated by generalizing dominant interests as universal and by

simultaneously privatizing experience.[25]

The veracity of this statement is evident in the material form of the CCMM, in its social constitution and its actuality as a social relation. An authoritarian decision-making process produces a private space with the help of public funds - and all of this without the least mention of urban or social reform. This space is then represented as providing amenities for the public, but what in fact is produced is a pseudo-public space, catering to the needs and requirements of local and international business people. Modern, postmodern, regional, or contextual? Does it matter?

While the CCMM is an integrated complex, it is at the same time composed of a number of individual buildings; some of these retain their separateness. The architects of the Centre are Arcop Associates and Provencher Roy Architects. Together with the firm Gersovitz Becker Moss Architects, this team of professionals built a complex of reinforced concrete with masonry and brick facades as well as natural and artificial stone facades. From August to October of 1988 a number of buildings were demolished and the ground cleared. (Fig.23) Remaining were a few facades deemed worthy of preservation.

Anchoring the CCMM project are three turn-of-the-century buildings which remained unchanged except for alterations made to integrate them with the new Centre. The proprietors of

---

[25]Deutsche, "Uneven Development," 11.

these three independently owned buildings did take advantage
of the construction period to renovate their properties.
These buildings belong to Canada Steamship Lines/Power
Corporation, the Bank of Nova Scotia, and the occupants of the
Merchants' Bank Building.[26] In the course of their
development, the buildings underwent the modification of
additional floors. This concept of the preservation of
architectural vocabulary for building extensions provided the
developers of the CCMM with historical references for their
own project.

These office buildings are monuments to the era when St.
James Street was a powerful financial district. Aware of the
potential symbolic value of their project, the developers
argued that the CCMM would not only replace the
"uninteresting" buildings that were located on the site, but
would also render to St. Jacques Street its former vocation as
a financial sector. They unabashedly promoted the historicist
fantasy of returning the area to its former golden age.

Bound to this image that the developers wished to
construct were discordant elements. On the north-east corner
once stood the property of the Robert Mitchell Co., built in
1862. (Fig.24) The Mitchell building, I would argue, bore
witness to another history altogether, not that of the salad

[26]See Guy Pinard, "Les édifices anciens du Centre de commerce
mondial," in his Montréal: son histoire, son architecture,
Tome 6 (Montreal: Méridien, 1995) 121-139. See also Marc H.
Choko, The Major Squares of Montreal trans. Kate Roth
(Montreal: Meridian Press, 1990).

days of bankers and financiers, but of early industry in Montreal. Mitchell's factory, built on the same site as an early foundry, produced metal and bronze parts for trains and tramways as well as gas and electric lamps. After his departure, the site was occupied by a number of different businesses including a locksmith, a tailor's shop, a laundry company and a newspaper company. If preserved, the Mitchell would have figured as one of the four pillars of this city block. It was rated "superior" in the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs inventory of Old Montreal architecture; it also figured in the Montreal Urban Community's index to industrial architecture.[27] The integrity of all designated heritage was compromised by the demolition of the Mitchell building, and for this reason, much criticism was directed at the developers and the municipality.[28] Ironically, the Mitchell was replaced by the 24 storey Inter-Continental Hotel, the franchise of a chain which prides itself in its efforts at historical restoration.

As an appendage to the Inter-Continental Hotel, however,

---

[27]Ville de Montréal, Répertoire d'architecture traditionnelle sur le territoire de la communauté urbaine de Montréal: Architecture industrielle (Montréal: Communauté urbaine de Montréal/Service de la plannification du territoire, 1982).

[28]It is thought that the destruction of the Mitchell had unfortunate repercussions. See Joshua Wolfe, "Political will to save the Queen's Hotel was lacking," The Gazette (22 October 1988). For a defense of the demolition in pragmatic terms, see Jean-Claude Marsan, "Le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: La revitalisation dans la continuité," Le Devoir (31 October 1987).

the Centre did restore the Nordheimer building, located on St. Jacques street beside the Merchants' Bank. The Nordheimer now contains conference rooms and facilities, restaurants, a ballroom, bar, and wine cellar. In the entire Centre, the Nordheimer constitutes the only notable instance of "heritage preservation." Built in 1888 after a fire destroyed the "first Nordheimer," this building housed a number of companies but is remembered for the Nordheimer piano company store with its large windows and interior light well. (Fig.25) The developers preserved the entire facade with the exception of the ground floor section which was reconstructed in an appropriate red granite. An elaborate roof decoration was also redesigned. The restoration of the Nordheimer is attributable to Gersovitz and Moss who produced a preliminary architectural study of all of the buildings on the site.[29]

Response to the Nordheimer's redevelopment has generally been positive. Even Heritage Montreal applauded its cultural restoration, manifesting a tendentious habit of invoking the "spirit" of the past. The spirit of the place may even have been more important than its actual physical condition before restoration. Indeed, the promotional material capitalizes on the building's luxurious Victorian and even "orientalist"

---

[29]Julia Gersovitz, <u>Les Fortifications, Montréal, Devencore</u> (Étude du potentiel architectural du quadrilatère McGill, Saint-Pierre, Saint-Antoine, Saint-Jacques) (Montreal: 1986). Despite numerous requests to the firm Fournier/Gersovitz/Moss, to Devencore Inc. and to the CCMM, this document was not made available to me for research consultation.

allure .[30] While the developers argued against simulation

aesthetics in the case of the Mitchell building, they saw no

contradiction in their recreation of this interior. Without

a doubt, the Nordheimer's history and ambience was more

appropriate to the type of memory work they wished to produce.

While the Nordheimer offered the possibility of a

reconstruction of the interior based on the existing physical

structure, the other buildings on the site were said to have

had undergone enough modification throughout this century to

warrant their demolition. The architectural concept of the

CCMM was basically to preserve those facades that are old

enough and in good enough condition, and to build the new

interiors with respect to those exterior addresses, alluding

to the existing cadastral lines. The CCMM's promoters

described their project in this way:

> Le concept architectural de l'ensemble s'élabore
> principalement sur l'érection d'immeubles qui
> respecteront les subdivisions cadastrales du site,
> maintenant ainsi le rythme des façades, et sur la
> conservation de fragments jugés les plus intéressants;
> enfin, ce concept inclut la rénovation et la restauration
> d'immeubles existants.... La particularité de ce concept
> architectural réside dans l'expression de continuité
> qu'il établit avec l'architecture du quartier, dans un
> langage et une manière de faire tout à fait
> contemporain.[31]

---

[30]Hôtel Inter-Continental Montreal, publicity brochure and
loose leaf handout. See also Henry Lehman, "Architect finds
role as preserver of endangered species: Nordheimer building
is latest patient pulled back from the brink," The Gazette (17
August 1991).

[31]Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal, Présentation du plan
d'ensemble à la Ville de Montréal (September 1987) in Rapport
final du Comité: Annexes 78.

Discounting the actual acts of demolition and reconstruction, a premium was placed in these descriptions on the logic of continuity. Not only did this incorporate the actual facade fragments, but also the history of a continuous extension of building height. At the official public hearing, Julia Gersovitz presented the idea as such:

> Retenons entre autres que le développement immobilier au début des années 1800 était surtout composé de maisons et petits commerces à deux ou trois étages et que le ruisseau St-Martin délimitait alors naturellement le développement vers le nord.
> L'on assistera progressivement jusqu'en 1890 à la construction d'immeubles en hauteur de sept à neuf étages, souvent construit par superposition sur les édifices de deux et trois étages existants.[32]

The banality of such a proposition meant that the design concept could locate its originating moment with the first wooden and stone constructions of the early 1820s. Like the Merchants' Bank, the facades already in existence would be extended vertically to heights of seven and ten storeys. Quoting Gersovitz, Joshua Wolfe mentions that "the idea was to consider separately the three-and-four storey buildings now found on St. Jacques and St. Antoine and imagine how each of them could 'grow' to twice that size."[33] Other than the Nordheimer building, six (sections of) original facades were preserved. (Figs.26,27) A history of the demolished buildings

---

[32]Gersovitz cited in "Comité consultatif sur l'implantation du CCMM: Compte rendu de l'assemblée publique d'information tenue le 19 Octobre 1987," in Rapport final du Comité: Annexes 4.

[33]Joshua Wolfe, "Trade centre revitalizes St. Jacques St. - at a price," The Gazette (5 December 1987).

remains to be written. In its preservation of facades, the CCMM conforms to a local "facadism" phenomenon that is predicated on a postmodernist sensibility vis-à-vis heritage conservation.

Dominique Poulot's study of the early moments of the ideology of heritage mentions that the Frenchman, François Guizot, understood heritage "in sociological terms as public opinion."[34] "Facadism," as it was termed, became a subject of considerable debate in the Montreal architectural milieu. Some saw it as preservation tokenism, others as realistic compromise. Heritage advocates critique this practice for its pretension to represent the conservation of buildings; in actuality, exterior fragments are preserved, not buildings.[35]

I would like to insist however on Poulot's mention of public opinion and relate this to Habermas' notion of publicity, and in particular, the "representative publicity" of the baroque rather than the bourgeois publicity of civil society which replaced it.[36] Lefebvre mentions that the facade has always been a measure of prestige and power. Developed in coordination with perspective, it constitutes a symmetry that extends the interior of a space with an

---

[34]Dominique Poulot, "The Birth of Heritage: 'le moment Guizot'," Oxford Art Journal 11:2 (1988) 44.

[35]See for example, some of the essays in Bryan Demchinsky, ed. Grassroots, Greystones, and Glass Towers (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1991).

[36]See Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.

exterior, admitting certain things to the realm of the visible and others to obscurity.[37] In contrast to the public sphere of civil society, the representative publicity of the aristocracy positions the public as spectators of pageantry and display. Despite Habermas' thesis that late capitalist society is undergoing a process of refeudalization, I think that we could recognize in contemporary forms of publicity (public relations, advertising, marketing) some of the features of representative publicity mixed with residual elements of the bourgeois public sphere's division of private and public realms. The facades of the CCMM are unquestionably signs, signs of history and tradition, as well as signs of power and prestige. The curtain wall's modernist self-referentiality does not satisfy the postmodern taste for neo-conservative ostentation. The facade of the suburban home comes back to the city. Contemptful of "public opinion," the managerial class tinkers with the historical fabric only to privatize its possessions - these cannot even be considered collective possessions - and to flaunt these in a promotional display.[38]

---

[37]Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 99.

[38]For a discussion of the liberal philosophical aspects of heritage as "collective possessions," see Richard Handler's "On Having a Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's 'Patrimoine'," in George W. Stocking, Jr., Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) 192-217.

As I have argued, the promoters of the CCMM wished not only to initiate conservation efforts, but also to capitalize on those features that would be used to market the Centre. As such, only certain aspects of the past could be used as promotional material. The resultant historicism of the Centre's design and presentationism are evident. An obvious example can be gleaned from the Hotel's sales pitch: "La rencontre d'un riche passé et d'un confort moderne juste aux portes du Vieux-Montréal." As with Marx in the Eighteenth Brumaire, Benjamin described the means by which the "present rulers" cloaked themselves with the symbolic accoutrements of the past. Just as neo-classicism was used to legitimize the new bourgeois hegemony of the late eighteenth century, the language of early liberalism has come to be used by the managers of late capitalism's command economy. Witness the propagandistic emphasis on entrepreneurialism at a time when the interests of the 'petites et moyennes entreprises' are increasingly sacrificed to those of the multinationals. The CCMM and its symbolic revival of late Victorian liberal values participates in this historicist tendency typical of conservative (populist) postmodernism. Having been so obvious in this undertaking, however, the signs of its operation remain visible and its symbolic half-life all the more easily exhausted.

The European history of the site circumscribed by the CCMM begins with the construction of a palisade fortification in

the late seventeenth century. A stone-faced rampart was then built in the first half of the eighteenth century only to be demolished in the early nineteenth century. It is not my intention to repeat the social history of the fortifications but merely to signal the fact that the traces of its presence on the site of the CCMM have contributed to the Centre's present symbolic value.[39] In the early nineteenth century, the 'ruelle des Fortifications,' which bisects the block from east to west, was called the 'ruelle des Glacis ou des Fortifications.' This alludes to the fact that at the time of the stone fortifications, the 'glacis' section of the defense system ended somewhere on the site now covered by the CCMM. Archaeological studies undertaken by Ethnoscop Inc. confirm the approximate location of the fortifications in relation to the present site. The study shows how the topography and consequent developments have affected the contours of the present built environment.[40] According to early maps (Chaussegros de Léry, 1725/Charland, 1803), a powder magazine was located in the number VI bastion which would have covered the front half of the area occupied by the Merchants' Bank,

---

[39]On the social history of the fortifications, see Monique Poirier, The Fortifications of Montreal 1717-1744: The Development and Implementation of the Plan M.A. Thesis (Montreal: Concordia University, Dept. of Art History, 1991); Phyllis Lambert and Alan Stewart, eds. Opening the Gates of Eighteenth-Century Montreal CCA (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992).

[40]Ethnoscop, Quadrilatère McGill, Saint-Jacques, Saint-Pierre, Saint-Antoine, Montréal: Etude du potentiel archéologique (Montreal: Devencore, 1987).

Nordheimer and Campbell buildings. (Figs.28,29) The vaults located in the basement of the Nordheimer led to the hypothesis that they could have formed part of a powder magazine or an extension of the fortifications of some sort. It was generally agreed upon that they could have been built with materials remaining from the demolition of the fortifications. Further studies by Ethnoscop concluded that the vaults were dated 1825-1920, and however impressive, were likely used by merchants as storage rooms and as strong foundations for the stone building.[41] These vaults were eventually converted by the CCMM architects into three dining areas with wine cellar.[42]

Added to the architectural facadism and the historical link with the fortifications, another feature of the CCMM makes its historicizing logic all the more transparent. This particular feature narrows and specifies the context of the Berlin Wall fragment display. Covering the entire length of the 'ruelle des Fortifications' and bridging the two halves of

[41]Ethnoscop, Sondages archéologiques: Edifice Nordheimer, Site BjFj-39 (Montreal: Devencore, 1988); Ethnoscop, Surveillance archéologique des forages: quadrilatère McGill, Saint-Pierre, St-Antoine, St-Pierre (Montreal: Devencore, 1988). The conclusions were supported by archaeologist Jean Bélisle.

[42]Ingrid Peritz, "Dark vaults in old city a historical riddle," The Gazette (21 January 1988); Annabelle King, "Centuries-old stone vaults under new hotel get fresco lift," The Gazette (22 November 1991). Despite evidence to the contrary, CCMM and Hotel publicity continues to promote the idea that the vaults were part of the fortifications.

the Centre is a massive glass arcade. The developers recycled this old service lane and refinished it with a brick walkway. On the ground floor, shops and restaurants animate what the promoters describe as an agora or public place. (Fig.30,31,32) Fortification Lane represents the structural axis of the Centre and was its distinguishing feature even in the early planning stages. The ironic fact that a public street was privatized only to be made public once again has not been lost on commentators. But this is partially accurate as the space can only be described as pseudo-public.

Like its nineteenth-century precursors, the CCMM arcade is a glass-covered passage lined with shops and businesses. It is a privately owned public place which offers luxury goods, protection from the elements and is an object of building speculation.[43] The Centre's arcade is typical of contemporary examples found in shopping malls such as the Montreal Eaton Centre, but its nineteenth-century sources can be found throughout Europe and North America. (Figs.33,34) Architectural historian J.F. Geist describes the early importance of the arcade for the new public sphere of the liberal economic system. He writes,

> In the time of its conception the arcade was home to
> luxury and fashion. It offered to the bourgeois public
> in all its various guises - the flâneur, the bohemian,
> the boulevardier - the opportunity to display itself to
> the world. It presented the myriad products of a

---

[43]For a detailed architectural history of the arcade, see Johann Friedrich Geist, Arcades: The History of a Building Type (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983).

blossoming luxury industry for gazing, buying, flaunting, and consuming. The public served by the arcade felt at home in the artificial lighting of the theatres, cafés, restaurants, bars - and glass-covered arcades.[44]

In their monumental and gigantic phase (1860-1900) arcades became a means for cities to signal that they had "arrived" as cosmopolitan centres. As such arcades might have had a similar function as today's World Trade Centres. Walter Benjamin gave the arcades the dubious honour of figuring as the emblematic subject for his collection of facts and fragments on nineteenth-century industrial culture.[45] According to Buck-Morss, Benjamin saw the arcades as mythic Ur-spaces, the original buildings of industrial culture and the precursors of the International Style.[46] With their decline and ruin, so goes the bourgeois social utopia of happiness through mass production. Benjamin argued that it is the nostalgia they evoked that made them the nursing homes of the utopian impulse.[47]

Pristinely finished, and built as a centre of power, the arcade of the CCMM can hardly be compared to the decrepid arcades of Europe that Benjamin and the surrealists found so

---

[44]Geist, 114.

[45]The arcade is a central figure in his "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in Peter Demetz, ed. Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings (New York: Schocken, 1978). See also: Rob Shields, Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption (London: Routledge, 1992) and Keith Tester, ed. The Flâneur (London: Routledge, 1994).

[46]Buck-Morss, The Dialectics of Seeing.

[47]Buck-Morss, "City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe."

fascinating. In its heroic giganticism, the Centre's arcade constitutes the continuation of the project of urban phantasmagoria, holding out the promise of progress through consumption and production. In its early stages it was envisioned as a showcase for parading Quebec's leading edge technology. At best, the CCMM arcade garners an "Orange" prize, offering aesthetic solutions to the problems of the city. In my study of the CCMM and of the function of the redevelopment of Old Montreal, I have often been compelled to agree with some of the early marxist critiques of postmodernism, however economistic they may be. There is one issue in particular which deserves focus, and that is the Centre's insularity, its hermetic self-sufficiency. This insularity is dissimulated in the transparency of the glass arcade space and in the perambulating public which animates the ruelle - this parade of people in the "public space" of the arcade is the real public art of the CCMM.

Frederic Jameson's critique of Portman's Bonaventure Hotel was correct in its disparagement of postmodern architecture's aspiration to spatial control.[48] Mike Davis extended Jameson's critique to a discussion of the links between the fortress function of new buildings with the "cordoning off" of "downtown financial districts, and other zones of high

---

[48]Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, 39-44.

property value, from inner city neighbourhoods."[49]   Without levelling the distinctions between cities like Los Angeles and Montreal, I would nevertheless argue that places like the CCMM cater primarily to the downtown salariat.   I contend that access to the Centre is symbolically modulated, restricted.

One of the principle aspects of the CCMM arcade's insularity comes from the fact that it is connected by its metro entrance to the underground city.   It is worth noting the allusions made to the Centre's parallel importance with Place Ville-Marie since the latter inaugurated much of Montreal's underground development.   The Centre's hermeticism is furthered by its access via the Bonaventure and Ville-Marie expressways.   Another issue is the Centre's effect on the animation of the sector of Old Montreal in which it is located.   Like most office complexes, it provides no signs of life "after hours."   Pedestrians unfamiliar with the site have few welcome signs to respond to.   The interior space may appear public, and this has been enough to spur applause for its "bold new design," but the CCMM's general function is not.

A sort of exclusivity and kitsch ostentation also characterizes the interior space.   This reading is encouraged by the addition of a baroque statue and large black granite fountain that occupy the entire space of the courtyard belonging to the Power Corporation.   The courtyard is

[49]Mike Davis, "Urban Renaissance and the Spirit of Postmodernism," New Left Review #151 (May/Jun 1985) 111.

demarcated by lavish lamp posts. The baroque sculpture of the goddess Amphitrite was purchased by the president of Power Corporation from a French decorator. As a decontextualized artefact, it flies in the face of the Centre's sanctimonious promotion of heritage conservation.[50]

Other features have added to the textual interpretation of the space as prohibitive and I would attribute to these a historicist license. Because the street is linked with the history of the fortifications, the CCMM as a representational space, can readily lend itself to design features combining militarism and baroque ostentation. A clear sign of this sensibility is evident in the style of the interior gate which subtly fills the space with a soft but menacing interpellation: this is private property. The fortress function of the Centre is also semiotically inscribed in the roof design of the Inter-Continental Hotel. Offering no great architectural qualities other than its choice and layout of brick material, the hotel is capped in a false mansard roof with a turret (which lights up at night). Recalling the CPR chain of hotels that dotted the Canadian landscape at the turn of the century, the new Inter-Continental Hotel unashamedly appropriates the CPR hotels' appropriation of sixteenth-century French chateau idioms. These playful and ironic, yet

---

[50]See the two articles by Jean-Pierre Bonhomme: "L'atrium du Centre de commerce mondial est digne des plus grandes métropoles," La Presse (1 November 1991) and "Une Amphitrite gréco-française au Centre de commerce mondial," La Presse (6 November 1991).

still communicative signs are trademarks of conservative
postmodernism. Discussing similarly crass displays, Mike
Davis states dryly:

> These current designs for fortified skyscrapers indicate
> a vogue for battlements not seen since the great armoury
> boom that followed the Labour Rebellion of 1877. In so
> doing, they also signal the coercive intent of
> postmodernist architecture in its ambition, not only to
> homogenize buildings, but rather to polarize it into
> radically antagonistic spaces.[51]

Fittingly, the hotel mostly caters to the international class
of business people that the Centre was designed to service.
But what does its 26-storey intrusion into the fabric of Old
Montreal and its immodest use of the chateau style say to
local residents?

To ask such a question is to make a claim on the ideology
of the public. This same ideology, though, disavows the
differences and particularities that disrupt the seamlessness
of the concept of the unified liberal public. The CCMM makes
use of the neutralizing concept of "public space" in order to
cover up its exclusionary performance. Its publicity brochure
"Le CCMM: Un monde nouveau" reads: "Ouvert sur le quartier,
sur la ville et sur le monde, le Centre de commerce mondial de
Montréal n'en forme pas moins un microcosme presque
autosuffisant." As a representational space, then, the Centre
would seem to be permeated with a self-sufficiency and
insularity that are largely determined by its approved uses
and codes of appearance and behaviour. The public features of

---

[51]Davis, 113.

the site help confirm this function. From the interior balconies and bay windows, the workers of high finance can look benevolently down onto a stream of passersby that may or may not be working in this space. As a structural element of the design, the transient and perambulating "public" functions as spectacle and as witness to the representative publicity of the guests and occupants of the Centre.

Identity would seem to be out of place in contemporary time/space. Indeed the particularities of identity and difference are often mustered and played out against the homogenizing force of technological rationality. As Harold Innis showed, the paradoxical tension between such forces are actually productive of hegemonic or economic structures of capitalist exchange, circulation and competition. At the CCMM, technology figures prominently as a marketing feature. The physical space and facilities provided to its users are enhanced by an "electronic bazaar" offering WTC computer links to over 400,000 businesses, video conferencing, and access to a gamut of high-tech fiber optic computer systems.[52] More than just a selling point, these features respect the ideology of functionalism - a useful alibi for the abandonment of various social reforms including urban, fiscal and global reform.

---

[52]Ronald Lebel, "$160-million World Trade Centre is inaugurated," The Gazette (7 April 1992).

The new digital telecommunications technologies also figure in the spatialization of social relations. These technological tools enhance the CCMM's international mandate; the Centre itself is designed as a tool. O'Brien termed it a "spaceship for international commerce," an appropriate metaphor for an age of increasingly deterritorialized trade agreements. Michel de Certeau has shown how places are related through relationships of force. An example of what de Certeau called a "proper place," the CCMM is ambiguously and "strategically" sited as a centre of power and an exchange station for mobile capital. De Certeau writes:

> I call a "strategy" the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an "environment." A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, "clientèles," "targets," or "objects" of research). Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model.[53]

As an illustration of the confrontational and strategic positioning of internationalizing business, I would like to refer to an image I found on one of the trade floors in the Centre. It is an advertisement by the Quebec Foreign Ministry seen on the back cover of a trade magazine. The image depicts a businesswoman holding a globe. (Fig.35) The caption reads:

> Le monde est petit quand on voit grand: L'abolition des frontières commerciales met le monde à notre portée,

---

[53]Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 1988) xix.

> multiple les occasions d'affaires. De nouveaux marchés
> s'ouvrent... plus que jamais accessibles aux entreprises
> qui voient grand! Le Ministère des Affaires
> internationales soutient activement les PME dans leur
> conquête des marchés étrangers...[54]

The technological advantage of a base in the CCMM affords businesses the newest forms of mastery over spatial distance. Conquest is of course the word that garners the most contextual and historical resonance. I would insist on this detail as the Centre is located on the site of the fortifications and as the designers of the Centre are so unabashed and insistent on historicism as a representational modality.

Beyond what I have already mentioned about postmodernism, I would add to the CCMM's symbolic activity an information aesthetic. Without reducing the site to textual analysis, I would argue that the Centre's multiplicity of reference points and variety of design and architectural finishes consciously produce the idea of spatio-temporal dislocation. Ironically, this is called contextualism and is supposedly fused with heritage conservation. What is actually being preserved is the **information** that these auratic bits and pieces of history can still manufacture. The information aesthetic produces a spurious sense of belonging and lends buildings little long-term viability. Heritage to harvest and publicize.

---

[54]La Revue Exportations Québec: le magazine des PME exportatrices 1:2 (November/December 1995) back cover. It is unclear whether the woman holding the globe is posed as businesswoman, assistant or representative of the Ministry. The advertisement draws interest with this ambiguity.

The globalizing function of the CCMM contradicts its purported architectural concept - its insertion into the historical fabric of the city. But perhaps this is not a contradiction but an inevitable product of the relation of spaces across different scales. In keeping with materialist philosophy, I have argued for the understanding of space as a social relation. The CCMM is a particular type of social space. Its construction has implications for our collected memory (Young) as well as for Montreal's economic relations abroad and at home. It is my view that the CCMM as context for the Berlin Wall fragment display must be recognized not only abstractly or in idealist language, but also as a representational space which is produced by and which produces social practices. The Wall fragment installation, while open to interpretation and appropriation, reinforces the communicational rhetoric of the Centre as a place image and as a working site for the reproduction of neo-liberal trade.

CONCLUSION

A materialist study is concerned with the content of history, not with just the narrative and additive filling up of homogeneous empty time. I have argued against idealist methods and epistemologies and as such have contested the prospect of a "proper" setting for the display of the Montreal fragment - my quarrel is rather with the production of such a display and with the demands made of public art as a representational imperative. By examining the aesthetic interest of the Wall for the "violent" painters of Berlin neo-expressionism, the transformation of the Wall into a post-graffiti canvas and tourist destination, its eventual dismantling and sale for souvenir consumption, and finally (for the time being) its use as diplomatic memorial object, I have insisted that history is pertinent to the reception of such material artefacts. Because the meaning of an object is never bound to any particular moment in its production as a social relation, it can therefore be contextualized within new and changing circumstances of signification. In the arcade of the pseudo-public CCMM, on the former site of Montreal's fortifications, and in a social spatialization that makes use of postmodern historicist encodings to legitimize a neo-colonial discourse of global capitalist hegemony, the Wall fragment display reads like an overture to "End of History" pop ideology. Welcome to one of the nodal points in the deterritorialized "Wall street" of the New World Order.

To return to the object's physical structure, the readymade understanding of the Wall (as it is displayed as Wall fragment) conforms to its two sides, one bearing graffiti work, and the other, a deadly white. The Wall was the embodiment of a binary ideology of East versus West. Under the sign of this binary logic, and from a Western perspective, the Cold War constructed a dichotomy of liberal Self and communist Other. It pitted the world's superpowers in a terminal paradox, each side attributing to its "'negative twin' the features and manners of a phantasmic character."[1] Slavoj Žižek describes how the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe obsessed the Western viewer. What "fascinates the Western gaze," he writes,

> is the re-invention of democracy. It is as if democracy, which in the West shows increasing signs of decay and crisis, lost in bureaucratic routine and publicity-style election campaigns, is being rediscovered in Eastern Europe in all its freshness and novelty. The function of this fascination is thus purely ideological: in Eastern Europe the West looks for its own lost origins....[2]

Arthur and Marilouise Kroker suggest a similar interpretation of the events of 1989, explaining the spectacle of history-in-the-making in post-structural terms as a "bimodern" moment of alterity in which capitalism and communism trade places:

---

[1]Victor Tupitsyn, "East-West Exchange: Ecstasy of (Mis)-Communication," in David A. Ross, ed. Between Spring and Summer: Soviet Conceptual Art in the Era of Late Communism The Institute of Contemporary Art (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990) 83.

[2]Slavoj Žižek, "Eastern Europe's Republics of Gilead," New Left Review #183 (Sep/Oct 1990) 50.

communism now converting to "primitive capitalism" and capitalism centralizing its bureaucratic processes in "the political form of the command economy of late communism."[3]

The two systems, however, are not so neatly and mutually reflective. The reunification of Germany and the opening of the East European markets was staged and carried out as a conquering, a "Pax Romana." In the early 1990s, the regular flow of East Europeans into the malls and markets of West Berlin, eagerly buying fruits and electronic goods, confirmed the Western fantasy that civil liberalism had triumphed over its "barbarian" other.[4] If East and West had once stood in mutual relation of Self and Other, the collapse of the iron curtain had brought the two into a new relation. Ex-communists were made painfully aware of their uneven status vis-à-vis the hegemonic West. Most of the latter's symbolic tokens of welcoming were underwritten by gloating and a will to humiliate the defeated enemy. John Borneman has suggested that after the dismantling of the communist State, East Germans have undergone a sort of colonialization in which retraining for a competitive world market reinforces their

---

[3]Arthur and Marilouise Kroker, "Introduction" in their edited text, <u>Ideology and Power in the Age of Lenin in Ruins</u> (Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1991) x.

[4]Michael Wark discusses the role played by the media in the staging of this event/scene in "Europe's Masked Ball: East Meets West at the Wall," <u>New Formations</u> #12 (Winter 1990). Wark comments on the crisis of liberalism caused by the end of the Cold War. Cynical liberalism asks: "what will become of us without barbarians?" (p.38).

subaltern status in relation to "the model civil society of West Germany."[5] As far as Westerners are concerned, the ex-communist, in this new unthreatening version, confirms a self-image. Margarita Tupitsyn laments what she calls a relapse into orientalism wherein the East is described in the Western media in a narrative genre similar to Victorian exotica and travel journalism; "scholarly impartiality is underwritten by zealotry."[6]

The consumption of Wall fragments also falls within this neo-colonialist framework. Jonathan Rutherford says of cultural difference that according to the commodity relations of transnational capital, difference ceases to signify power relations. "Otherness," he states, "is sought after for its exchange, its exoticism and the pleasures, thrills and adventures it can offer."[7] Likewise, Dean MacCannell writes that "the encounter between tourist and 'other' is the scene of a shared utopian vision of profit without exploitation".[8] This is evident in the spoilage of the Berlin Wall, its

---

[5]John Borneman, "Time-Space Compression and the German Continental Divide in German Subjectivity," New Formations #21 (Winter 1994) 112.

[6]Victor Tupitsyn cites Margarita Tupitsyn, 91. For an example of this type of presentation, see Priit J. Vesilind, "Berlin's Ode to Joy," National Geographic 177:4 (April 1990) 105-133.

[7]Jonathan Rutherford, "A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference," in Rutherford, ed. Identity, Community, Culture, Difference (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990) 11.

[8]Dean MacCannell, "Cannibalism Today," in his Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers (New York: Routledge, 1992) 28.

transformation into reminders of a difficult history, no doubt, but also into curiosities and novelty items for the anti-climactic détente between East and West. As trophies and cultural treasures, Wall fragments are semiotically overdetermined. Like the cultural artefacts found in ethnographic collections, they occupy a metonymic relation to their place of origin, but remain decontexualized, or rather, recontextualized under specific conditions, within the framework of the collector's world.[9]

To focus on the physical character of the Wall fragment is also to recognize that this very fragmentedness is in stark contrast to the perception of the Berlin Wall and its original overbearing continuity. The CCMM display is of the fragmented Wall, suggesting the obsolescence of borders and reaffirming the symbolic and actual function of the site in an era of global free trade. Underwriting this hopeful vision of a brave new world of post-Fordist, post-industrial consensus, is a repressed history which begins in Montreal with the expropriation, in the late seventeenth century, of the land occupied by the Iroquois and which continues in the present in the economic discrepancy between North and South.

---

[9]Moira McLoughlin, "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums," Canadian Journal of Communication 18:3 (Summer 1993) 367. See also James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in his The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 215-251.

This vision of the future-present is most readily described as the (post-war against Iraq) New World Order.[10] (Not surprisingly, Brian Mulroney contextualized the reception of the Ottawa segment in relation to the Iraq war and to peacekeeping efforts in Yugoslavia.) Now that the communist system has collapsed, there is no need to rethink our own political structures, or so goes the story according to one version of authoritarian realpolitik. A post-colonial position views with horror the purported end of viable ideological alternatives to free-market capitalism since the rhetoric of the New World Order is hardly supportive of the politics of place and difference.

Epitomizing this new political doctrine of the "end of history" are the words of Francis Fukuyama, deputy director of the US State Department policy planning staff in response to the disintegration of political regimes in Eastern Europe. In his bestselling book on political philosophy, The End of History and the Last Man, Fukuyama writes:

> Technology makes possible the limitless accumulation of wealth, and thus the satisfaction of an ever-expanding set of human desires. This process guarantees an increasing homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origins and cultural inheritances. All countries undergoing economic modernization must increasingly resemble one another: they must unify rationally on the basis of a centralized state, urbanize, replace traditional forms with economically rational ones based on function and efficiency, and provide for the universal education of

[10]For a critique of postmodern paranoia after the war against Iraq, see Hal Foster, "Postmodernism in Parallax," October #63 (Winter 1993) 3-20.

their citizens. Such societies have become increasingly
linked with one another through global markets and the
spread of a universal consumer culture. Moreover, the
logic of modern natural science would seem to dictate a
universal evolution in the direction of capital.[11]

Fukuyama's view of a teleological evolutionism and the
inevitability of a homogeneous world culture is totalizing in
the extreme. Ironically, his diagnosis reflects similar
analyses coming from the left. Fukuyama states elsewhere:

> The triumph of the West, of the Western idea, is evident
> first of all in the total exhaustion of viable systematic
> alternatives to Western liberalism.... [T]his phenomenon
> extends beyond high politics and can be seen also in such
> diverse contexts as the peasants' markets and colour
> television sets now omnipresent throughout China, the
> cooperative restaurants and clothing stores opened in the
> past year in Moscow, the Beethoven piped into Japanese
> department stores, and the rock music enjoyed in Prague,
> Rangoon, and Tehran alike. What we may be witnessing is
> not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a
> particular postwar history, but the end of history as
> such: that is, the endpoint of mankind's ideological
> evolution.[12]

In keeping with his cryogenized liberalism, or rather,
contemporary post-liberalism, Fukuyama rejects the concept of
group rights as an irrational aspect of liberal democracy.
Nationalism and ethnic identity are marginalized in his
opinion as "accidental and arbitrary by-product[s] of human
history."[13]

---

[11]Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man (New
York: Avon Books, 1992) xv. This book draws on the writings
of Alexander Kojève and pushes it to the level of
philosophical pragmatism. See Joseph McCarney, "Shaping Ends:
Reflections on Fukuyama," New Left Review #202 (Nov/Dec 1993)
37-53.

[12]Fukuyama cited in MacCannell, Empty Meeting Grounds, 62.

[13]Fukuyama, 201.

Viewed within the optic of international high finance, "end of history" theory is far from being a politics which concerns itself with difference, identity, and community. In my view, to position the Berlin Wall fragment in the CCMM is to allow its informational power to be productive within these frames of reference. This exceeds a historically sensitive gesture of commemoration. To take a broader view of globalization, I would surmise that the distinction between East and West was ideologically useful for both systems as they sought to marginalize poorer, "developing" countries within their respective spheres of influence. Fukuyama's discussion elides these problematics of power relations. What then, are the links between postmodernism, postcolonialism, postcommunism, and "end of history" theory as the end of the dialectic of enlightenment? The collapsing of normative categories that distinguishes postmodernism's epistemological force can occasionally lend itself to emancipatory projects, but it can also overlook the disciplinary workings of power and hegemony. As Nelly Richards comments, postmodernism "defends itself against the destabilizing threat of the 'other' by integrating it back into a framework which absorbs all differences and contradictions."[14] Echoes of Fukuyama. Indeed, postmodernism often collapses centre and margin, only to neutralize the distinctness and particularity of

---

[14]Nelly Richards, "Postmodernism and Periphery," Third Text #2 (Winter 1987-1988) 11.

difference. This is not to say that these workings are ever entirely successful, but merely to identify the assimilationist method of its anti-foundationalism. One cannot exclude from the postmodern focus on culture and aesthetics, issues concerning technology and the instrumental legacy of enlightenment rationalism. Again, I would suggest that the contradictions of modernity must be assumed in all discussions of postmodernism, and this, so that theory is not bestowed cultural value and validity in the same way that technology and science were once made the "deus ex machina" of a rapidly transforming European society.

With "end of history" theory, conservative postmodernism enters the political philosophy arena. In a sardonic account of end-of-the-millennium hyperbolism, artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña addresses the politics of the New World (B)order:

> This being the era of pusmodernity (the infected modernity), all known political systems and economic structures are dysfunctional and are being reformed, replaced or destroyed... We are finally "hijos de la chingada," or citizens of a borderless society.... In the wake of the stormy changes in the ex-Soviet bloc, the winds of "Gringostroika" have reached every corner of our continent. This sweeping transformation even makes it difficult to call this continent "ours," since the difference between "us" and "them" are hardly discernable any longer. Geo-political borders have faded away. Due to the implementation of a "Free Raid Agreement,"... the nations formerly known as Canada, the US and Mexico have merged painlessly to create the "Federation of US Republics." FUSR... The "First World and Third World," geo-political distinctions that are vestiges of an outdated colonialist vocabulary, have completely overlapped. The legendary US-Mexico border, affectionately know as "The Tortilla Curtain," no longer exists. Pieces of the great "Tortilla" are now sentimental souvenirs hanging on the kitchen walls of

idiotic tourists.[15]

With regard to the Berlin Wall, which of course Gómez-Peña is alluding to, we could perhaps understand in displays such as the CCMM installation, a nostalgic desire for the good old days of the Cold War when the quest for capitalist hegemony could readily function as a solution to various communitarian unfreedoms.

If memorials are images of loss and monuments signifiers of victory, what does the CCMM display signify as a loss of and a victory over?[16] Is this victory not also that of the theoretical dissimulation between antinomies such as us and them, private and public, as well as construction and destruction. On this last point, Richard Burt has made some relevant statements. Burt states that "Eurotrash," as a dialectical "tension between civilization, deterioration, and ruination... has always been the origin and the telos of European culture."[17] This concept is visible in the liminal image of the transformation of the former Berlin Wall death zone into a construction site for the showcasing of the newest

---

[15]Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The New World (B)order: A Work in Progress," Third Text #21 (Winter 1992-1993) 71-72.

[16]These definitions of memorial and monument, quite different from James Young's, are found in Lisa Yoneyama, "Memory Matters: Hiroshima's Korean Bomb Memorial and the Politics of Ethnicity," Public Culture 7:3 (Spring 1995) 499-527.

[17]Richard Burt, "'Degenerate "Art"': Public Aesthetics and the Simulation of Censorship in Postliberal Los Angeles and Berlin," in Burt, ed. The Administration of Aesthetics: Censorship, Political Criticism, and the Public Sphere (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 249.

multinational architecture. Despite Burt's emphasis on the always already of linguistics, I would agree with his emphasis on the dialectical nature of the simultaneous staging of expression with repression, of construction and destruction. What are the politics of exhibition implicit in the CCMM display? What social practices does such a display consign to the dustbin of history and what practices does it imply for the future-present?

What are the politics of the CCMM display as a monument to the "end of history" and the celebration of a New World Order? If postmodernism can be such a destabilizing vector of change, what are we to make of all its apocalyptic meditations? Even Jacques Derrida, the distinguished proponent of deconstruction, is now calling attention to monumental political issues. In his book on Marx, Derrida critiques "end of history" theology for its premature embrace of actually-existing democracy. Derrida lists ten of the most pressing problems of the New World Order which, in his words, makes the "euphoria of liberal-democratic capitalism resemble the blindest and most delirious of hallucinations".[18] These include: structural unemployment, homelessness, economic war, the inability to control the contradictions of the free market, foreign debt, the arms industry and trade, nuclear

---

[18]Jacques Derrida, Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, & the New International trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994) 80.

proliferation, inter-ethnic wars, the mafia and drug cartels, and finally, the present state of international law.[19] While Derrida overlooks such concepts as patriarchy, Eurocentrism and anthropocentrism, his book on Marx is nevertheless a departure from the post-marxism made possible by theories such as his own. In his ironic revision of Hegel and Marx, Derrida refutes the possibility of an end to ideological reformation. He writes:

> At a time when a new world disorder is attempting to install its... neo-liberalism, no disavowal has managed to rid itself of all of Marx's ghosts. Hegemony still organizes the repression and thus the confirmation of a haunting.... [This] specter is the future, it is always to come, it represents itself only as that which is to come or come back...[20]

Derrida's intervention continues the critique of totalizing theory, including the emphasis on History as guardian of Truth. I would caution, however, against any fixed reading of the postmodern condition, of what is to be done, and of what can no longer be envisioned. In this thesis I have attempted to outline some of the representational issues attending a certain conception of the "public" and of the "public monument." With regard to the Montreal Wall fragment, and in relation to all forms of "publicity" in general, it is a truism of any critical position that monumental and monolithic overtures are no longer adequate and that multiple perspectives need to be made visible and audible. If

---

[19]Derrida, 81-83.

[20]Derrida, 37-39.

actually-existing democracy is found wanting in many respects, no less can be said of actually-existing socialism. It is with respect to the latter, however, and with the belief in the emancipatory potential of critical and radical democratic positions, that I view with great scepticism the meaning of the display of the Berlin Wall fragment in the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

ABRAMSON, Daniel. "Maya Lin and the 1960s: Monuments, Time Lines, and Minimalism." Critical Inquiry #22 (Summer 1996) 678-709.

ADORNO, Theodor W. The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture. London: Routedge, 1991.

ADORNO, Theodor W. "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed. Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. 114-129.

ADverse Practices. Vancouver: Vancouver Association of Noncommercial Culture, 1988.

AL-KHALIL, Samir. The Monument: Art, Vulgarity and Responsibility in Iraq. Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1991.

Al-KHALIL, Samir. Republic of Fear. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

ANDREWS, Richard. "Notes on the Boundaries of American Public Art." Les dossiers de l'art public #6 (1990) 9-18.

ARENDT, Hannah, ed. Walter Benjamin: Illuminations: Essays and Reflections. trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968, 1969.

ARONOWITZ, Stanley. Dead Artists, Live Theories, and Other Cultural Problems. New York: Routledge, 1994.

ATTRIDGE, Derek et al. Post-Structuralism and the Question of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 1993.

BADDELEY, Oriana. "Nostalgia for a New World." Third Text #21 (Winter 1992-1993) 29-34.

BAIRD, George and Mark Lewis, eds. Queues, Rendezvous, Riots: Questioning the Public in Art and Architecture. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1994.

BAKER, Frederick. "The Berlin Wall: Production, Preservation and Consumption of a 20th-Century Monument." Antiquity Vol.67 (December 1993) 709-733.

BAKSTEIN, Joseph. "Private and Public Spaces: Art and Community in the Former Soviet Union." Art & Text #42 (1992) 38-40+.

BARRETT, Michèle. The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

BARRETT-LENNARD, John. "The Impure Public." Art & Text #42 (1992) 30-31.

BARTHES, Roland. Mythologies. trans. Annette Lavers. New York: The Noonday Press, 1972.

BAUDRILLARD, Jean. The Illusion of the End. trans. Chris Turner. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

BAXTER, Ed. "Old Monuments New Sites." Creative Camera (Feb/Mar 1993) 32-34.

BENJAMIN, Walter. "Short History of Photography." trans. Phil Patton. Artforum (February 1997) 46-51.

Berlin: Colour Photographs by Philip Pocock. London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983.

BERMAN, Russell A. Cultural Studies of Modern Germany: History, Representation, and Nationhood. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

BEZENCENET, Stephanie. "The Art of Going Public." Camerawork 20:2 (Fall/Winter 1993) 9-12.

BLANCHARD, Olivier et al. Post-Communist Reform: Pain and Progress. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993.

BLANCHETTE, Manon and Wolfgang Max Faust. Blickpunkte I. Montreal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1989.

BLUMENTHAL, Sydney. "Reaganism ans the Neokitsch Aesthetic." in Blumenthal and Thomas Byrne Edsall, eds. The Reagan Legacy. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988. 251-294.

BOGART, Michele H. Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

BOIME, Albert. Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in 19th-Century France. Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1987.

BORNEMAN, John. "Time-Space Compression and the Continental Divide in German Subjectivity." New Formations #21 (Winter 1994) 102-118.

BORSA, Joan. "Krzysztof Wodiczko: Power and Ideology." Vanguard (November 1983) 14-17.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement. Paris: Les Éditions de minuit, 1979.

BOYM, Svetlana. Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

BOYM, Svetlana. "From Russia With a Song: From 'Back in the USSR' to 'Bye-Bye Amerika'." New Formations #22 (Spring 1994) 33-47.

BRAYER, Marie-Ange. "Judith Barry: Projects and Projections of Space." Art Press #192, 22-29.

BREWER, Devon D. "Hip Hop Graffiti Writers' Evaluations of Strategies to Control Illegal Graffiti." Human Organization 51:2 (1992) 188-196.

BROWN, Denise Scott and Robert Venturi. "Berlin When the Wall Comes Down." Architectural Design 61:7/8 (1991) 78-83.

BRUNER, Michael S. "Symbolic Uses of the Berlin Wall, 1961-1989." Communication Quarterly 37:4 (Fall 1989) 319-328.

BUCHLOH, Benjamin H.D. "Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation in Contemporary Art." Artforum 21:1 (September 1982) 43-56.

BUCHLOH, Benjamin H.D. "Context-Function-Use Value: Michael Asher's Re-Materialization of the Artwork." in Michael Asher: Exhibitions in Europe, 1972-1977. Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum and Michael Asher Editions, 1980. 35-39.

BUCHLOH, Benjamin H.D. ed. Daniel Buren: Les Couleurs: Sculptures; Les Formes: Peintures. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1981.

BUCHLOH, Benjamin H.D. "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression." in Brian Wallis, ed. Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984, 1992. 106-135.

BUCHLOH, Benjamin H.D. Michael Asher: Writings 1973-1983 on Works 1969-1979. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983.

BUCK-MORSS, Susan. "Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered." October #62 (Fall 1992) 3-41.

BUCK-MORSS, Susan. "The City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe." October #73 (Summer 1995) 3-26.

BUCK-MORSS, Susan. The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, 1993.

BUJ, Lorenzo. "Lenin in Canada." Artforum (February 1992) 26-27.

BUREN, Daniel. "The Function of the Museum." Artforum (1973) 68.

BURGIN, Victor. The End of Art History: Criticism and Postmodernity. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1986, 1990.

BURT, Richard. "'Degenerate "Art"': Public Aesthetics and the Simulation of Censorship in Postliberal Los Angeles and Berlin." in Burt, ed. The Administration of Aesthetics: Censorship, Political Criticism, and the Public Sphere. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

CALLINICOS, Alex. The Revenge of History: Marxism and the East European Revolutions. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

CAMNITZER, Luis. "The Art of Democracy." Third Text #27 (Summer 1994) 109-111.

CASCIANO, Stefano. "Memento Muri." Abitare #352 (June 1996) 115-117.

CASTLEMAN, Craig. Getting Up: Subway Graffiti in New York. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982.

CHECKPOINT CHARLIE MUSEUM. Maler interpretieren Die Mauer. Berlin: Verlag Haus am Checkpoint Charlie, 1985.

CHOKO, Marc H. The Major Squares of Montreal. Montreal: Meridian Press, 1990.

CHORNEY, Harold. City of Dreams: Social Theory and the Urban Experience. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990.

CLARK, Katerina. "Borders, Crossing and Crossdressing: Russian Intellectuals in 'The Post-Perestroika Period' (1991-1992)." New Formations #22 (Spring 1994) 59-71.

CLARK, T.J. The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Age of Manet and His Followers. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

CLARK, T.J. and Donald Nicholson-Smith. "Why Art Can't Kill the Situationist International." October #79 (Winter 1997) 15-31.

CLIFFORD, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

CLIFFORD, James. "Travelling Cultures." in Lawrence Grossberg et al., eds. Cultural Studies. London: Routledge, 1992. 96-116.

COLLIER, Caroline. "Sub (Way) Art." Studio Internationale 197:1006 (1984) 48.

CONDEE, Nancy and Vladimir Padunov. "Pair-A-Dice Lost: The Socialist Gamble, Market Determinism, and Compulsory Postmodernism." New Formations #22 (Spring 1994) 72-94.

CONFER, Mitchell. "Walking the Wall." Print 45:3 (May/Jun 1991) 100-107.

COOKE, Lynne and Peter Wollen, eds. Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances. Seattle: Bay Press, 1995.

CRESSWELL, Tim. In Place, Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

CRIMP, Douglas. On the Museum's Ruins. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993.

CRIMP, Douglas et al. "Interview with Krzysztof Wodiczko." in Russell Ferguson et al., eds. Discourses: Conversations in Postmodern Art and Culture. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990. 304-323.

CROW, Thomas, Craig Owens and Martha Rosler. "The Birth and Death of the Viewer: On the Public Function of Art." in Hal Foster, ed. Discussion in Contemporary Culture 1. DIA. Seattle: Bay Press, 1987. 1-30.

CSASZAR, Tom. "Considering and Reconsidering Non-Conformist Soviet Art, 1956-1986." New Art Examiner (March 1996) 12-18.

DALLETT, Timothy, ed. Driving the Ceremonial Landscape. Ottawa: Gallery 101, 1996.

Daniel Buren: la place des drapeaux. Helsinki: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1991.

DAVIES, Ioan. "Post-Glasnost: The Culture of Vertigo." Border/Lines #20/21 (Winter 1990-1991) 20-25.

DAVIS, Mike. "Urban Renaissance and the Spirit of Postmodernism." New Left Review #151 (May/Jun 1985) 106-113.

DEBORD, Guy. La société du spectacle. Paris: Gallimard, 1967, 1992.

DE CERTEAU, Michel. The Practice of Everyday Life. trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

DEMCHINSKY, Bryan, ed. Grassroots, Greystones, and Glass Towers. Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1991.

DEMETZ, Peter, ed. Walter Benjamin: Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings. New York: Schocken, 1978.

DE SOTO, Hermine G. and David G. Anderson, eds. The Curtain Rises: Rethinking Culture, Ideology, and the State in Eastern Europe. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Alternative Space." in Brian Wallis, ed. If You Lived Here... The City in Art, Theory, and Social Activism: A Project by Martha Rosler. Seattle: Bay Press, 1991. 45-70.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Architecture of the Evicted." in Krzysztof Wodiczko: New York City Tableau: Tompkins Square/The Homeless Vehicle Project. New York: Exit Art, 1990. 28-37.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy." Social Text #38 (1992) 34-53.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Boys Town." Environment and Planning D: Space and Society Vol.9 (1991) 5-30.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "City Fathers." Art & Text #42 (1992) 56-87.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Excerpt from 'Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy'." in Judith Mastai, ed. Art in Public Places: A Vancouver Casebook. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1993. 27-34.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Krzysztof Wodiczko's Homeless Projection and the Site of Urban 'Revitalization'." October #38 (Fall 1986) 63-98.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Men in Space." Artforum (February 1990) 21-23.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum." in Brian Wallis, ed. Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986. 20-37.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Representing Berlin: Urban Ideology and Aesthetic Practice." in Irit Rogoff, ed. The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn. "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City." October #47 (Winter 1988) 3-52.

DEUTSCHE, Rosalyn and Cara Gendel Ryan. "The Fine Art of Gentrification." October #31 (Winter 1984) 91-111.

DOUGLAS, Anna. "Art or Public Art?" Creative Camera (Feb/Mar 1993) 16-19.

DOY, Gen. Seeing and Consciousness: Women, Class and Representation. Oxford: Berg, 1995.

DROBNICK, Jim. "Contesting Urban Spaces: An Interview with Dennis Adams." Parachute #68 (Oct/Nov/Dec 1992) 47-51.

EAGLETON, Terry. "Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism." in Francis Frascin and Jonathan Harris, eds. Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts. London: Phaidon Press, 1992. 91-100.

EAGLETON, Terry. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

EAGLETON, Terry. Literary Theory: An Introduction. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983, 1995.

ERLICK, June. "Berlin: After the Wall, Space." Art News
91:8 (October 1992) 93-94.

FAUST, Wolfgang Max. "'Du Hast Keine Chance. Nutze Sie!' With
It and Against It: Tendencies in Recent German Art."
Artforum (September 1981) 33-39.

FENZ, Werner. "The Monument is Invisible, the Sign
Visible." trans. Maria-Regina Kecht. October #48 (Spring
1989) 75-78.

FENZ, Werner. "Protocols of the Exhibition: 'Points of
Reference 38/88'." trans. Maria-Regina Kecht. October
#48 (Spring 1989) 71-74.

FOSTER, Hal. "Postmodernism in Parallax." October #63
(Winter 1993) 3-20.

FOSTER, Hal. Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics.
Seattle: Bay Press, 1985, 1993.

FOSTER, Terry, et al., eds. Four Cities Project: New Works
for Different Places. Bristol: TSWA Four Cities Project,
1990.

FOWLER, Peter J. The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now.
London: Routledge, 1992.

FRAMPTON, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points
for an Architecture of Resistance." in Hal Foster, ed.
The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture. Seattle:
Bay Press, 1983. 16-30.

FRESHMAN, Phil, ed. Public Address: Krzysztof Wodiczko.
Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1992.

FRIEDBERG, Anne. "'Les Flâneurs de Mal(1)': Cinema and the
Postmodern Condition." Publications of the Modern
Languages Association of America 106:3 (May 1991) 419-431.

FROW, John. "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia."
October #57 (Summer 1991) 123-151.

FUKUYAMA, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man. New
York: Avon Books, 1992.

GALANTE, Pierre and Jack Miller. The Berlin Wall. London:
Arthur Barker Limited, 1965.

GALLOWAY, David. "East Side/West Side." Art in America
(July 1989) 45-61.

GALLOWAY, David. "'Metropolis': Crossroads or Cul-de-Sac?"
Art in America (July 1991) 47-51.

GALLOWAY, David. "The New Berlin: 'I Want My Wall Back!'"
Art in America (September 1991) 98-103+.

GAMBRELL, Jamey. "Fragments from Gorbachev's Revolution."
Art in America (October 1989) 29.

GAMBRELL, Jamey. "Iron Curtain Collectibles." Art in
America (March 1990) 35.

GAMBRELL, Jamey. "Komar and Melamid: From Behind the
Ironical Curtain." Artforum (April 1982) 58-63.

GAMBRELL, Jamey. "Moscow's Monuments Come Tumbling Down."
Art in America (October 1991) 37.

GARDINER, Michael. The Dialogics of Critique: M.M. Bakhtin
& the Theory of Ideology. New York: Routledge, 1992.

GARTON ASH, Timothy. We The People: The Revolution of '89
Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin & Prague. Cambridge:
Granta Books, 1990.

GEE, Bryan. "Locating the Public in Public Art." Vanguard
(Oct/Nov 1986) 10-14.

GEIST, Johann Friedrich. Arcades: The History of a Building
Type. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983.

GERMAIN, Annick. "Montréal and the Decline of Urban Culture."
in Henri Lustiger-Thaler, ed. Political Arrangements:
Power and the City. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1992.
143-153.

GILROY, Roger. "Projection as Intervention: An Interview
with Krzysztof Wodiczko." New Art Examiner (February
1989) 29-31.

GINZ, Claude. "Michael Asher and the Transformation of
'Situational Aesthetics'." October #66 (Fall 1993)
113-131.

GóMEZ-PEÑA, Guillermo. "The New World (B)order: A Work in
Progress." Third Text #21 (Winter 1992-1993) 71-79.

GOTTDIENER, Mark. The Social Production of Urban Space.
Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

GRAND PALAIS. Viollet-le-Duc. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion
des musées nationaux, 1980.

GRANDE, John K. "Which Public? Whose Art?" Espace #6 (Fall 1994) 6-11.

GRAY, Cleve. "Wall Painters." Art in America (October 1985) 39-43.

GREENBERG, Reesa. "Biennale Finale?" C Magazine #11 (1986) 52-55.

GREENBLATT, Stephen. Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World. Chaicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

GROYS, Boris. The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond. trans. Charles Rougle. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

GUILBAUT, Serge. How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War. trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

GUILBAUT, Serge. "Un autre style: la colonne burennique." Parachute #48 (Sep/Oct/Nov 1987) 5-11.

GUSTAFSON, Paula. "The Women's Monument Project." Espace #31 (Spring 1995) 19-21.

HAACKE, Hans. "Men of Muscle: Men of the Mind." Art & Text #42 (1992) 50-55.

HABERMAS, Yürgen. "Modern and Postmodern Architecture." in John Forester, ed. Critical Theory and Public Life. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985. 317-329.

HABERMAS, Yürgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, 1992.

HALLIDAY, Fred. "The Ends of Cold War." New Left Review #180 (1990) 5-23.

HANDLER, Richard. "On Having a Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's 'Patrimoine'." in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. 192-217.

HANSEN, Miriam. "Early Cinema, Late Cinema: Permutations of the Public Sphere." Screen 34:3 (Autumn 1993) 197-210.

HARRINGTON, Daniel F. "United States, United Nations and the Berlin Blockade." The Historian 52:2 (February 1990) 262-285.

HARRIS, Marvin. "Anthropology and the Theoretical and Paradigmatic Significance of the Collapse of Soviet and East European Communism." American Anthropologist 94:2 (June 1992) 295-305.

HARVEY, David. The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989, 1993.

HAUS, Christina. "Art Against the Wall." Art News 85:10 (December 1986) 11-12.

HAWKES, Nigel, ed. Tearing Down the Curtain: The People's Revolution in Eastern Europe. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990.

HEARTNEY, Eleanor. "Krzysztof Wodiczko." C Magazine #23 (September 1989) 42-45.

HEBDIGE, Dick. "Guilt Trips: Coming Up Against the Wall." Border/Lines #20/21 (Winter 1990-1991) 36-49.

HEBDIGE, Dick. "Training Some Thoughts On the Future." in Jon Bird, et al. eds. Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change. London: Routledge, 1993. 270-279.

HENNESSY, Rosemary. Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse. New York: Routledge, 1993.

HESSE, Geneviève. "Berlin: Où est passé le Mur?" Femina (Lausanne) (9 June 1996) 121-123.

HIGH MUSEUM OF ART. Art in Berlin, 1815-1989. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990.

HILDEBRANDT, Dieter. "East Side/West Side: Berlin Between Euphoria and Anxiety." Aperture #123 (Spring 1991) 32-41

HILDEBRANDT, Rainer. It Happened at the Wall: A Documentation in Pictures of the Military Ring Around West Berlin, Its Development from "August 13th", 1961 Up to Today with the Most Important Events. Berlin: Verlag Haus Am Checkpoint Charlie Berlin, 1992.

HOBERMAN, J. "American Myths." Artforum (March 1990) 17-18.

HOHENDAHL, Peter Uwe. "Recasting the Public Sphere." <u>October</u> #73 (Summer 1995) 27-54.

HOLLEVOET, Christel, "Déambulations dans la ville: de la flânerie et la dérive à l'appréhension de l'espace urbain dans fluxus et l'art conceptuel." <u>Parachute</u> #68 (Oct/Nov/ Dec 1992) 21-25.

HOLLIER, Denis. "While the City Sleeps: Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin." <u>October</u> #64 (Spring 1993) 3-15.

HOLUB, Robert C. <u>Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere</u>. London: Routledge, 1991.

HUYSSEN, Andreas. "Nation, Race, and Immigration: German Identities After Unification." <u>Discourse</u> 16:3 (Spring 1994) 6-28.

HUYSSEN, Andreas. <u>Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia</u>. New York: Routledge, 1995.

INDIANA, Gary. "Komar & Melamid Confidential." <u>Art in America</u> (June 1985) 94-101.

ISAAK, Jo Anna. "What's To Be Done? Revolution in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." <u>Border/Lines</u> #28 (1993) 38-44.

JAEHNE, Karen. "Charles Ahearn: Wild Style." <u>Film Quarterly</u> 37:4 (Summer 1984) 2-5.

JAMES, Harold. "Out of the Rubble of the Berlin Wall." <u>Encounter</u> 75:1 (Jul/Aug 1990) 49-53

JAMESON, Frederic. <u>Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism</u>. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991, 1993.

JANIS, Sydney. <u>Post-Graffiti</u>. New York: Sidney Janis Gallery, 1983.

JAY, Martin. <u>Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 1994.

JAY, Martin. "Habermas and Postmodernism." in Irit Rogoff, ed. <u>The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 75-85.

JAY, Martin. "Songs of Experience: Reflections on the Debate Over 'Alltagsgeschichte'." _Salmagundi_ #81 (Winter 1986) 29-41.

JOACHIMIDES, Christos M. and Norman Rosenthal, eds. _Metropolis: International Art Exhibition of Berlin, 1991_. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

JOACHIMIDES, Christos M. and Norman Rosenthal, eds. _Zeitgeist: International Art Exhibition Berlin 1982_. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983.

KALDOR, Mary. "After the Cold War." _New Left Review_ #180 (1990) 25-37.

KARP, Ivan and Steven J. Lavine, eds. _Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display_. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

KENNEDY, Michael D. _Envisioning Eastern Europe: Postcommunist Cultural Studies_. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994.

KIBBINS, Gary. "The Enduring of the Artsystem." _Parachute_ #29 (Dec/Jan/Feb 1982-1983) 4-8.

KLOFAS, John and Charles Cutshall. "Unobtrusive Research Methods in Criminal Justice: Using Graffiti in the Reconstruction of Institutional Cultures." _Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency_ 22:4 (November 1985) 355-373.

KOMAR, Vitaly and Alexander Melamid. "The Barren Flowers of Evil." _Artforum_ (March 1980) 46-52.

KOMAR, Vitaly and Alexander Melamid. "In Search of Religion." _Artforum_ (May 1980) 36-46.

KOMAR, Vitaly and Alexander Melamid. "We Love New Jersey." _Artforum_ (April 1989) 133-135.

KOMAR, Vitaly and Alexander Melamid. "What Is to be Done With Monumental Propaganda?" _New Formations_ #22 (Spring 1994) 1-3.

KORYTNYK, Natalie X. and David V. Perkins. "Effects of Alcohol Versus Expectancy for Alcohol on the Incidence of Graffiti Following an Experimental Task." _Journal of Abnormal Psychology_ 92:3 (August 1983) 382-385.

KRAUSS, Rosalind. "Nostalgie de la Boue." _October_ #56 (Spring 1991) 111-120.

KRAUSS, Rosalind E. The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985, 1993.

KROKER, Arthur and David Cook. The Postmodern Scene: Excremental Culture and Hyper-Aesthetics. Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1986, 1991.

KROKER, Arthur and Marilouise Kroker, eds. Ideology and Power in the Age of Lenin in Ruins. Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1991.

KUSPIT, Donald. "Acts of Aggression: German Painting Today, Part II." Art in America 71:1 (January 1983) 90-101+.

KUSPIT, Donald. "Flak from the 'Radicals': The American Case Against German Painting." in Brian Wallis, ed. Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984, 1992. 136-151.

KUZDAS, Heinz J. Berliner MauerKunst. (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1990.

LABRECQUE, Eric. "L.A. Aftermath." Print 47:5 (Sep/Oct 1993) 17-27.

LACHMANN, Richard. "Graffiti as Career and Ideology." American Journal of Sociology 94:2 (September 1988) 229-250.

LACLAU, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. London: Verso, 1985, 1994.

LACY, Suzanne, ed. Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art. Seattle: Bay Press, 1995.

LAGEIRA, Jacinto. "Dan Graham: le miroir de la cité." Parachute #68 (Oct/Nov/Dec 1992) 33-37.

LAMARCHE, Lise. "Les Monuments de l'Est: Notes à patir d'une exposition de Mark Lewis." Espace #28 (Summer 1991) 28-30.

LAMBERT, Phyllis and Alan Stewart, eds. Opening the Gates of Eighteenth-Century Montreal. CCA. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992.

LAMBTON, Gunda. Stealing the Show: Seven Women Artists in Canadian Public Art. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

LAMOUREUX, Johanne. "Exhibitionsitis: A Contemporary Ailment."
in The Institute of Contemporary Art, PS1 Museum.
Theatergarden Bestiarium: The Garden as Theater as Museum.
Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990. 114-127.

LAMOUREUX, Johanne. "Places and Commonplaces of the
Picturesque." trans. Donald McGrath. in Jessica Bradley
and Lesley Johnstone, eds. Sightlines: Reading
Contemporary Art. Montreal: Artextes, 1994. 284-309.

LAMOUREUX, Johanne. "La théorie des ruines d'Albert Speer ou
l'architecture 'futuriste' selon Hitler." Racar 18:1/2
(1991) 57-63.

LAVIN, Maude. "Berlin After the Wall." Art in America
(February 1990) 69-73.

LEFEBVRE, Henri. The Production of Space. trans. Donald
Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

LEFEBVRE, Henri. "Toward a Leftist Cultural Politics: Remarks
Occasioned by the Centenary of Marx's Death." in Cary
Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. Marxism and the
Interpretation of Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1988. 75-88.

LEWIS, Mark. "Concerning the Question of the Post-Cultural."
C Magazine #8 (Winter 1985) 56-63.

LEWIS, Mark. "If the Price Is Right." C Magazine #12 (1987)
20-28.

LEWIS, Mark. "Public Art." Art & Design #46 (1996) 70-79.

LEWIS, Mark. "Some Notes on Photography, Democracy and the
Public Body." Parachute #55 (Jul/Aug/Sep 1989) 9-15.

LEWIS, Mark. "Some Notes on Public Art: Authority and
Decline." Public #6 (1992) 37-48.

LEWIS, Mark. "The Technologies of Public Art." Vanguard 16:5
(November 1987) 14-17.

LEWIS, Mark. "Victims in the Visible." C Magazine (Winter
1989) 44-53.

LEWIS, Mark. "Victor Burgin Interviewed by Mark Lewis."
C Magazine #16 (Winter 1987-1988) 54-65.

LEWIS, Mark. "What Is to be Done." Parachute #61 (Jan/Feb/
Mar 1991) 28-36.

LEWIS, Mark et al. "Public Imaginary: For the Public Access Collective." Parachute #48 (Sep/Oct/Nov 1987) 21-25.

LIPPARD, Lucy. "Anti-Amnesia." Z Magazine (December 1992) 63-66.

LOEWENSTINE, Harold V. et al. "Sex Differences in Graffiti as a Communication Style." The Journal of Social Psychology Vol.117 (June 1982) 307-308.

LOMNITZ, Claudio. "Decadence in Times of Globalization." Cultural Anthropology 9:2 (1994) 257-267.

LOWENTHAL, David. The Past Is a Foreign Country. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

LUKE, Arnold et al. "Are the Times Changing? An Analysis of Gender Differences in Sexual Graffiti." Sex Roles 16:1/2 (January 1987) 1-7.

LURIE, David V. and Krzysztof Wodiczko, et al. "Homeless Vehicle Project/Conversations About a Project for a Homeless Vehicle." October #47 (Winter 1988) 53-76.

MACCANNELL, Dean. Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers. New York: Routledge, 1992.

MACCANNELL, Dean. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Routledge, 1976, 1992.

MACDONALD, Marie-Paule. "Urban Implication In the Work of David Hammons and Yoko Ono." Parachute #68 (Oct/Nov/Dec 1992) 27-32.

MADILL, Shirley J.-R. Private/Public: Art and Social Discourse. Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1991.

MARSAN, Jean-Claude. Montréal en évolution: historique du développement de l'architecture et de l'environnement montréalais. Montreal: Fides, 1974.

MARSAN, Jean-Claude. Sauver Montréal: chroniques d'architecture et d'urbanisme. Montreal: Boréal, 1990.

MASSEY, Doreen. "Politics and Space/Time." New Left Review #19 (1992) 65-84.

MASSEY, Doreen. Space, Place, and Gender. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

MASTAI, Judith. "The Postmodern Flâneuse." in Allyson Clay: Recent Works. Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery, 1993.

MAUGEY, Axel. <u>Berlin: De l'utopie communiste au capitalisme utopique</u>. Montreal: Humanitas-nouvelle optique, 1991.

MAYER, Mark. "Washed Up." <u>Public</u> 7 (1993) 146-151.

MAZZA, Luigi, ed. <u>World Cities and the Future of the Metropoles: International Participations</u>. Milan: Electa/XVII Triennale, 1988.

MCCARNEY, Joseph. "Shaping Ends: Reflections on Fukuyama." <u>New Left Review</u> #202 (Nov/Dec 1993) 37-53.

MCELROY, Gil. "Public Art at Ground Zero: A Journey Around Several Monuments." <u>Arts Atlantic</u> #51 (Winter 1995) 26-45.

MCMENEMY, Pamela and Ian M. Cornish. "Gender Difference in the Judged Acceptability of Graffiti." <u>Perceptual Motor Skills</u> 77:2 (October 1993) 622.

MCROBBIE, Angela. <u>Postmodernism and Popular Culture</u>. London: Routledge, 1994.

MCSHINE, Kynaston. <u>Berlinart, 1961-1987</u>. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987.

MERRITT, Richard L. and Anna J. Merritt, eds. <u>Living With the Wall: West Berlin, 1961-1985</u>. Durham: Duke University Press, 1985.

MITCHELL, W.J.T., ed. <u>Art and the Public Sphere</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

MITCHELL, W.J.T., ed. <u>Landscape and Power</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

MOLESWORTH, Helen, et al. "On Site Specificity." <u>Documents</u> 2:4/5 (Spring 1994) 11-22.

MORRIS, Eric. <u>Blockade: Berlin and the Cold War</u>. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973.

MOUFFE, Chantal. "Citizenship and Political Identity." <u>October</u> #61 (Summer 1992) 28-32.

MUSÉE D'ART CONTEMPORAIN DE BORDEAUX. <u>Salomé, Luciano Castelli, Rainer Fetting: Peintures, 1979-1982</u>. Bordeaux: CAPC, 1983.

NAIRNE, Sandy. <u>State of the Art: Ideas and Images in the 1980s</u>. London: Chatto.& Windus, 1990.

NEGT, Oskar and Alexander Kluge. The Public Sphere and Experience trans. Peter Labanyi et al. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

NEMIROFF, Diana. Melvin Charney, Krzysztof Wodiczko: Canada, XLII Biennale di Venezie 1986. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1986.

NEUMANN, Iver B. "Russia as Central Europe's Constituting Other." East European Politics and Societies 7:2 (Spring 1993) 349-369.

NEWMAN, Amy. "'The Celebrated Artists at the End of the Second Millenium A.D.'." Art News 75:4 (April 1976) 43-46.

NIETZSCHE, Friedrich. The Use and Abuse of History. trans. Adrian Collins. Indianpolis: The Bobbs-Merill Company Inc., 1949, 1957.

NOCHLIN, Linda. "Museums and Radicals: A History of Emergencies." in Brian O'Doherty, ed. Museums in Crisis. New York: George Braziller, 1972. 7-41.

NORRIS, Christopher. The Truth About Postmodernism. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

O'BRIEN, Glenn. "Cream of Wheat Paste." Artforum 32:7 (March 1994) 76-77+.

OLIVA, Archille Bonito. "Neo-Europe (East): The De-Ideologization of the Eighties Implies the Avant-Garde's Shift from Simple Resistance Toward a Dialectical Contribution." Flash Art #140 (May/Jun 1988) 61-64.

OLMERT, Michael. "A Modest Proposal to Stop Graffiti Writers." Historic Preservation 36:5 (October 1984) 76.

OLOWU, A.A. "Graffiti Here and There." Psychological Reports (June 1983) 986.

OSTROWSKI, Andrzej (Krzysztof Wodiczko) and Karl Beveridge. "East * West: The Depoliticization of Art." Fuse (March 1980) 140-143.

OTTA, Emma. "Graffiti in the 1990s: A Study of Inscriptions on Restroom Walls." The Journal of Social Psychology 133:4 (August 1993) 589-590.

OWENS, Craig. "Honor, Power and the Love of Women." Art in America 71:1 (January 1983) 7-13.

OWENS, Craig. "The Problem with Puerilism." Art in America 72:6 (Summer 1984) 162-163.

PALMER, Laurie. "...And the Wall Came Tumbling Down." High Performance #53 (Spring 1991) 36-39.

PASQUALI, Marilena and Roberto Doalio, eds. Arte di Frontiera: New York Graffiti. Milano: Nuovo edizioni Gabriele Mazzotta, 1984.

PECK, Jeffrey M. "Rac(e)ing the Nation: Is There a German Home?" New Formations #17 (Summer 1992) 75-84.

PIETERSE, Jan Nederveen. "Aesthetics of Power: Time and Body Politics." Third Text #22 (Spring 1993) 33-42.

PINARD, Guy. Montréal: son historique, son architecture, Tome 6. Montreal: Méridien, 1995.

PINCUS-WITTEN, Robert and Barry Schwabsky. "Entries: Rebridging the Bridge/Exits: Unbuilding the Wall." Arts Magazine 64:7 (March 1990) 73-77.

POIRIER, Monique C. The Fortifications of Montreal 1717-1744: The Development and Implementation of the Plan. M.A. Thesis, Department of Art History. Montreal: Concordia University, 1991.

POLLOCK, Griselda. Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art. London: Routledge, 1988.

POULOT, Dominique. "The Birth of Heritage: 'le moment Guizot'." The Oxford Art Journal 11:2 (1988) 40-56.

PRINS, Gwyn, ed. Spring in Winter: The 1989 Revolutions. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

PROTZMAN, Ferdinand. "East Berlin: Beginning Anew." Art News 89:2 (February 1990) 67-68.

Public Address. Toronto: A Space, 1985.

RADYKI, Diane. "Art Historian Climbs the Berlin Wall." Women Artists News 15:1/2 (Spring/Summer 1990) 23-24.

RATCLIFF, Carter. Komar & Melamid. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.

REICH, Jens. "Germany - A Binary Position." New Left Review #179 (Jan/Feb 1990) 121-124.

REIJNDERS, Tineke. "'Exchage', Art in Public Places in Moscow." Kunst & Museumjournaal 5:4 (1994) 33-44.

RIEGL, Aloïs. Le culte moderne des monuments: son essence et sa genèse. trans. Daniel Wieczorek. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984.

RIEGL, Aloïs. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origins." in Kurt W. Forster, ed. Oppositions (Fall 1982) 2-51.

ROBBINS, Bruce, ed. The Phantom Public Sphere. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

ROBINS, Kevin. "Prisoners of the City: Whatever Could a Postmodern City Be?" New Formations #15 (Winter 1991) 1-22.

ROBINSON, Walter and Carlo McCormick. "Slouching Towards Avenue D." Art in America 72:6 (Summer 1984) 134-161.

ROGOFF, Irit. "The Aesthetics of Post-History: A German Perspective." in Stephen Melville and Bill Readings, eds. Vision and Textuality. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995. 115-140.

ROSE, Gillian. Feminism & Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

ROSS, David A. Between Spring and Summer: Soviet Conceptual Art in the Era of Late Communism. ICA, Boston. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990.

ROSS, Kristin. The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

ROYOUX, Jean-Christophe. "New Digressions of the Stranger: Interview with Krzysztof Wodiczko." Creative Camera (Aug/Sep 1993) 38-41.

RUTHERFORD, Jonathan. "A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference." in Rutherford, ed. Identity: Community, Culture, Difference. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

SAID, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

SASSEN, Saskia. "Whose City?: Globalization and the Formation of New Claims." Public Culture 8:2 (Winter 1996) 205-223.

SCARRY, Elaine. "Arbeit Medallion." in Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter, eds. Incorporations. New York: Zone, 1992. 340-343

SCHMIDT, Michael et al. "Berlin." Creative Camera #9 (1986) 10-15.

SCHNEIDER, Peter. "Concrete and Irony: What the Germans Found When the Wall Came Down." Harper's Magazine (April 1990) 52-56.

SCHNEIDER, Peter. "Jumping the Wall." Dissent Vol.31 (Spring 1984) 188-191.

SCHOR, Naomi. "'Cartes Postales': Representing Paris 1900." Critical Inquiry #18 (Winter 1992) 188-244.

SCHWARTZ, Marc J. and John F. Dovidio. "Reading Between the Lines: Personality Correlates of Graffiti Writing." Perceptual Motor Skills (October 1984) 395-398.

SENIE, Harriet F. Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation and Controversy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

SENIE, Harriet F. and Sally Webster, eds. Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.

SHERLOCK, Maureen P. "The Accidental Tourist." in Eye of Nature. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1991. 123-137.

SHIELDS, Rob. "Imaginary Sites." in Between Views and Points of View. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1991. 22-26.

SHIELDS, Rob. Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption. London: Routledge, 1992.

SHIELDS, Rob. Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity. London: Routledge, 1991.

SICHÈRE, Marie-Anne, ed. Krzysztof Wodiczko: Art public, art critique: Textes, propos et documents. Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1995.

SLOTERDIJK, Peter. Critique of Cynical Reason. trans. Michael Eldred. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

SMITH, Ken. Berlin: Coming In from the Cold. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990.

SMITH, Neil. "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale." Social Text #33 (1992) 54-81.

SMITH, Peter. "On the Passage of a Few People: Situationist Nostalgia." Oxford Art Journal 14:1 (1991) 118-125.

SMITH-RUBENZAHL, Ian. "Interview: Krzysztof Wodiczko." C Magazine #12 (1987) 56-63.

SOJA, Edward. Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory. London: Verso, 1989.

SOLOMON, Andrew. The Irony Tower: Soviet Artists in a Time of Glasnost. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

SONTAG, Susan. "The Pleasure of the Image." Art in America 75:11 (November 1987) 122-131.

SORKIN, Michael J., ed. Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space. New York: Hill and Wang, 1992.

STEIN, Mary Beth. "The Politics of Humour: The Berlin Wall in Jokes and Graffiti." Western Folklore #48 (April 1989) 85-108.

STEWART, Susan. "'Ceci Tuera Cela': Graffiti as Crime and Art." in John Fekete, ed. Life After Postmodernism: Essays on Value and Culture. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 161-180.

STEWART, Susan. On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

STIMSON, Blake. "Slow Provocation: An Interview with Dennis Adams." Views (Winter 1992) 3-7.

STOKES, Gale. The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

SUSSMAN, Elisabeth, ed. On the Passage of a Few People Through a Rather Brief Moment in Time: The Situationist International 1957-1972. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989.

TAFURI, Manfredo. Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1976, 1992.

TAGG, John. Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics and the Discursive Field. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

TATUM, James. "Memorials of the American War in Vietnam." Critical Inquiry #22 (Summer 1996) 634-677.

TAYLOR, Charles. Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

TESTER, Keith, ed. The Flâneur. London: Routledge, 1994.

TEYSOT, Georges, ed. World Cities and the Future of the Metropoles: Beyond the City, the Metropolis. Milan: Electa/XVII Triennale, 1988.

THOMPSON, Michael. Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

TIFFANY, Daniel. "Cryptesthesia: Visions of the Other." The American Journal of Sociology 6:2/3 (1989) 209-219.

TUPITSYN, Margarita. "From Sots Art to Sovart: A Story of the Moscow Vanguard." Flash Art #137 (Nov/Dec 1987) 75-80.

TUPITSYN, Margarita. Margins of Soviet Art: Socialist Realism to the Present. Milan: Giancarlo Politi Editore, 1989.

TUPITSYN, Margarita. "Sots Art: The Russian Deconstructive Force." in Sots Art. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986. 4-14.

TUPITSYN, Victor. "Ideology Mon Amour: The Scenario of Simulation." Flash Art #137 (Nov/Dec 1987) 84-85.

TUPITSYN, Victor and Margarita. "Timur and Afrika: Leningrad, Nomes, Necrorealism and the Disadvantages of Going West." Flash Art #151 (Mar/Apr 1990) 122-125.

TURNER, Lori. "The Berlin Wall: Fragment as Commodity." Border/Lines #19 (Fall 1990) 2-4.

UNFRIED, Berthold. "La muséification du du 'socialisme réel'." Communications #55 (1992) 23-42.

Urban Subjects. Vancouver: Vanvouver Association for Noncommercial Culture, 1988.

URRY, John. The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. London: Sage, 1990.

VALIUNAS, Algis. "In the Capital of Modern Cruelty."
Commentary 83:1 (January 1987) 45-56.

VERGARA, Camillo José. "Traces of Life: The Visual Language
of the Ghetto." Print 47:5 (Sep/Oct 1993) 28-35.

VESILIND, Priit J. "Berlin's Ode to Joy." National
Geographic 177:4 (April 1990) 105-133.

VIDLER, Anthony. "Agoraphobia: Spatial Estrangement in Simmel
and Kracauer." New German Critique #54 (Fall 1991) 31-45.

WALLIS, Brian, ed. Dan Graham: Rock My Religion: Writings
and Art Projects 1965-1990. Cambridge: The MIT Press,
1993.

WALLON, Emmanuel, ed. L'artiste, le prince: Pouvoirs publics
et création. Québec: Musée de la civilisation de Québec,
1991.

WALSH, Kevin. The Representation of the Past: Museums and
Heritage in the Post-Modern World. London: Routledge,
1992.

WARK, McKenzie. "Europe's Masked Ball: East Meets West
at the Wall." New Formations #12 (Winter 1990) 33-42.

WARNER, Marina. Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the
Female Form. London: Picador, 1985.

WATSON, Scott, ed. Mark Lewis: Public Art, Photographs and
Projects. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1994.

WEINSTEIN, Michael A. Culture Critique: Fernand Dumont and
New Quebec Sociology. Montreal: New World Perspectives,
1985.

WELCHER, John C., ed. Rethinking Borders. Minneapolis:
University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

WELLBERY, David E. "Postmodernism in Europe: On Recent German
Writing." in Stanley Tratchenberg, ed. The Postmodern
Moment: A Handbook of Contemporary Innovation in the Arts.
Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985. 229-249.

WESCHLER, Lawrence. "Slight Modifications." The New Yorker
(12 July 1993) 59-65.

WHITE, Hayden. "The Production of Space." Design Book
Review #29/30 (Summer/Fall 1993) 90-93.

WILLIAMSON, Judith. "Communism: Should the Mighty Ideas be
    Falling with the Statues?" in Jon Bird et al., eds.
    <u>Mapping the Mutures: Local Cultures, Global Change</u>.
    London: Routledge, 1993. 267-269.

WILSON, Elizabeth. "The Invisible Flâneuse." <u>New Left
    Review</u> #191 (Jan/Feb 1992) 90-110.

WODICZKO, Krzysztof. "Public Art." <u>File</u> #29 (1989)
    33-48.

WODICZKO, Krzysztof. "Public Projection." <u>Canadian Journal
    of Political and Social Theory</u> 7:1/2 (Winter/Spring 1983)
    184-193.

WODICZKO, Krzysztof. "Strategies of Public Address: Which
    Media, Which Publics?" in Hal Foster, ed. <u>Discussions
    in Contemporary Culture 1</u>. Seattle: Bay Press, 1987.
    41-42.

WODICZKO, Krzysztof. "Talking - A Habit: For the De-
    Incapacitation of the Avant-Garde." <u>Parallelogramme</u>
    9:4 (Apr/May 1984) 22-25.

WOLF, Christa. <u>The Author's Dimension, Selected Essays</u>. trans.
    Jan Van Heurck. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993.

WOLFF, Janet. <u>Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture</u>.
    Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.

WOLFF, Janet. <u>Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism</u>.
    New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

WOLFF, Janet. <u>The Social Production of Art</u>. 2nd ed. New York:
    New York University Press, 1981, 1993.

WOLLEN, Peter. "Tourism, Language and Art." <u>New Formations</u>
    #12 (Winter 1990) 43-59.

WOLLEN, Peter. "Scenes from the Future: Komar and Melamid."
    <u>New Left Review</u> #185 (Jan/Feb 1991) 68-80.

WOODWARD, Richard B. "Nobody's Fools: Komar and Melamid, the
    Russian Émigré artists, love vodka, herring and making art
    that undermines socialist modernist pieties..." <u>Art News</u>
    86:9 (November 1987) 173-178.

WYDEN, Peter. <u>Wall: The Inside Story of Divided Berlin</u>.
    New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

W.F.S. "Three Days in Moscow: The August Putsch." <u>Image</u>
    35:3/4, 52-57.

YONEYAMA, Lisa. "Memory Matters: Hiroshima's Korean Bomb Memorial and the Politics of Ethnicity." <u>Public Culture</u> 7:3 (Spring 1995) 499-527.

YOUNG, James E. <u>The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

ŽIŽEK, Slavoj. "Eastern Europe's Republics of Gilead." <u>New Left Review</u> #183 (Sep/Oct 1990) 50-62.

Newspaper Articles

ADAMS, Annmarie. "Recycled Buildings Contribute to Distinctive New Hotels." The Gazette (3 August 1991).

ASSOC. PRESS. "Compensation Planned for Victims of Berlin Wall." Winnipeg Free Press (14 August 1991) 16.

ASSOC. PRESS. "Last of the Berlin Wall Tumbles Down." New York Times (1 December 1990) L9.

ASSOC. PRESS. "Rest of Berlin Wall Under Wreckers' Ball." The Vancouver Sun (13 June 1990) A5.

AUBRY, Jack. "Berlin Wall to Go Up in Ottawa." The Ottawa Citizen (19 March 1992) A4.

BINDER, David. "Krenz Says Party Congress Might Replace Him as Chief." New York Times (21 November 1989) A8.

BLANCHARD, Sylvain. "La chaîne nipponne Inter-Continental érige un hôtel au coût de $72 millions." Le Devoir (21 June 1989).

BLANCHETTE, Josée. "Touché: au mur de Berlin au Centre de commerce mondial." Le Devoir (21 October 1994).

BOISVERT, Yves. "Montréal se débarasse du morceau du mur de Berlin reçu en cadeau." La Presse (26 August 1993).

BOLDUC, Christianne. "Le mur de Berlin à Montréal: Symbole de la liberté retrouvée." Montréalités (October 1994) 8.

BOLLA-PAQUET, Corinne. "Un segment du mur de Berlin au Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal." Vie des Arts #157 (Winter 1994-1995) 8.

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "Des restaurants de l'hôtel Intercontinental logeront dans les voutes d'ancien forts." La Presse (21 June 1991).

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "La SIMPA dresse un bilan: ses interventions ont stoppé le déclin du Vieux-Montréal." La Presse (5 April 1991).

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "L'atrium du Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal est digne des plus grandes métropoles." La Presse (1 November 1991).

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "Le déménagement d'employés au Centre de commerce mondial est blamé." La Presse (11 August 1993).

BONHOMME. Jean-Pierre. "Pourquoi garder des façades à tout prix." La Presse (5 February 1989).

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "Une Amphithrite gréco-française au Centre de commerce mondial." La Presse (6 Nevember 1991).

BONHOMME, Jean-Pierre. "Une architecture nouvelle pour le Centre du commerce mondial." La Presse (29 September 1988).

BRYAN, Jay. "Trade Centre to Rise from Rubble." The Gazette (9 September 1988).

CHARTIER, Jean. "Prêt de $80 millions pour le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: La CIBC veut accroître sa présence dans le secteur immobilier à Montréal." Le Devoir (8 March 1989).

COLLARD, Edgar Andrew. "Nostalgia Good for Nordheimer: Music Recalled Lands Montrealers Had Left Behind." The Gazette (16 November 1991).

COLLARD, Edgar Andrew. "St. James St. to Regain Some of Its Former Glory." The Gazette (23 May 1987).

CORRAL, Isabel. "Innovative World Trade Centre Takes Up Challenge: 'Horizontal Skyscraper' Aims for a Better Type of Office." The Gazette (5 January 1991).

CORMIER, Anne. "Le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal." Arq #54 (1990) 47.

CÔTÉ, Lucie. "Dans l'esprit de Montréal." La Presse (18 July 1991).

"Developer Delivers Slab of Wall to Winnipeg." Winnipeg Free Press (13 March 1990).

DUCLOS, Rachel. "Une niche pour le Mur de Berlin." Le Devoir (1 October 1994).

ELDER, Matthew. "Highest Building? It Depends Where You Stand." The Gazette (12 April 1991).

FARROW, Moira. "Going to the Wall: Tourists find Souvenirs and History." The Vancouver Sun (25 April 1990) A3.

FERGUSON, Alan. "Germans Plan New Berlin From Rubble of Wall." The Toronto Star (9 November 1991) A3.

GAUTHIER, Gilles. "La Ville loue 60 000 pieds carrés de locaux... qu'elle n'occupe pas." La Presse (15 July 1993).

GAUTHIER, Gilles. "Montréal doit emprunter 86 millions pour financer le Centre de commerce mondial." La Presse (16 October 1992).

GAUTHIER, Gilles. "Que faire d'un morceau du mur de Berlin?" La Presse (16 February 1993).

GAVIN, Mike. "Mayor: Port $$ Due Soon." Montreal Daily News (22 April 1988).

GIBBON, Ann. "Financing Lined Up for Business Complex." The Gazette (2 October 1987).

GIBBON, Ann. "Montreal Plans $86-Million Bond Issue: Move an Effort to Help Pay for Troubled World Trade Centre Complex." The Globe and Mail (20 October 1992).

GOODMAN, Walter. "The Video Age and the Wall that Opened." New York Times (20 November 1989) C22.

GRAVEL, Claire. "Face-à-face Félix-Lénine au parc Lafontaine." Le Devoir (12 February 1991) B1-3.

HA, Tu Thanh. "Luxury Hotel to Open in World Trade Centre." The Gazette (21 June 1989).

HALTER, Fran. "Offices, stores planned on St. Jacques." The Gazette (25 February 1986).

JOHNSON, Ian. "Checkpoint Charlie Site To Become Mall: Symbol of New Capitalist Era." The Gazette (20 July 1991) J4.

KALBFLEISCH, John. "Off the Wall: McGill Students Erect Replica of Berlin Landmark." The Gazette (21 September 1993) A3.

KING, Annabelle. "Centuries-Old Stone Vaults Under New Hotel Get Fresco Lift." The Gazette (22 November 1991).

KING, Mike. "City Should Stay Out of World Trade Project: Opposition." The Gazette (17 October 1992).

KINZER, Stephen. "In Berlin a Year Later, The Wall Still Lingers." New York Times (10 November 1990).

KUITENBROUWER, Peter. "NAC Exhibit Depicts Wall's Final Days." The Gazette (16 March 1991) B8.

LABERGE, Yvon. "Le maire Doré fait le point sur le Vieux-Montréal." La Presse (22 June 1988).

LEBEL, Ronald. "$160-Million World Trade Centre is Inaugurated." The Gazette (7 April 1992).

LEBEL, Ronald. "New Life for Old Town: Agency wants to attract more business, consumers." The Gazette (11 November 1992).

LEHMANN, Henry. "Architect Finds Role as Preserver of Endangered Species: Nordheimer Building Is Latest Patient Pulled Back from the Brink." The Gazette (17 August 1991).

LEHMANN, Henry. "Food for Thought in Architecture's Citrus Harvest: Oranges and Lemons Picked." The Gazette (19 December 1992).

LETT, Dan and Krishnan Thampi. "Berlin Wall Section Sought as Forks Draw: German-Canadian Group Plans Exhibit." Winnipeg Free Press (26 February 1990).

LÉVESQUE, Kathleen. "Un mur d'argent dans un entrepôt: Les travaux de nettoyage d'un segment du mur de Berlin ont coûté 6420$ à la Ville." Le Devoir (17 January 1994).

LIFFEY, Kevin. "Les murs tombent, la mémoire reste." Le Devoir (9 November 1993)

LIUDAS, S.V. and Myer Dimentberg. "Symbol of Evil/Freedom Barred." The Gazette (12 December 1994).

MAINVILLE, Michael. "Old Montreal Trade Centre Target of Protest Against Cuts in Spending." The Gazette (20 December 1995) A1, A4.

MARCOUX, Jean-Louis. "Le Faubourg des Récollets, quartier de la nouvelle économie." Échos du Vieux-Montréal 4:1 (January 1997).

MARRIOTT, Michel. "Sale of the Century! Bits of Cold War, Just $7 an Ounce." New York Times (22 November 1989) B1.

MARSAN, Jean-Claude. "Le Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: La revitalisation dans la continuité." Le Devoir (31 October 1987).

MAYS, John Bentley. "Time To Let the Old Monuments Rest." The Globe and Mail (20 March 1991) C1.

MCGOVERN, Sheila. "Luxury Hotel in Old Montreal Opens its Doors." The Gazette (10 July 1991).

MCGOVERN, Sheila. "Market for Office Space Crippled Chief of World Trade Centre." The Gazette (24 May 1990).

MCINTOSH, Andrew. "History for Sale: Nesbitt Burns Joins Brokers' Exodus from Old Montreal." The Gazette (13 September 1995).

MILLAN, Luis. "Montreal Site Poses Challenge for Promoter: Bold Venture Wins Praise for Design but Office-Space Glut Creates Problem." The Gazette (11 November 1991).

MONTGOMERY, Sue. "Trade Centre Trauma." Montreal Daily News (4 October 1988).

MORRIS, Nomi. "Berliners Celebrate Collapse of the Wall." The Toronto Star (10 November 1990) A14.

MYDANS, Seth. "Painting of Heroic Size Shows Nixon to Match." New York Times (13 August 1992) A16.

NORTH, Archie. "The Gold Mine at the Foot of the Wall." The Times (London) (6 April 1990) 20.

OGRODNIK, Peter. "'Berlin Wall' Unveiled." Winnipeg Sun (24 April 1990).

PARÉ, Isabelle. "$34 millions pour embellir le 'Vieux'." Le Devoir (21 April 1989).

PARÉ, Isabelle. "Centre de commerce mondial: l'opposition dénonce l'entêtement de la Ville." Le Devoir (17 October 1992).

PATTEN, James. "Fallen Giants: Public Art by Mark Lewis at Dazibao." Mirror (7-14 March 1991) 14.

PERITZ, Ingrid. "Dark Vaults in Old City a Historical Riddle." The Gazette (21 January 1988).

PERITZ, Ingrid. "Piece of Berlin Wall Finds Local Home." The Gazette (24 September 1994) A3.

PETROWSKI, Nathalie. "Le mur." La Presse (27 September 1994) A5.

PICARD, André. "Closed-Door Politics Opens Privatization Rumours." The Globe and Mail (19 March 1996).

PICARD, André and Ann Gibbon. "In the Hole... and there's No Easy Way Out." The Globe and Mail (8 January 1993).

PINARD, Guy. "1 McGill, un projet immobilier qui ne manque pas d'attrait." La Presse (12 February 1994).

PRESSE CANADIENNE. "Le Mur, en reconstruction pour les touristes." La Presse (19 November 1994).

REUTERS. "Guards Whitewash Berlin Wall." New York Times (25 November 1989)

RICHARD, Pierre. "Une partie du mur de Berlin exposé au Palais de Justice." Le Journal de Montréal (26 August 1993).

SCOTT, Marian. "Going Internationale: New Look in the Works for Old Part of Town." The Gazette (5 December 1990).

SCHMEMANN, Serge. "Berlin Wall: Former Symbol of Repression Sold for Profit." The Gazette (28 January 1990) B7.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. "In Search of a Work of Art to Overcome the Wall." New York Times (13 November 1987) A4.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. "Legacies by the Wall: Rabbits and Graffiti Bits." New York Times (24 November 1989) A17.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. "The Wall: Signs of Change Are Everywhere in Berlin but the Two Germanys Remain Worlds Apart." The Vancouver Sun (2 June 1990) E1.

SERRILL, Michael S. "For Sale, One Iron Curtain: The Wall Is a Hot Item, so East Germany Is Cashing In." Time (12 February 1990) 49.

SHALOM, François. "City to Bail Out World Trade Centre: Goes to International Bond Market to Finance Old Montreal Complex." The Gazette (16 October 1992).

SMITH, Kate. "Old Montreal Looks for New Growth." The Gazette (1 April 1987).

SMITH, Kate. "World Trade Centre Seen as Step in Old Montreal's Redevelopment." The Gazette (8 May 1987).

STAUNTON, Denis. "Whither the Wall? A Million Pieces." The Gazette (9 November 1994).

STEPHENSON, Wendy. "Erecting Part of Berlin Wall Said to Be Unfaithful to Forks." Winnipeg Free Press (27 February 1990)

THOMPSON, Elizabeth. "Councillors Demand Inquiry into World Trade Centre Move." The Gazette (13 August 1993).

THOMPSON, Elizabeth. "Move to Trade Centre Leaves City
     Paying for Empty Space." The Gazette (7 August 1993).

THOMPSON, Elizabeth. "Seven MCM Councillors Rebel at Lease
     Proposal: World Trade Centre Space Already Occupied."
     The Gazette (11 August 1993).

TODD, Jack. "Great Planning: We're Being Billed to Keep
     World Trade Centre Alive." The Gazette (19 October 1992).

TOLSON, Andrew. "Solid History." The Ottawa Citizen (9 April
     1992) A6.

TREMBLAY, Michel. "Tout pour devenir une institution."
     La Presse (19 February 1992).

TRUFFAUT, Serge. "La situation de Centre de commerce mondial
     s'améliore." Le Devoir (18 March 1993).

TRUFFAUT, Serge. "Le Vieux-Montréal a reçu 650 millions en
     investissements immobiliers depuis 4 ans." Le Devoir
     (11 November 1992).

WICKER, Tom. "Decline of the East." New York Times
     (14 November 1989) A31.

WINTERS, Robert. "City's Battered Office Market Buffeted
     by Air Canada Liftoff." The Gazette (15 October 1990).

WINTERS, Robert. "Construction Chief Confounds His Critics:
     College Dropout Heads One of City's Most Ambitious New
     Real-Estate Projects." The Gazette (23 July 1989).

WINTERS, Robert. "St. Jacques St. a Hard Sell for World
     Trade Centre." The Gazette (8 March 1989).

WOLFE, Joshua. "The Façade Fad: Sometimes Saving Face
     Isn't Enough." The Gazette (19 November 1988).

WOLFE, Joshua. "Political Will to Save the Queen's Hotel
     Was Lacking." The Gazette (22 October 1988).

WOLFE, Joshua. "Trade Centre Revitalizes St. Jacques St. -
     At a Price." The Gazette (5 December 1987).

WOLFE, Joshua. "Trade-Centre Plan Too Advanced for Major
     Changes." The Gazette (12 December 1987).

WOLFE, Joshua. "World Trade Centre Fails to Fulfill Promise."
     The Gazette (25 January 1992).

Primary Sources

ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND PRIVACY: Public Works and Government
    Services Canada, file #ATI960183/RM; Foreign Affairs and
    International Trade Canada, file #A-3313.

ALLAN, E. Bruce. Architect, Le Groupe Arcop. Montreal.
    Interview, 17 October 1996.

Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: un monde nouveau.
    Montreal: CCMM, 1994.

COADY, Bob. Graphic Design Artist, Shoreline Graphics.
    Ottawa. Interview, 5 September 1996.

COMMUNAUTÉ URBAINE DE MONTRÉAL. Répertoire d'architecture
    traditionnelle sur le territoire de la communauté
    urbaine de Montréal: architecture industrielle. Montreal:
    Service de la plannification du territoire, 1982.

COMMUNAUTÉ URBAINE DE MONTRÉAL. Répertoire d'architecture
    traditionnelle sur le territoire de la communauté
    urbaine de Montréal: architecture militaire. Montreal:
    Service de la plannification du territoire, 1982.

DUNTON, Nancy. Heritage Montreal. Montreal. Interview,
    11 October 1996.

ETHNOSCOP. Quadrilatère McGill, Saint-Jacques, Saint-Pierre,
    Saint-Antoine, Montréal: Étude du potentiel archéologique.
    Montreal: Devencore, 1987.

ETHNOSCOP. Sondages archéologiques: Édifice Nordheimer, Site
    BjFj-39. Montreal: Devencore, 1988.

ETHNOSCOP. Surveillance archéologique des forages:
    quadrilatère McGill, Saint-Jacques, St-Antoine, St-Pierre.
    Montreal: Devencore, 1988.

Freedom Park. Arlington: Newseum, 1996. I would like to thank
    Julie Léger for her internet/web research which led me to
    this document and subject.

GALERIE PARK PALACE. Die Mauer: The Berlin Wall, Special
    Auction (Saturday 23 June 1990, 21.00 Hours, Monte Carlo,
    Hotel Metropole Palace. Berlin: LeLé Berlin Wall Verkaufs
    - und Wirtschaftswerbung GmbH, 1990. I would like to thank
    Cathleen Parry and Lysanne Thibodeau for making this item
    available to me.

GAUTHIER, Hélène. Service de l'urbanisme, Ville de Montréal.
    Montreal. Interview, 11 December 1996.

HERITAGE MONTREAL. Newspaper clippings dossier on the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal,' 1986 to present.

KLYMCHUK, Gisele. German-Canadian Cultural Association of Manitoba. Winnipeg. Telephone Interview, February 1997.

La Revue Exportations 1:2 (Nov/Dec 1995).

Minutes of the City of Toronto City Council, Report No. 16, 8 July 1991. Queen's Park Archives and Protocol.

SERVICE DE LA CULTURE. Archival file #C920022/Mur de Berlin.

SIJPKES, Pieter. Professor in Architecture, McGill University. Montreal. Interview, 20 March 1997.

THIBODEAU, Hélène. Agente de développement culturel, Service de la culture, Ville de Montréal. Montreal. Interview, 9 November 1995.

THOPMPSON, Paul. Officer, External Affairs and International Trade Canada. Ottawa. Interview, September 1996.

VILLE DE MONTRÉAL. Art public. Montreal: Commission d'initiative et de développement culturels, 1989.

VILLE DE MONTRÉAL. L'art public à Montréal: plan d'action de le Ville de Montréal. Montreal: Commission d'initiative et de développement culturels, 1989.

VILLE DE MONTRÉAL. Comité consultatif sur l'implantation du Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: Rapport final du Comité. Montreal: Ville de Montréal: 1987.

VILLE DE MONTRÉAL. Comité consultatif sur l'implantation du Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal: Rapport final du Comite, Annexes. Montreal: Ville de Montréal, 1987.
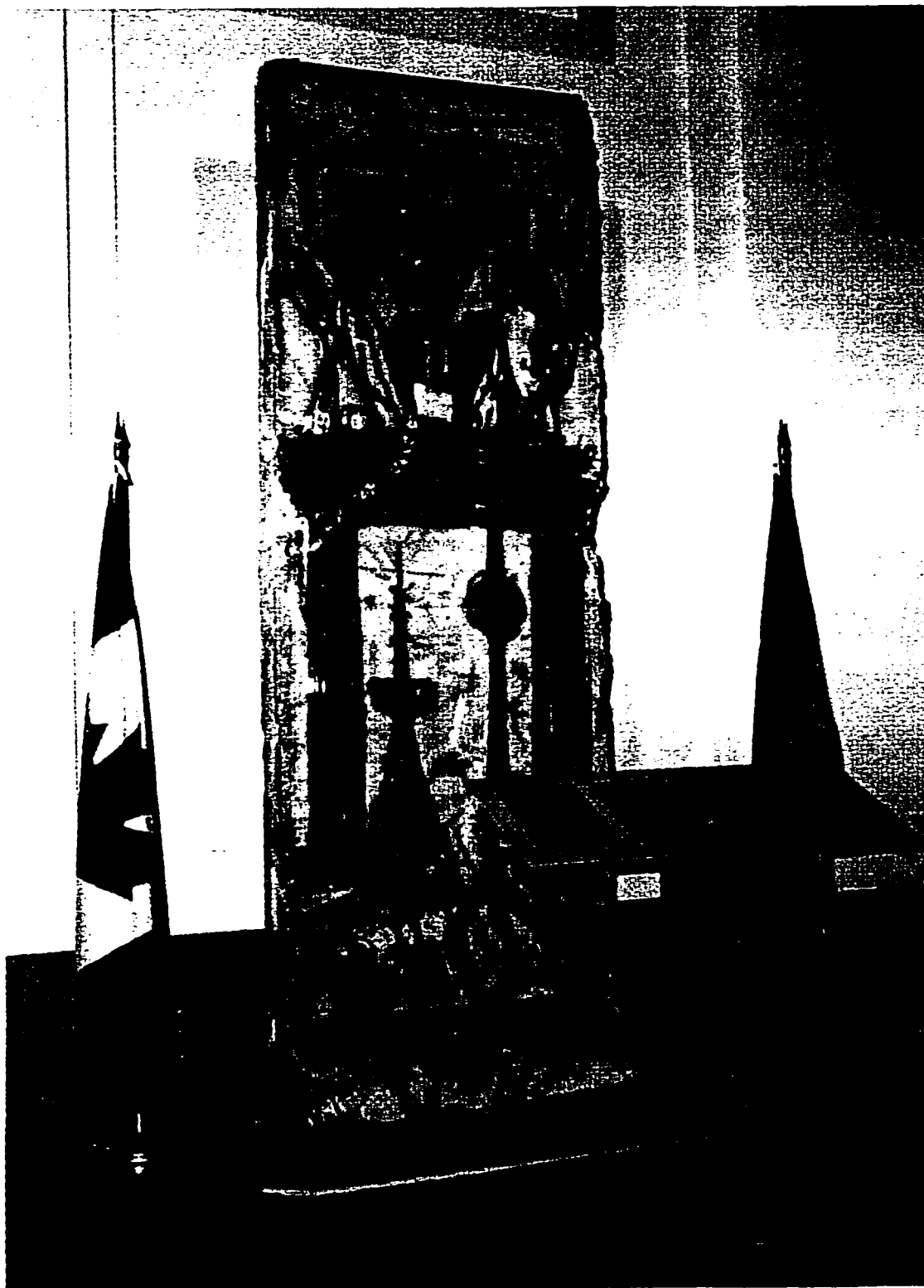
Fig.1

Fig.2

Fig.3

N° 61

Tête
Thierry Noir / graffiti anonyme
Waldemarstraße
Certificat N° 250

Etat: Peinture endommagée en
bas, arêtes abimées, béton écaillé
à la forure de droite

*Lower painting slightly damaged, edges
slightly broken, cement broken away near
the drilled hole on the right*

*Bemalung unten leicht beschädigt, leichte
Kantenbrüche, abgeplatzter Beton an der
Bohrung rechts*

N° 62

Visage jaune II
élément central
Yellow Face II middle part
Gelbes Gesicht II Mittelteil
Kiddy Citny
Waldemarstraße
Certificat N° 93

Etat: Peintures ultérieures très
bien conservées, brisure irrégu-
lière de l'arête

*Very well preserved images, edge irregulary
broken on right*

*Bemalung sehr gut erhalten, unregel-
mäßiger Kantenbruch*

N° 63

Visage jaune I
élément latéral droit avec tête carrée
Yellow Face I right part with square skull
*Gelbes Gesicht I rechter Teil mit
Quadratschädel*
Kiddy Citny, graffiti anonyme
Waldemarstraße
Certificat N° 92

Etat: Peintures ultérieures très
bien conservées, arête légèrement
ébréchée à gauche

*Very well preserved painted-over images
edge slightly broken on the left*

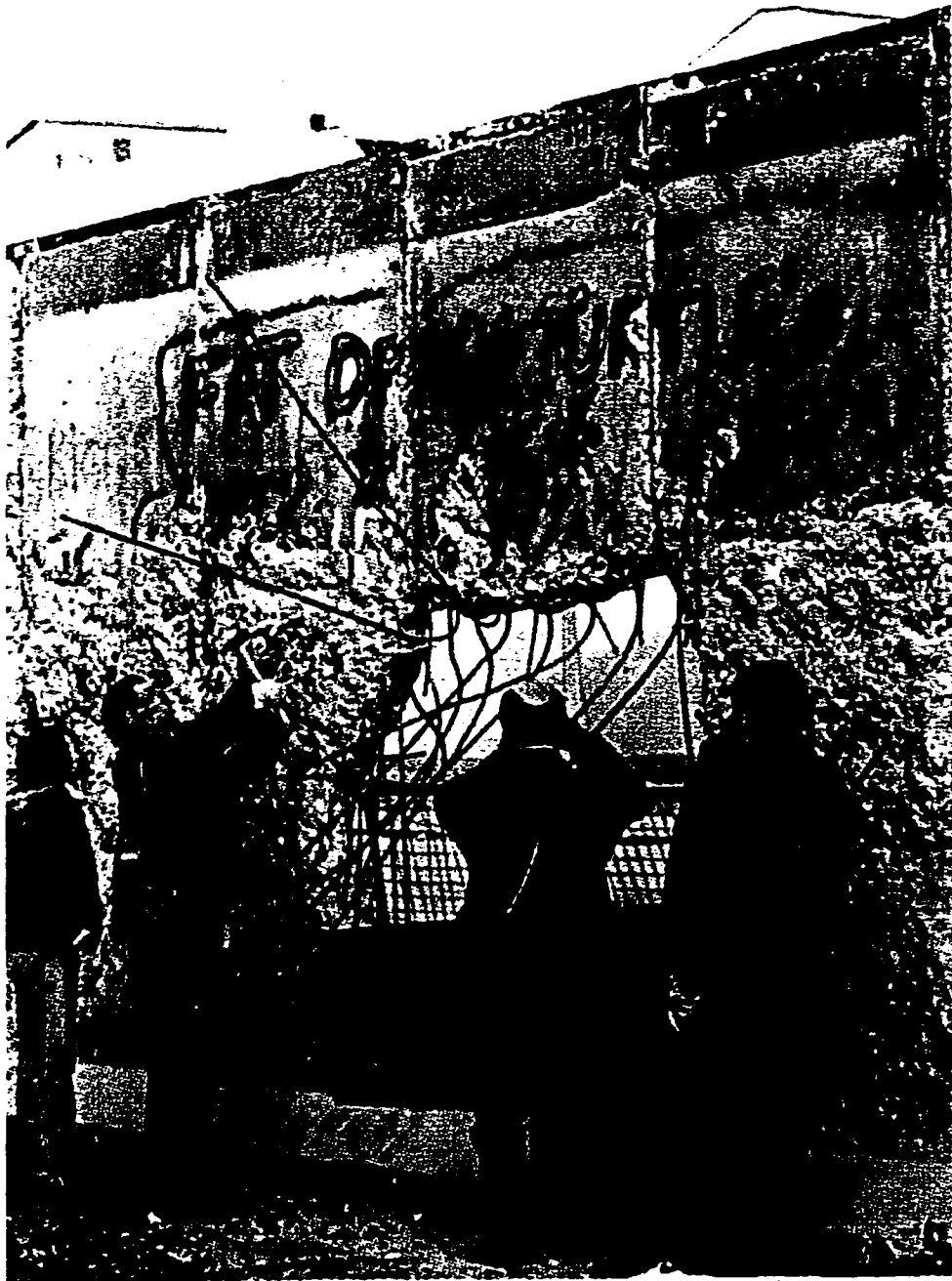*Sehr gute Übermalungen, leichter
Kantenabbruch links.*

Fig.5

argued the case before the Court of Appeals on behalf of the nursing home operators.

Attempts to reach Mr. Hollander for comment were unsuccessful. His lawyer did not return a reporter's telephone calls, and his home number is unlisted.

pleaded guilty to grand larceny and filing false business records, charges that carried a maximum jail sentence of 11 years. Instead of jail, however, Mr. Hollander was

goals."

The accord was the second to be announced since a tentative agreement on the

Sale of Century! Bits of Cold War, Just $7 an Ounce

By MICHEL MARRIOTT

It was bound to happen. Two salesmen set up a stand on Fifth Avenue yesterday selling what they said were chunks of the Berlin wall — at $7 an ounce.

Braving wintry winds and skeptical New Yorkers, the sellers, David Schwartz and Edmond Howar, hawked the concrete at 54th Street as lunchtime crowds pressed by. The display included a large color photograph of a young West German man standing near what appeared to be the recently breached 28-year-old wall and holding a slab of it.

"He's part of our proof," said Mr. Schwartz, a 27-year-old former television producer with Entertainment Tonight. "He was here with us for a while wearing the same thing he's wearing in the picture."

Each Comes In Its Own Zip-Top Bag

The man, a West German newsman whom Mr. Schwartz would identify only as Mickey, brought 50 pounds of the concrete into New York on a flight from Berlin on Monday, Mr. Schwartz said.

"We spent all night breaking it up," said Mr. Howar, 26, also a former TV producer. Actually, the two men did much more. In what they said was an attempt to "test market" the Berlin wall for mass merchandising, the men typed out a history of the wall and packaged the chunks in zip-top plastic bags.

Was it a triumph for the American way? Indeed. Mr. Schwartz said that in two hours they sold $3,000 worth of the concrete in different sizes, from $5 chips to $20 chunks, all from the western side of the wall.

They also said that they are negotiating with three department stores and that they have 2,200 pounds of the wall "ready to ship."

They hope to have the chips in stores by Christmas.

Selling history on a street corner, David Schwartz offered what he said were pieces of the Berlin wall.

Holiday Tomorrow

The Thanksgiving holiday will be observed tomorrow. Here are holiday schedules.

Suffolk Is Sued to Block Plans For Subdivisions in Pine Barrens

Fig.6

Fig.7

Fig.8

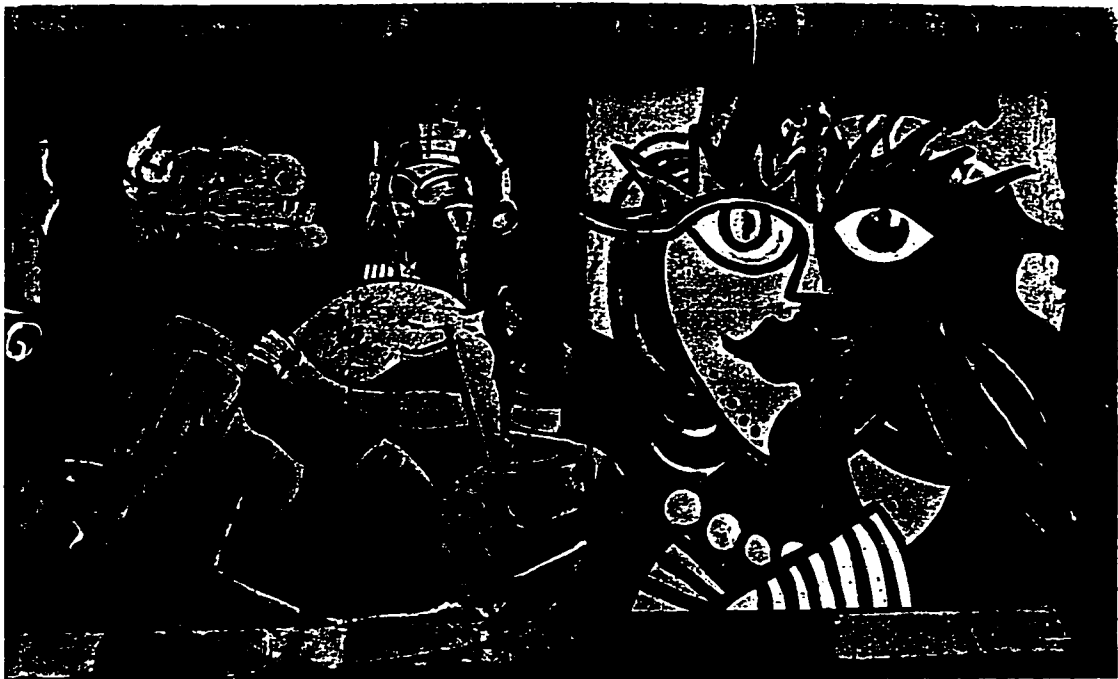Fig.9

Fig.10
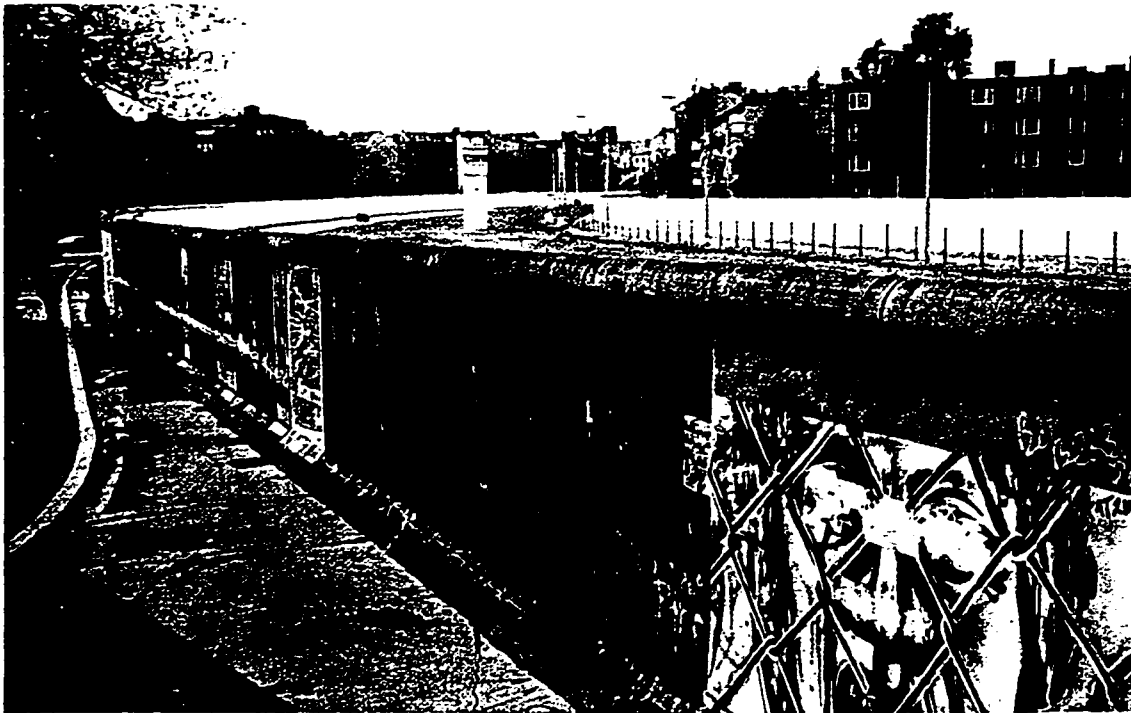
Fig.11

Fig.12

Fig.13
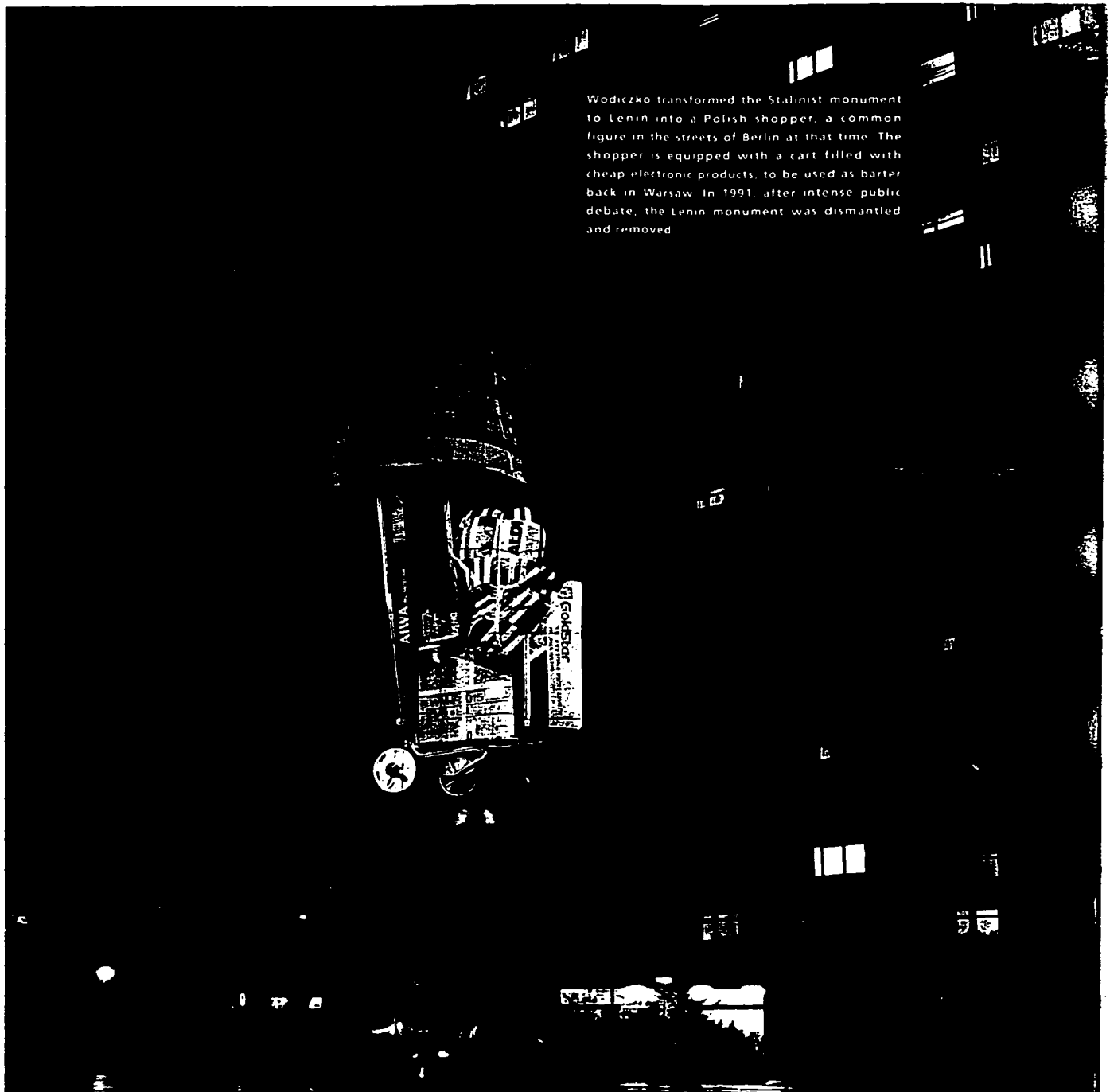
Wodiczko transformed the Stalinist monument to Lenin into a Polish shopper, a common figure in the streets of Berlin at that time. The shopper is equipped with a cart filled with cheap electronic products, to be used as barter back in Warsaw. In 1991, after intense public debate, the Lenin monument was dismantled and removed.

Fig.14

Fig.15

Fig.16
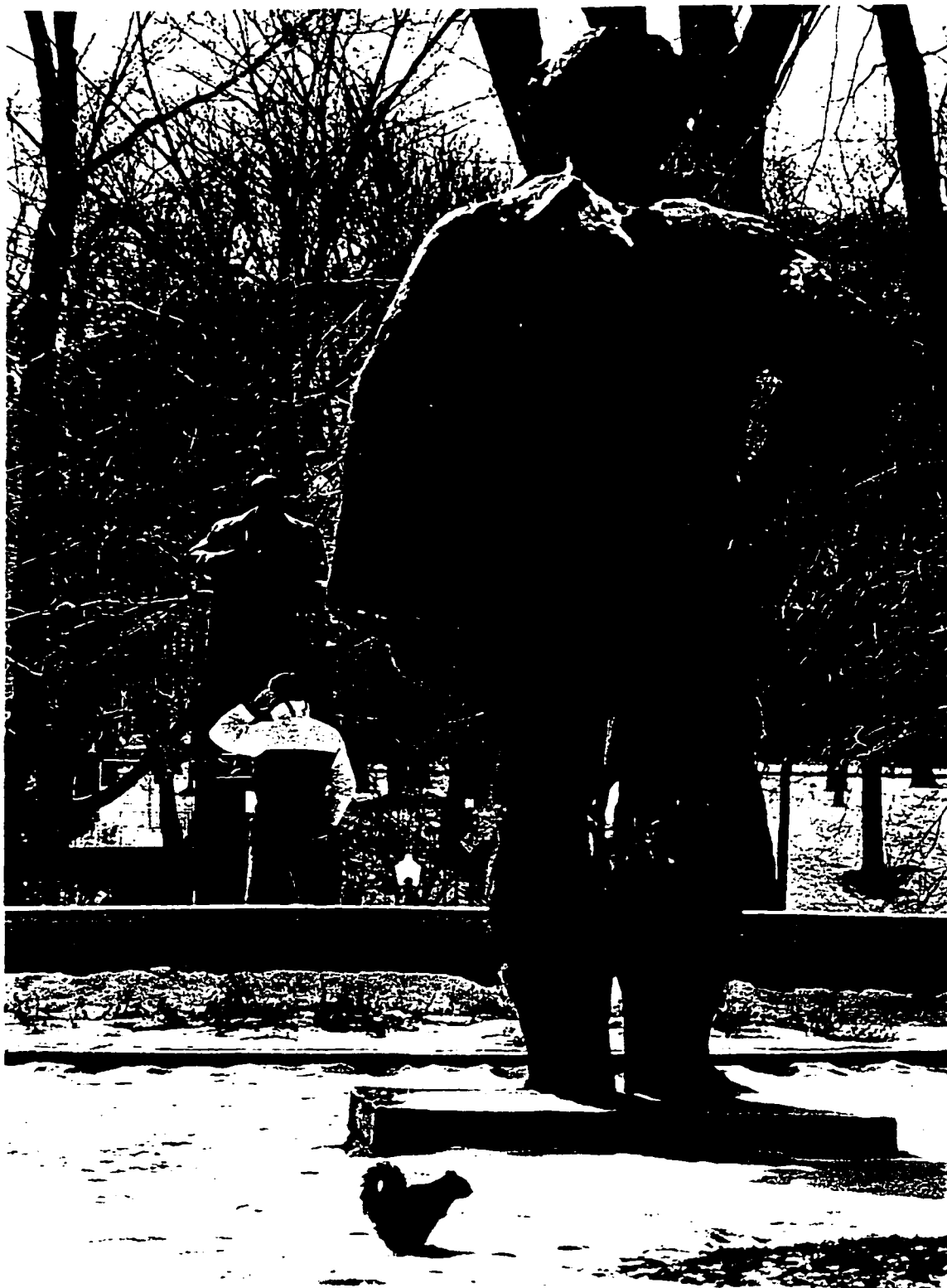
Fig.17
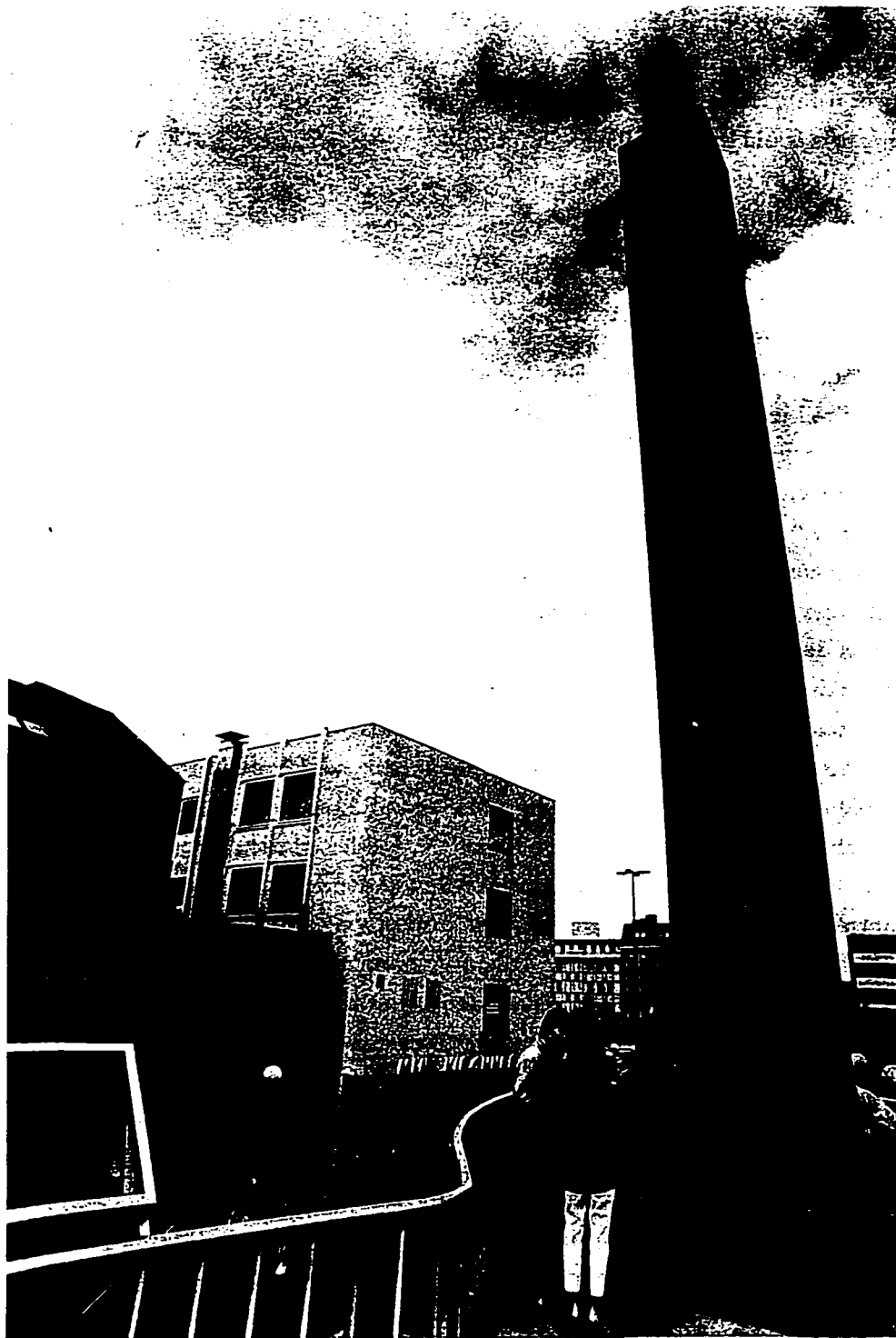
Fig.19
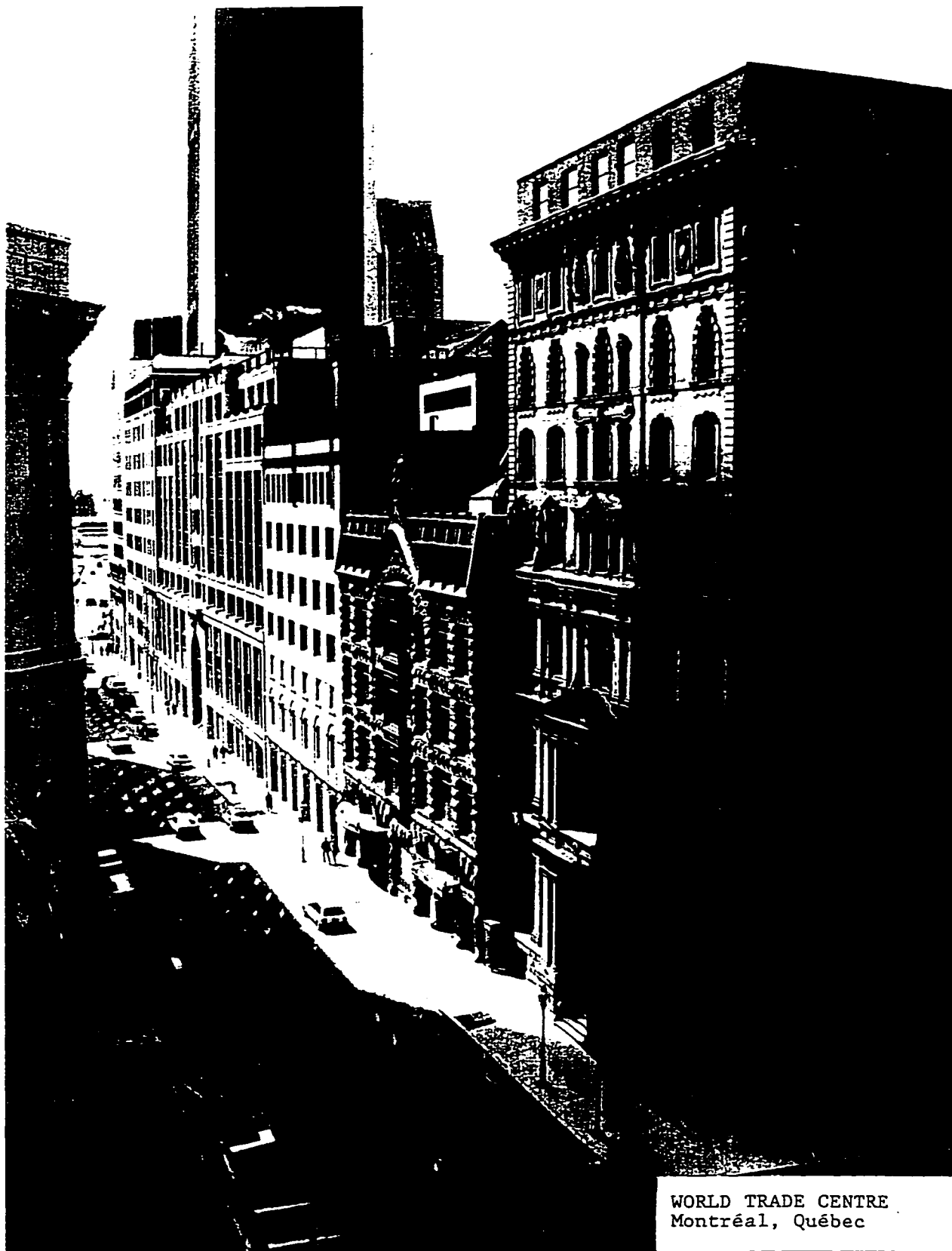
WORLD TRADE CENTRE
Montréal, Québec

Fig.20

COMMERCIAL
UNION
BUILDING
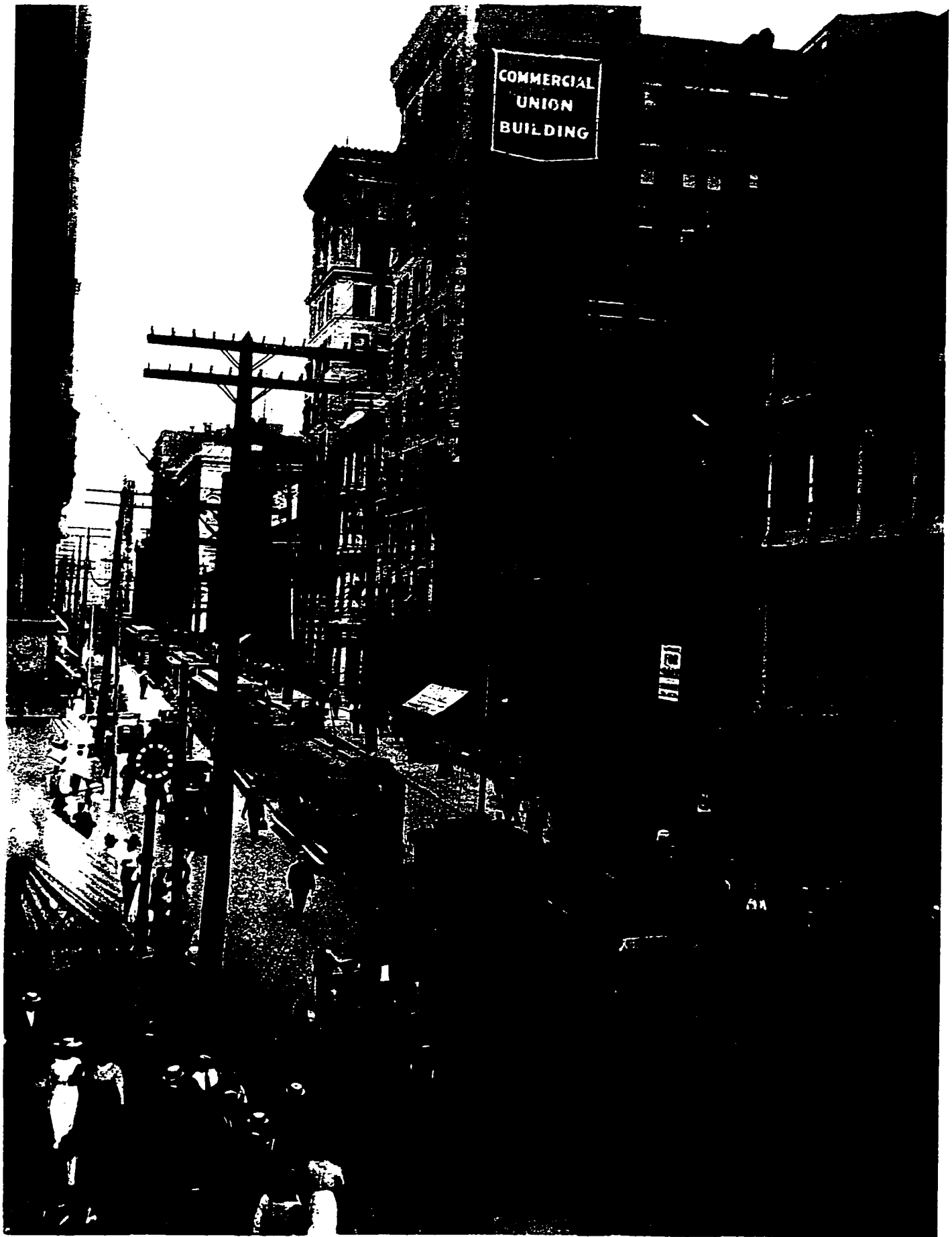
A Condominium in Old Montreal?

take advantage of a generous property tax credit

The City of Montreal offers a property tax credit of up to $10,000
to all buyers of a new residential unit in Old Montreal.

This tax credit is offered to the buyer who decides to either live in the unit,
or use it for rental income purposes. For more information (514) 872-0581

Ville de Montréal

Fig.22

Fig.24
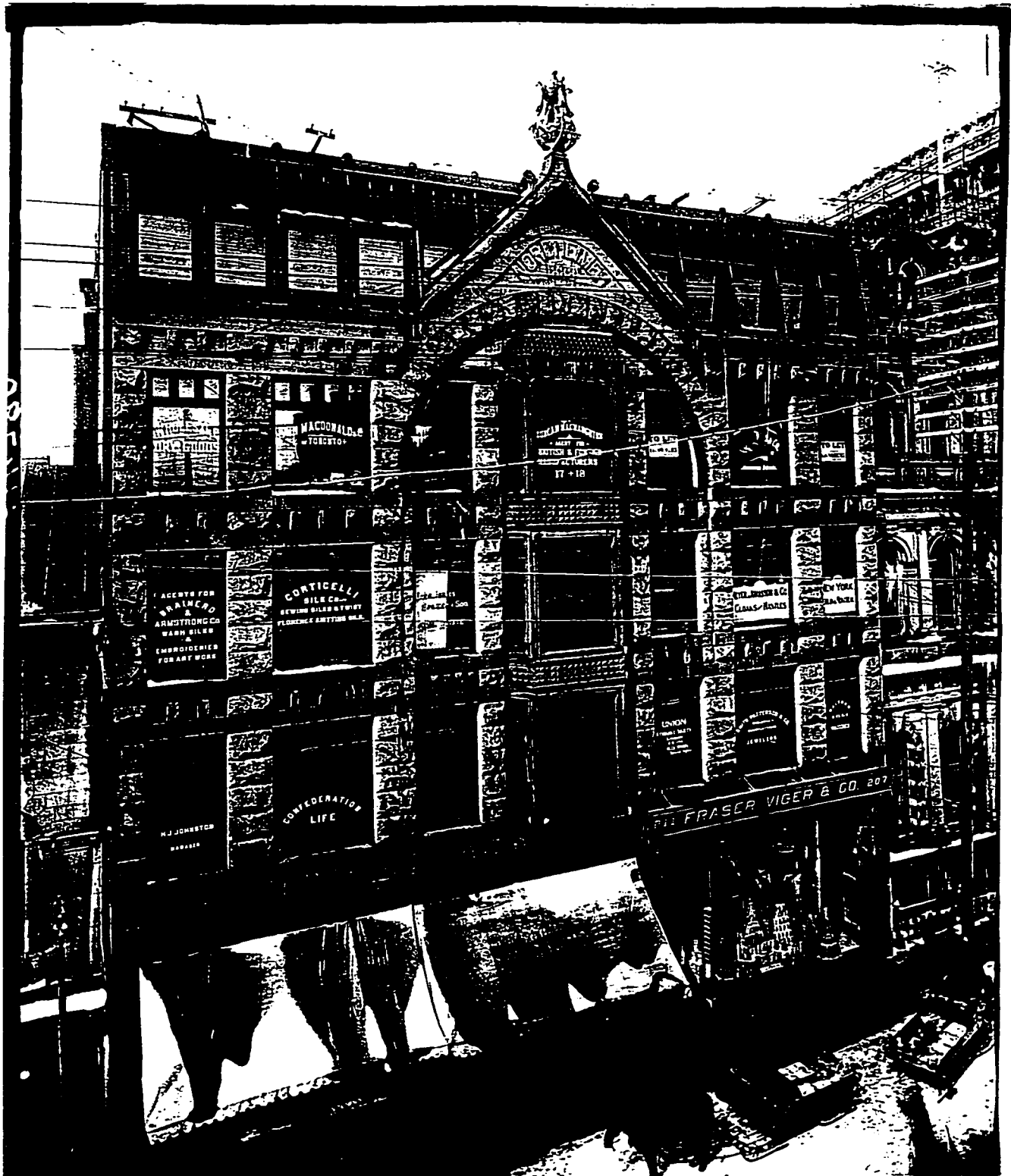
Fig.25
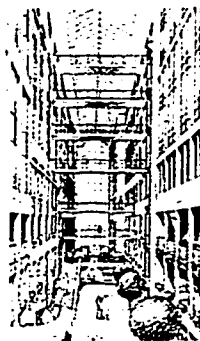
Interieur:
Ruelle des Fortifications

Interieur:
L'entrée du Centre
de commerce mondial

Rue Saint-Jacques

Fig.26
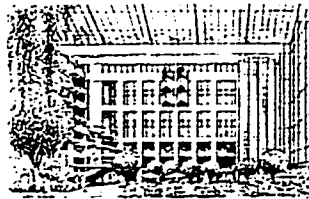
Intérieur:
L'entrée de l'hôtel

Centre
de commerce
mondial
de Montréal

Rue Saint-Antoine

Fig.27

PLAN DE LA VILLE DE MONTREAL.

FLEUVE SAINT LAURENS.

Fig.28

QUADRILATÈRE McGILL, SAINT-JACQUES,
SAINT-PIERRE, SAINT-ANTOINE

ÉTUDE DU
POTENTIEL ARCHÉOLOGIQUE

CHARLAND (1803)

LÉGENDE

FORTIFICATIONS

GLACIS

RIVIÈRE SAINT-MARTIN

ECHELLE 1:1 000

DEVENCORE

ethnoscop
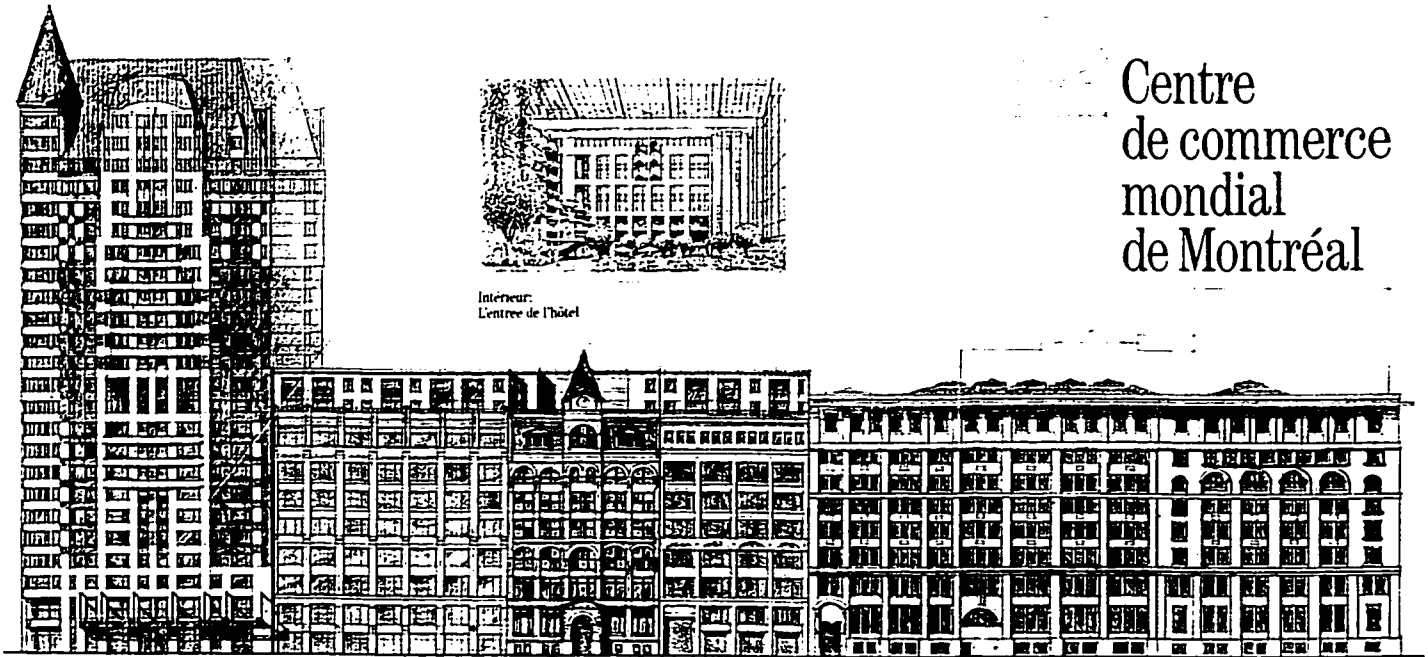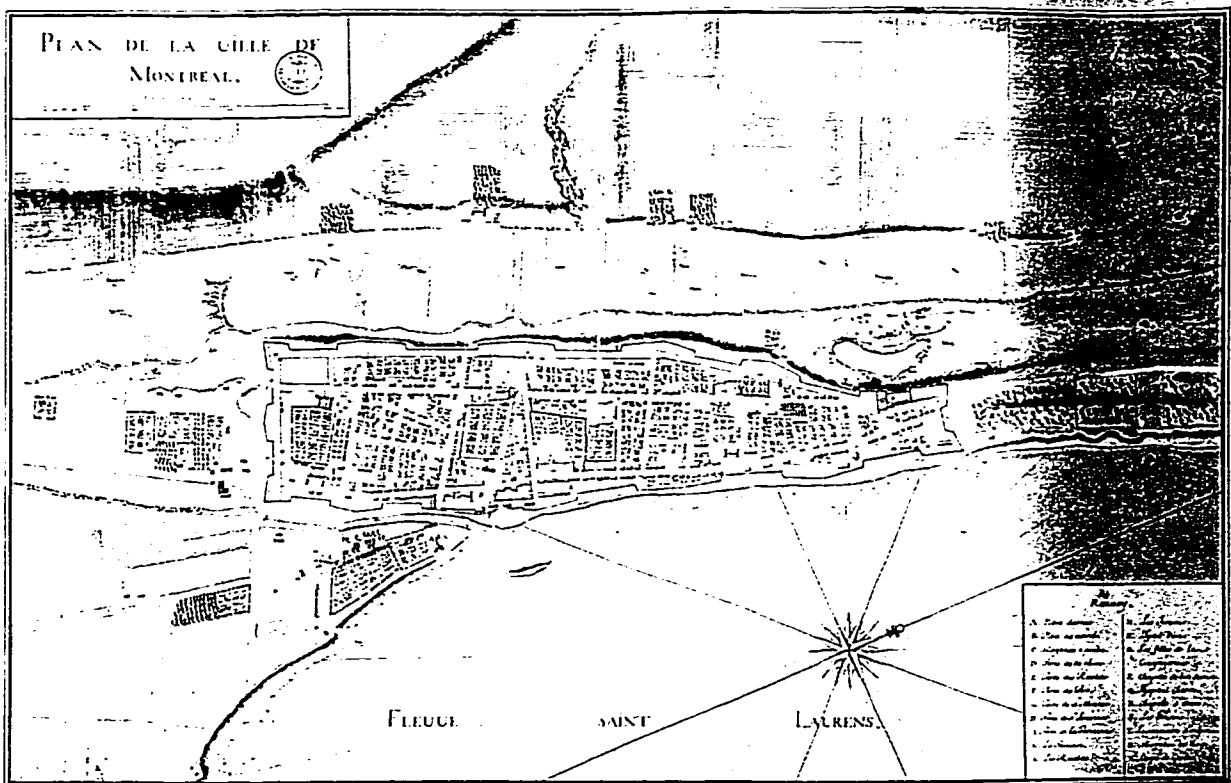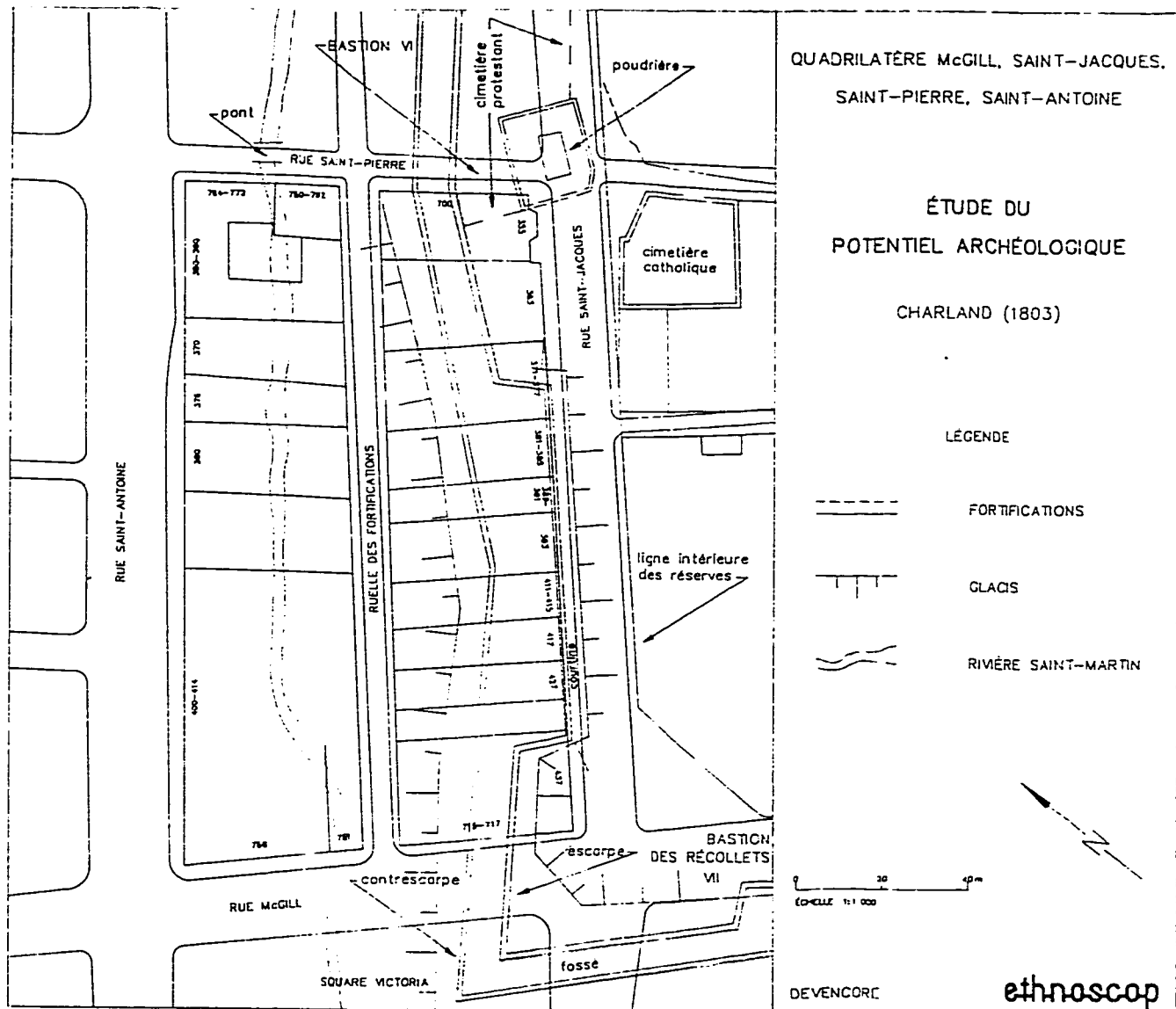
Fig.29

Fig.30
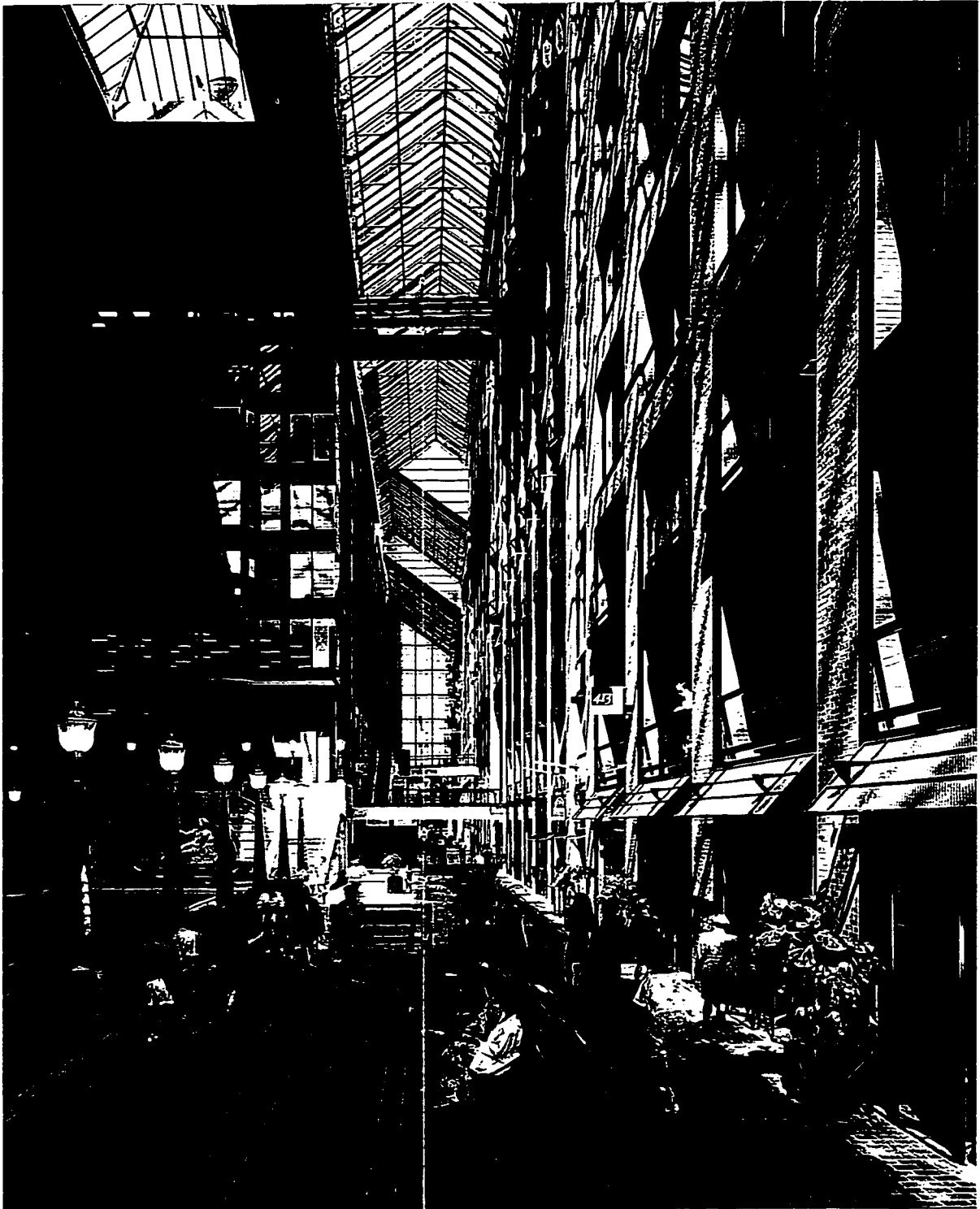
Fig.31
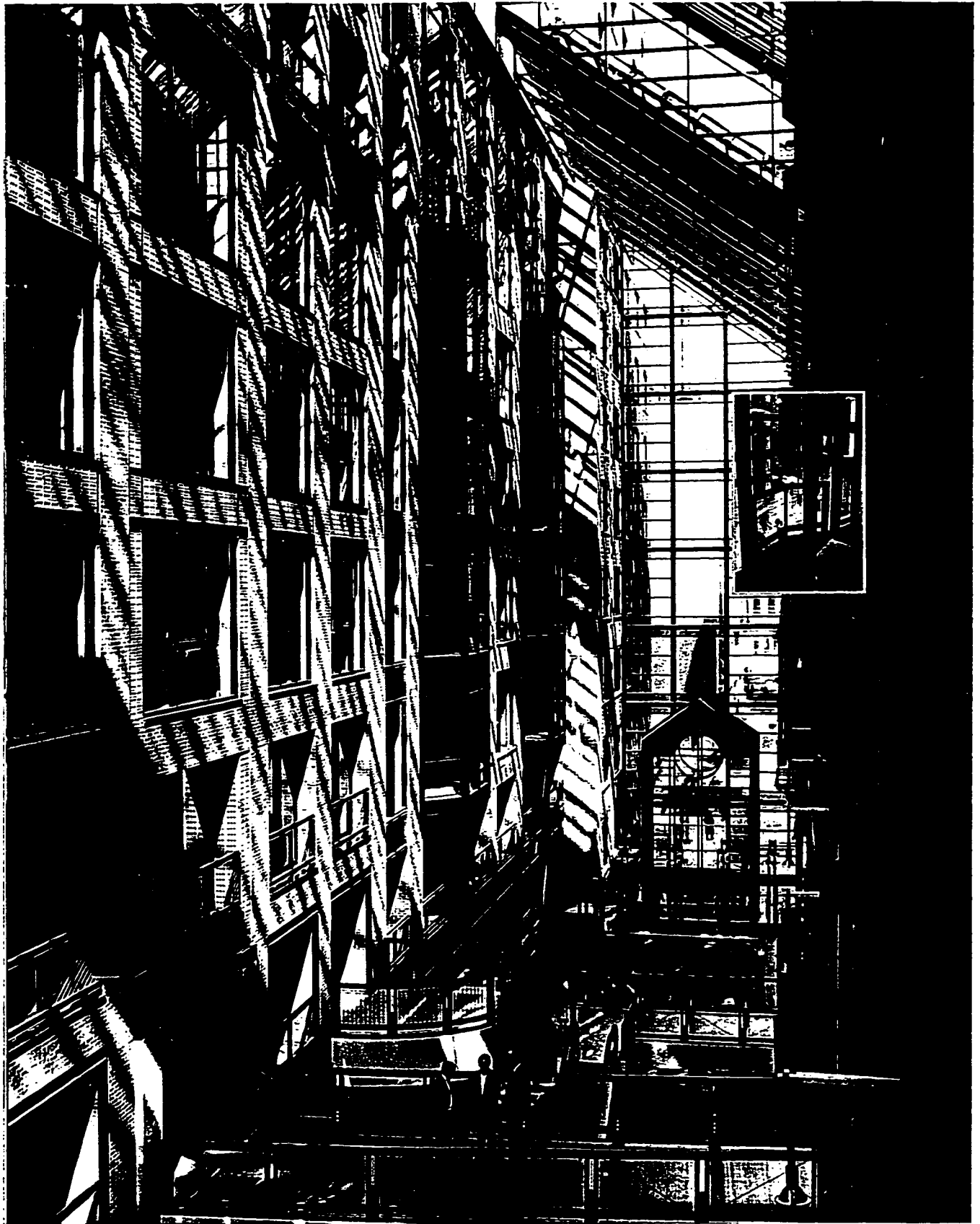
Fig.32

Fig.33

Fig.34

Le monde
est petit

L'abolition des frontières commerciales met le monde
à notre portée, multiplie les occasions d'affaires.
De nouveaux marchés s'ouvrent... plus que jamais
accessibles aux entreprises qui voient grand !

Le Ministère des Affaires internationales soutient
activement les PME dans leur conquête des marchés
étrangers en proposant, notamment : un mode
d'emploi des marchés étrangers, des sessions de
formation en commerce international, un réseau
de délégations québécoises sur quatre continents,
le programme d'aide financière à l'exportation
APEX, l'accès à des foires et missions à l'étranger
pour multiplier les contacts et occasions d'affaires.

Communiquez avec nos conseillers
en affaires internationales.

Affaires internationales
Québec

Fig.35

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS:
GERMANY, BERLIN and the BERLIN WALL 1945-1990

1943-1944: Berlin is occupied by the Allied forces

September 1944: London Protocol

July 1945: Potsdamer meeting; Berlin is split according to traditional district boundaries; Soviets control East Berlin; France, Great Britain and the United States control West Berlin; U.S. policy is "containment"

1948: Reconstruction of West Berlin; "economic miracle" leads to Marshall Plan

Spring 1948: Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia

June 1948: New Western currency for West Berlin

23 June 1948: Berlin Blockade; Soviets restrict land access to West Berlin

26 June 1948: U.S. General Clay leads Western Airlift

28 June 1948: New currency for Soviet zone

8 May 1948: Land access restored

1949: Walter Ulbricht, president of GDR, with its capital in East Berlin; Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of FRG, with its capital in Bonn

1950s: Berlin = hotbed of Cold War espionage; East German emigrants fleeing to the West

1952: West turns down Stalin's peace offer to unify a neutral Germany

1953: By this time, many of the Soviet-block countries are separated by an "Iron Curtain" of barbed wire, minefields, armed guards, etc.; Iron Curtain stretches from the Baltic to the Black Sea

June 1953: Suppression of workers' uprisings in East Berlin; continuing occupation by Soviet Army

1955: Division of Germany is finalized; FRG is granted independence; GDR declared a sovereign State by the Soviets; the two divide into NATO and Warsaw Pact camps

1956: Khrushchev denounces Stalin

1957: Fleeing of GDR made a criminal offence

November 1958: "Khrushchev Ultimatum": orders Allies out of Berlin

1960s: Cold War: Soviet rhetoric of anti-imperialism, Western rhetoric of freedom

1961: Berlin Crisis; superpower confrontation and refugee emigration from East to West Berlin; J.F.Kennedy inaugurated U.S. President

March 1961: Ulbricht seeks approval from Warsaw Pact to close the border, Erich Honecker will be given the responsibility of building the Berlin Wall/border

17 April 1961: CIA fails invasion of Cuba at Bay of Pigs

July 1961: By this date, 300,000 Germans flee to the West monthly

25 July 1961: Kennedy affirms that West Berlin will be protected

12 August 1961: At midnight, on a holiday weekend, construction of Berlin Wall begins; Aug 13, news agencies denounce Western deception and blackmail; Wall is presented by East Berlin as a contribution to world peace; Aug 13, 800 make last chance escape to the West

Berlin Wall: 12km of actual wall, 137km of fencing; trains, subway lines and roads are blocked; barbed wire is slowly replaced by 8' cinderblock wall and topped with barbed wire; 100m free fire zone

Official title: Border Security System for the National Frontier West; a.k.a. Anti-Fascist Protection Wall

14 August 1961: West does nothing, prefers wall to war

16 August 1961: Willy Brandt addresses 250,000 West Berliners; denounces American inaction

27 October 1961: Armoured vehicles face off at Checkpoint Charlie

1962: End of Berlin Crisis

1963: West Berliners allowed to visit families until 1966 modifications

26 June 1963: Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner" (I am a Berliner) speech

1964-1976: Gradual replacement of first Wall with second, pre-calculated Wall: pre-cast slabs are used and topped with cylindrical piping; death strip is enclosed by an inner electrified fence and outfitted with concrete watch towers and bunkers, lights, guard dogs, anti-tank spikes and ditch, trip-wire devices and anti-personnel mines

1966: Brandt elected Chancellor; eventually presents his "Ostpolitik" which will be criticized for normalizing the division of Germany

1968: Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

late 1960s: East Berliners watch West Berlin TV, which is officially tolerated after 1974; 1980s GDR installs cable; ironically, West Berlin news makes the free world appear uncontrolled and chaotic; Western rhetoric about East block countries frustrates East Berliners; the effect is a stabilization of the division

1970s: West Berlin becomes centre for disaffected youth, particularly those wishing to escape military duty; Bonn government injects much capital into arts and culture; new left radicalism opposed to complacent self-interest of West German middle class

1971: Ostpolitik: Quadripartite Agreement confirms the status of West Berlin, an outpost of West Germany inside the GDR; restoration of telephone links; one-day visas granted to West Berliners; 40,000 exit visas per year

1973: GDR accepted to UNESCO and opens diplomatic relations with the West, i.e. France and Great Britain

1976-1989: Third and final Wall construction: Prefabricated L-shaped slabs replace the previous western face of the Berlin Wall system; despite the fact that it remains within the western border, its smoothness makes it a compelling surface for graffiti writers; height is now 3.6m; concrete is steel-reinforced and of a high density containing high levels of asbestos; 111km of the entire 163-170km border is walled by 1987; 37km runs through housing districts, 30km through wooded areas, 24km through waterways, 17km through industrial sectors, and the remaining 55km through rails, fields and marshlands

1980s: Revival of Cold War confrontation with advent of Cold Warriors Thatcher and Reagan; arms race and star wars respond to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; illegal migrations of East Germans through Hungary and Czechoslovakia - about 3,000 a year

1982-1989: Graffiti artists and neo-expressionist painters help make the Berlin Wall West Berlin's most notable tourist attraction; the Wall comes to be known as the eighth wonder of the world; West Berliners generally display a blase attitude about the Wall; Checkpoint Charlie Museum records and organizes activities concerning Wall art

1984: New strategy for exiles: squatting in West German Embassies in Eastern Europe

1985: Mikhail Gorbachev is new Soviet Leader; will pursue democratizing reforms under his "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" policies; will oppose Honecker

1986: Border guards' "shoot to kill" orders are reportedly repealed - the original order was constitutionalized in 1982

1987: Reagan visits West Berlin; met with protests

January 1989: 35-Nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz calls for the dismantling of the Wall

August 1989: East Germans cross to Austria through Hungarian border, 200 a day; eventually, Hungarian authorities stop returning escapees

19 August 1989: Honecker declares that the Wall will stand for another 100 years

September 1989: Monday night services in Leipzig; rise of the New Forum demonstrators who favour socialist reforms but not reunification with capitalist West

10 September 1989: Hungary opens border to the West; in two weeks 20,000 East Germans travel West

7 October 1989: 40 year anniversay of GDR; demonstrations in Leipzig, East Berlin and Dresden

9 October 1989: 70,000 demonstrate in Leipzig

18 October 1989: Honecker is replaced by Egon Krenz

3 November 1989: Czechoslovakia opens its borders

4 November 1989: 500,000 people demonstrate in Alexanderplatz to protest the slow pace of reform; Christa Wolf makes speech on the revitalization of language

7-8 November 1989: GDR government and Politburo resign; exodus and demonstrations continue

9 November 1989: Egon Krenz institutes freedom of travel; 12pm, border between East and West is opened; symbolic end of the Berlin Wall

November 9 is a notable date in German history: it is also the date of the 1918 abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the beginning of the Weimar Republic, of Hitler's failed Munich putsch of 1923, and the 1938 night of broken glass (Kristallnacht) which witnessed the destruction of jewish property and the murder of about 100 jews; it is also the date of Nazi victory speeches during WWII

17 November 1989: New East Berlin cabinet promises reforms

18 November 1989: Kohl calls for German confederation

3 December 1989: Krenz resigns

18 March 1990: Elections in East and West signal a desire for unification

1 July 1990: Monetary integration, West buys out Eastern currency; hign inflation in the East

3 October 1990: German unification; federal government is to move its capital from Bonn to Berlin over a twelve year period, beginning in 1991

SOURCES:

BAKER, Frederick. "The Berlin Wall: production, preservation and consumption of a 20th-century monument." Antiquity Vol.67 (December 1993) 709-733.

GRANT, R.G. The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall. London: Bison Group, 1991.

SMITH, Ken. Berlin: Coming In From the Cold. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990.

APPENDIX II

DISMANTLING AND DISPERSAL OF THE BERLIN WALL
1) CHRONOLOGY   2) SOUVENIRS   3) MONUMENTS

1 - CHRONOLOGY

1962: House at Checkpoint Charlie opens; will become a repository of Wall information, memorabilia and Western ideology

1976: Lew Nussberg, member of the 1962 Moscow non-conformist Movement Group is the first artist of international reputation to paint on the Berlin Wall; non-conformist painting is born in communist countries, it signals a withdrawal to personal experience and expression and into individual mythologies - this will greatly affect neo-expressionism though the source of inspiration for the two movements are quite different

1978: Rainer Fetting paints <u>Van Gogh and Wall</u>; his work will lead him to paint on the Wall itself for the making of a 1983 film in which he takes on the persona of Van Gogh

1982: Jonathan Borofsky paints <u>Running Man</u> onto the Berlin Wall as a site specific piece for the Zeitgeist exhibition (December 1982 to January 1983)

1984: Christophe Bouchet and Thierry Noir begin extensive graffiti work on the Wall; their best known works are their "Statues of Liberty" and Noir's cartoon faces which appeared in Wenders' film <u>Wings of Desire</u>

David Wojnarowitcz paints on Wall in a neo-expressionist/primitivist manner

Richard Hambleton paints some of his shadow figures on Wall (<u>Ghetto de Luxe</u>); they recall the conformity of soldiers

A similar "shadow figure" is painted by Gordon + Rudi

1986: Sculptor Peter Unsicker opens the Wall Street Gallery on Zimmerstrasse, parallel to the Wall

Keith Haring is commissioned by the Checkpoint Charlie Museum to paint a 100m stretch of the Wall

1986: Emigre East German peace activists paint a white line over graffiti and paintings from Mariannen Platz to Potsdamer Platz in order to protest the aestheticization and the making of the Wall into a tourist attraction - they wish to emphasize memory and politics

1988: Kiddy Citny paints many sections of the Wall

Artistic exchange with Milan: a number of Italian artists paint a mural at Mariannenstrasse

November 1989: Graffiti on Eastern side of Berlin Wall for the first time; the artist, Manfred Butzman, paints rabbits - the only creatures that inhabited the death zone between the two walls

Shortly after the opening of the Wall, Pepsi, AT&T, Saatchi and Saatchi and Stolichnaya Vodka go to Berlin to capitalize on the events which they will use in their advertising

11 November 1989: New York Times reports on David Schwartz and Edmond Howar, former TV producers of Entertainment Tonight, who are selling pieces of the Berlin Wall on Fifth Avenue, New York; test-marketing their product, these men have 20,000 pounds ready to sell to department stores

January 1990: East Germany begins to prepare concrete slabs for export; East-German import/export company, Limex-Bau is offering brightly painted slabs for $70,000 to $350,000 U.S.; Limex-Bau's director, Helge Möbius states that the fragments are "a symbol that the Cold War is over"; Limex contracted three U.S. and West German firms to help sell the 2.6 tonne slabs - East Germans are to keep

50% of the profits; Limex is the only company authorized to sell the large slabs; in order to control the value of these slabs, the East German government will preserve only 360 of the total 45,000 pre-cast pieces; it hoped to make $3 billion U.S. from the sale; Hagen Koch was the security official responsible - official documents concerning the management of slabs after 1989 are in Koch's files; Koch is the owner of the last piece to be dismantled; East and West German armies sought the help of building contractors to dismantle the Wall

28 January 1990: Souvenir pieces sold in Berlin for $5.00

12 February 1990: Air-craft carrier in N.Y. City's Hudson River displays three slabs for sale

February 1990: Bloomingdale's and Eaton's are selling Hyman Products' (Maryland Heights) souvenir pieces for $12.50 U.S.; Hyman Products include a certificate of authenticity which reads: "You have just purchased a piece of history, a fragment of the Berlin Wall. We have verified the authenticity and origin of this rock after careful investigation. The Berlin Wall, which was constructed during the height of the Cold War, has remained intact for nearly 28 years. In November 1989, portions of the Berlin Wall, a part of which you now own, was torn down to create free passage to the West. Enjoy and treasure your fragment of freedom."

May 1990: By this date, 100 concrete slabs are reported to have been sold worldwide; the first auction of Berlin Wall slabs took place at the Inter-Continental Hotel, West Berlin; an auction was also held at the World Expo in Seville

23 June 1990: Monte Carlo Auction: 81 slabs are put up for sale by the East German government through Limex-Bau; graffiti artists' names are identified and individual pieces are titled; up until 1996, artists Thierry Noir and Kiddy Citny sought legal compensation for the use of their work in the sale of the auction slabs; the Monte Carlo pieces

were in good condition because a camp of
squatters and "travellers" near Waldemar -
Strasse inadvertently protected this
section of wall from tourists

Rationale: "Much thought was given to what
should happen to the Wall after the quiet
revolution in the German Democratic
Republic had removed all sense of its being
there. Is it right to sell this symbol of
unfreedom as a showpiece? Nobody
concerned, neither in the East nor in the
West, has forgotten the Wall. It still
stands today for all to see and suppresses
any feeling of normality. It must be got
rid of, and yet it must be preserved to
admonish and remind mankind what happens
when freedom, our most valuable possession,
is lost and unrealistic dogma, disdainful
of mankind, takes its place. After much
thought and consideration, we have decided
that it is good and proper to sell the Wall
and convey the profits to those who have
suffered because of it. Limex and LéLé
have taken on this task and thanks to their
commitment, the Wall is to be auctioned
here today, far removed from the site of
confrontation. The proceeds of the auction
will go toward assisting public health in
the German Democratic Republic."

Pedigree: "In an attempt to fetch the
highest proceeds possible, the first
Segments of the Berlin Wall to be
dismantled stored away safely were those
considered most valuable from an historic
and artistic viewpoint. At the same time,
the number of saleable Segments was limited
to 360 so that they might be sold worldwide
for the highest price possible."

20 July 1990: Checkpoint Charlie site is to become a
shopping mall, symbol of the new capitalist
era; the guardhouse has been sent to a
museum

12 September 1990: Reagan in Berlin, tries his hand at
"wall-pecking"

30 November 1990: Last sections of the Berlin Wall are
reported to have been dismantled

1993: East Side Gallery at the Mühlen Straße = eastern section of the Wall saved for its popularity

1996: 120,000 tonnes of Wall concrete are said to have been shipped out of Berlin

2 - SOUVENIRS

November 1989-90: Berliners named the people who chiselled pieces of the Berlin Wall "mauer-sprecht" or wall-peckers; their motives were various but were generally souvenir oriented or for commercial resale; tourists could buy souvenir pieces or hire a hammer and chisel (a current joke at the time: from hammer and sickle to hammer and chisel) to remove their own piece; the continuous noise of hammering night and day is recalled bitterly by people who lived near the Wall

April 1990: Wall merchants in Berlin were to get licences; they sold chunks in plastic bags, larger size pieces for up to $50.00, key chains and earrings with little pieces of concrete on them

November 1990: Six million German families reported to own souvenir pieces of the Wall; twelve percent of all Germans are said to own a piece of the Wall

3 - MONUMENTS/PRE-CAST SLABS

Dimensions: Height: 3.6m; Base: 2.1m; Weight: 2.6 tonnes; Width 1.2m; Thickness: 15cm; Construction: high density reinforced concrete, with granulated agate

Arlington - Virginia. Freedom Park - part of the Newseum (interactive news museum) - contains three Berlin Wall slab fragments, two side by side and one "fallen" onto its side. This display is but one of eight "icons" (artefacts with interpretation panels) in the park. There is also a headless granite statue of Lenin. The

interpretation panel for the Freedom Park Wall
fragments reads: "'Free, for the first time in
my life': It snaked through Berlin like a
concrete python, the only wall in history built
to keep a nation's people locked inside. The
wall - die mauer - went up to stop millions
from fleeing communist East Germany after World
War II. For 28 years, the Berlin Wall
symbolized the struggle between open and
closed societies. Nearly 2,000 people died
trying to escape to freedom. The wall's 12-
foot-high segments, like the ones here, weigh
2.5 tons each. They could stop a tank, but
they couldn't stop the truth from reaching East
Germany. People knew their wages were low,
that food and supplies were scarce, that life
in the West was better. By the 1980s,
communism was bankrupt. The Soviet Union could
no longer afford the Cold War - decades of
political and economic rivalry with the
capitalist West. The Soviet grip on Eastern
Europe loosened. A 7 p.m. on Nov. 9, 1989,
Politburo member Günther Schabowski shocked
the world: Starting at midnight, he said, East
Germans were free to travel to the West. They
could stay for a few hours, or forever. Crowds
surged through the Berlin Wall. Champagne
flowed freely. Jubilant Germans literally
chipped away at the world's largest symbol of
tyranny. 'When we came home at dawn,' said
Kristina Matschat, an East German homemaker and
former chemist, 'I felt free for the first time
in my life.' Within a week, the wall - and the
East German regime - had crumbled." Small
fragments of the Wall can be purchased in the
Newseum gift shop.

Berlin - 2/3 of Wall concrete is ground down to build
new roads; 2.2 million tonnes of Berlin Wall
concrete recycled into pavement granules

By 1996, a number of pieces of the Wall are
reported to be remaining in situ; these are
largely unofficial sites whose status as
monuments is uncertain: 1) East Side Gallery,
a 1.3km section of the Eastern Wall was painted
in 1990 - developers want it removed; 2) One
original watch-tower remains; 3) A slab remains
at Niederkirchner-Strasse - this is near former
Gestapo and SS HQ and there is a good deal of
disagreement on the comparisons this could
raise between the Nazis and the Stasi; 4) A

slab remains at Bernauer-Strasse, it is
protected by a steel grill - nevertheless, it
is in poor condition; locals want it gone; it
may become an addition to Kohl's Museum for
German History; 5) A piece remains at cemetery
l'Invalidenfriedhof where many Prussian
military leaders are buried; 6) Segments,
bunkers, and guard-towers are in the collection
of the Checkpoint Charlie Museum; 7) Watch
tower and five relocated segments of wall at
Kapelle Ufer with artworks by the recycling
artists, "Mutoid Waste"; 8) Museum of Forbidden
Art at Oberer Freiarchenbrüche, has preserved
one command tower; 9) Stretch of eastern side
Wall with a mural on its western face dedicated
to the Wall's victims called "Memorial for the
Victims of Violence and War"; 10) Stretch of
western Wall at Pankow; 11) Guard tower and a
few segments at Potsdamer Platz (have likely
been removed by this date)

Budapest - Hunagry

Cap-Ferrat - France, Jaguba Rizzoli, widow of well-known
Italian editor, purchased a 27,000 Mark piece
with graffiti by Thierry Noir for her villa;
she believes in its healing power

Cognac - France, heiress Ljiljana Hennessy has a half-
slab with graffiti by Kiddy Citny integrated
into her villa; guests like to discuss its
meaning and often touch the fragment

Fatima - Portugal

Fulton - Missouri, Westminster College, where the term
"Iron Curtain" was first coined (Churchill)

Geneva - Switzerland, the United Nations in Geneva has
a segment

Hoetensleben - Germany, this village has rebuilt a
portion of the Wall with security towers,
barbed wire and projectors. Despite the
commemorative aspect, the mayor has conceded
that the reconstruction could become an
important tourist attraction

Honolulu - Hawaii, Feb. 10 1992: Opening ceremony at
Honolulu Community College, Hawaii; pre-cast
slab (Freedom Monument) is installed with 4'
additions on each side and enclosed in a

protective glass casing; top tubing is re-created; west side walkway is paved while East side is finished in river rocks that are difficult to walk on; the monument as a whole is sectioned off with a unifying circle noticeable in the pavement - this symbolizes the unification of Germany; at the opening ceremony, the Wall was blessed by Rev. David Twigg; see http://gnn_e2a.gnn.com/gnn/wr/oct 13/views/law/index.htm

Japan - Purchase by a prestigious Japanese company

London - Placed its fragment in a an open park. It has undergone transformations due to vandalism and pillaging by the public.

Los Angeles - California, entrance to Municipal Library

Moscow - Piece in Moscow

New York - Anonymous New York artist is said to have purchased a slab

Five panels along pedestrian passage to Museum of Modern Art on 53rd street near Madison and Fifth Avenue

Paris - France, three pieces displayed in the business district near la Défense; they were eventually put in storage until public attention was brought to the matter; they are to be restored to public view

Phoenix - Arizona, private businessman

Presidents - Ronald Reagan owns a section with a pink graffiti butterfly, courtesy of the German government - this piece is reported to be in his home; this may, however, be the fragment reported to be in the Reagan Presidential Library

George Bush presented a 2.6 tonne piece by West German External Affairs minister Genscher

The Kennedy family has received two slab fragments

Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace built in 1992 will contain a 6,000 pound slab of the Berlin Wall

Sosnowka — Poland. Collector of Berlin Wall fragments Ludwik Wasecki owns up to 44 of the large segments - it is said to be the largest collection of its kind; Wasecki originally intended to exhibit the slabs as art works; on Wasecki's estate, numerous pieces were at one time set up like dominos

Toronto — July 1991, City Councillor Korwin-Kuczynski puts forth a motion to install a plaque at the base of the arch at the southeast corner of the Reflecting Pool in Nathan Phillips Square to mark the naming of the arches as the "Freedom Arches"; a report of July 8 indicates that a six foot piece was broken down to the present size; the plaque is mounted on a slab of the Berlin Wall of a modest size; the plaque is in French and English and reads: "Freedom Arches: The Citizens of Toronto dedicate these arches to the millions who struggled including Canadians, to gain and defend freedom and to the tens of millions who suffered and died for the lack of it. May all that we do be worthy of them. Only in freedom can the Human Spirit soar. Against the Human drive for freedom nothing can long succeed. This plaque is mounted on a slab of the Berlin Wall"

John Thompson, Director of the Mackenzie Institute made this comment concerning the dedication plaque: "The dedication of the Freedom Arches commemorates the struggles and deaths of tens of millions of people. Over 130,000,000 in this century alone died for the want of - or to defend - our concepts of individual freedom and liberty. The dedication plaque should at least be accorded a fraction of the regard that these dead deserve... Placing the plaque on the side of a planter box is inappropriate. Placing a two dimensional piece where people can tread on it is singularly inappropriate..."

Personal contacts with the Toronto Public Art Commission and with City Hall in the summer of 1996 led to the conclusion that these official bodies were unaware of the fragment's presence, even as it is placed in Nathan Phillip's Square.

Vatican – The pope has a segment; the Vatican purchased a slab with the symbol of the Baader-Meinhoff terrorist group (Red Army Fraction); it is located in the Vatican garden

Washington – The CIA has an entire row outside its headquarters in Virginia

Fragments integrated into the walls of the Pentagon

Winnipeg – February 1990: The German-Canadian Congress of Manitoba wants to install a $500,000 piece of the Wall on their proposed cultural centre at the "Forks" development site; the fragment is the property of Martin Bergen, President of the Edison Rental Agency; it was purchased in New York in the first stages of the sale of slabs; the Forks Renewal Corporation is supported by Manitoba MP Jake Epp; aboriginal groups opposed the development as it largely overlooked the site's importance to the native community – they hoped more money could be put toward the display and repatriation of native artefacts; the fragment was temporarily on public display in front of the Round Table Restaurant and Lounge in Winnipeg in 1990

SOURCES:

Because small items have been pieced together to draw up this section, please refer to the Bibliography for sources.

THE MONTREAL FRAGMENT:
CHRONOLOGY AND DISPLAY CONTEXTS

Dimensions: Weight: 2.75 tonnes; Height: 3.6m; Width: 1.2m;
Base length: 2.1m; Description: graffiti on the
western side, white paint on the eastern side with
number and whited out graffito

1989: ZLAN: Montreal is declared "Zone Libre
d'Arme Nucléaires"

January 1990: Planning of Place de la Paix begins;
Comité exécutif mandates SHDM, SLDC, SPC
and CIDEC:

CIDEC (Commission d'innitiative et de
développement culturels), the city of
Montreal's public art commission was
created in 1989 largely to help rejuvenate
the city's image and to help prepare for
the 1992 350th anniversary; it has since
been reduced in size and is one of the
functions of the Service de la culture.

June 1991: La Corporation des célébrations du 350e
anniversaire de Montréal (1642-1992) was to
organize an exhibition: "Les Grandes Villes
du Monde Saluent Montréal"; as part of this
exhibition, the city of Berlin pledged to
send a Wall fragment to Montreal; by this
time the exhibition was cancelled due to
lack of time and poor international
circumstances (Iraq War/War against Iraq?)

Fall 1991: 350th Corp. informs CIDEC of Berlin's
intention to offer Montreal its Wall
monument despite cancellation of
exhibition; other public art works were
also received in this way, these include:
Lyon's lion, Paris' Charles de Gaulle
monument, Mexico's public art gift

February 1992: Berlin wants to send Wall fragment as a
symbol of the end of the Cold War and
witness to world peace; Montreal has not
yet accepted the offer; report states: "Les
dimensions imposantes de l'objet et son
caractère historique lourdement connoté ont
entrainé de grandes hésitations à accepter
l'offre. Les hésitations des personnes

rejointes concernaient également les dimensions physiques, le contenu symbolique et sur la différence de trouver un site approprié."

April 1992: General consul Michael Schmidt meets with Mayor Jean Doré and also contacts CIDEC to propose a smaller piece; research by Public Art Dept. determines that other major cities have received large segments

5 May 1992: CIDEC links Wall problem with Place de la Paix project; wants SHDU to consider placing the Wall fragment in or near Place de la Paix (PlP) since SHDU's project does not have a real reference to peace (it is in actuality a redevelopment plan); CIDEC expects to hire a writer to create a reflection on freedom which could help integrate the object to the site; SHDU does not seem interested - there is concern about vandalism

6 May 1992: Statement - becomes policy in CIDEC's approach to the Wall fragment: "Il faudrait éviter d'aborder le projet comme s'il s'agissait d'intégrer une oeuvre d'art au domaine publique ou dans une salle d'exposition. Il ne s'agit pas d'une oeuvre artistique. C'est d'abord et d'avant tout un témoignage en faveur de la paix qui symbolise la fin de la guerre froide."

8 May 1992: Berlin wants response to offer; Schmidt hires a German author to compose a short text to accompany the Wall display (this text is presently located on the base of the Wall in the CCMM); Schmidt suggests the Jardin des Fleuralies on Notre Dame island as a potential site

1 June 1992: CIDEC member visits Jardin des Fleuralies with consul Schmidt; "Il considère le mur davantage comme une curiosité que comme un symbole. Souhaiterait que nous le traitions dans un décor neutre et champêtre."

August 1992: Julie Boivin, Agente de développement culturel at CIDEC writes the first serious study of the fragment for this dossier; its

focus is on communication, the division of public and private language: "que signifiera maintenant cet objet, qui en est la manifestation matérielle d'origine, à Montréal, en dehors de son contexte référentiel?"; "le segment du Mur de Berlin, vu hors contexte, est un artefact urbain sans référence à Montréal. Il ne s'agit pas de l'interpréter, ni d'y greffer une intervention artistique sur le thème de son abolition, mais de l'acceuillir dans un lieu montréalais qui comportera des références sur le thème du langage et de la communication de façon implicite et explicite."

17 August 1992: Schmidt writes to CIDEC concerning transportation of segment; city will receive fragment and pay for storage until site is chosen

25 August 1992: Fragment leaves Hamburg; this donation from Germany is said to have no money value

4 September 1992: Fragment arrives in Montreal port aboard the CANMAR TRIUMPH

20 November 1992: CIDEC hopes to have a site chosen by late 1992; Schmidt suggests that the fragment could be divided into smaller pieces if necessary; Schmidt suggests the interior of the AMARC pavilion as another potential site

2 February 1993: Report of fragment's condition; graffiti paint would only last 5-10 years in an outdoor location; CIDEC will therefore seek an interior location, civic building

16 February 1993: Newspapers report on City's indecision

5 March 1993: Study of Parcours de la Paix (ParP) by CIDEC, SHDU and SAI:

Possible itinerary for a Parcours de la Paix: 1) artwork by Linda Covit "Caesura" in Parc Jean-Paul II consisting of 15,000 toy soldiers; 2) Place of Parc de la Paix; redevelopment of "devastated" area on St-Laurent blvd. facing the Monument National theatre; "C'est une forme d'harmonie urbaine qui sera recrée dans ce quartier,

au bénifice des personees qui y habiteront
ou de celles qui y passeront."; 3) Berlin
Wall fragment; to be situated somewhere
along St-Laurent blvd.; "Par défénition cet
objet est litigieux et polémique. Il parle
de conflits, de guerre froide, d'une
conception totalitaire de la loi, de
l'ordre et de l'idéologie."

Possible sites for Wall fragment:
1) Building Project on south side of Parc
   de la Paix
2) Hall of Monument National
3) Saint-Laurent metro
4) de Castelneau metro
5) Places d'Armes metro/Palais des Congrès
6) Palais de Justice

"Les significations multiples de la
présence du mur de Berlin, nous parlent de
la disparition de la démocratie et de
l'abus du pouvoir, en ce lieu voué à
l'exercise de la loi, de la justice et
gardien de l'ordre et de la paix civile,
nous rappellerait en permanence l'équilibre
fragile et toujours à défendre de nos
sociétés."

Intelligibility of the fragment:
"...rappelant les deux sociétés qu'il
divisait, le tronçonnage mécanique de ses
côtés révélant son appartenance à une
frontière étendue ainsi que sa matérialité,
son mode de construction, la numérotation
du segment nous renseignent sur le partage
du mur en différents endroits sur la terre,
finalement l'ensemble de ces conditions
nous renseigne sur le sens porté par
l'existence du vestige, sa construction et
sa structuration, et doivent être
considérés comme partie intégrante d'un
tout à mettre en valeur à des fins
didactiques."
"Le type de mise en valeur du segment du
Mur est bien entendu, conditionnel au lieu
choisi. Il découle de deux principes
majeurs: le sens de 'objet et la dimension
qu'il prend en rapport à son lieu
d'exposition, et les paramètres essentiels
à sa bonne conservation."

Redevelopment: "La reconstruction d'un lieu comme symbole de la paix à Montréal passe donc avant tout par la reconstruction des lieux dévastés de Montréal; la reconstruction d'un public sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent, la place de la Paix, sur un site vacant, occupé par un stationnement et entouré par d'autres stationnements, est le geste le plus puissant que l'on puisse poser pour énoncer cette idée en générant la reconstruction d'un quartier entier. Concrètement, la construction de ce symbole opère de plusieurs manières."
"La construction de la place est à la base de la renaissance d'un quartier, le faubourg Saint-Laurent, qui fut l'un des plus anciens quartiers accueillant les immigrants à Montréal..."

11 March 1993: Palais de Justice becomes the site of preference for CIDEC

8 April 1993: Comité exécutif approved Promenade de la Paix and approves Hall du Palais de Justice as site: "En tenant compte de la volonté politique de nommer le boulevard Saint-Laurent parcours de la paix, axe de rassemblement de diverses communautés culturelles et symbole de leur cohabitation pacifique, l'édifice du Palais de Justice occupe le numéro 1 rue Notre Dame Est, donc il est l'un des premiers édifices sur le parcours de la paix."

12 May 1993: Cabinet of minister Rémillard (Justice) has strong reservations about receiving fragment

2 August 1993: Jean Pelletier, manager of Palais de Justice is asked to study the case; Sûreté du Québec (security) has minor objections concerning possible demonstrations and vandalism; budgetary issues are also raised

10 August 1993: Jean Doré to Gil Rémillard: "L'artefact offert à Montréal est un segment important du mur original. La face ouest du segment est peinte et possède une valeur esthétique certaine."

26 August 1993: Jean Pelletier laughingly reports to the news media that City experts consider the fragment to have aesthetic value; also questions the appropriateness of an object of touristic value in a hall of justice

September 1993: Ministry of Justice rejects the Palais de Justice proposal

28 September 1993: SAI (Service des affaires institutionnelles) suggests that fragment could be located outside; this idea was suggested to the anglophone TV news by McGill architecture professor, Pieter Sijpkes who believes that the segment should be allowed to undergo changes including further graffiti

29 September 1993: Biodôme proposed as a possible site; rationale: 1) "le biodôme est un lieu prestigieux qui acceuille des milliers de visiteurs chaque année. En l'installant à cet endroit, la Ville de Montréal s'assure que ce cadeau soit accessible pour les montréalais et les visiteurs étrangers."; 2) "les thématiques de la paix et du respect de l'environnement ont été reliés dans plusieurs documents notamment dans le célèbre rapport Bruntland et dans la déclaration de Montréal sur le développement viable."; 3) "le Mur de Berlin peut être installé au Biodôme en toute sécurité."

29 November 1993: CIDEC considers other locations: maisons de la culture Mercier, Frontenac, Côte des Neiges

24 December 1993: Dinu Bumbaru of Heritage Montreal submits written analysis to CIDEC; with regard to public consultation and the significance the fragment may have for many different communities in Montreal, he writes: "Il est difficile d'identifier un sens unique au fragment. Est-ce un fragment d'architecture, une oeuvre d'art rupeste contemporain, un élément préfabriqué en béton couvert de graffitis ou un artefact historique? Ce morceau du mur combine toutes ces définitions et ces significations qui, chacune, amènent différentes considérations quant au respect

de l'authenticité matérielle et de la
valeur symbolique de l'objet et à
l'exposition du Mur aux intempéries et au
public. Toutefois, il serait réducteur et
insuffisant se ne livrer le morceau du Mur
qu'aux débats d'experts en art."

11 January 1994: CIDEC mentions negotiations with CCMM;
consultations with public, as Bumbaru
recommends, may not be necessary

4 February 1994: Report by Craig Johnson Restoration Ltd.
recommend the consolidation and protection
of paint with an anti-graffiti wax coating;
recommend keeping the fragment in a secure
and heated interior; "The East side of the
wall has minimal graffiti and evidence
where some of the graffiti has been
overpainted with white (spray) paint."

March 1994: Research on CCMM installation; study for
floor reinforcement; study for
interpretation programme

Subsequent study of Berlin Wall fragment;
Criteria of selection for a possible site:
1) save its integrity - pedagogical value
2) protection and surveillance
3) intelligibility (touch and vision)
4) appropriate site: "le lieu choisi pour
l'installation du mur peut banaliser ou
sacraliser artificiellement l'objet, ou au
contraire susciter une lecture approfondie
de ses sens multiples."

Mise en valeur: "Le segment du Mur devrait
être perçu comme un artefact... Un objet
rappelant quelque chose. Issu de la
démarcation des frontières entre deux
mondes, il témoigne du triomphe de la
démocracie, et de la recherche de la paix
civile qui nous rappelle en permanence
l'équilibre fragile et toujours à défendre
de nos sociétés modernes."

Study with CCMM as context: "L'installation
et la mise en valeur du segment du Mur dans
un endroit tel que la ruelle des
fortifications du Centre de commerce
mondial permettrait de mettre en parallèle
le thème de frontière séparant deux entités
urbaines, et le caractère symbolique de

vestiges de murs de fortifications. Lieu
où furent érigés les défenses de la ville
de Montréal jusqu'au premier quart du dix-
neuvième siècle, la ruelle des
fortifications en conserve encore les
traces non seulement dans la mise en valeur
des vestiges [sic], mais dans la
planification architecturale du complexe
centre de commerce."

"La présence d'un segment du Mur, qui bien
que porteur d'un message humanitaire plus
large, en ce lieu, ajouterait un élément
didactique intéressant et cohérent avec la
vocation d'une institution montréalaise à
caractère 'mondial'. La cohabitation de ces
témoins de provenances et d'époques
différentes jusqu'à nos jours sur ce
parcours historique emprunté
quotidiennement par un grand nombre de
citoyens montréalais, touristes et gens
d'affaires, ne pourrait que rehausser son
intérêt et son prestige."

Call for submissions for display of
fragment in CCMM; the document mentions:
"Le segment du Mur ne sera pas traité comme
objet d'art à caractère muséologique, mais
plutôt comme artefact urbain témoin de
civilisation. Il fera l'objet de
surveillance par le CCMM, et le traitement
de conservation qui lui a été prodigué
permet au public de toucher toutes ses
surfaces, et de se déplacer tout autour.";
GID Designs wins the competition

17 March 1994: Consul Schmidt is notified of CCMM site

18 March 1994: CIDEC hires a researcher to undertake an
in-depth study of the Berlin Wall and to
prepare an interpretational programme for
the CCMM site; researcher's interpretation
philosophy should consider the following:
historical and socio-political context
(past and present), status of fragment as
a commemorative object, link with city of
Montreal, link with its "microlocalisation"
on Fortification Lane and in the CCMM

13 April 1994: Document states that the City has clear
title of the fragment and that this object
is not an art work; this implies that there

are no authorial rights related to its
property status; as part of the city's
public art collection, the fragment must be
made accessible to the public

Media attention requires that segment be
installed in the briefest delay

14 April 1994: Consul Schmidt congratulates Mayor Doré
for the CCMM choice and its
international character

9 June 1994: Researcher's report: section titled
"l'Esprit du Mur," mentions the
technicalities of his captioning
philosophy: "Après de nombreuses
discussions et entrevues, j'en suis venu à
la conclusion qu'il fallait à tout prix
éviter les rapprochements trop étroits
entre Berlin et Montréal. Rien de
particulier n'unit ces deux villes, sauf
peut-être qu'il s'agit de deux villes
divisées sur elles-mêmes, en déclin (par
rapport à une grandeur passée) et
relativement isolées de leur hinterland
géo-politique. Tout rapprochement trop
étroit avec Berlin ne pourra que raviver de
vieilles plaies. Il s'en trouvera
certainement plusieurs pour rappeler
qu'à Montréal, il existe encore des
interidts, sur le plan linguistique entre
autres."

Interpretation is to privilege: 1) the
responsibility of receiving the artefact
and the admonition to not forget the value
of freedom; 2) the link with the site which
develops the theme of Montreal and Berlin,
two open (free) cities

19 August 1994: Protocol/contract between City and CCMM

30 September 1994: Official unveiling; press communique
mentions: "Le Centre de commerce mondial se
veut un symbole de l'ouverture de Montréal
sur le monde, un vivant reflet des
relations harmonieuses que nous
entretenons avec nos nombreux partenaires
du monde entier" (according to Mayor Doré);
dignitaries at the ceremony include German
Ambassador Sulimma, Mayor Doré and Director
of the Société de promotion du CCMM Paquin

Interpretation Panels Used for Wall Fragment Display:

Le Mur de Berlin à Montréal
En 1992, Montréal a célébré le 350e anniversaire de sa fondation. À cette occasion, les autorités berlinoises offraient à la Ville de Montréal ce fragment du Mur de Berlin, témoin du passé douloureux d'une ville qui, pendant trop longtemps, a été le symbole de la division.
Ville d'exploration, ville française en terre d'Amérique, ville de rencontre et d'interpénétration des cultures, Montréal a maintenant elle aussi la responsabilité de se rappeler et de témoigner combien la liberté est un bien précieux et fragile.
Montréal n'a pas un tel mur, mais elle a eu ses fortifications. Construites de 1714 à 1741, elles furent finalement démolies aux environs de 1801. On en trouve encore des vestiges sur le Champs-de-Mars, derrière l'hôtel de ville. Long d'approximativement 2,5 kilomètres, son parcours aurait divisé en deux le Centre de commerce mondial.
Lieu de passage et lieu d'ouverture sur le monde, la Ville de Montréal est fière de s'associer au Centre de commerce mondial pour acceuillir ce témoin du retour de Berlin dans la communauté des villes libres.

Le Segment de Montréal
Érigé dans la nuit du 12 août 1961 sur l'ordre des autorités de la République démocratique allemande, le Mur séparait les trois zones occidentales de Berlin de la zone allors sous administration est-allemande.
Dans sa partie urbaine, le Mur avait plus de 170 kilomètres de long. Il était protégé par 231 postes d'observation et 132 bunkers fortifiés. Il était patrouillé en permanence par des gardes armés, ayant l'ordre de tirer sur toute personne qui tenterait de le franchir. Une route de ceinture et des fils d'avertissement, enfouis sous la surface, permettaient aux gardes d'intervenir au moindre geste suspect.
Le Mur ne s'est pas construit en une seul nuit. Dans sa première version, il s'agissait tout simplement de fils barbelés, étendus le long de la ligne de démarcation. Très rapidement, on passa à une construction plus solide composée d'une enfilade de blocs de béton entrecoupés de clôture métalliques.
A la fin des années 60, le Mur donnait des signes d'affaissement et de dégradation. On a donc entrepris d'en réaliser une troisième version, utilisant cette fois des panneaux de béton précontraint, ancrés solidement au sol par de longues tiges de métal rendant ainsi impossible sa traversée par voie de tunnels. C'est à ce momement que l'on a remplacé les fils barbelés, placés au sommet du Mur, par un cylindre qui empêchait quiconque de le franchir en s'agrippant aux fils. En 1976, on a renforcé de nouveau le Mur, tout en multipliant les pièges et les obstacles pour le protéger.

Le segment de Mur exposé à Montréal fait partie de la quatrième génération du Mur de Berlin

Ce panneau autoportant est renforcé de tiges métalliques soudées les unes aux autres. Le support, intégré à la base du Mur, permettait de le positionner très près de la ligne de démarcation, sans avoir à construire une structure pour l'empêcher de basculer.

Avant d'effectuer des travaux de réparation, des millitaires, rattachés aux services de génie de l'armée, devaient cependant construire une clôture temporaire afin de s'assurer que les ouvriers, affectés à la réfection du Mur, ne profitent de l'occasion pour passer à l'Ouest.

En uniformisant à un mètre la largeur de toutes les sections du Mur, les autorités est-allemands espéraient non seulement en réduire les coûts de construction, mais aussi faciliter et accélérer les réparations éventuelles. Pour des raisons esthétiques, les autorités ont pris grand soin de donner au Mur une texture lisse, comportant le moins de joints possibles. Cette surface lisse fera rapidement la joie des dessinateurs de graffiti. Situé près de la Porte Brandebourg, le segment montréalais du Mur n'était pas coiffé à l'origine de l'arrondi que l'on voit habituellement sur les photos.

Les Graffiti

A la fin des années 60, les étudiants berlinois ont réalisé que le Mur constituait un merveilleux tableau d'affichage pour les messages à saveur révolutionnaire. Le Mur s'est donc couvert de slogans anti-impérialistes et parfois même anti-américains, ce qui n'a pas manqué de soulever l'ire de la population ouest-allemande.

Dans les années 70, les premiers graffiti ont fait leur apparition. La transformation du Mur en une surface lisse et continue y a contribué. Au début, les "peintres" se sont contentés d'une simple signature. Plus tard, certaines "fresques" ont atteint jusqu'à 100 mètres de long.

Bon nombre de thèmes font directement référence au Mur et à la symbolique de l'emprisonnement. Ainsi on ne compte plus le nombre de "fermetures éclair", de fissures, de portes et de fenêtres peintes sur le Mur, comme pour mettre perpétuellement son existence en question.

La Fin du Mur

Dans la soirée du 9 Novembre, un porte-parole des autorités est-allemandes a lu à la presse internationale une note de service.

On y apprenait que le nouveau gouvernement de la République démocratique allemande avait décidé d'abolir le visa nécessaire aux Allemands de l'Est pour se rendre à l'étranger.

En moins de quelques minutes, des milliers de Berlinois de l'est affluaient aux points de passage du Mur, demandant l'autorisation de se rendre à l'Ouest. Devant l'ampleur et

l'apparente légalité du mouvement, les gardes-frontières ont été dans l'obligation de laisser passer ces milliers de visiteurs d'un soir.

Afin de faciliter les nombreux aller-retour de Berlinois curieux de vérifier s'ils pouvaient effectivement passer librement d'une zone à l'autre, les autorités est-allemandes ont entrepris dès le lendemain d'élargir les points de passage désignés, en enlevant des sections entières du Mur.

L'oeuvre de démolition avait commencé. Dès le 11 novembre, on avait rétabli les premiers circuits d'autobus entre les deux zones. Quelque mois plus tard, le Mur avait presque complètement disparu.

Les Principales Dates (1961-1990, list of 10 key dates)

78 Morts (1961-1989, lists the dates and names of 78 people who died while attempting to overcome the Wall)

Plaque Installed on the Base of the Fragment:

Poem by Fritz Grasshof: Berlin Wall, 1961-1989
This section of the wall is a blade of a knife that sliced a heart in two.
This fragment of rock is the remains of a dungeon whose walls life tore asunder
This piece of debris is a triumph over terror and tyranny
This piece of concrete bears a message: The freedom of a people cannot be divided
With this donation, Berlin salutes the City of Montreal on the occasion of its 350th anniversary in the year 1992

SOURCES:

All information for Appendix III can be found in Montreal newspapers and file #C920022 (Mur de Berlin) in the archives of the Service de le culture.
Thibodeau, Hélène. Agente de développement culturel, Service de la culture, Montreal. Interviews, Oct 1995, May 1996.

APPENDIX IV

THE OTTAWA FRAGMENT
CHRONOLOGY AND DISPLAY CONTEXTS

Dimensions: Same dimensions as Montreal fragment with the exception of the base which was shortened to approx. 70cm; Graffiti: depicts an open Brandenberg Gate and also depicts the word Bärlin - these somewhat convenient symbols raise the question of the "authenticity" of the graffiti

Site: Wellington street lobby of the Canadian Government Conference Centre, Ottawa

13 February 1990: Government Conference Centre hosts "Open Skies" Conference involving the FRG, GDR, U.K., U.S., Soviet Union, France and Canada; this conference led to the "Two-Plus-Four" talks which led to German unification

3 October 1990: Official date of German unification

June 1991: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney invites German Foreign Minister Genscher to visit Ottawa to unveil a "Two-Plus-Four" commemorative plaque

8 August 1991: National Capital Commission does not favour attaching the "Two-Plus-Four" plaque to the walls of the Conference Centre since, according to protocol, they are reserved for domestic achievements - the Conference Centre remains an iconic site of the failure of Meech Lake; placing a plaque on a base removed from the wall is an alternative

German embassy proposes cutting a fragment of the Berlin Wall and use this as a base for the plaque; Prime Minister's Office agrees to this idea; NCC has misgivings about the aesthetic value of using a piece of the Wall as a base

9 August 1991: Pressure is put on the NCC to reconsider the Wall's symbolic value

12 August 1991: External Affairs meets with NCC

14 August 1991: Berlin Wall fragment is approved, but concern about vandalism and conservation requires an indoor site

22 August 1991: Shoreline Graphics hired for plaque construction and installation; Lester B. Pearson building is considered a possible site for the commemoration ceremony and installation

"We need to advise the German Embassy here, as soon as possible, of the dimensions of the piece of the 'wall' required, so that they can arrange its delivery before 27 September. In this connection, it is important to note that the Germans themselves envisage a piece suitable for mounting the plaque(s) and not a 'monolith' for museum purposes."

Interpretation: "Image: simple, elegant, permanent; historic significance; V.I.P. involvement in commemoration unveiling; high media interest; Unity: Canada's international role; harmony and peace among nations"

28 August 1991: "Senior management of this department have since been attracted to the idea of locating the commemoration within the Pearson Building. We know that the Germans themselves feel honoured by the present proposal and now prefer it, as they view the agreement to launch the 'Two-plus-Four' process as a major diplomatic achievement in which Canada played a significant part. (They did not, for instance, favour putting the commemoration in a museum, eg. the Museum of Civilization."

30 August 1991: Shoreline Graphics: Design Parameters, Approach: "We have been asked to use a piece of the Wall as the dominant element of this monument. As a symbol of what this commemoration represents there is no stronger image or element than the wall itself. We have also been asked to keep the design simple and uncluttered. We are again, in strong concurrence with this direction. The wall should stand alone as a powerful symbol. The monument is to be housed against a large wall in a hallway of

the lobby of External Affairs [Pearson Building]."

"The wall should be presented in its original form. To present a portion of it would diminish its impact."

"The walls between the East and West are crumbling both figuratively and literally. The symbolism of a deteriorating wall littered with graffiti captures these feelings. The disintegration of barriers between countries should be highlighted. We would therefore recommend 'working' the wall to make it appear as if it is deteriorating complete with exposed reinforcing bars, chipped cap and even a hole through the wall. The hole would have a symbolism of its own representing the initial break in the wall which ultimately led to the entire wall coming down. We would also add appropriate (non-specific) graffiti to the wall where appropriate."

16 September 1991: P.M. Mulroney orders that the plaques and Wall fragment be located in Conference Centre

27 September 1991: Unveiling ceremony of plaques; mock ups of brass plaques are prepared; dignitaries include P.M. and German Foreign Minister Genscher; Wall fragment is to be located in Conference Centre

Statements by Mulroney at unveiling press scrum: "The plaques before you today will be permanently installed in the Conference Centre to commemorate the remarkable event that took place here in Ottawa. I want to take this opportunity to thank the German government for their gift of the original section of the Berlin Wall as part of this commemoration, a striking symbol of a people, a country, and indeed, a continent, once divided."

"La révolution en cours en Europe centrale et en Europe centrale et en Europe de l'Est ne peut plus faire marche arrière."

"The interethnic violence, which has erupted, for example, in Yugoslavia, in

particular, is a sad reminder of the permanent challenge that such conflicts represent for all of us. We must build upon our achievements together to bring about a durable peace. Transatlantic ties are essential for meeting this common challenge. Thanks, in large part, to Mr. Genscher, the Transatlantic Declaration of Cooperation, which I had the honour to sign with the European Community last fall, in Rome, establishes new and historic political bonds between our two continents. These bonds have been reinforced through our joint efforts in the Gulf War, our partnership at the UN, within NATO and the G-7 and the CFCE, and more recently, through the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These institutions are vital to the peace, prosperity and stability of Europe and the World."

Statement by Genscher: "The unification of Germany in free self-determination, in peace, and in freedom, and in harmony with all her neighbours marks the end of the cold war... Our task today is to create a new and lasting peaceful order in Europe."

22 November 1991: German Embassy raises concerns about delay in Berlin Wall installation

19 March 1992: News media report on delay in installing fragment

26 March 1992: Berlin Wall fragment is installed in Conference Centre

Interpretation/plaque:

On 13 February, 1990, during the Ottawa "Open Skies" Conference, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to launch their historic "Two-plus-Four" talks on German unity. Thus began a process culminating in the peaceful unification of Germany on 3 October, 1990. The Ottawa agreement symbolizes Canada's strong and abiding commitment to harmony among nations.

This plaque is mounted on a piece of the Berlin Wall, which once divided Germany, yet yielded to the hope of achieving a Europe united in peace, prosperity and freedom.

Inaugurated on 27 September, 1991, by the Foreign Minister and Deputy Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at the invitation of the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada.

[Plaque is in English, German, French and Russian]

SOURCES:

All information for Appendix IV can be found in Ottawa newspapers. The many government departments involved in the Ottawa case make it difficult to attribute to any one department the responsibility of installing the segment. Information for this process was made available through two Access to Information and Privacy Requests: Public Works and Government Services Canada, file #ATI960183/RM, as well as Foreign Affairs and International Trade, file #A-3313.

Thompson, Paul, Officer at External Affairs and International Trade Canada, Ottawa. Interview, Fall 1996.

Coady, Bob, Shoreline Graphics, Ottawa. Interview, Fall 1996.

APPENDIX V

"NO MAN'S LAND"
A TEMPORARY SITE SPECIFIC SOUND
PROJECTION TO ACCOMPANY THE DISPLAY OF THE BERLIN
WALL LOCATED IN THE 'RUELLE DES FORTIFICATIONS' IN
THE 'CENTRE DE COMMERCE MONDIAL DE MONTRÉAL'

A project by Marc J. Léger
Voice recording: Lysanne Thibodeau and Marc Léger

John Borneman, <u>After the Wall</u>
"The East displayed a consistent colonization of public space... while private space was left a free zone for dreaming."

Ken Smith, <u>Coming in from the Cold</u>
"For West Berliners the Wall became a bore, a cliche. The Wall and the enclosure of the city became normality."

Mary Beth Stein, "The Politics of Humor..."
"In East Berlin the distance between normative spheres is great... The 'other' Berlin is taboo, often attainable only through the media or occasional visitors from the West... In West Berlin... the 'other' Berlin is not taboo; the Wall is permeable, surmountable. West Berliners move through normative spheres with relative ease; the crossing of the border has become a routinized and relatively efficient experience. This situation has made for a relative pluralization of norms... The decline in the political joke culture in the West is integrally related to this pluralization of norms..."

Elaine Scarry, "Arbeit Medallion"
"Behind the actual wall – as one could see by climbing the fifteen steps of the watch tower nearby – there was no bright field of blue filled with luminous [graffiti] people waiving, only the empty horizontal expanse of brownish-pink dirt and the white concrete of the second wall in the two-layer construction surrounding West Berlin. But for a moment, back on the ground in front of the [graffiti] Arbeit Medallion, the space behind the curtain had become open, blue, full and alive... The Arbeit Medallion now appears a precocious anticipation of the November 1989 revolution (open, blue, full and alive) when the working population – not the intellectuals, artists or civic leaders – became the agents of radical transformation, through pacific levitations practiced in the streets in Leipzig, at the exit gates of Czechoslovakia and atop the disappearing wall itself. The prophetic Arbeit [graffiti] siblings lift the wall with their mimesis of aliveness, then go on to reveal how the magic trick is done. They seek not only to animate but to make the act of animation imitable."

Christa Wolf, <u>The Author's Dimension</u>
"I do have the impression that in the West many of the media
are now expressing the attitude of victory, saying: 'we have
been right all along.' I think they can use this as a mantle
to hide their own problems. That isn't useful, either to them
or to us."

Julie Boivin, "Le Mur de Berlin: Analyse de la signification"
"A l'accès à l'information et à la liberté d'expression
s'enchaîne une réforme et une restructuration des deux états
de l'Est et de l'Ouest. La perméation du Mur, pour
paraphraser les propos de Madamme Christa Wolf (écrivaine
Berlinoise réputée), n'est seulement que l'événement visuel le
plus dramatique d'un processus de réforme. Cette
structuration est actuellement réalisée au travers
d'organisations professionnelles et travaillistes, ainsi que
par les institutions impliquées directement dans la vie
quotidienne. Le processus de restructuration doit s'effectuer
par un changement de la culture de la vie quotidienne et
l'enjeu au centre du changement politique est celui de la
revitalisation du langage (en référence aux deux types de
langage développés à Berlin Est en raison de la répression
politique): **le langage privé et le langage public.**
...Le langage visible d'une de ses faces [du Mur], à l'Ouest,
celui du graffiti, et à l'Est, le langage abstrait dont
Christa Wolf fait mention: le langage qui devra être
revitalisé, le langage public et le langage privé.
...La thématique d'intégration du Mur de Berlin dans un espace
Montréalais, pourrait être celle d'envisager son existence
dans un lieu où l'on peut réaliser un revitalisation du
langage public, et du langage privé, un lieu de
restructuration où ces changements font partie de la vie
quotidienne."

Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History"
"Every image of the past that is not recognized by the present
as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear
irretrievably."

The proposed sound projection emerges from a pre-existing

situation and a theoretical and historical examination of the

display context of a Berlin Wall fragment which was installed

by Montreal's 'Service de la culture' in 1994 in the public

arcade of the 'Centre de commerce mondial de Montréal.' As

the above excerpts demonstrate, the concept for the projection

derives from conditions that while not simply there to be found, were made possible by the material circumstances of the Wall display as well as by archival and academic information.

To read Elaine Scarry's essay across the grain, I would add the simple fact that the Arbeit Medallion - a graffiti project by the artist Thierry Noir which covered an expanse of the Wall in the Kreuzberg section of West Berlin - was not visible from the East and could have little to do with East Berliners' mass emigration through Western embassies and foreign borders. Despite her mention of the agency of the German people, Scarry's text is exemplary of a tendentious idealization of the forces of History and a concomitant view that the Berlin Wall fell (or "levitated") of its own oppressive weight. This in general affects my understanding of the numerous Berlin Wall segment-cum-monuments that have been dispersed throughout the world in the months following the final detente of the Cold War and the official dismantling of the Stalinist regimes of the former Soviet countries.

In the case of the Montreal display, a section from one of the flanking information panels mentions the events of May 2, October 9 and November 4, 1989: important dates of passage to the West and of mass demonstrations in Leipzig and East Berlin. Despite this mention, the material fact of the Wall fragment preserves only the Western side of a much more complex defense system. Obviously the artefact functions metonymically with regard to a history, a place, and more

technically, a defense system. But what is left when such a fragment is used in this way?

In an article on humour in the context of Berlin in the 1980s and before the fall of the Wall, Mary Beth Stein describes how the two cultures had different ways of negotiating the reality of the border. In the West, graffiti was the most visible and notable public as well as private discourse on the Wall. The graffiti-sprayed Wall was in fact well integrated into the local tourist economy. In East Berlin, humorous response to the Wall conformed to the division between private and public language. Jokes about the Wall, as forms of political resistance, were told in private. (Some jokes were also introduced into the culture by the State apparatus and although humorous, had the intended effect of maintaining ideological positions.)

Monuments are expected to bear silent witness to past events. Recent studies on memory and representation, however, show that the past is reworked through the act of memory and through our own representations of that past. In contrast to the silence of the Berlin Wall monument, and the belief that the past should be laid to rest, this project proposes active remembering and the non-fixity of representation.

In dialogue with the visual and graffiti-sprayed facade of the Berlin Wall fragment, I suggest a sound display emanating from behind the segment and making visible the silence that

the white back section of the Wall produces. Behind the Wall display (positioned in such a way as to privilege its Western face) there are benches and potted plants and a few feet from these, the falling underside of an escalator. This back section is somewhat private and restful, used most often by the workers of the CCMM during their breaks, but also by locals cutting through the 'ruelle' and by tourists who may be staying at the Inter-Continental Hotel which opens directly onto the section of the lane where the Wall segment is placed.

With respect to the rationale that produced the display in a museological manner as a recontextualized artefact, East German jokes, emanating from two speakers beneath the nearby passage ramp (behind the Wall fragment), could also be thought of as fragments of the past, taken out of their original context and recontextualized in tandem with the monumental Wall fragment. The content of the jokes read in German and in French bring to memory the broader project of socialist reform and the role played by millions of East Germans in the dismantling of the Wall. In short, the proposed project seeks to recall November 9, the date of the dismantling of the Wall, by remembering the role played by both cultures in the resistance to authoritarian forms of governance, graffiti from the West and jokes from the East. The sound projection is to be kept at a very low level, respecting the intimacy of this particular corner, the solemnity of the memorial, and also recalling the secrecy of the private language which nourished

such forms of political and spiritual resistance.

It is understood that the reception of the jokes will vary considerably from listener to listener. This has as much to do with the North American context as with the relative humorousness of the jokes themselves. As well, these cultural fragments are narrated in a factual tone and were recorded in a studio space which produces what sound technicians call "dead space." This inflection respects the display strategy of the Wall fragment and allows for the most breadth of interpretation considering the limits of the monumental form. Without question, these jokes are about a terrible subject. Beyond political ambivalence and simply in terms of human drama, it is unclear whether one should and even could laugh at these jokes. Like the two-tonne pre-cast cement slab, these subtle artefacts preserve the import and the momentousness of a distant event/place. The proposed projection also distracts the monuments' obligation to provide fixed knowledge and information. It invites viewer/listeners simply to consider the evidence and perhaps for those already familiar with the display, to reformulate, remember, revisit and rework their experience and understanding of the ostensible subject at hand.

Possible dates for the work could be between October 3, the official date of German unification and the date Berlin became the capital of Germany, and November 9, the date of free passage between East and West Berlin.

JOKE PROGRAMME

Jokes in German and English are taken from Stein's Article.
French translations by Marc Léger.

1)

Warum ist die Berliner Mauer, als Schutz des Sozialismus, überflussig?
Ohne die Mauer würde sich kein Mensch entschliessen, nach West-Berlin zu flüchten.

Why was it foolish to build the Wall in order to protect socialism?
If it weren't for the Wall no one would want to escape to the West.

Pourquoi était-ce insensé de construire le Mur pour protéger le socialisme?
Si ce n'était pour le Mur, personne ne voudrait fuir vers l'Ouest.

2)

Ein Amerikaner kommt nach Berlin, geht zum Taxi-Fahrer hin, und sagt "Können Sie mich durch Berlin fahren?"
"Klar, kann ick det."
Fahren sie los, er zeigt ihn Alexanderplatz, Prenzlau, zeigt ihn Weissensee, zeigt ihn alle Seheswerte, und der Ami dann, "Ich habe eine Frage, wo ist hier 'anti-faschistische Schutzwall'?"
"Wat? Kenn ick nicht."
"Nu, hier sprechen 'anti-faschistische Schutzwall'."
"Weess ick nicht, tut mir Leid."
Zeigt ihn weiter Berlin, und dann immer mal wieder "Wo ist hier 'anti-faschistische Schutzwall'?"
Endlich kommen sie zufällig an der Mauer vorbei, und der Ami springt - und schreit, "Anhalten, anhalten. Stop, stop, stop!"
Springt aus'm Auto, "Hier ist 'anti-fascistische Schutzwall'!"
"Wat is det? He, det ist der Autobahn Berlin-Rostock, der hängt hier zum trocknen."

An american comes to (East) Berlin, goes to a taxi driver and says "Can you drive me through Berlin?"
"Sure, I can."
They drive around, he shows him Alexanderplatz, Prenzlau, shows him Weissensee, shows him all the things worth seeing. Then the American says, "I have a question. Where is the 'anti-fascist protection wall'?"
"What? Don't know it?"
"Uh, here (they) say 'anti-fascist protection wall'."
"Don't know it, sorry."
The driver shows him some more of Berlin, and then always, "But where is the anti-fascist protection wall'?"
Finally they drive past the Wall, and the American jumps - he cries out, "Halt, halt. Stop, stop, stop!" Jumps from the car, "Here is the 'anti-fascist protection wall'!"
"Huh, what's that? Hey, that's the Berlin-Rostock highway hanging up to dry."

Un Américain arrive à Berlin Est, se dirige vers un taxi et demande au chauffeur: "Pouvez-vous me promener en voiture dans Berlin?"
"Oui, certainement."
Ils se promènent, le conducteur lui montre Alexanderplatz, Prenzlau et Weissensee, il lui montre tout ce qui vaut la peine d'être vu. Ensuite l'Américain dit, "J'ai une question. Où se trouve le 'mur de protection anti-fasciste'?"
"Quoi, je ne le connais pas."
"Eh, ne dit-on pas le 'mur de protection anti-fasciste,' ici?
"Je regrette, je ne le connais pas."
Le conducteur le promène encore dans Berlin, et toujours il insiste, "Mais où donc est le 'mur de protection anti-fasciste?"
Finalement, ils passent devant le mur, l'Américain sur-saute et s'exclame, "Arrêtez, arrêtez." Il descends de l'auto. "Le voici le 'mur de protection anti-fasciste'!"
"Qui y a-t-il? Ah ça, ça c'est l'autoroute Berlin-Rostock qui sèche au vent."

3)

Warum gibt es keinen Smog-Alarm in Ost-Berlin, wenn es einen in West-Berlin gibt?
Unsere Grenzen sind dicht.

Why is there no smog alarm in East-Berlin when there is in West-Berlin?
Our borders are tight.

Pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas d'alarme contre la pollution atmosphérique à Berlin Est tandis qu'il y en a à Berlin Ouest?
Nos frontières sont hermétiques.

4)

Wer ist im Renten-Alter und darf trotzdem nicht bach Berlin-West?
Die Berliner U-bahn.

Who is retired and nonetheless is not allowed to travel to West Berlin?
The East Berlin subway.

Qui est à la retraite mais n'a toutefois pas le droit de voyager à l'Ouest?
Le métro de Berlin Est.

5)

Warum sind die Ost-Berliner blöder als die Ost Friesen?
Sie haben sich eine Mauer gebaut und sich auf die falsche Seite gestellt.

Why are the East Berliners dumber than the East Friesans?
They built a wall but placed themselves on the wrong side.

Pourquoi les Berlinois de l'Est sont-ils moins intelligents que ceux de l'Ouest?
Parce qu'ils ont construit un mur et se sont placés du mauvais côté.

6)

Ulbricht ist im Restaurant. Da die Kellnerin, die ihm bediente, hübsch war, sagte er ihr, sie dürfe sich etwas wünschen. Sie überlegt und sagt, sie wünscht sich, dass er dir Mauer einen Tag aufmacht. Geschmeichelt, blinzelt er ihr zu und sagt, "Sie sind schlau! Sie wollen nur mit mir alleine seine!"

Walter Ulbricht was eating in a restaurant. Because the waitress who served him was very pretty, he said he would grant her one wish. She thought for a minute and said she wanted him to open the wall for one day. Ulbricht winked and said, "You're a clever one. You just want to be alone with me!"

Walter Ulbricht se trouvait un jour dans un restaurant. Puisque la serveuse était très jolie, il lui dit qu'il lui accorderait un souhait. Elle réfléchit un instant et dit qu'elle souhaiterait qu'il ouvre le Mur pour une journée. Ulbricht lui fait un clin d'oeil et répond, "Vous êtes ingénieuse. Vous voulez, en fait, être seule avec moi!"

7)

Wo ist beim guten Grenzsoldat der Warnschuss?
Im zweiten Magazin ganz hinten.

When does a good border guard fire the warning shot?
At the end of the second clip of ammunition.

A quel moment un bon garde de frontières tire-t-il le coup
d'avertissement? (coup de semonce)
A la fin d'une seconde charge de balles.

8)

Ein Ost-Berliner Grenzpolizist entdeckt einen Mann, der über
die Mauer flüchten will. "Komm 'runter, Genosse," sagt er.
"Das ist verboten.
Der Mann auf der Mauer ignoriert ihn und klettert weiter.
"Komm 'runter, Genosse," wiederholt der Grenzer. "Das ist ein
Verbrechen gegen die Deutsche Demokratische Republik."
Der Mann versucht immer noch über die Mauer zu entkommen.
Endlich sagt der Grenzer, "Komm 'runter, Genosse. Du weisst,
auf der anderen Seite ist auch der Sozalismus."
Ganz entmutigt klettert er 'runter.
Der Grepo ist verblüfft über seine plötzliche Wendung und
fragt, "Dreimal habe ich Dir befohlen 'runterzukommen. Warum
bist Du erst 'runter gekommen als ich sagte im Westen ist auch
der Sozialismus?"
Der Mann antwortete, "So ein Wirrwarr möchte ich nicht ein
zweites Mal erleben!"

An East Berlin border guard comes upon a man climbing over the
Wall. "Come down, comrade," he says, "That is verboten."
The man on the Wall ignores him and continues to climb.
"Come down, comrade," the border guard insists, "That is a
crime against the German Democratic Republic."
The man continues to struggle over the top.
Finally the border guard says, "Come down, comrade. You know
there is socialism on the other side of the Wall as well."
Upon hearing this, the man climbs down with a disheartened
look.
The border guard is puzzled by his sudden change of mind and
asks, "Three times I ordered you to come down. Why did you
finally obey when I said socialism was in the West too?"
The man replied, "Such a mess I don't want to experience twice
in my life!"

Un garde de frontières de Berlin Est surprend un homme en train de grimper le Mur.
"Descendez camarade," lui dit-il. "C'est interdit."
L'homme ignore le garde et continue son escalade.
"Descendez camarade," insiste le garde, "C'est un crime contre la République Démocratique de l'Allemagne."
L'homme essaye toujours de franchir le Mur.
Finalement, le gade lui dit, "Descendez camarade. Vous savez, le socialisme existe de l'autre côté du Mur."
Sur ce, l'homme descends, l'aire découragé.
Le garde de frontières, surpris de le voir changer d'idée soudainement, lui demande, "Trois fois je vous ai ordonné de descendre. Pourquoi avez vous finalement obéis lorsque j'ai dit que le socialisme existait aussi de l'autre côté du Mur?
L'homme répond: "Je ne veux pas connaître un tel désordre deux fois dans ma vie!"

9)

Tausche komfortables, luxuriöses Einfamilienhaus gegen Loch in der Mauer.

Swap comfortable, luxurious single-family house for hole in the Wall.

A échanger: un domicile comfortable et luxueux pour un trou dans le Mur.