

VERA LIST CENTER
FOR ART AND POLITICS
THE NEW SCHOOL

Considering Forgiveness

Edited by
Aleksandra Wagner
with
Carin Kuoni

The first in a series of books expanding on the Vera List Center's annual cycle of public programs, this volume is published in conjunction with the theme "Considering Forgiveness."

© 2009 Vera List Center for Art and Politics
Vera List Center for Art and Politics
The New School
66 West 12th Street, Room 918
New York, NY 10011
www.newschool.edu/vlc

**THE VERA LIST CENTER
FOR ART AND POLITICS
THE NEW SCHOOL**

Julia Kristeva's text has been excerpted and adapted from the essay "La haine et le pardon, ou De l'abjection à la paranoïa." In *La haine et le pardon. Pouvoirs et limites de la psychanalyse III*. Paris: Fayard, 2005, pp. 357–73. The book is forthcoming as *Hatred and Forgiveness* (New York: Columbia University Press). Translated from the French by Jeanine Herman. © 2008 Columbia University Press. Adapted and reprinted by permission.

Mark Godfrey's text is based on a chapter of the same title that appeared in his book *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). © 2007 Yale University Press. Adapted and reprinted by permission.

For photography credits, please refer to p. 258.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or otherwise transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or otherwise, without written permission from the publisher.

Catalogue-in-publication data
Wagner, Aleksandra (1959–)
Considering Forgiveness / Aleksandra Wagner with Carin Kuoni
p. cm.
Includes bibliography and index
ISBN 978-0-9821745-0-0

I. art 2. architecture 3. human rights 4. psychoanalysis 5. sociology
I. Vera List Center for Art and Politics. II. Title.
Text editor: Stephen Hoban
Copy editor: Nora Fussner
Designers: Jonathan Correira, Zan Goodman, and
Ben Wiseman with Paul Carlos (Pure+Applied)
Printed on acid-free paper in Croatia.

Distributed worldwide by D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers
155 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10003

The publication of this book was made possible in part through the generous support of the A.G. Foundation, James-Keith Brown and Eric Diefenbach, the Peter Norton Family Foundation, and the Institute for Retired Professionals at The New School.

ENDPAPERS: Andrea Geyer. "I beg your pardon," or the Reestablishing of Cordial Relations, 2008, collage.

COVER: Bartolomeo Manfredi, Italian, 1582–1622, *Cupid Chastised* (detail), 1613, oil on canvas, Charles H. and Mary F.S. Worcester Collection, 1947.58, The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago. Full image p. 238.

Considering Forgiveness

Edited by Aleksandra Wagner
with Carin Kuoni

Curatorial advisor: Matthew Buckingham

VERA LIST CENTER FOR ART AND POLITICS
THE NEW SCHOOL

	Endpapers
	<i>Andrea Geyer</i>
9	Foreword and Acknowledgments
	<i>Carin Kuoni</i>
13	Introduction: "I Was Born in an Unforgiving Country."
	<i>Aleksandra Wagner</i>
16	Thematic Apperception Test #22: Gay Power
	<i>Sharon Hayes</i>
48	Hannah Arendt on Forgiveness
	<i>Elisabeth Young-Bruhl</i>
64	Texas 2008
	<i>Brian D. Price</i>
72	Dark Meat or White Meat?
	<i>Lin + Lam (Lana Lin and H. Lan Thao Lam)</i>
84	Times for Forgiveness: A Historical Perspective
	<i>Jeffrey K. Olick</i>
94	The Last Silent Movie
	<i>Susan Hiller</i>
110	Hatred and Forgiveness, or From Abjection to Paranoia
	<i>Julia Kristeva</i>
120	When Final Peace Was Not (So) Final
	<i>Rene Gabri</i>
132	Reconciling the Odds
	<i>Jane Taylor</i>
140	Living Together Again, in Rwanda
	<i>Anne Aghion</i>
150	The Casting
	<i>Omer Fast</i>
174	Forgiveness for the Land
	<i>Mierle Laderman Ukeles</i>
182	An Everyday Judgment of Eternity
	<i>Ayreen Anastas</i>
198	Unhoming
	<i>Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti and Eyal Weizman</i>
210	Louis Kahn's <i>Memorial to the Six Million Jewish Martyrs</i>
	<i>Mark Godfrey</i>
228	Admissions
	<i>Gregg Bordowitz</i>
247	Considering Forgiveness: A Year of Public Programs
250	Bibliography and Filmography
258	Photography Credits
259	Contributors
263	Vera List Center for Art and Politics
264	Index

Foreword and Acknowledgments

Incomprehension and anger, on a personal as well as global level, provided the impetus for a series of public conversations at The New School on the subject of this book—forgiveness.

In response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States government had launched a military, legal, and political “War on Terror.” Rather than confront the conditions that foster terrorism, it invaded Afghanistan and pushed through the U.S. Patriot Act. A reinvigorated U.S. Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs followed up with a “War of Ideas,” and, in March 2003, America invaded Iraq. The war left the U.S. a deeply divided country and Iraq a battleground. And after showering goodwill on the States in the aftermath of 9/11, it is fair to say that the international community turned its back on the U.S.

How was the Vera List Center, founded to investigate the intersection of art and politics, going to speak to that moment, in the year 2005–06? Forgiveness, the antithesis to revenge, provided the unexpected, open lens through which wars past and present, conflicts personal and public, and the immediacy of traumas and their aftermaths could be considered in panel discussions, lectures, and public conversations. Gathered under that thematic umbrella, our project became at once reactive to the “histories of the present” and speculative, aiming to further understanding.

This book, *Considering Forgiveness*, developed from these dialogues. It is itself an investigation of forgiveness, proposing it as the most elemental form of discourse: addressing the other.

Each contribution in the book has a different moment of origin. Some developed from the public programs at The New School, while others were solicited since. Each categorically declines to either grant or ask for forgiveness. And yet, *Considering Forgiveness* suggests that at moments of deep upheaval and paralyzing discord the very notion of forgiveness can be generative. Forgiveness emerges within these pages not as an agenda offering closure, but as a strategy and a form of awareness, a legal, sociological, psychological, anthropological, theological, and ethical concept that in its most basic form demands engagement. It becomes useful when attempting to identify a common ground, particularly in communities that are utterly polarized. What strategies facilitate and sustain an encounter between opposing factions? What are the specifics of each situation, and how can one local paradigm become relevant to another? What institutional or political construct can accommodate the ethics of individuals?

Eighteen contributors shaped this book and reflect on forgiveness in their fields, among them sociology, film and media, pedagogy, psychoanalysis, fine arts, architecture, human rights, and environmental activism. One is artist-in-residence at New York’s Department of Sanitation. And each voice renders, directly or less so, that field’s goals and ambitions, and its distinct mode of speech. Seen together, they mirror many contingencies and activate a web of complementary conditions.

Accordingly, *Considering Forgiveness* touches on a range of subjects, including land occupation and statehood; environmental stewardship—or the lack thereof—and land reclamation; the physical and media sites of political events and movements; tensions between state-sponsored memorialization and personal recollection; the Holocaust; Western law and alternative judicial approaches; the contemporary death penalty; and the sufferings of the contemporary body and the body politic. Such juxtapositions, not yet customary, reflect a world of increasingly intertwined political and cultural systems. In a parallel occurrence, traditional modes of information distribution and knowledge production have evolved; the carriers of meaning are as often images as they are words. Rather than remain within narrowly defined disciplines, individual practitioners cross over and contribute to visual culture. The book reflects such developments by offering equal space to visual and text-based contributions.

What emerges is an appreciation of physical and mental paradigms: body and land are most immediately the sites of violation and of redemption, and the individual is informed and scripted by customs, authority, and desire.

Over the last few years, the Vera List Center for Art and Politics has benefited from a growing number of sophisticated artistic strategies that address or incorporate the political. The center's public programs thrive on the live encounter of speakers from different backgrounds—artists and non-artists alike—with the public and the specific political moment. In this book, a different energy emerges when the inherent openness of the image is met by the precision of language. Here, the immediacy of the spoken word has yielded to a hybrid text in which language is as often an aesthetic dimension as it is a signifier.

Symptomatic of this quality is the collage by Andrea Geyer reproduced in the book's endpapers. It simultaneously encapsulates and reviews a two-day exhibition Geyer curated for the Vera List Center in late 2005, "*I beg your pardon,*" or *the Reestablishing of Cordial Relations*, and thus fittingly both spans the genesis of the book and brackets all other contributions. Like much of Geyer's work, these entry pages figure as the material manifestation of knowledge, constructed as they are from documents—installation views of the exhibition as well as original checklist entries—personal impressions and, through graphs and keywords, a subsequent critique of the show. As such, they subvert conventional notions of time and operate on a level of consciousness that simultaneously anticipates and assesses expectations. Throughout the book, the reader will encounter traces of Geyer's endpapers and discover the path that some of the artists developed from original exhibition piece (reproduced in Geyer's contribution) to printed book page.

The bibliography functions as a similarly constructed vessel. It is the knowledge of forgiveness as accumulated by all contributors, and as such is a personal marker as well as a fairly comprehensive statement of our times.

Two considered, precise voices called this book into existence. Matthew Buckingham was one of the artists who participated in the exhibition *I Beg Your Pardon* and, in turn, invited all the artists assembled in the book. I am most grateful to him, as I am to Andrea Geyer for the original show. Aleksandra Wagner was there initially with the class "A Sociology of Forgiveness" that she taught at The New School for General Studies. The

collaborative programs that ensued among teacher, students, and the center rendered palpable the potential of any class: to be the source of extended debate. If the book has the feel of an act that is both fueled by faith and by speculation—and we hope it does—it owes it to the labor in which solicitation was followed by encouragement, receipt by feedback, feedback by more feedback. We want this to be the foundation of all future Vera List Center books, and our deep gratitude lies with Aleksandra Wagner who conceived the first.

Many others helped the book along. If of anyone, I should ask the book's designer, Paul Carlos of Pure+Applied, to grant us some of the subject now being considered. Our delivery dates proved to be mercurial and yet, he and his outstanding students Jonathan Correia, Zan Goodman, and Ben Wiseman gave us a design that is beautiful and original, and sensitively links poem to photograph, journal entry to sketch, academic treatise to film still. In her generous way, Colleen Macklin, Chair of New Media, had introduced us to Paul Carlos, her colleague at Parsons The New School for Design.

I would also like to thank Maria Hooper, an exceptional collaborator who shepherded the project through its many stages and led the quests for illustrations, bibliographies, biographies, and everything else that makes up a complete book. Rebecca Koppelman, who had assisted on some of the forgiveness panels, readily lent a hand when we needed her. At Columbia University Press, Jennifer Crewe was most helpful in facilitating the inclusion of Julia Kristeva's text here. At Yale University Press, Gillian Malpass generously supported our wish to reprint an edited chapter of Mark Godfrey's book, *Abstraction and the Holocaust*.

Stephen Hoban is the masterful copy editor of the book, and both Aleksandra and I thank him for his care and thoughtfulness. Distributed Art Publishers (D.A.P.) made sure that the book reaches the reader, and I thank Sharon Gallagher for early words of support and final dissemination.

Small and nimble, the Vera List Center for Art and Politics is still part of a large body, the intricate and idealistic New School. I thank Linda Dunne, Dean of The New School and Francisco Tezén, Director of Development, for their exceptional support. The Institute for Retired Professionals at The New School, under the direction of Michael Markowitz, provided additional support. A truly outstanding advisory committee offers assistance and guidance for all of the center's programs, and did so again for this book. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the leadership of James-Keith Brown, chair of the committee, and the generous support of Frances Beatty Adler, Ronald Feldman, Mildred Friedman, Agnes Gund, Elizabeth Hilpman, and Peter Norton as well as the ad hoc book committee members Lisa Ivorian Jones, Norman Kleeblatt, Joshua Mack, and Sina Najafi. It is a joy to work with them.

The contributors to this book are outstanding intellectuals; they are also possessed by a sense of mission and responsibility—only this can explain their immense generosity. On behalf of The New School and the Vera List Center Advisory Committee, I would like to thank them deeply.

Friendships have been founded on this book, and love has grown. My personal gratitude goes to John G. H. Oakes.

Carin Kuoni

Director, Vera List Center for Art and Politics

Introduction: “I Was Born in an Unforgiving Country.”

In September of 2004 I met with twenty-five students of different ages in New York City. The occasion was the class “A Sociology of Forgiveness,” initiated by me and offered for the first time at The New School for General Studies. I was the instructor.

This class title—dangerous because it academically legitimizes a suspicious subject—is not usually found on undergraduate curricula in the United States, or elsewhere. Still, given the lack of conventionality that marks the School I have come to call mine, its presence in the catalogue did not strike me as extraordinary. I did question why I would want to engage (and invite others to do so) with a word weighed with multiple meanings fraught with difficulty; with a concept carrying limited legacy; with a term that has been kicked out of many glossaries, private and public, scientific and otherwise, yet that remains present as a residue, even when carefully transcribed; with a *structure of feeling* that has become so in vogue? Last, but not least, came a question our disciplinary practices continually force us to ask: what does this have to do with sociology?

The answers, such as they are, did not come quickly or easily. They emerged during exchanges with students and colleagues, yet at the same time from my belief that an interrogation of the term “forgiveness” was long overdue, and could best take place in the making of a book dedicated to the task and involving diverse, even contradictory, points of view. You now hold it in your hands.

From the outset, my hopes were never to prescribe forgiveness—this, indeed, cannot be done. Nor were they to educate on forgiveness—such militancy already has a history, and there is little in it to recommend it. Rather, if viewed within the segment of a sociological tradition born at the intersections of biography and history, forgiveness arises as an improbable, but nevertheless potent, tool for discernment. What is to be discerned is the vast, at once social, personal, historical, emotional field that gives any concept its meanings, the field that further supplies these meanings’ unintended consequences.

Moved from the sacred to the secular, never disentangled from its conceptual and emotional antagonisms, forgiveness has, more recently, found its place in discourses ranging from the religious to the legal, from the political to the psychoanalytic, from the literary to the philosophical and the autobiographical, from the financial to the artistic. These found places, however, remain contested, the term itself elusive. Forgiveness liberates as much as it challenges. In its lazy renditions, it gives hope even as it raises

suspicious. It promises even as it provokes the revolt of those who have never been promised anything, at least not when it mattered. Always arriving too late, forgiveness forces the fear of manipulation, and the thought that there might have been something we have, by choosing to forgive, also chosen to abandon.

According to the skeptics, forgiveness today has become an imperative, its enactors forsaking the complexity of nuanced reflection. An *instead-of* politics. A *panacea* capable of covering up the very wounds it is supposed to heal.

According to the proponents, we have never taken a full measure of the promise of forgiveness—of our ability, as well as our need, to start anew and to grant new beginnings to others.

According to the dominant ways in which our practices of living are carried on, forgiveness is in a crevice between loyalty we would want to maintain in relation to our sometimes forgiving selves and loyalty to our communities, which are often the most intransigent agents of the unforgivable. This crevice embodies the limited and limiting dichotomy to which struggles with forgiveness have too often come to be reduced, leaving us between positions which render forgiveness as a unique and private matter, and those which demand that it become a global, social and political solution.

What have we failed to do, while embracing forgiveness? What, if anything, have we failed to think through, while rejecting it?

The difficulties these questions pose must be imagined in a world so diverse that one community's need for settling old scores may not exist in the affective memory of another's. They must be situated in spaces public and private, simultaneously shaped by ideas and practices of secularism and limited, as well as expanded, by less than secular realities. Can there be a forgiveness that interrogates its claims on sincerity, rather than silently counts on their erosion? Can there be a forgiveness that ceases to be an exceptional virtue, becoming a possibility instead? Can there be a process that would make continual demands for acknowledgements of what has been done, before any other process, including that of forgiveness, can be expected to start?

The persistence of such questions is the reason why this book's title rests as much on *considering* as it does on *forgiveness*. Implying a modification of the noun to which it is attached, the act and the state of considering—not the forgiveness itself—here perform the task of critical reconsideration, an implicit review, as well as a critique, of our uncertain modernity. Whereas forgiveness alone does not grant any measure of short-spanned, post-biblical attention, an act of *considering forgiveness* might yet. Precisely here lies the politics of this project. It is the politics of time: personal time, over which forgiveness—a process, not an event—may or may not evolve; historical time, within which forgiveness may acquire new modalities; time of, and for, interpretations. It is in these considerate, slow, yet always urgent times, that this book aims at doing justice to the term, so that the concept and the processes that lie beneath it can be more critically returned to addressing questions of justice.

An unusual community assembled between the book's covers speaks in voices that represent the fields of their daily, intellectual and artistic engagement. They articulate issues that have mattered to them long before this work took shape. It is to them, therefore, that the book owes its reflective scope, an expanded vocabulary made of always painful, but equally

necessary, moments of the co-existence of forgiveness and hatred, accusation and indifference, memory and forgetting.

I was born in an unforgiving country. I still live in one. The two are not the same. Distances between the two cities which have shaped my early youth and my adulthood sometimes appear so vast that looking for a common denominator could only be described as a hopeless endeavor. Yet, in 1993, in the then-besieged Sarajevo, a sentence was uttered which I recalled in 2001 of New York: “Sarajevo is the first city of the twenty-first century.” The author of this unlovely pronouncement, a theater director, Haris Pašović, clearly played with shapes of things to come, asserting the grim commonalities to be shared in global urban futures. The message had an echo, just as it had a very limited popularity. On the intricate maps of human denial, the most enduring of survival strategies is that destruction, forgetting, illness, death—any form of dissolution—always happen to others.

So does forgiveness: an act we cannot contemplate, let alone perform, in solitude. I take this book to be an exit from solitudes, those that would indicate that there is none to share the world with, and those that suggest that we do not know—or that we insist on not knowing—our own and the others’ pasts.

Editor’s Acknowledgments

Without contact with many people and their thoughtful responses, this book could never have been made. To its caring host, Carin Kuoni, to all involved in the work of the Vera List Center for Art and Politics at The New School, and to the authors—I extend my deepest appreciation. Another volume could be published as an accompaniment, made up of our doubts, refusals and other forms of creative challenge. I may have started with the title of an instructor; appropriately, I end as a student. It is as a student that I would like to thank Stanley Aronowitz, for his ways of telling me how to think things through. And, it is as a former citizen of Sarajevo that I want to thank Zdravko Grebo, for his ways of addressing the meanings of thoughtful perseverance and compassion.

Gina Luria Walker, then the Chair of the Department of Social Sciences, Bachelor’s Program at The New School for General Studies, was the first to list “A Sociology of Forgiveness” on the pages of the Fall 2004 catalogue. Julia Foulkes underwrote its subsequent renditions. I owe them gratitude for the risks taken and for the generosity of their spirit. No less do I owe to the women and men whose ambition to interrogate what a “discipline” of forgiveness might be about is every teacher’s dream, and to the guests who spoke to us about their own experience and research: Kathy and Chesa Boudin, Belinda Cooper, Menachem Daum, Terri Gordon, Indira Kajošević, Beverly Schneider, and Lars Waldorf.

I offer this record to my daughter, Victoria, and to her friends born in this country at the turn of this century: may it inform the numerous ways in which they will be able to live their lives.

Aleksandra Wagner

New York City, January 20, 2009

Dark Meat or White Meat?

Lin + Lam

Rooted in research of the visually mediated public space, Lin + Lam's works address how individual and cultural identities are formed, where they are located, and how they are negotiated and interpreted. In *Dark Meat or White Meat?*, the artists highlight the often capricious nature of presidential decision making. In the United States, one of the few nations that still endorses capital punishment, two turkeys are granted a "stay of execution" by the President in an annual ritual first initiated by the National Turkey Federation after World War II. Positioned as a media-worthy exception to a popular custom—the sacrificing of turkeys in the name of family and love—the light-spirited nature of this tradition is enhanced here by cartoon decals.

Television test patterns, the SMPTE color bars devised by the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, provide the standard against which such deviations are measured. On television, the color bars are usually seen whenever technical difficulties arise. Instead, Lin + Lam have turned each page that follows into the unfailing arbiter of the "correct" norm or color.

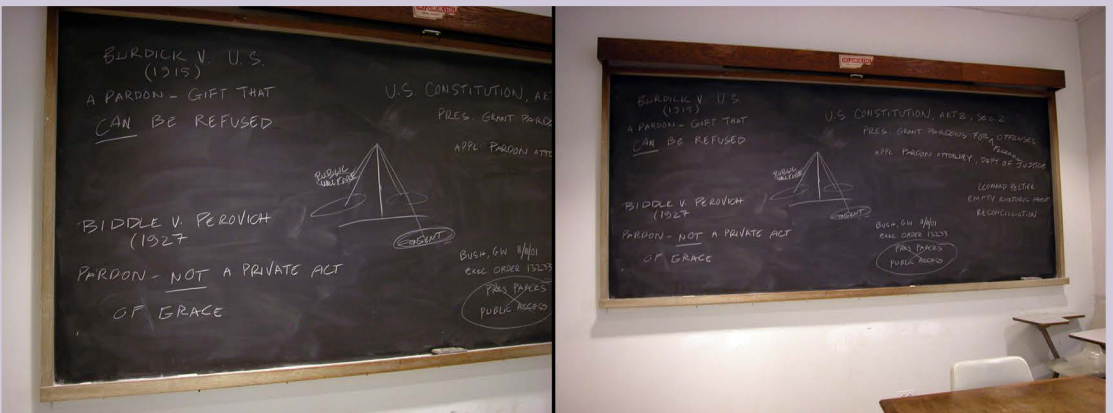
Dark Meat or White Meat?

Lin + Lam

Every Thanksgiving since 1987, the President of the United States has pardoned two turkeys so that 45 million others may be slaughtered guilt-free. The annual turkey pardon exemplifies an absurd and arbitrary exercise of executive authority. With the president's sweeping powers, questions of life and death, freedom and imprisonment, hinge upon matters of taste and personal preference akin to the choice between dark and white meat. Installed as a single-channel video installation at the Vera List Center, the project offers counternarratives as a commentary on this highly prejudicial process: A humorous history of turkey pardoning ceremonies is contrasted with tickertape statistics detailing controversial presidential pardons and the plummeting number of pardons granted since the 1980s. On an adjacent chalkboard, viewers can study mock lecture notes on the history of presidential pardons.



two partial installation views, The New School, Johnson Kaplan Building, room #403, October 2005



two detail views

**Excerpted Audio Transcript: Informal exchange with reporters in the Rose Garden
November 23, 1987, 2:06 pm**

Sam Donaldson [ABC News]: Go ahead and stroke him. Just say “no.” The bird is drugged.

Secretary of the Department of Agriculture: Sam, you know better than that.

Sam Donaldson: Since the first year when the bird almost beat the President to death.

Journalists: The bird is drugged. Stand up and fight!

Secretary of the Department of Agriculture: That turkey’s not drugged, Sam.

Journalist: What’s going to happen to that turkey?

Ms. Range: He’s going to a pet farm.

Sam Donaldson: Mr. President, are you going to pardon North and – –

President Reagan: So, you can say Happy Thanksgiving right in front of him, and it doesn’t matter.

[Laughter]

Sam Donaldson: Are you going to pardon North and Poindexter, sir?

President Reagan: What?

Sam Donaldson: Are you going to pardon North and Poindexter?

President Reagan: Sam, that’s a question no one can answer at this point, and I’m not going to try.

Journalist: You can.

Sam Donaldson: You can, sir.

Journalist: You can. Isn’t it up to you?

President Reagan: No. No, I can’t.

Journalist: What has to happen, Mr. President?

President Reagan: If they’d given me a different answer on Charlie and his future, I would have pardoned him. [Laughter]

Journalists: Do you intend to pardon them on Thanksgiving Day, Mr. President? Mr. President, do you intend to pardon them on Thanksgiving Day?

**Excerpted Audio Transcript: National Thanksgiving Turkey Presentation
November 22, 2000**

Cameraperson: We are in the Rose Garden for the dedication of the national turkey, and then the subsequent Presidential pardon of said turkey.

President Clinton: I want to thank the National Turkey Federation for once again donating this year’s Tom turkey. This is the eighth I’ve had the privilege to meet and set free in the Rose Garden. It’s still a bit of a mystery when exactly the first Thanksgiving was actually held. Some say it was in 1513 when Ponce de Leon landed in Florida. But the expert opinions about that are divided, and a recount is still underway down there . . .



GEORGE W. BUSH (2001-2005) 60 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; NUMBER DENIED OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; NUMBER DENIED OR PRESIDENT CLINTON DENIED EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY TO LEONARD



At the Wigwam Making Pottery

GEORGE W. BUSH (2001-2005) 60 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; NUMBER DENIED OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; NUMBER DENIED OR PRESIDENT CLINTON DENIED EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY TO LEONARD

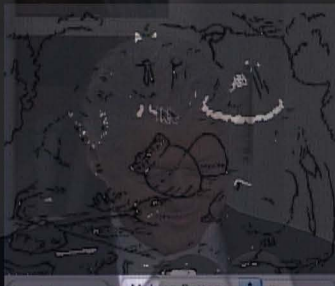


4,554 DENIED OR CLOSED. GEORGE H.W. BUSH (1989-93) 77 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED. JIMMY CARTER (1977-81) 566 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED.



At the Wigwam Making Pottery

4,554 DENIED OR CLOSED. GEORGE H.W. BUSH (1989-93) 77 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED. JIMMY CARTER (1977-81) 566 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED.



4,554 DENIED OR CLOSED. GEORGE H.W. BUSH (1989-93) 77 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED. JIMMY CARTER (1977-81) 566 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED.



NOVEMBER 19, 2001

4,554 DENIED OR CLOSED. GEORGE H.W. BUSH (1989-93) 77 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED. JIMMY CARTER (1977-81) 566 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED.



4,554 DENIED OR CLOSED. GEORGE H.W. BUSH (1989-93) 77 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED. JIMMY CARTER (1977-81) 566 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,804 DENIED OR CLOSED.

RICHARD

PROOF THAT THIS NATION'S TALK ABOUT RECONCILIATION IS NOTHING BUT EMPTY RHETORIC



RICHARD NIXON (1969-75) 926 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,830 DENIED OR CLOSED.



LYNDON B. JOHNSON (1964-69) 926 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,830 DENIED OR CLOSED.

GEORGE W. BUSH SIGNED EXECUTIVE ORDER 13233



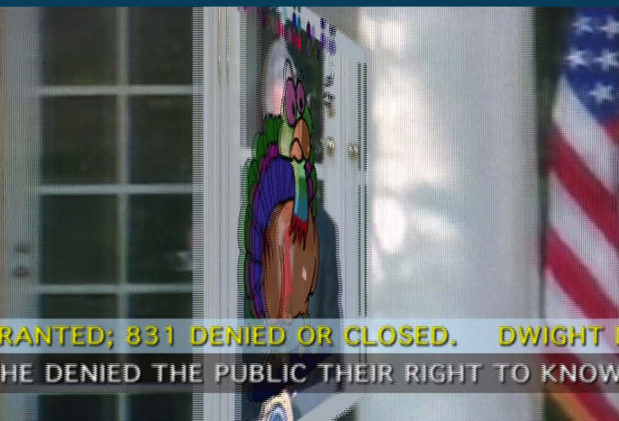
JOHN F. KENNEDY (1961-64) 575 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,830 DENIED OR CLOSED.

RELEASED ONLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF BOTH FORMER PRESIDENT (OR HIS HEIRS) AND THE CURRENT PRESIDENT



JOHN F. KENNEDY (1961-64) 575 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 2,830 DENIED OR CLOSED.

RELEASED ONLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF BOTH FORMER PRESIDENT (OR HIS HEIRS) AND THE CURRENT PRESIDENT



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (1953-61) 575 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 831 DENIED OR CLOSED.

HE DENIED THE PUBLIC THEIR RIGHT TO KNOW



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (1953-61) 575 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; 831 DENIED OR CLOSED.

PUBLIC ACCESS TO ACTUAL PETITIONS RECEIVED



AND DENIED IS NOT AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME



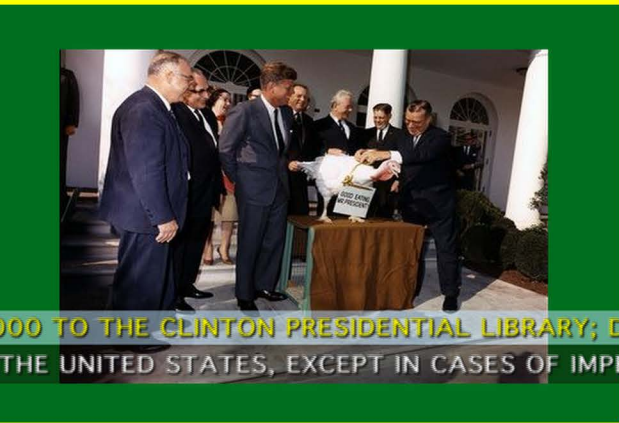
NOTABLE PRESIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, ART. II, SEC. 2



NOTABLE PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS: MARC RICH

UTION, ART. II, SEC. 2 STATES THAT THE PRES



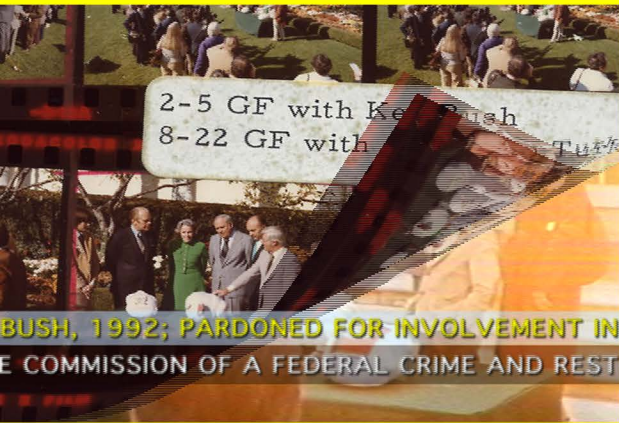
1000 TO THE CLINTON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY; DENISE RICH DONATED \$100,000 TO HILLARY

THE UNITED STATES, EXCEPT IN CASES OF IMPEACHMENT.



1000 TO THE CLINTON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY; DENISE RICH DONATED \$100,000 TO HILLARY

ALL FEDERAL PARDON PETIT



BUSH, 1992; PARDONED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN

THE COMMISSION OF A FEDERAL CRIME AND REST



INVOLVEMENT IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR)

AL CRIME AND RESTORES BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS.



COMMITTEE AND \$100,000 TO THE BUSH-QU

REFUSED TO TESTIFY BEFORE A FEDERAL GRAND JURY TO REVEAL SOURCES FOR A STORY HIS P



GRUGURAL COMMITTEE) GEORGE STEINBRENNER

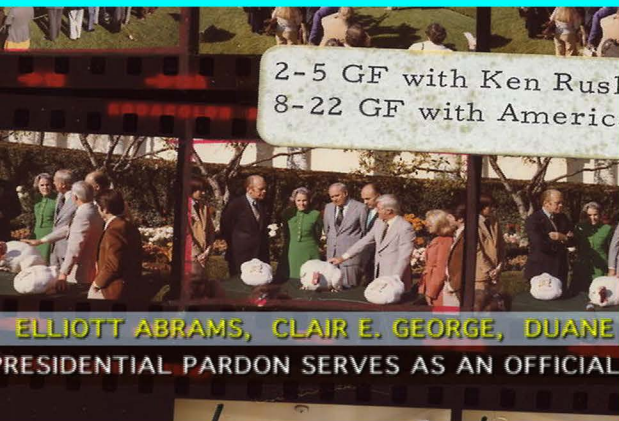
REFUSED TO TESTIFY BEFORE A FEDERAL GRAND JURY TO REVEAL SOURCES FOR A STORY HIS P



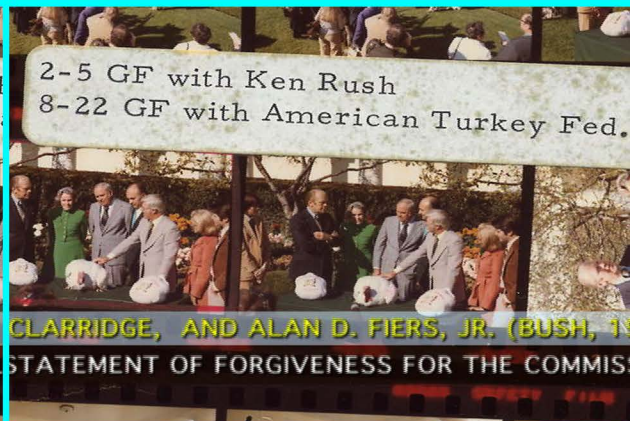
CH (CLINTON, 2000; PARDONED FOR TAX EVAS
PRESIDENT: "SHALL HAVE POWER TO GRANT



AFTER HIS PARDON, MARC RICH DONATED \$45
RIEVES AND PARDONS FOR OFFENSES AGAINST



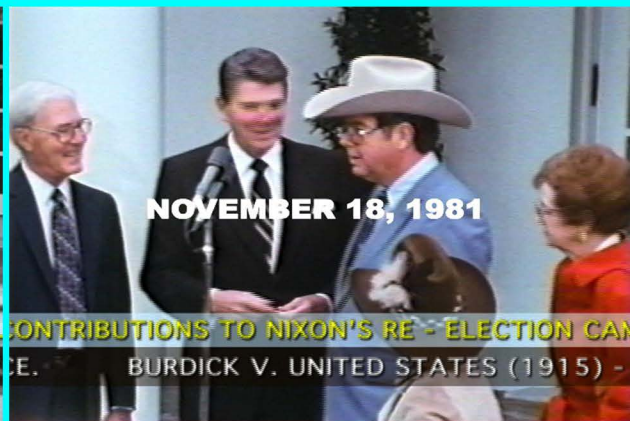
ELLIOTT ABRAMS, CLAIR E. GEORGE, DUANE
PRESIDENTIAL PARDON SERVES AS AN OFFICIAL



CLARRIDGE, AND ALAN D. FIERS, JR. (BUSH, 1
STATEMENT OF FORGIVENESS FOR THE COMMIS



HAMMER (BUSH, 1989; PARDONED FOR ILLEGAL
A PARDON DOES NOT CONNOTE INNOCENCE.



CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIXON'S RE - ELECTION CAM
E. BURDICK V. UNITED STATES (1915) -



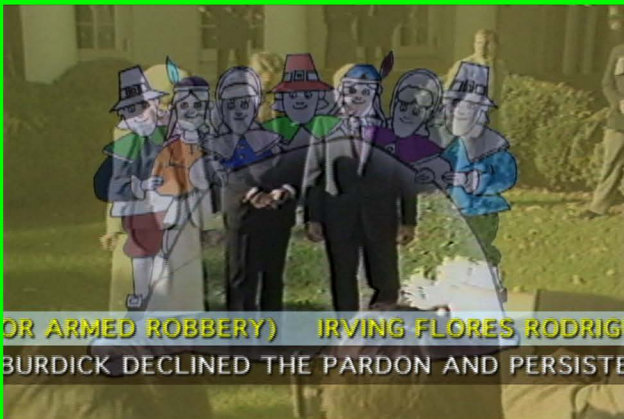
AUTHORIZING FBI AGENTS TO BREAK INTO VIET
BE GRANTED A FULL PARDON FROM PRESIDENT



PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON FOR ALL OFFENSES



PATRICIA HEARST (CARTER, 1979; COMMUTED OR ARMED ROBBERY) IRVING FLORES RODRIGUEZ AS HE "COMMITTED OR MAY HAVE COMMITTED."



IRVING FLORES RODRIGUEZ AS HE "COMMITTED OR MAY HAVE COMMITTED." BURDICK DECLINED THE PARDON AND PERSISTED



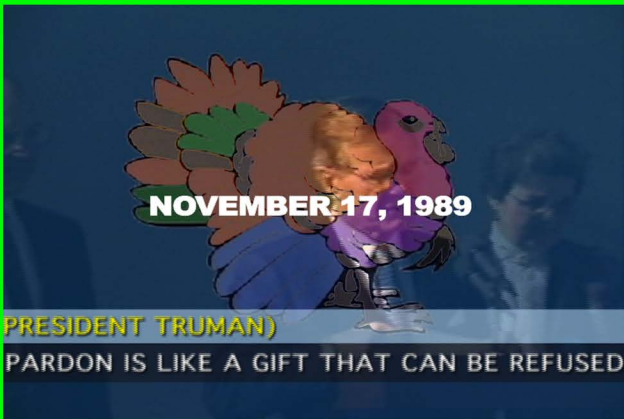
; COMMUTED SENTENCE FOR 1972 WATERGATE BREAK-IN) IVA IKUKO TOGURI D'AQUINO "TOKU" PARDON MAY BRING WITH IT EVEN GREATER DISGRACE THAN IT INITIALLY SOUGHT TO AVOID



IVA IKUKO TOGURI D'AQUINO "TOKU" PARDON MAY BRING WITH IT EVEN GREATER DISGRACE THAN IT INITIALLY SOUGHT TO AVOID



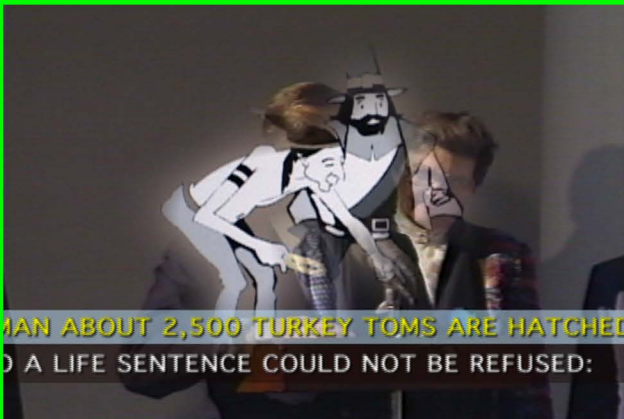
; COMMUTED SENTENCE FOR FRAUD AND LOOTING (PRESIDENT TRUMAN) IMPLIED BY ITS ACCEPTANCE. BURDICK V. U.S.



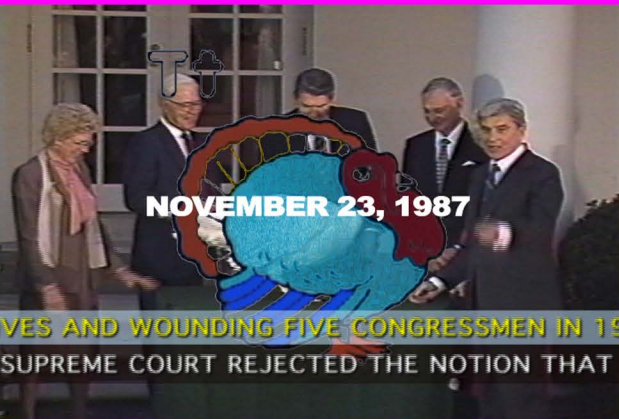
NOVEMBER 17, 1989 PARDON IS LIKE A GIFT THAT CAN BE REFUSED



CURRENT NATIONAL TURKEY FEDERATION CHAIRMAN ABOUT 2,500 TURKEY TOMS ARE HATCHED COMMUTATION OF A DEATH SENTENCE TO A LIFE IN PRISON COULD NOT BE REFUSED:



COMMUTATION OF A DEATH SENTENCE TO A LIFE IN PRISON COULD NOT BE REFUSED:



NOVEMBER 23, 1987

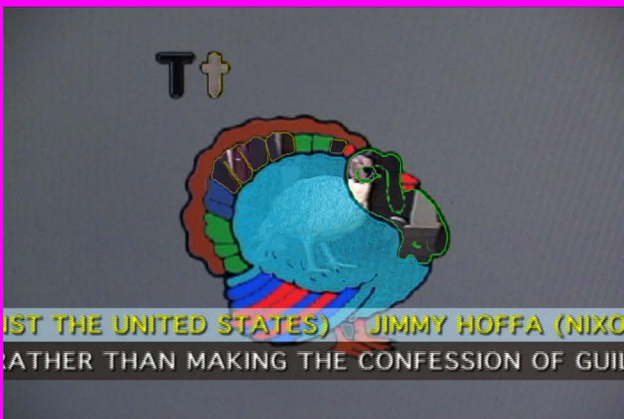
...VES AND WOUNDING FIVE CONGRESSMEN IN 19...
...SUPREME COURT REJECTED THE NOTION THAT



...GRANTED AMNESTY) G. GORDON LIDDY (CART...
...ALTHOUGH OFFERED WITH GOOD INTENTION



...NIXON (FORD, 1974; PARDONED FOR ALL OFFEN...
...RECIPIENT OF A PARDON CAN THEREFORE REJECT



...IST THE UNITED STATES) JIMMY HOFFA (NIXO...
...ATHER THAN MAKING THE CONFESSION OF GUIL



...ATIONAL TURKEY FEDERATION HAS PRESENTE...
...BIDDLE V. PEROVICH (1927) B



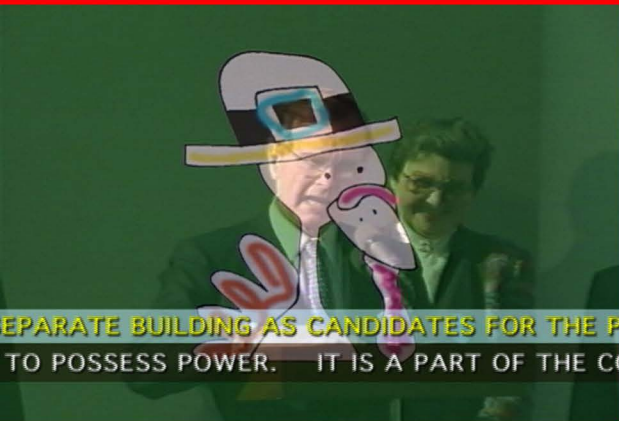
...TURKEY EVERY YEAR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE...
...BEGAN A LIMITED REVERSAL OF THE SO-CALLE



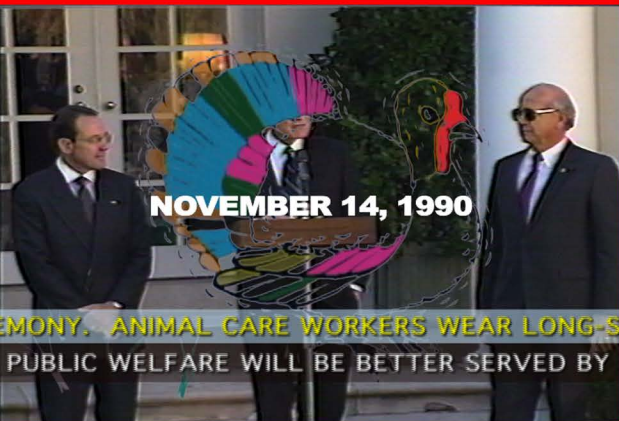
...ANKSGIVING DINNERS. AUGUST: AT ABOUT 2...
...A PARDON IN OUR DAYS IS NOT A PRIVATE ACT



...LBS, 6 - 10 OF THE FINEST TURKEYS ARE MOVE...
...ACT OF GRACE FROM AN INDIVIDUAL HAPPENIN

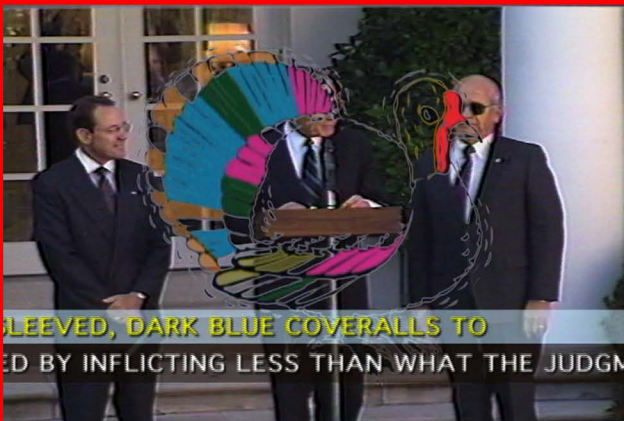


SEPARATE BUILDING AS CANDIDATES FOR THE P...IDATES FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL PARDON. AU
TO POSSESS POWER. IT IS A PART OF THE CO... IS A PART OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SCHEME



NOVEMBER 14, 1990

MONY. ANIMAL CARE WORKERS WEAR LONG-SLEEVED, DARK BLUE COVERALLS TO
PUBLIC WELFARE WILL BE BETTER SERVED BY



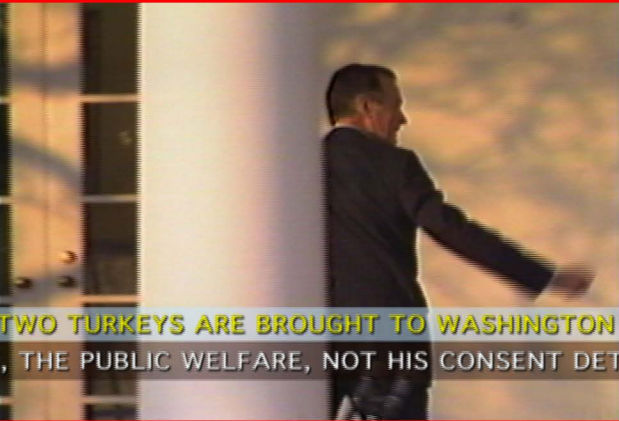
ED BY INFLECTING LESS THAN WHAT THE JUDGM



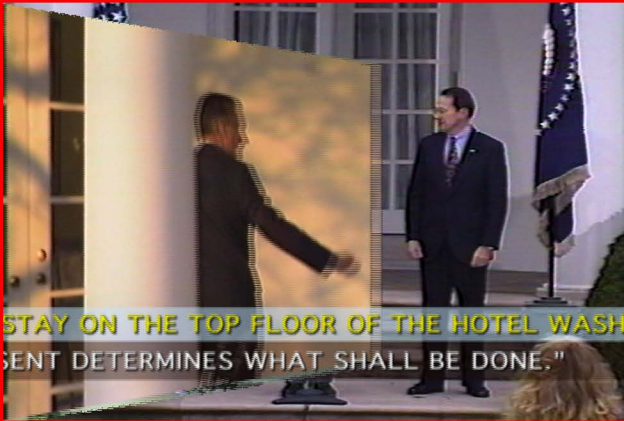
NOISE, CLAPPING AND TALKING. THE TURKEYS
MENT WOULD BE IMPOSED WITHOUT REGARD TO



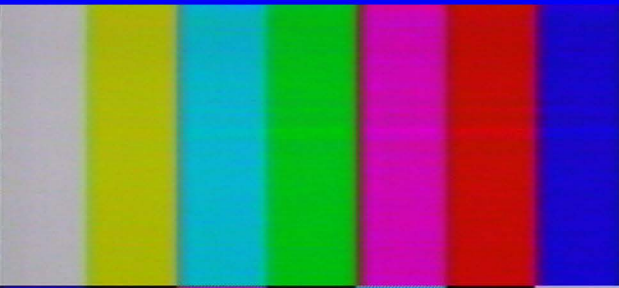
REGARD TO THE PRISONER'S CONSENT AND IN T



TWO TURKEYS ARE BROUGHT TO WASHINGTON
, THE PUBLIC WELFARE, NOT HIS CONSENT DETER



STAY ON THE TOP FLOOR OF THE HOTEL WASH
SENT DETERMINES WHAT SHALL BE DONE."



NOVEMBER: THE TURKEYS ARE FAMILIARIZED TO HUMANS TO BEHAVE PROPERLY DURING THE CELEBRATION. WHEN GRANTED IT IS THE DETERMINATION OF THE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY THAT THE PUBLIC



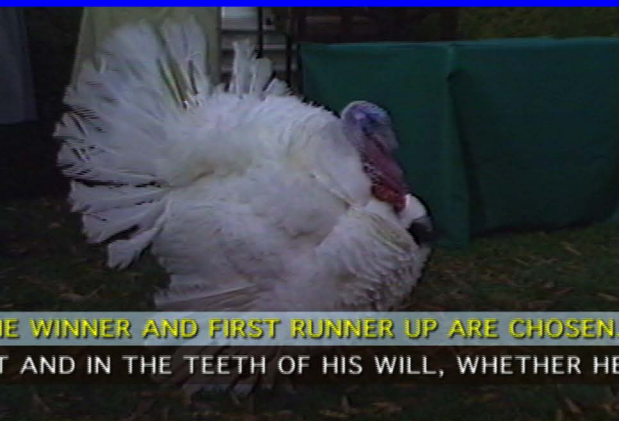
NOVEMBER: THE TURKEYS ARE FAMILIARIZED TO HUMANS TO BEHAVE PROPERLY DURING THE CELEBRATION. WHEN GRANTED IT IS THE DETERMINATION OF THE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY THAT THE PUBLIC



THEY MIMIC THE DARK BLUE SUITS WORN BY THE PERSONNEL IN THE ROSE GARDEN. THEY MAKE THE PUNISHMENT JUST AS THE ORIGINAL PUNISHMENT WOULD



THEY MIMIC THE DARK BLUE SUITS WORN BY THE PERSONNEL IN THE ROSE GARDEN. THEY MAKE THE PUNISHMENT JUST AS THE ORIGINAL PUNISHMENT WOULD



THE WINNER AND FIRST RUNNER UP ARE CHOSEN. THE DAY BEFORE THANKSGIVING, THE TWO TURKEYS ARE TAKEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE. WHETHER HE LIKED IT OR NOT, THE PUBLIC WELCOMES THE PARDON.



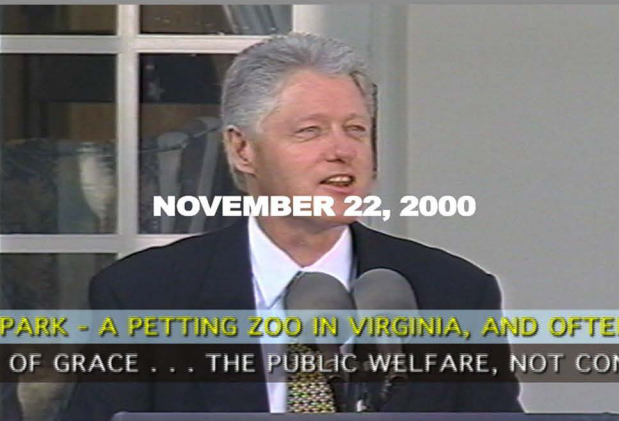
THE WINNER AND FIRST RUNNER UP ARE CHOSEN. THE DAY BEFORE THANKSGIVING, THE TWO TURKEYS ARE TAKEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE. WHETHER HE LIKED IT OR NOT, THE PUBLIC WELCOMES THE PARDON.



THE NEXT MORNING, THEY ARE TAKEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE. A PARDON IS LIKE A GIFT THAT CAN BE REFUSED.

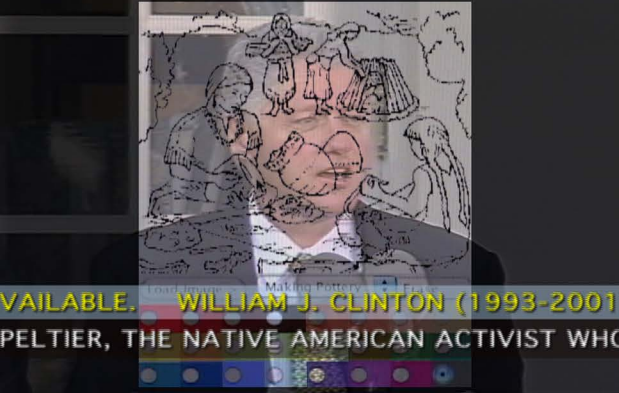
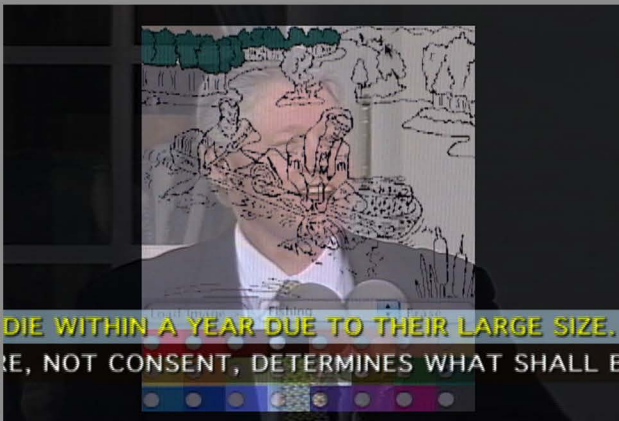


THE NEXT MORNING, THEY ARE TAKEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE. A PARDON IS LIKE A GIFT THAT CAN BE REFUSED.

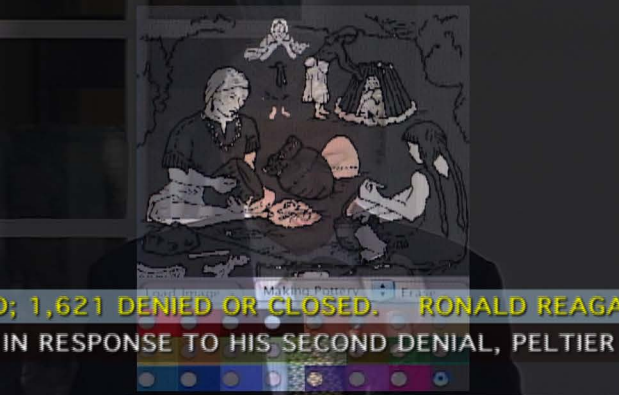
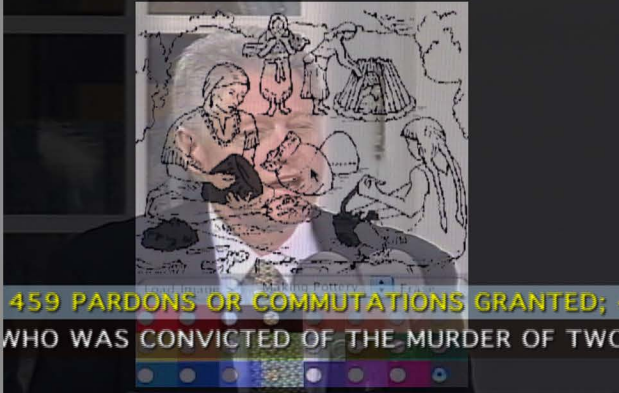


NOVEMBER 22, 2000

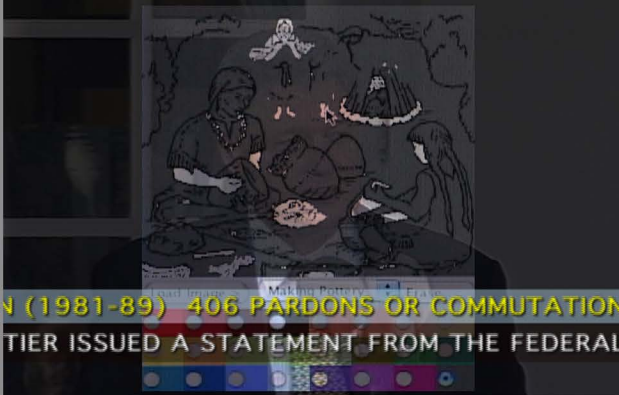
PARK - A PETTING ZOO IN VIRGINIA, AND OFTEN DIE WITHIN A YEAR DUE TO THEIR LARGE SIZE. OF GRACE . . . THE PUBLIC WELFARE, NOT COME, NOT CONSENT, DETERMINES WHAT SHALL B



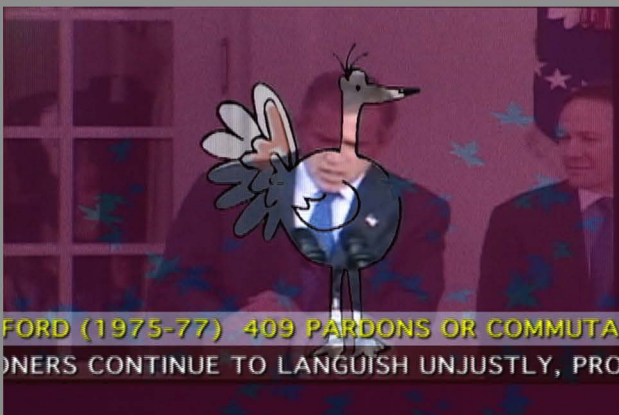
AVAILABLE. WILLIAM J. CLINTON (1993-2001) 459 PARDONS OR COMMUTATIONS GRANTED; - PELTIER, THE NATIVE AMERICAN ACTIVIST WHO WHO WAS CONVICTED OF THE MURDER OF TWO



); 1,621 DENIED OR CLOSED. RONALD REAGAN (1981-89) 406 PARDONS OR COMMUTATION IN RESPONSE TO HIS SECOND DENIAL, PELTIER TIER ISSUED A STATEMENT FROM THE FEDERAL



2,056 DENIED OR CLOSED. GERALD E. FORD (FORD (1975-77) 409 PARDONS OR COMMUTA E TERMS: "MANY POLITICAL PRISONERS COND ONERS CONTINUE TO LANGUISH UNJUSTLY, PRO



Contributors

Anne Aghion

b. 1960 Paris, France

Lives in Paris and New York

Anne Aghion is a filmmaker whose awards include an Emmy (2005), a UNESCO Fellini Prize (2003), and a Guggenheim Fellowship (2005). Critics have praised her as a documentarian who succeeds in conveying a strong sense of the people and places she covers. In addition to *Gacaca, Living Together Again in Rwanda?* (2002), *In Rwanda We Say . . . The family that does not speak dies* (2004), and *My Neighbor, My Killer* (2009), she directed *Se le movió el piso: A portrait of Managua* (1995) and *Ice People* (2008), which was filmed in Antarctica.

Ayreen Anastas

b. 1970 Bethlehem, Palestine

Lives in New York

Ayreen Anastas writes in fragments and makes films and videos. Her work has been shown internationally in festivals, museums, and cinemas. Her primary interests include philosophy, literature, and the role of the political in everyday life. She is one of the organizers of 16 Beaver Group, New York (16beavergroup.org), and Un groupe comme les autres, Paris. Together with Rene Gabri, she produced *Camp Campaign* (2006) (campcampaign.info) and *What Everybody Knows* (2006–08), a series of videos documenting their encounters with the political dimensions of daily life in occupied Palestine and in Israel. She teaches at Pratt Institute's School of Architecture, Brooklyn, New York.

Gregg Bordowitz

b. 1964 Brooklyn, New York

Lives in Chicago

Gregg Bordowitz writes and makes movies, including *Fast Trip Long Drop* (1993), *A Cloud in Trousers* (1995), *The Suicide* (1996), and *Habit* (2001), which have been shown in festivals, museums, theaters, and broadcast internationally. A collection of his essays, *The AIDS Crisis Is Ridiculous and Other Writings, 1986–2003*, was published in 2004. This book received the 2006 Frank Jewett Mather Award from the College Art Association. He is an Associate Professor in the Film, Video, and New Media Department at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Matthew Buckingham

b. 1963 Nevada, Iowa

Lives in New York

Matthew Buckingham studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, received a BA from the University of Iowa, an MFA from Bard College and attended the Whitney Independent Study Program. Utilizing photography, film, video, audio, writing, and drawing, his projects create physical and social contexts that encourage viewers to question what is most familiar to them. His work has been seen in one-person and group exhibitions at Camden Arts Centre, London (2007); Hamburger Bahnhof National Gallery, Berlin (2007); The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (2005); Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (2005); Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art, Berlin (2003, 2006); Museum Moderner Kunst, Vienna (2003); Moderna Museet, Stockholm (1999). He was a 2003 recipient of the DAAD Artist in Berlin Fellowship.

Omer Fast

b. 1972 Jerusalem, Israel

Lives in Berlin

Omer Fast's work looks at how individuals and historical events interact in narrative. In past projects, Fast sought subjects with problematic documentary credentials: Individuals with first-hand experiences of inauthentic or staged events, whose stories he then complicated through various editing and installation strategies. In 2008, Fast won the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York's Bucksbaum Award for *The Casting*, which was exhibited at the 2008 Whitney Biennial. Other recent shows have included *The Anxious*, Centre Pompidou, Paris (2008); a solo exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, Vienna (2007); and *Closed Circuit: New Media Acquisitions*, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2007).

Julia Kristeva

b. 1941 Sliven, Bulgaria

Lives in Paris

Julia Kristeva, psychoanalyst, semiotician, and novelist, is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Paris VII-Denis Diderot. She is the author of numerous books, including *Strangers to Ourselves* (1988), *The Feminine and the Sacred* (with Catherine Clément, 1998), *Female Genius: Life, Madness, Words: Hannah Arendt* (1999), *Melanie Klein* (2000), and *Colette: A Trilogy* (2002). Kristeva is a Visiting Professor at The New School for Social Research. She was the first recipient of the Holberg International Memorial Prize in 2004.

Carin Kuoni

b. 1961 Chur, Switzerland

Lives in New York

Carin Kuoni is director of the Vera List Center for Art and Politics at The New School. From 1998 to 2003, she was director of exhibitions at Independent Curators International (ICI), and from 1992 to 1997 director of the Swiss Institute, a not-for-profit cultural organization in New York City. An independent curator and critic, Kuoni has curated many exhibitions of contemporary international art and has written for a variety of periodicals and exhibition catalogues. She is the editor of *Energy Plan for the Western Man: Joseph Beuys in America* (1993), and *Words of Wisdom: A Curator's Vade Mecum* (2001).

Lin + Lam

Lana Lin, b. 1966 Montreal, Canada,

lives in New York

H. Lan Thao Lam, b. 1968 My Tho, Vietnam,

lives in New York

Since 2001, Lin + Lam have produced interdisciplinary projects examining the ramifications of the past for the current socio-political moment. H. Lan Thao Lam uses sculpture and installation to address social memories of time, place, and politics, while Lana Lin's work examines the processes of identification across different cultural contexts. Their work has been shown at the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art, the New Museum, and the Kitchen, all in New York; Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions; Arko Art Center—Arts Council Korea, Seoul; and the Guangzhou Triennial 2008.

Jeffrey K. Olick

b. 1964 New York

Lives in Charlottesville, Virginia

Jeffrey Olick is Professor of Sociology and History at the University of Virginia. His interests focus on collective memory, critical theory, transitional justice, and postwar Germany. He is the author, among other books, of *In the House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943–1949* (2005), and editor of *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* (2003) and *The Collective Memory Reader* (forthcoming). Olick's current project, in collaboration with Andrew Perrin and supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities Collaborative Award, is a translation and critical edition of the Frankfurt School's Group Experiment of 1955.

Alessandro Petti

b. 1973 Pescara, Italy

Lives in Bethlehem

Alessandro Petti is an architect and urbanist, and teaches at the International Academy of Art Palestine. Petti's current curatorial work focuses on various aspects of the contemporary urban condition. Recent and ongoing research projects include *Border Devices* (with Sandi Hilal et al.), *Uncertain States of Europe* (as part of *Multiplicity*), and *Stateless Nation* (with Sandi Hilal). Among his recent publications are *Arcipelaghi e enclave. Architettura dell'ordinamento spaziale contemporaneo* (2007) and "Dubai Offshore Urbanism" in *Heterotopia and the City* (2008).

Brian D. Price

b. 1951 San Antonio, Texas

Lives in Crockett, Texas

Brian D. Price is co-host of the prison-radio talk show, "Here Comes the Light," broadcast on KIVY radio, 92.7 FM in Crockett, Texas. Known as "The Death Row Chef," Price is the author of *Meals to Die For* (2004), a book detailing his ten-year tenure preparing the last meal requests of the condemned inmates on Texas's death row. He has been in several documentaries, including *The Meaning of Food* (2004) and *Last Supper* (2005).



ABLE PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS: MARC RICH (CLIN
ON, ART. II, SEC. 2 STATES THAT THE PRESIDEN

H. Lan Thao Lam/Lana Lin

Dark Meat or White Meat?, 2005, Chalk on blackboard, DVD, 15m. Every Thanksgiving since 1987, the US President has pardoned two turkeys so that 45 million may be slaughtered guilt-free. The annual turkey pardon exemplifies the absurd and arbitrary exercise of executive authority. With the President's sweeping, irrefutable power, questions of life and death, freedom and imprisonment, hinge upon taste and personal preference akin to the choice of dark or white meat. The video combines counter-narratives as commentary on this highly prejudicial process: a humorous history of turkey pardon ceremonies contrasted with tickertape statistics detailing controversial pardons and the plummeting number of pardons granted since the 1980's. H. Lan Thao Lam and Lana Lin's collaborations (Lin+Lam) in time-based media and installation bring together their interests in history, language, and architecture.

TRACITION

GUILT - GUILTY

What did they do?
 respond brutally

Valerie Tevere

Survey, 2005, Paper. A scenario that has been, or will be, put into action, as a diagram of different systems of knowledge/belief that act upon each other and as a map that offers several different crossings through a field of physical and ideological positions. In different intersecting forms—video, performance, activism, micro-radio broadcasting—Valerie Tevere's practice has looked to the public sphere as a condition and framework for inquiry and discourse.

MEDIA

1. They are the only thing that is...
 2. They are the only thing that is...
 3. They are the only thing that is...
 4. They are the only thing that is...
 5. They are the only thing that is...
 6. They are the only thing that is...
 7. They are the only thing that is...
 8. They are the only thing that is...
 9. They are the only thing that is...
 10. They are the only thing that is...

Investigating
 architecture
 space

PLEASE DROP
 SURVEYS HERE

What do we mean when we say forgiveness? Are we able to think it, and with what goals and hopes in mind? Why forgiveness now, and why at all? As an aid to politics? As a means to face the unforgiveable, or to short-circuit the work of history and memory? As a diversion from different, maybe less forgiving, forms of action? Forgiveness emerges within these pages not as an agenda offering closure, but as a strategy and a form of awareness, a legal, sociological, psychological, anthropological, theological, and ethical concept that demands engagement.

Considering Forgiveness is the first in a series of books published by the Vera List Center for Art and Politics at The New School dedicated to topics of political urgency.

Edited by Aleksandra Wagner
with Carin Kuoni

Curatorial advisor: Matthew Buckingham

Contributions by

Anne Aghion

Ayreen Anastas

Gregg Bordowitz

Omer Fast

Rene Gabri

Andrea Geyer

Mark Godfrey

Sharon Hayes

*Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti
and Eyal Weizman*

Susan Hiller

Julia Kristeva

Lin + Lam

Jeffrey K. Olick

Brian D. Price

Jane Taylor

Mierle Laderman Ukeles

Elisabeth Young-Bruehl

Introduction by

Aleksandra Wagner

ISBN: 978-0-9821745-0-0



5 2 4 0 0



9 780982 174500