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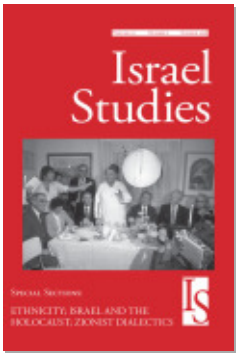
Beyond the Local Discourse: Re-thinking the Israeli-Jewish "Hitler-wave"



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Beyond the Local Discourse: Re-thinking the Israeli-Jewish "Hitler-wave"

ABSTRACT

Hitlerwelle, Führerboom, Hitlernostalgie in the German language; in Hebrew there is the famous *La'Hit-Ler* (*Hitler-Schlager*) coined by Israeli poet David Avidan, or what Professor Moshe Zuckermann has just recently called *Hitleriada* (a combination between *Hitler* and *Olympiad*):[1] all phrases share the wish to describe the great interest that people often (re-)find in the figure of the Nazi Führer. And this interest usually emerges in waves. During the 1990s, Israeli art showed an obsessive preoccupation with the figure of Hitler that lasted around a decade and is considered to be a turning point with respect to the ways the Holocaust is represented among Israeli-Jewish artists. By focusing on the work of Israeli artist Boaz Arad, *Marcel Marcel* (2000), which ended this decade, in comparison to the work of German artist Rudolf Herz, *ZUGZWANG* (1995), this essay wishes to re-think the recruiting of the image of Hitler in Israeli art, in order to introduce the advantages of transnationalism and a comparative approach to the local art discourse with respect to Holocaust related imagery.

THE 1990S: A TURNING POINT IN HOLOCAUST REPRESENTATION

Over the years the memory of the Holocaust has passed a number of turning points within the Israeli public discourse. Generally speaking, since the 1980s, engaging in the Holocaust has become an important factor, claiming a central place in Israeli socialization and in the public/political decisions-making process from all sides of the political spectrum,

until it has transformed into a sort of a "secular religion" in Israel (and beyond), as often appears in the public discourse. Yet, even though the Holocaust, as a historical event, has been either passively or actively present in the cultural memory of the Israeli remembering collective, it was the 1990s that gave rise to an obsessive visual preoccupation with this topic in the local art field.[2] As a result, many "Hitlers"—or his Nazi fellows—began appearing in the Israeli art field.[3]

In 1997, for example, the artist Ram Katzir presented his project *Your Coloring Book (Within the Lines)* at The Israel Museum in Jerusalem. In his exhibition he offered a coloring book that was based on archive photographs from the period of Nazi Germany, while the visitors in the exhibition were invited to color these photographs that were now taken out of their original context. To the surprise of the visitors, instead of coloring innocent childish images, they were presented with iconic images to color, all associated with one of the darkest periods in modern times. They were misled. They were manipulated. Thus, although the project was embraced by the artistic milieu, due to this childish, so-called "innocent" representation of the Holocaust that transformed the core of the Jewish trauma into a fun and amusing experience,[4] the exhibition instigated a heated discussion and a demand for censorship among the public.[5]

Yet, it would be a huge mistake to reduce Katzir's project to a mere provocative attempt to gain recognition on behalf of atrocities of a past event that ceased to exist, thereby overlooking his criticism of Holocaust representation and the modern, or postmodern, implications it had/has on the artistic field and Israeli society. Moreover, it is probably more than just a coincidence that Katzir's project was presented only a few months after another provocative work was first exhibited, which, just like Katzir's work, made use of this childish-playful notion: *Lego Concentration Camp*, created by the Polish artist Zbigniew Libera—which was literally a model of a concentration camp made out of Lego pieces.

Besides Katzir, other Israeli artists, e.g., Roee Rosen, Dov Or Ner, David Wakstein, Tami Ben Tor, and Boaz Arad, each on their own terms, have come to represent the image of Hitler, or Nazi-related iconography, during the 1990s and through the following years. These were no longer attempts to testify about the catastrophe as witnesses, like their parents (or grandparents) could have possibly done, nor attempts to reflect on living with Holocaust survivor parents as "Second Generation artists";[6] instead, these were artistic and imaginative attempts to raise new, more complex, contemporary questions and issues.

Roee Rosen, for example, offered a virtual tour through Hitler's personal life as an entertainment experience;[7] Tami Ben Tor added Hitler's iconic mustache to her own portrait and by that also transformed him into a feminine figure; Dov Or Ner, a Holocaust survivor, invented an alter-ego for himself by appropriating Hitler's portrait and locating him in various ridiculous-sexual positions; and the list continues, since from that moment on a float of images dealing with the image of the Führer was seen in Israeli art, which lasted for around a decade (though we can still find his image here and there—only less frequently).

Yet, a display of the Führer's image, or any Nazi-related iconography, in Israel—as the state in which many Holocaust survivors have arrived, is in many aspects a much more sensitive issue than in other countries, because it has been perceived as "not *our* (immoral) side of the event", and thus, not part of the Israeli imagery world and its national moral self-image. What had changed that suddenly Israeli artists have started to engage with these perpetrators' aesthetics?

First, it is important to consider the local political environment that might have given rise to this kind of Nazi-related iconography, as every artwork should be "read" within the context of the community it addresses. The 1990s were turbulent years in Israel: the Gulf War, which brought back an existential Jewish fear from destruction (1991);[8] the wish for peace that came with the Oslo Accords (1993–5), as well as the need to acknowledge their failure; the intensive usage of Holocaust-apocalyptic rhetoric that was heard by all sides of the political debate, and perhaps most famous is the image of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in an SS uniform at a protest just a month before his assassination by an Israeli-Jewish terrorist (1995); after the murder, there were elections that led to a right wing government; Israeli society witnessed an escalation in Lebanon, where many soldiers were killed; and finally, the Second Intifada that completely broke down the peace agreements (2000)—thus, because a cultural memory of any nation plays a decisive role in the imagination of the artist and of the beholder, there is no doubt that this "Hitler-wave" in Israeli-Jewish art needs to be put first in a local context, especially in relation to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. However, few distinguished Israeli scholars have already dealt with this 1990s turning point and the frequent appearance of "Hitler" within the Israeli art in the local context.[9] If so, why should one return today, twenty-something years later, to this form of Holocaust representation? Is it still relevant?

One of the outcomes of not, or only partly, turning the gaze to the global art field and the transnational discourse with respect to Nazi

imagery and memory studies is that many questions have remained open until today, questions such as: can we identify a few interesting correlation points with other representations made outside of Israel; and what can we gain from recognizing it. Hence, as part of my attempt to answer the questions above, I allow myself here to minimize the local perspective (which already exists in the research), in favor of transnationalism and a comparison that will take it into a more global context. I argue that this approach is necessary and relevant today more than ever, since while the transformation of Holocaust representation in Israel has its own unique and local features—this 1990s "Israeli-Hitler-wave" was by no means only a local phenomenon.

TRANSNATIONALISM AND A COMPARATIVE APPROACH IN THE ARTS: THE OPPORTUNITY TO THINK IN A BROADER CONTEXT

Viewing Nazi-related representations made throughout the years via a transnational perspective, one will discover that already since the 1960s–70s, if not even earlier, signs for artistic dialectics between the usage of Nazi imagery world and the historical event of WW II can be found, especially among West-German artists. At first, some bold artists confronted the "ghosts of their past" and the visual amnesia that was forced upon them post-1945 from above, as part of the Allies (both from the West and from the East) "nullified" the past, e.g., Beuys, Richter, Kiefer, and others. They began to adopt a strategy of ambiguity and ambivalence, directing Nazi iconography against itself.[10] During the 1980s this strategy was already well-established, and by the 1990s it entered the Western art galleries and museums (or perhaps it was "Americanized"[11]).[12] The 1990s were a period of many global changes as well: the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall; regimes and political systems changed; the rise of virtual space; the expanding of the global economy and the art market; the massive construction of Holocaust memorials and the preoccupation with memory—all of which are also greatly responsible for the sudden usage of Nazi imagery in art becoming a common global artistic phenomenon, which has quickly found its way into commodity reproduction and mass culture. If in the past a wall divided the "good" and the "bad", and with it, the lines between "victim" and "aggressor" were clear and national identity' borders were very strict—with the fall, those borders have been challenged as they have become much more fluid.

As a result of the end of the Cold War and the strengthening of the economy on a global scale, the "pictorial turn",[13] which soon had become a "digital turn", and a "(trans)cultural turn", one can certainly identify an engagement with the perpetrator image, as well as more critical iconography, mostly combined with irony. However, from an artistic perspective, it was mainly the fact that a new generation of artists had arrived. After the maturation of artists of the "generation of *postmemory*"[14] (as a social-concept and not necessarily only as a genealogical one), and as a result of the global inflation in audio-visual testimonies and commemoration, contemporary artists were now free of the undeclared necessity to represent the Holocaust with dignity as in the past, and could then "use" it to examine new issues. Consequently, engaging with evil and its allure of seduction has become a highly popular theme in many "taboos-breaking artworks" that have floated the "white cubes", and was a trend far exceeding the Israeli context.[15] In Israel just as outside of it, dealing with Nazi imagery was open to almost everyone, even those who do not possess any memory or have any biographical link of the war, but had only experienced it by being part of the Western culture heavily reliant on visual history.

Yet, whereas ever since the 1990s globalization has been heavily investigated, mostly through an economic domain—the cultural dimension of globalization remains poorly, and the art discourse is still bounded by the local.[16] The art historian Andreas Huyssen paraphrased Arjun Appadurai's term "modernity at large"[17] and asked to examine art and culture in terms of "modernism at large", namely, "the cross-national cultural forms that emerges from the negation of the modern with the indigenous, the colonial, and the postcolonial in the 'non-Western' world".[18] According to him, "We lack a workable model of comparative studies able to go beyond the traditional approaches that still take national cultures as the unites to be compared and [only] rarely pay attention to the uneven flows of translation, transmission, and appropriation."[19]

In this context, the tension between the global and the regional can be identified in the ways the memory of the past has been politicized in Israel, since while post-1990s Auschwitz has stabilized itself as a universal icon and a symbol of "cosmopolitan memory",[20] the shift in memory has had a strong influence on the so-called Israeli-Jewish "monopoly" on the Holocaust that was used to refer to it only as a Jewish genocide. Thus, as the Holocaust has become a social-moral paradigm exceeding the Jewish-particularistic event and new voices of other minority groups have sought to recognize the injustices done to *them* under the Nazi regime—the State of Israel on its part, as a counter-reaction, has tremendously started to re-appropriate

the Holocaust for political, religious, institutional, or financial profits at the expense of the past and the blame on it.

Paradoxically, while sometimes an artistic criticism was directed inward as a social-collective reflection, at the same time, since the 1990s, similar images have begun to be used by contemporary artists from different nationalities, even if they did not stem from similar motivations, as in the Katzir/Libera case. With the Holocaust entering 1990s' pop-culture, not only the mobility of the artists in space has grown—due to increasing tourism-sociological movement, artistic/institutional collaborations, as well as the strengthening of the art market—the mobility of the images has also intensified, as the image was no longer grounded to a territorial border or a regional community as much as it was in the past.

This short introduction constitutes the background of this essay, since its main intention is to demonstrate correlation points between Nazi representations made by Israeli(-Jewish) and non-Israeli artists, in particular German artists. I do not ask to de-nationalize Israeli-Jewish art or its discourse, but to frame it also in the broader discourse of post-Holocaust art. Therefore, if to continue Huyssen, embracing transnationalism and a comparative approach might constitute an opportunity to examine artistic changes on a wider scale; because interestingly, and perhaps even ironically, understanding this Israeli shifting moment in representation in a broader perspective, which goes beyond a nation-state perspective, might actually teach us something about the local field and the ways it curates the past.

To visually base my claims I focus on the work of Israeli artist Boaz Arad. Although I could have chosen Katzir, Rosen, Or Ner, Wakstein, or Ben Tor's artworks, to substantiate my claims I focus only on one specific case: Arad's work *Marcel* (2000). This decision is because he is one of the few Israeli artists who have been committed to the figure of Hitler for about a decade, starting from the early 1990s, and yet, his work has not lost its power over the years. Arad's work is often considered to be rooted in the "Jewish-Israelism", and as a result, unjustly, often considered as less international. Therefore, to expose the many advantages of transnationalism and a comparison, in the following paragraphs I avoid a "national reading" to refer to the Israeli discourse and the local events. I use Arad's work as an Israeli exemplar that can prove that we, as Israeli scholars, should start referring to Israeli representation of the Holocaust (whether they are Nazi-related or victim-related) not *only* through a local prism—though definitely not *instead*.[21] By recognizing correlation points and overlapping, as reflected amongst artists from different nationalities, who do not necessarily

have first-hand memories of the historical event, but still cannot "put this horrible past to rest", I claim that we can enrich the imaginative discourse, be able to dialectically identify the uniqueness of the Israeli art, and might add more layers to the artworks that are often missing from an analysis that maintains only, or mostly, a local perspective.

TWO DIFFERENT ARTWORKS, SUPPOSEDLY

In March 2002, the Jewish Museum in New York premiered one of the most controversial exhibitions in terms of Holocaust representation: *Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art* (Curator: Norman L. Kleeblatt). This was the first time that a Jewish institution publicly supported contemporary art that drew its inspiration from Nazi imagery (in which *Lego. Concentration Camp* was also exhibited). It was a special opportunity that was opened up for only two Israeli artists: Roee Rosen and Boaz Arad, both part of this 1990s "Israeli-Hitler-wave". Back then, the exhibition was heavily criticized, blamed for diminishing the Holocaust, disregarding the victims' feelings, or for lack of artistic innovation—whereas in Israel, quite surprisingly, the critics ignored it, relatively speaking.[22] Whether truthful accusations or simply fitting in the *Zeitgeist* of the beginning of the millennium in post-9/11 America,[23] looking back on the exhibition a decade and a half later, there is no doubt that it was an important step in the evolution of "Holocaust art" as an independent genre, and its accompanying discourse. However, while most of the artworks in the exhibition highlighted the relation between the Holocaust and its industrialized mass murdering and modern-day consumption culture, only two artists chose to explicitly deal with the image of French-American avant-garde artist Marcel Duchamp within the context of the historic event: the German artist Rudolf Herz and the Israeli artist, almost of the same age, Boaz Arad.[24]

In 1995, seven years before the exhibition in New York, the German artist Rudolf Herz (b. 1954) first created his work *ZUGZWANG*, which presented the portraits of Hitler and Duchamp side by side. Only a few years have passed, and the Israeli artist Boaz Arad (b. 1956) decided to engage with the same two figures in his work *Marcel* (2000). Although both artworks had already been displayed publicly in their countries of origin, the artists were not familiar with each other at all; it was only *Mirroring Evil* that brought them together for the first time.[25] How did the two artists with no prior knowledge of each other decide to bring these figures together, almost at the exact same time? What meaning is to be found in

Fig. 1. Rudolf Herz: *ZUGZWANG*, 1995, Installation View: Hamburger Bahnhof/Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1999. Photographer: Hans Döring.

this visual encounter? And, is it enough to read Arad's artwork only in an Israeli-Jewish local context?

Herz's *ZUGZWANG* presented rows upon rows of square black and white portraits of both Adolf Hitler and the artist Marcel Duchamp, arranged one by the other as if on a chessboard, papered to the walls from floor to ceiling like wallpaper, filling the internal exhibit space completely.

Herz's turn towards chess is a "wink" at Duchamp who was a notorious chess aficionado and devoted an important part of his time as well as his aesthetics to the game; while in both Hitler's and Duchamp's portraits, the direct gaze at the viewer and the repetition transform the two figures into icons. All of these, together with the cheap reproduction materials and the pop-y aesthetic, have made Hitler and Duchamp seem as if they almost came out of a Warhol work:[26] pop stars, just like other celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe or Elisabeth Taylor, only now not as colorful as Warhol might probably have made it.

The term "Zugzwang", borrowed from chess as well, means "forced movement" (or "compulsion to move"). This situation occurs when on

the one hand, there is no direct threat to the player whose turn it is to make the move, and, on the other hand, any future move might disturb the player's position. This is the moment when society and culture encounter one another ("Kultur und Gesellschaft"), as a remembering collective, which might constitute the German national interpenetrations of the work: because the connection between the work, chess, and the present tense, leaves the German viewers pending, postponing the apocalypse that is perhaps about to happen, while simultaneously forcing them to confront the present moment of the horrible, haunting past, or in that case—the propaganda-photo of Hitler. For this reason, Herz's artwork was a great visual challenge to the German audiences from the moment it was presented for the first time in Germany, as it drew harsh criticism and a demand for censorship.[27]

At the outset, Herz's starting point for the work was his exciting discovery that both portraits were taken by the same German photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann. In 1912, the young emerging photographer Hoffmann took the picture of Duchamp, at the time a young artist himself,[28] while the two were in Munich. It was only less than a decade later that Duchamp became established as an artist, while Hoffmann, by then a member of the Nazi party, became Hitler's official photographer and thus also took the second portrait (along with almost 2.5 million other negatives of Hitler and the Nazi party![29]). This same ownership of the portraits, combined with the almost identical way in which the two men were captured in terms of position, lighting, outfit, size, and other external features, led Herz to investigate the connections between the two almost identical photographs and its two portrayed subjects.[30] The decision to locate the avant-garde artist next to the Führer, and by that establishing a connection between the two men in the manner that Herz has done, was a puzzle to the audience who had trouble recognizing the portrait standing next to Hitler—in Germany as in New York, where Arad's artwork *Marcel* was also exhibited.

Unlike many other Israelis of his generation, Arad has no direct personal relation to the Holocaust but only as an Israeli-Jew who had grown up under its collective traumatic shadow. Thus, perhaps in contrast to Herz's duplicities and grandiose installation taken from the fascinating elements often identified with Nazi aesthetics, Arad has offered an opposite move of convergence that can be related to the "Jewish victim position". Arad, in an understated, simple manner, has appropriated a single piece of footage from *Triumph of the Will*, the Nazi propaganda film directed by Leni Riefenstahl in 1935, and has played with it as if with his own.[31] Instead of the powerful, sweeping speech shown in Riefenstahl's film that meant to

Figs. 2&3. Boaz Arad, *Marcel Marcel*, 2000, Video-art (30 seconds).

glorify Hitler—and back then was not so known among many Israelis, Arad's video art has presented to the Israeli viewers a repetitive few minutes loop, which, by aesthetic choices and tendentious editing, is reminiscent of a low budget YouTube production—though, half a decade before the webpage was even founded.[32]

While in another work, *Safam* ("mustache" in Hebrew),[33] created just one year earlier, Arad had entirely stripped Hitler of one of his most prominent identification marks and what might be his most famous attribute as a visual image; in *Marcel* the mustache that was so identified with its carrying subject, had now its own separate entity. This time it is a harassing, raging, infantile, disturbed creature, constantly changing shapes and styles, floating in and out of the body it belongs to, at hyper-speed. By this, Arad demolishes the image of Hitler as The German Führer, whilst the latter preaches and screams helpless in the background. He mocks Hitler, detaches him from the superior and inflammatory action, revenge, and ridicules the person and the speech altogether. Hitler is transformed into a joke, a sort of Arlecchino, or simply: a *Witzfigur*.

Following this, the Israeli artist Guy Ben-Ner has compared the degrading act of expropriating the mustache from Hitler made by Arad to the mass hair shaving that was done to Jews in the Holocaust.[34] Yet, this act also echoes the image of biblical Samson, who, when being stripped of his hair, lost his physical strength and with that also his confidence. Just as in Samson's case, Arad has stripped the Israeli-Jewish metaphor of the *ultimate* evil—its power.

Though Hitler's mustache started to gain popularity among Israeli-Jewish artists during the 1990s, still, there is no artwork more radical and satirical that has dared to "play" with Hitler's mustache or to manipulate Riefenstahl's film as radically as Arad has done. However, while in the Israeli context there is a great provocative potential in Arad's action, this misbehaving mustache is already a familiar and well-used, almost banal, trope in the Western art, mostly in the realm of cinema and graphic art. Long before Arad's action of exposure, various attempts had been made throughout the years to reduce the image of Hitler to his mustache, most of which were associated with Jews or Jewish fictional figures that "revenged" the Führer by demolishing him as a respected image. Many Jewish artists deconstructed or simply demystified his figure by harming, robbing, or dispossessing him of his famous toothbrush mustache: from Moe Howard in the Three Stooges' *You Nazty Spy!*, or Chaplin's *Great Dictator* (both in 1940), to more contemporary pop culture cases, like the *Seinfeld* sitcom (season 6 episode 6) that predated Arad's work by half a decade. This

applies also to the usage Arad has made of Riefenstahl's footage, as we can name many cases that had manipulated, appropriated, or used the famous fragment from the movie before he did.[35] Though I am not sure that all the imaginative attempts to demolish Hitler as an image were familiar to the Israeli artist, or to the Israeli audience, some of them definitely entered the Israeli-Jewish visual lexicon in relation to Hitler.[36]

Yet, Arad's artwork sends the viewer on a quest to identify other iconic mustaches and beards as well, and with that a broader analogy is being created, as if one is to "read" the work again in both local and international contexts: while Hitler gives his speech, his mustache rapidly changes to Herzl's beard, Stalin's mustache, or even Salvador Dali's signature curl. However, above all, the revolving stain, alongside the title of the work, takes the viewer to the mustache Duchamp slapped on the Mona Lisa in his famous artwork *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1919). And so, both Herz and Arad are partaking in the act of borrowing identities, or characters, and projecting Duchamp and Hitler onto each other: on the one hand, laying heavy accusations on Duchamp as he was an autocrat ruler ("Kunst-Diktator"[37]); and, on the other hand, absurdly turning Hitler into an avant-garde artist, or at least connecting him—both as a person and as a visual image—to the artistic sphere. Why did the artist from the "perpetrator side" and his peer from the "victim side" choose to represent the Holocaust using the same points of reference?

SIMULTANEOUS GENERALIZATION AND PERSONIFICATION

If we dare to momentarily overlook the sheer arbitrariness that brought the two men into Hoffmann's studio, Herz and Arad could not have chosen to co-display two more opposing personalities: in one corner we have a Frenchman who spent most of the war years in faraway New York, "clean" from the war and its guilt;[38] a famous artist who is known as one of the forefathers of the *Dada* movement, *conceptual art*, and, of course, the *readymade*; someone whose work continues to influence and shape generations of artists to this very day;[39] someone who used to change identities and disguises, and whose personal portrait, as opposed to his artistic repertoire, was, and is, hardly recognizable by the majority of the people. In contrast, in the other corner stands the German Führer: initiator of one of the most massive crimes against humanity of the twentieth century, whose portrait was at the center of cult-like admiration until it bled into

the contemporary pop culture and Hollywood of our days; someone who detested any modernist universalist trend in the arts, and who himself dreamed of being an artist, while, as is well known today, never succeeded in being recognized as one (or at least not as a good and important one). This so-called counter-reflection is essential for the inherent chasm between Duchamp and Hitler, which both Herz and Arad's artworks deal with.

One can hardly talk about post-1945 Western art without referring to Hitler or Duchamp, the two great anomalies, and in many ways two shattering points of the twentieth century's art, or as Herz has stressed: "the two men belong together".[40] Donald Kuspit made a more radical provocation when he called them both "terrorists",[41] which has attracted harsh criticism and objection.[42] While "terrorist" is indeed a strong word because Duchamp was not really involved in any terror event, and because it puts all the blame for the Reich's usage of art in order to propagate Nazi racist ideology on one person alone—an action of personification that became highly criticized in relation to post-war German society as an attempt to detach the blame for their own actions during the war—both Duchamp and Hitler are undoubtedly controversial figures who came to represent not only their personal works and actions, but also key figures (and figurations) in modern and postmodern art and its creation, reproduction, distribution, and authority.

Two years prior to plastering a mustache on the Mona Lisa, Duchamp performed what is maybe the most scandalous act in the history of modern art when he installed a porcelain urinal in a gallery, *Fountain* (1917). It is important to note that by introducing an everyday object, installing it on its head, and signing with his fictional name "R. Mutt" (which actually belonged to the manufacturer), Duchamp changed the "artistic game" completely. He at once made the signature and artistic thinking—the artist's name and idea, along with the action of appropriation itself—more important, in many ways, than the aesthetic values the work reflects. The wish to challenge former artistic perceptions, to alienate them, or to break with the system of the cultural institutions, became important factors within the avant-garde movements of the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. However, it was not only the secular object but also the infamous *abject* that was brought into the gallery for the first time (in Kristeva's manner of use). De-contextualizing it by changing the surroundings was exactly this very act of challenging all prior artistic conceptions that question the basic notion of "What is art?", which had all the gatekeepers and members of the art world jumping to their feet while the ground slipped from underneath them.

Remarkably, the one to carry on this same question was Hitler himself, yet from an entirely different worldview. Trying to avoid giving all the "credit" to one Nazi alone, we can still say that if Duchamp created "anti-art" in the universal meaning of the word, it was Hitler and his regime who reinforced its local boundaries once again, all in the name of nazificating German art. Under the Nazi regime, not only was the particular, local creation put under strict supervision, but so was the whole local art field.[43] There was great pressure to visually express the overwhelming, spiritual power of nature, as far away as it gets from Duchamp's urinal; no more urinals in a gallery, no more negativity and "meaningless" artworks, no more modernism, no more "degenerate art"—from now on only "great German art".[44]

A complex situation was created: figurativeness and conservatism versus conceptualism and readymade; classical traditions opposed to innovation and constant undermining of the known; "high art" versus "low art"; the almighty politician who swept the masses and whose regime had a tight hold on every artistic institution, not only by carefully guarding the boundaries but also by setting them; as opposed to the avant-gardist who protested in his work against the same institutions while trying to shatter them; namely, the politician who wanted to control the art through his regime versus the artist who wanted to change its politics.

On the other hand, both Hitler and Duchamp recognized the power of consumption and its means of distribution as they exploited mass reproduction while embracing "the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction", to use Benjamin's words.[45] While Duchamp merely explored it through his artistic creation,[46] while his face remained unfamiliar for many, Hitler took full advantage of it to propagate his *own* figure and portrait.[47] Taking it even one step further, it was not only that Duchamp challenged the question of originality when he appropriated the urinal, but it was already during Duchamp's life that the original of the *Fountain* got lost, and instead, only replicas were presented to the audience. Thus, the two portraits are caught between generalization and personification, as the two figures and the meanings attributed to their images, as cultural and visual "icons" (or not), have posed a major challenge to any representation done in the artistic sphere from then onwards, while their names had become central in many discussions regarding the question of the legitimacy of artistic creation, its forms of representation, its validation, and the artistic institutions; that is, the modern mechanisms and laws that govern and motivate the cultural institutions, or even the entire post-1945 (Western) art field.

PHOTOGRAPHIC ENCOUNTER: SECOND-HAND IMAGES

The act of diminishing Hitler as a meaningful visual image while using Duchamp, shared by both artists, expresses a way of approaching the historic event by artists who did not experience it directly or have any memory of it, but rather only "collected memories".[48] The distance from the historical event in terms of elapsed time detaches the Holocaust/war from the artworks and takes over it with something else that has generally become a trend since the 1990s, and specifically so in Israeli's Holocaust representation: both Herz and Arad no longer try to represent the historical event *per se*, but actually represent the representation of it, offering "sites of representation", as Ernst van Alphen referred to it;[49] the junction where art and history intertwine.[50]

Placing Duchamp beside (or inside) Hitler—"the famous forefather of modern art" next to "the infamous father of the German nation"—replaces the historical atrocities with *second-hand visual images*, originally created by Hoffmann or Riefenstahl. Both Hitler and Duchamp are represented now by *second-hand visual images* that are about pushing the portraits away from their original subjects, creating alienation that allows us to develop a critical view of them—like the Israeli and the German artists' memory of the event, or actually the *lack* of it.

Hence, both Herz and Arad try to "murder" important key figures of the artistic field during the last one hundred years, those who were responsible for determining its forms of representation and its difficulties, symbolically or literally—even years after they ceased to exist. This shift in meaning now becomes a perfect representation of the Lacanian *Nom du père* of the post-1945 traumatic art field, while "Hitler" and "Duchamp"—as images—continue to act as its manifestations. It is not only an attempt to put the means of representation to a visual test, rather an examination of two great artistic difficulties that contemporary artists encounter when coming to represent the (so-called) *un-representable* historical event. Under those circumstances, Herz and Arad have chosen instead to show two pure visual images that are already detached from history straight to the field of visual-history, yet simultaneously chained to its genetics. They do this by de-contextualizing the image and (re-)vandalizing it, which is an iconoclastic act that bravely rises against the ones who warmly embraced the artistic medium and its ways of distribution. And the source of this action of abuse lies in the act of appropriation more than it is in the image—a *Duchampian act* in nature, which they have both chosen to force on the image of Hitler.

By acknowledging their inability to mimetically represent the Holocaust/war, the two artists ironically point to the fact that there are almost no boundaries left to break in the art world, or at least very few. After being broken by Duchamp and reestablished and heavily guarded by Hitler, only to be heavily broken once again post-1945 by the exposure to the trauma, and due to a collective visual amnesia, which was imposed in the first few decades on both the Israeli-Jewish society and the German one, as two nations which share an historical bond, in many aspects during the 1990s the very existence of the taboos and boundaries has been repealed. As a result, the shock-limits are being continuously lowered, as the "un-representable event" of the last century *became mass-represented*, and thus, second-hand representations are appropriated now, as a wide spread trend, even more strongly since the beginning of the millennium—in Germany, in Israel, everywhere.[51] Therefore, Herz's way of dealing with the difficulty to represent in a post-avant-garde era is to create a provocation via negation, confrontation, and radicalization ("Es muss Widerspruch geben"[52]), or as he has explained it: "ZUGZWANG means the practical destruction of any aura an individual image may have by repeating it".[53]

In a conversation I had with Arad, I came to acknowledge that while he has shared the same desire for negation, choosing the name for his artwork—*Marcel*—was a long process full of self-awareness, as he testified:

> To me, the name was a self-irony. I mangle Hitler's mustache, Duchamp mangles the Mona Lisa's. It is a sacrilegious act in a way. . . . I don't live in a time where there is avant-garde, radical art or things to desecrate. [The name] *Marcel* is ironic. I don't view myself as a person who has done something as radical as Duchamp. I look at *Marcel* and I speak of myself . . . It's like a person does something to the mustache. What I did there is I detached the mustache from him [Hitler], turning it into an independent stain, almost infantile, and it allows taking the character and switching its identities. . . . To me the name came from a joke on my own account. **I laughed at my fantasy of being a radical artist**.

Despite the big differences between the artworks made by Herz and Arad, both artists share the decision to deal with two such extreme figures in (art) history like Hitler and Duchamp as a way to hold shared-irony towards the art field itself, and to revenge through and by the photographic image. Both quotes prove a considerable amount of narcissistic reflexivity that asks for revenge precisely in the age of "non-radical art", post-avant-garde, and in the age of visual history, in which the photographic medium is not

only greatly participating in propaganda, but is responsible for the ways via which we address the past, transmit it, cope with it, curate, and remember it—and yet ironically, prevent them from being able to mimetically represent it. Hence, "Hitler" and "Duchamp" mark a demand to turn the gaze back toward the photographic medium and *its* forms of representations of the past and distributions of historical knowledge and memory—while untying them and exposing the inner manipulative mechanism that is at the core of the photographic existence. In other words: bringing Hitler and Duchamp into their artworks is an act that appropriates within the photographic arena those who in the past have appropriated themselves.

Appropriation here means not only representing the Nazi imagery world, but also the act of slamming and undermining the visual iconic images of modern art history. Hitler and Duchamp of pre-1945—as the fathers that must be murdered, and "Hitler" and "Duchamp" of post-1945—as images, or icons, are naturally no longer the same. They are not "just" photographed portraits anymore, but images in the digital age, used, worn out, empty photographic images. Those who once enjoyed the replica, the duplication, and the mass reproduction, have now become their own reproduced images, *simulacra*. Thus, it is a contemplation of the image in the age of the global consumption, which only progressive artists like Herz and Arad started doing already in the 1990s, when the Internet revolution was still in its early stages and only a short step before this *mass-appropriation* that we are witnessing today, when, on the one hand, there is still an ongoing global fascination with Nazism, and on the other hand "Hitler" has already become an internet *meme* or GIF in the period of "poor images", as Hito Steyel will later call it.[54]

Remarkably, it is exactly in this junction that two "photographic relatives" get together: the static image and the moving one; and it is exactly here that Arad's work—as an Israeli example—should be considered beyond the limited Israeli-Jewish discourse, as I argue that it is not by chance that the appropriated images chosen for the discussed artworks originated from two past artists: Hoffmann and Riefenstahl. Here lies the great difference between Herz and Arad, which is, paradoxically, the most interesting meeting-point between them and between the local and the transnational perspectives with respect to their national positions.

Because the image Herz "borrowed" from Hoffmann is a still-image, he has chosen to deal with it specifically in that same scope and medium: by multiplying, glorifying and printing the photographed-portraits many times, he turns the photographic medium against itself so that the absent-original-image, in the Benjaminan sense, has already become a cliché.[55] The

appropriation of the images and the repeated placement of both Hoffmann's subjects side by side in Herz's artwork points out Hoffmann's first attempt, through the medium, to glorify both subjects in his studio, while at the same time revealing the manipulation as well as the lack of creativity and same aesthetic treatment Hoffmann demonstrated toward both men—up to the elimination, or at least blurring, of the same subjects' subjectivity, which was in many ways supposed to make it easier to tell the two apart. Moreover, the silence of the images and the removal of the voice negate the propaganda that the German society has become accustomed to when viewing Hitler, as a cognitive addition.

By way of contrast, the footage "borrowed" from Riefenstahl in Arad's artwork comes from the medium of cinematic photography. Therefore, in order to confront the past *moving-image*, Arad had to do so in the exact same space and medium; that is, editing it into a clip and reticulating its main protagonist. In Arad's case, choosing to use a simple editing tool and painting Hitler's mustache like a childish addition over Riefenstahl's original footage, while Hitler continues to scream in the background, leaves the cinematic medium completely bare and plays out the same idea as in Herz's artwork: to appropriate images from artists who used the photographic medium cynically when serving the Nazi ideology and its propaganda, as Hoffmann and Riefenstahl did, actually eliminates the historical atrocities from the artworks and deepens the engagement with the medium and the image. This happens by questioning the medium's moral responsibility in relation to shaping the ways we remember and commemorate the past, but also by turning the spotlight to the role of the artists, and with it—challenging the different "national imaginations" of their targeted viewers: Germans or Israelis.

In the tension between the local and the international, Herz and Arad work with second-hand images, but performing a second-hand act of appropriation as well. Furthermore, by exposing the hidden role of the photographic medium as a (re-)shaping memory agent, the action of appropriation also puts an amount of responsibility on the viewer, as a general "Someone" and simultaneously either German or an Israeli-Jewish specific subject—because, as those who are in between being the historical victimizers and the victims, they bear considerable moral responsibility, and henceforth, are forcibly becoming an active participant in the ways in which Nazi imagery has become in many ways yet another commodity in our Western consumption culture and collective memory.[56]

Although both Herz and Arad have visually and materially engaged with the historic event differently, and at first glance the only connection

between their works is on the contextual level, and although each work should be interpreted within its local discourse and its political realm, Herz's and Arad's "use" of the historical event and its famous and infamous protagonist—Hitler—also serves, in both cases, as an opportunity to turn the gaze back into the local art field in which they operate and belong to, and to the medium they create in, while examining it as an agent of historical knowledge as well as story-telling. And this aspect, which gained popularity with the usage of the figure of Hitler ever since the 1990s, definitely far exceeds the Israeli-Jewish nationality and its collective memory, or its guided trauma on the one hand, and yet, simultaneously remains grounded to it, on the other hand. But while Israeli artists came to understand this regional-transnational paradox already two decades ago, and have constantly chosen to investigate it in their works, the Israeli art discourse in many aspects has remained behind, mostly bounded to the local.

CONCLUSION

Arad's artwork is a telling example, by far exceeding the single case, of the ongoing transformation taking place in relation to the use of Holocaust and Nazi related images, from the 1990s to this very day in Israel—but also outside of Israel's borders. Thus, by understanding his artwork not only as an "Israeli case", rather looking at it also as part of a bigger, transnational wave, more layers are added to the work. For this reason, and without underestimating the importance of locality, the art discourse needs to think about Israeli-Jewish representations of the Holocaust and its memory also beyond the local unified/excluding discourse—which, interestingly, can teach us more about the Israeli-Jewish identity as a remembering collective.

Notes

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before the announcement of Arad's tragic death. Thanks also to the German artist Rudolf Herz who shared his thesis with me.

1. In Zuckermann's talk at the Herzliya Museum of Contemporary Art on 5 August 2015, he argued that, metaphorically speaking, Third Generation artists tell the previous Generations: "You made from the Holocaust a carnival—now we will show you what a carnival is" (my translation).

2. Roee Rosen, "The Visibility and Invisibility of Trauma—Traces of the Holocaust in the Work of Moshe Gershuni and in Israeli Art," *Studio Art Magazine* 76 (October-November, 1996): 44–61 [Hebrew].

3. There were previous Holocaust representations and Jewish artists who worked outside of Israel, and Israeli-Holocaust survivors, who all artistically and symbolically returned to their trauma; however, many of these attempts were rejected by the Israeli institutional field or were not interpreted through this prism. See Dalia Manor, "From Rejection to Recognition: Israeli Art and the Holocaust," *Israel Affairs* 4.3–4 (1998): 253–77.

4. See Ernst van Alphen, "Playing the Holocaust: Playacting and Toys," in *Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art*, ed. Norman L. Kleeblatt (New York, 2001): 65–83.

5. Most famous was the response of member of Knesset and journalist Yosef "Tommy" Lapid who called on the museum staff, with irony, to think to "import hair from Auschwitz to hang on it postmodern works". See Tami Katz-Freiman, "Don't Touch My Holocaust: Analyzing the Barometer of Responses: Israeli Artists Challenge the Holocaust Taboo," in *Impossible Images: Contemporary Art After the Holocaust*, ed. Shelley Hornstein et al. (New York, 2003), 129–54.

6. Batya Brutin, "In the Shadow of the Shoah: the Revealed and Concealed in the Artworks of Shoah 'Second Generation' Israeli Artists," in *Protocollage: Collected Essays from History and Theory: The Protocols, Death is a Gang-boss aus Deutschland*, ed. Gal Vantura and Dana Horowitz-Arieli, et al. (Tel-Aviv, 2011), 87; Batya Brutin, *The Inheritance: The Holocaust in the Artworks of Second Generation Israeli Artists* (Jerusalem, 2015) [both in Hebrew].

7. The series recently appeared again as part of a retrospective exhibition of Rosen: Roee Rosen: A Group exhibition (Tel-Aviv Museum of Art, Jan-April 2016).

8. On the "return" of the fear—which never actually left the stage, see Moshe Zuckermann, *Shoah in the Sealed Room: the "Holocaust" in Israeli Press during the Gulf War* (Tel-Aviv, 1993) [Hebrew].

9. See Brutin, "In the Shadow of the Shoah"; *The Inheritance*; Dana Arieli-Horowitz, "Hitler Now: Nazi Imagery/Israeli Art," in *Protocollage: Collected Essays from History and Theory*, 115–53; Ronen Eidelman, "Pipi, Poo, Hitler, Auschwitz: Shoa and Nazi symbolism in contemporary Israeli Art," in *Ma'arav: Art, Culture and Media Magazine* (online); David Sperber, "How Dealing with the Holocaust Became Provocative," *ibid*. [all in Hebrew]. One of the very few that expressed a broader reading—but unfortunately did not become part of the hegemonic discourse—is an essay by Israeli artist Natan Nuchi who immigrated to the US in

the mid-1970s: "A Nice Holocaust, Without Victims and Without Horror," *Studio Art Magazine* 54 (August 2002): 54–63.

10. See Noga Stiassny, "Anselm Kiefer/Ingeborg Bachmann: The Landscape," in *Austrian Centers Edited Volume - The IX. Annual Convention of Centers for Austrian Studies* (2015), ed. Marija Wakounig and Ferdinand Kühnel (Vienna, 2018).

11. The famous 1990 UCLA conference organized by Saul Friedlander about "limitations of the representation" (April) gave this change an academic "voice", Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge and London, 1992).

12. Norman Kleeblatt, "The Nazi Occupation of the White Cube: Transgressive Images/Moral Ambiguity/Contemporary Art," in *Mirroring Evil*, 3–16.

13. W. J. T. Mitchell, "The Pictorial Turn," *Artforum* (March 1992): 89–94; *Picture Theory* (Chicago and London, 1994).

14. Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, 2012).

15. Andrew S. Gross and Susanne Rohr, *Comedy—Avant-Garde—Scandal: Remembering the Holocaust after the End of History* (Heidelberg, 2010).

16. Andreas Huyssen, "Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World," in *New German Critique*, 100: "Arendt, Adorno, New York, and Los Angeles," Winter (2007): 189–207, here 193.

17. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996).

18. Huyssen, "Geographies of Modernism," 194.

19. *Ibid*.

20. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (Philadelphia, 2006).

21. By claiming that, I also mean an art discourse that goes beyond Adorno's famous dictum on the artistic creation after 1945.

22. Only one example for the reception of the exhibition among the critics: Michael Kimmelman, "ART REVIEW; Evil, the Nazis and Shock Value," *The New York Times*, 15 March 2002, http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/15/arts/art-review-evil-the-nazis-and-shock-value.html?pagewanted=all. In contrast, the coverage of the exhibition in Israel mainly put the focus on the events that took place in New York, as something that is happening far away from Israel, see "Demonstration during the opening of an exhibition on Nazi imagery in the Jewish Museum in New York," *Ha'aretz*, 15 May 2017, http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.780550. For the Hebrew translation of Kimmelman's review from *The New York Times* in *Ha'aretz*, 15 May 2017, http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.769648.

23. Among other scholars, Reesa Greenberg, who was involved in organizing the exhibition, linked its reception to the year 2002 and with that asks to locate it within the time-frame and events that took place in the beginning of the millennium:

> The timing of the exhibition, March 2002, may well have been too soon after the September 11, 2001 mass murders at the Twin Towers and the futile, prolonged

> attempts to recover survivors. *Mirroring Evil* is an exhibition about evil men who dehumanize and mass murder. Even if nothing overtly links the exhibition to recent events, these events may well be behind the hysteria with which the exhibition was received … In addition, the exhibition took place in the midst of other, related, ongoing traumas—during Operation Enduring Freedom, suicide bombings in Israel, Operation Protective Wall and escalating, institutionalized and individual acts of anti-Semitism throughout the world. … See Greenberg's homepage: http://www.yorku.ca/reerden/Projects/mirroring_evil.html (15.5.2017).

24. Still, "*Duchampian* influence" could be recognized in quite a few of the artworks in the exhibition, see Kleeblatt, *Mirroring Evil*.

25. In my interview with Arad on 11 February 2016, he told me he was not familiar with Herz's work until the exhibition. Although Arad's artwork was created after Herz's, both artists were already committed to this issue for a few years.

26. Norman L. Kleeblatt, "Rudolf Herz, Impossible Bedfellows: Adolf Hitler and Marcel Duchamp," in *Mirroring Evil*, 118; Rudolf Herz, "Thesen, Supplement, Gespräch," in *Rudolf Herz: ZUGZWANG, Duchamp, Hitler, Hoffmann*, ed. Heinz Schütz (Munich, 2013), 21:42 (32) [in German]. Herz's thesis was already formulated in 2002.

27. An exhibition of the project to be held in Berlin was even canceled, see: *ibid*.

28. 1912 was also the same year when Duchamp started to gain his artistic recognition with his work *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2*. Herz is committed to this period in Duchamp's life, which lasted for around three months. Herz has investigated it also in *Marcel Duchamp. Le mystère de Munich* (2012).

29. Rob van der Laarse, "Fatal Attraction: Nazi Landscapes, Modernity and Holocaust Memory," in *Landscape Biographies. Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes*, ed. Jan Kolen, Hans Renes, and Rita Hermans (Amsterdam, 2015), 347.

30. Herz, "Thesen, Supplement, Gespräch."

31. Arad already dealt with the figure of Hitler in earlier works such as *Hebrew Lessons* and *100 Beats*. Thus, indirectly, few of my claims can be implied about other works.

32. Ironically, today Arad's work can be viewed free of charge on YouTube.

33. See Arad's homepage: http://boazarad.net/video.html

34. Guy Ben-Ner, "Synchronization of a Moustache"—an accompanied text for Arad's exhibition VOZVOZ at Center for Contemporary Art, Tel-Aviv, 2007, on Arad's homepage.

35. A lecture was given precisely on this subject at the conference we organized in Jerusalem by a member of the group, Prof. Dr. Chris Wahl (Film University Babelsberg): "'Triumph of the Will' (1935) and its Visual Afterlife".

36. One should also consider the *Ha'hamishia Ha'kamerit* and their satire sketches, a weekly TV Israeli satire-comic show broadcasted during 1993–97.

37. Heinz Schütz, "Bildpolitische Schachzüge," in *Rudolf Herz: ZUGZWANG, Duchamp, Hitler, Hoffmann*, 13.

38. On the change and the shift from Europe to the US, see Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel, eds., *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art World* (Cambridge and London, 2013); Stephanie Barron et al., eds., *Art of Two Germanys—Cold War Cultures* (New York, 2009); Monique Beudert and Judith Severne, eds., *German and American Art from Beuys and Warhol* (London, 1996).

39. Not only that it is hard to talk about conceptual art today without mentioning Duchamp, but also many contemporary artists engaged specifically with the urinal.

40. Herz, "Thesen, Supplement, Gespräch".

41. Kuspit's statement was made as part of a panel discussion "Jewish Holocaust in Art" at the 88th Annual Conference of the College Art Association in New York, 23–26 February 2000. His statement was quoted in other places, see note 42.

42. This attitude that Kuspit exhibited did not pass peacefully, but started a series of long correspondence with different figures, which included accusations and insults toward each other. See Naumann, "Duchamp: An Exchange—Essays by Francis M. Naumann and Donald Kuspit," *Artnet*—where Naumann responded to Kuspit's essay "Going, Going, Gone" by choosing the harsh title "Enough Is Enough Is Enough". Later, we can find Kuspit's response to Naumann, and Naumann's *second* response—see note 27. Another example is Elliott Barowitz, who decided to publish "An Open Letter to Donald Kuspit" in "An Open Letter to Donald Kuspit," *tout-fait: The Marcel Duchamp Studies Online Journal* 1:2 (May 2000), http://www.toutfait.com/issues/issue_2/Notes/barowitz.html (15.5.2017).

43. This control was possible through various institutions all of which were eventually headed by the Führer. See Brandon Taylor and Wilfried van der Will, eds., *The Nazification of Art—Art, Design, Music, Architecture and Film in the Third Reich* (Winchester, UK, 1990).

44. Both Degenerate Art Exhibition (*Entartete Kunst*) and The Great German Art Exhibition (*Die Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung*) were two important exhibitions, which were put out by the Nazis, in Munich during July 1937, with a day in between (in favor of the Great German Art). The two exhibitions were honored by Hitler's presence and served as a propaganda tool in order to provide the German audience with a visual explanation of how art should/shouldn't look under the Third Reich. See Olaf Peters, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany 1937* (New York, 2014).

45. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, trans. J. A. Underwood (London, 2008 [1936]).

46. It is not relevant if Duchamp was fascinated and in favor of consumption and industrial products or that he criticized it, but is just the artistic action of using an everyday commodity itself.

47. On the role that Hitler's face played in shaping his images as almost a living-mythos, see Claudia Schmölders, *Hitlers Gesicht: Eine physiognomische Biographie*, (Munich, 2000).

48. Gross and Rohr, *Comedy—Avant-Garde—Scandal*.

49. Ernst van Alphen, *Caught by History: Holocaust Effects in Contemporary Art, Literature and Theory* (Stanford, 1998).

50. Kleeblatt, "Rudolf Herz, Impossible Bedfellows."

51. There were artists that started to deal with this method already decades before, e.g., Holocaust survivor artist Boris Lurie (1924–2008); however, since the 1990s it is clear that it has become a wide spread phenomenon that is embraced by the canon.

52. Schütz, "Bildpolitische Schachzüge," 11–2; Herz, "Thesen, Supplement, Gespräch".

53. *Ibid*.

54. One of Hito Steyerl's main theses in her work Hito Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen* (Berlin, 2012); Also published in Hebrew, see Hito Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen*, trans. and ed. Ester Dotan (Tel-Aviv, 2015).

55. The different national perspectives contradict, for example, the action of appropriation made by Piotr Uklanski in his work *The Nazis* (1998), which was also presented in the same exhibition.

56. Both Herz and Arad have testified, separately, on their ongoing will "to pull the rug out from under the viewer's feet", when they come to deal with this imagery world, while Arad mentioned it a few times in the interview, Herz has stressed it in his thesis "Thesen, Supplement, Gespräch".

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