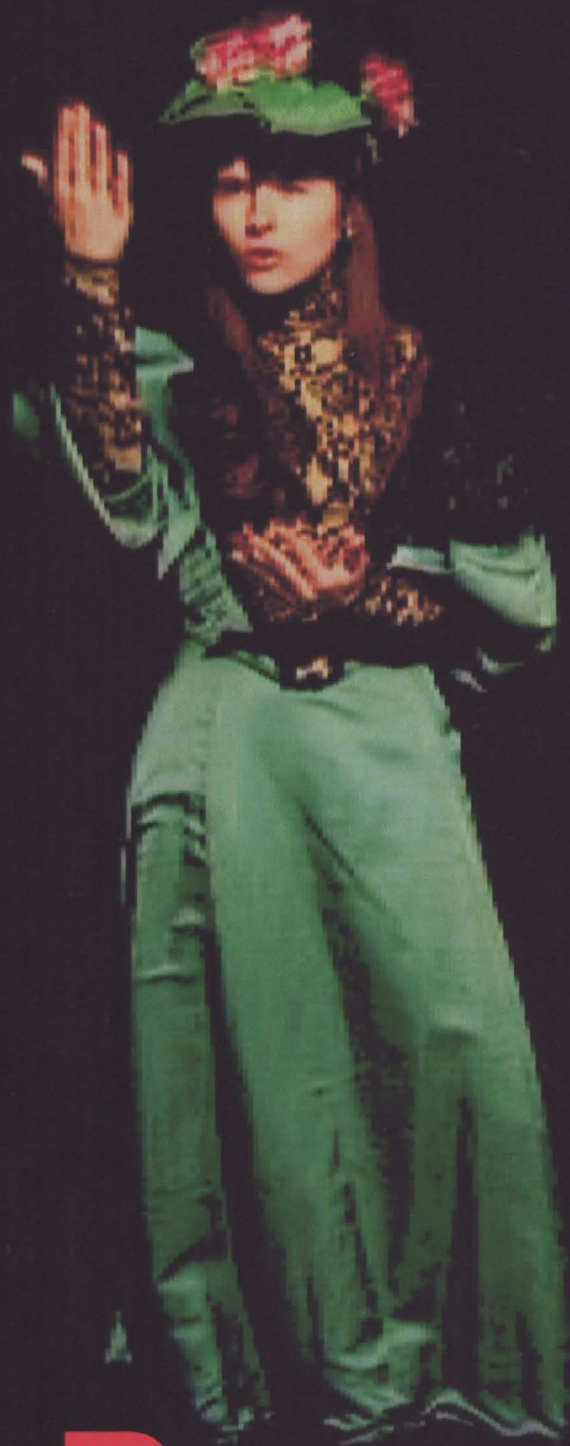


sigrïd hackenberg ICH HEIßE (my name is)

ROSA LUXEMBURG

Zamosc, March 5, 1870-71 ?
Berlin, January 15, 1919

(my name is)



Ich heiße

Rosa Luxemburg

A Video & Sound Installation/2001
by Sigrid Hackenberg



ICH HEIßE (my name is) ROSA LUXEMBURG, video & sound installation by Sigrid Hackenberg, 2001; installation views; photography by Tom Powel; archival film footage: Revolutionaries at the Brandenburg Gate, Berlin, 1918, courtesy Bundesarchiv Berlin / Transit GMBH, Munich





World War I / German Soldiers / Archival film footage courtesy Archive, Films, Inc., New York

Sigrid Hackenberg is a Spanish-German artist who lives and works in New York. She has produced a series of multiple channel installations and feature-length tapes that have been recorded in Europe, Asia and the United States. Her work has been recently exhibited at Marianne Boesky Gallery, New York; Galerie Reinhard Hauff, Stuttgart; Kunsthalle Goeppingen; the Contemporary Art Museum of the University of Rome, and at the Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia. Her video tapes are included in the video collections of the New York University Avery Fisher Center for Music & Media; the University of Art and Design Media Lab, Helsinki; LACE, Los Angeles, and Electronic Arts Intermix, Inc. New York.

Hackenberg was born in Barcelona, Spain, and grew up in Spain, Germany, Canada, Japan, and the United States. She received a B.A. from San Francisco State University and an M.A. from New York University. She teaches video art at New York University.



ICH HEIßE (my name is) ROSA LUXEMBURG
A video and sound installation by Sigrid Hackenberg, 2001

6 LCD video projectors

5 dvd players

1 cd player

8 plexi-glass panels

2 amplifiers & 4 speakers

Sigrid Hackenberg performs Rosa Luxemburg
Including excerpts from Rosa Luxemburg's
"Unser Programm und die politische Situation"
(Our Programme and the Political Situation)
Opening speech presented at the founding of the
Communist Party of Germany, Berlin, December 31, 1918
Rosa Luxemburg's voice by Dolores Hackenberg
Sound design for "Unser Programm und die politische Situation"
by Johannes Schneider

Including digitally altered excerpts from
Ludwig van Beethoven's "Symphony No. 5 in C minor, op. 67"
Realization, production, camera, editing, and sound design
by Sigrid Hackenberg

World War I archival film footage courtesy Archive Films, Inc., New York
November Revolution 1918, Berlin, archival film footage
courtesy Chronos Film GMBH

November Revolution 1918/Spartacus Uprising 1919, Berlin,
archival film footage courtesy Bundesarchiv / Transit Film GMBH

Background and History:

Rosa Luxemburg is an important revolutionary figure in the history of the 20th Century. Luxemburg was born in 1870-71(?), in the small town of Zamosc, in Russian Poland, to Jewish parents. At a young age, Luxemburg developed strong political aspirations. When Luxemburg completed her Gymnasium studies, she fled Warsaw and arrived in Zurich at a time when the city afforded sanctuary to numerous Russian, Polish, Austrian and German emigres. In Zurich, Luxemburg met Leo Jogiches (1867-1919); her colleague and lover to be. Together they founded the SDKP Party (Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland) in 1893, that later became the SDKPiL (Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland & Lithuania). On completing her PHD at the University of Zurich in 1898, Luxemburg engaged in a marriage of convenience to a German citizen. This marriage allowed her to move to Berlin, where she joined the most powerful Social Democratic Party in Europe: the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany). During her life, Luxemburg wrote numerous political articles and theoretical texts that were Marxist in orientation. She was an internationalist, a brilliant orator and fluent in Polish, Russian, German, French and English. She was an active member of the Second International. Luxemburg was an independent thinker and was at times critical of Lenin's political strategies and political philosophy. She served prison sentences both in Poland and Germany due to her political beliefs and strong anti-World War I polemics.

The name Luxemburg is synonymous with courage, sacrifice and revolution. When the SPD began to veer to the right, Luxemburg refused to engage in any political compromises. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) were founding members of the Spartacus League and the German Communist Party (KPD). On January 15, 1919, Luxemburg was assassinated in Berlin by counter-revolutionary troops. She was arrested without a warrant, mistreated, shot in the head, and her body disposed of in Berlin's Landwehr Canal. Her body was not recovered until late May and appeared severely disfigured. Karl Liebknecht was assassinated the same day as Luxemburg, and a few months later, while in police custody, Jogiches was severely beaten and mortally shot in the back.

Technical Description:

The video and sound installation, ICH HEIßE (my name is) ROSA LUXEMBURG, depicts four larger-than-life video projections of Rosa Luxemburg. In addition, archival film footage from *World War I*, *the November Revolution of 1918*, and *the Spartacus Uprising of 1919*, in Berlin, accompany the figures. The images are projected onto free-standing plexi-glass panels that allow the projected images to be viewed from the front as well as the back of each panel. Sigrid Hackenberg performs Rosa Luxemburg and is dressed in period clothing. Digitally altered excerpts from Ludwig van Beethoven's "5th Symphony" accompany the images. Sound design for the "5th Symphony" by Sigrid Hackenberg. A second sound track spoken by Dolores Hackenberg presents excerpts from Rosa Luxemburg's speech "Unser Programm und die politische Situation" (Our Programme and the Political Situation), presented at the founding of the Communist Party of Germany, Berlin, December 31, 1918. The voice-over appears as an independent and unsynchronized track. Sound design for "Unser Programm und die politische Situation" by Johannes Schneider.

The installation consists of 6 video projections and 8 plexi-glass panels. Panel 1 measures 8 feet in height by 6 feet in width. Panels 2 & 3 and 4 & 5 utilize double panels, each panel being 8 by 4 feet. Panel 6 and 7 each measure 8 by 4 feet and panel 8, a horizontal panel, measures 4 by 8 feet. Viewers should have ample space to comfortably walk around the projected images. The exhibition space is darkened.

Minimum exhibition space dimensions:

Length:	72 feet
Width:	40 feet
Height:	12 feet



Rosa Luxemburg/Panel 1
Panels 2 & 3 and 4 & 5.
World War I / South Africa
Archival film footage
courtesy Archive Films, Inc., New York



Rosa Luxemburg/Panel 6



Panel 8



Panel 7

Excerpt from: "What Does Spartacus Want?" by Rosa Luxemburg
Draft Programme of the Communist Party of Germany, 1918, Berlin, "Die Rote Fahne", Dec. 4, 1918
British Socialist Party, London, 1919 A Young Socialist Publication, April 1971

"It is madness to suppose that the capitalists will submit voluntarily to the socialist verdict of a parliament or a national assembly, that they will calmly surrender their property, their profits, their privileges of exploitation. All ruling classes have fought obstinately to the end for their privileges.....the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the English nobles and the American slave owners.....all shed rivers of blood. They trampled upon corpses, they committed murder, arson, and state treason, they precipitated civil war.....

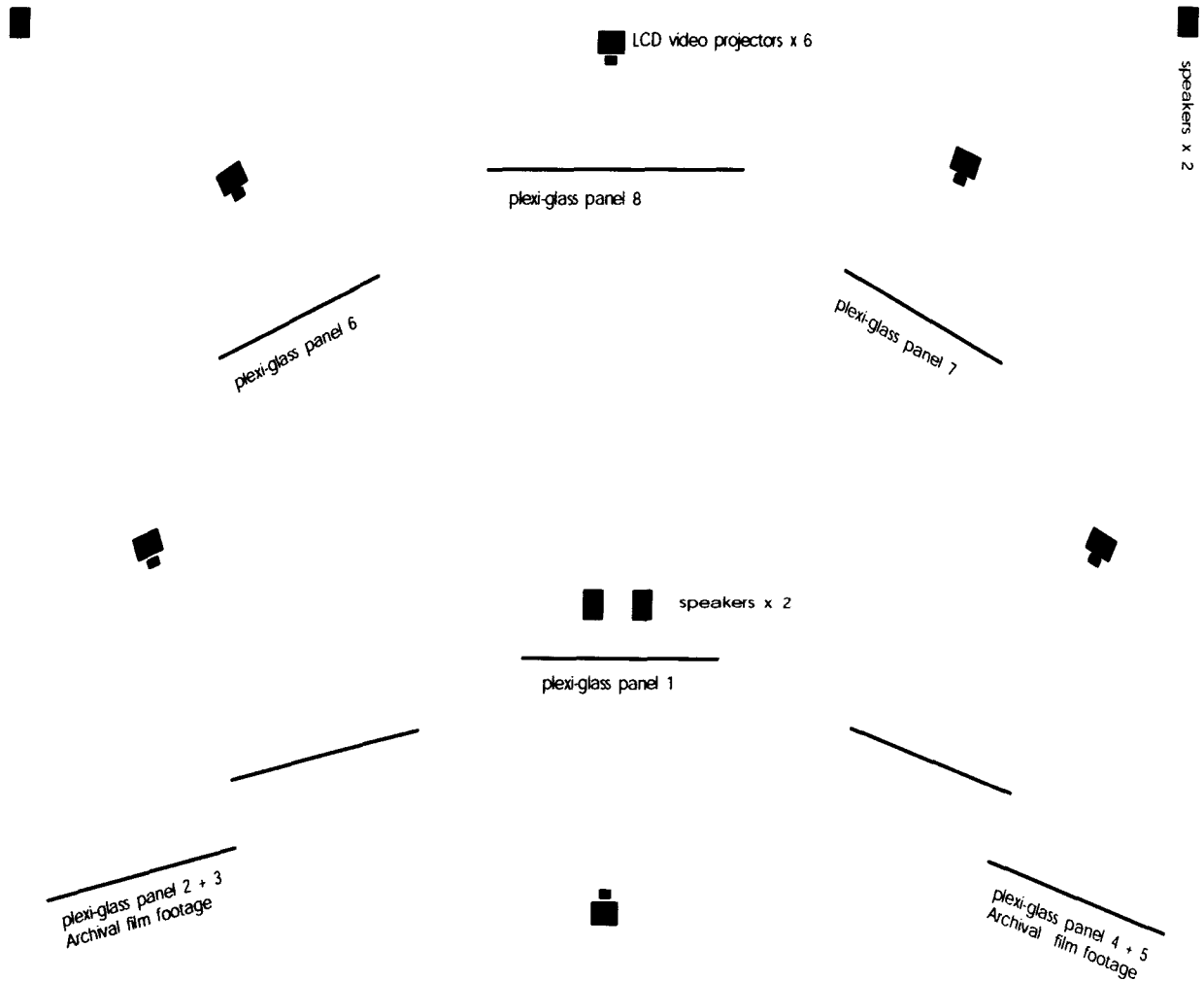
The imperialist capitalist class, as the last offspring of the caste of exploiters, surpasses all its predecessors as far as brutality, open cynicism, and rascality are concerned.

It will defend its "holy of holies"____its profits and privileges of exploitation____tooth and nail. It will defend them with the cold-blooded viciousness which it manifested during the history of its colonial policy and during the last World War. It will move heaven and hell against the workers. It will mobilize the peasantry against the industrial workers.....

.....It will get its officers to commit massacres.....It will sooner turn the country into a smoking heap of ruins than voluntarily relinquish its power to exploit the working class.

.....The struggle for socialism is the greatest civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare for this civil war the necessary weapons; it must learn to use them_____to fight and to conquer.

By arming the compact mass of working people with full political power for the purpose of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is established and therefore the true democracy. True democracy, democracy that does not defraud the people, does not exist where the wage slave sits in would-be equality with the capitalist, or the farmhand with the landowner, in order to debate in parliamentary manner over questions most vital to them____true democracy is to be found only where the mass of the workers take the entire power of government into their toil-hardened hands in order to wield it over the heads of the ruling classes as the god Thor wielded his hammer....."



ICH HEIßE (my name is) ROSA LUXEMBURG / INSTALLATION DIAGRAM

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Revolutionaries standing in front of the confiscated "Berliner Tageblatt" (newspaper) / Spartacus Uprising 1919, Berlin / Archival film footage courtesy Bundesarchiv / Transit Film GMBH, Berlin

Excerpt from: "Our Programme and the Political Situation" by Rosa Luxemburg

Opening speech presented at the founding of the Communist Party of Germany, December 31, 1918, Berlin
Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (Reprinted from 'The New International' 1943)
A Young Socialist Publication, April 1971

Comrades: Our task today is to discuss and adopt a programme. In undertaking this task we are not actuated solely by the consideration that yesterday we founded a new party and that a new party must formulate a programme. Great historical movements have been the determining causes of today's deliberations. The time has arrived when the entire socialist programme of the proletariat has to be established upon a new foundation. We are faced with a position similar to that which was faced by Marx and Engels when they wrote the Communist Manifesto seventy years ago. As you all know, the Communist Manifesto dealt with socialism, with the realization of the aims of socialism, as the immediate task of the proletarian revolution. This was the idea represented by Marx and Engels in the revolution of 1848; it was thus, likewise, that they conceived the basis for the proletarian action in the international field. In common with all the leading spirits in the working class movement, both Marx and Engels then believed that the immediate introduction of socialism was at hand. All that was necessary was to bring about a political revolution, to seize the political power of the state, and socialism would then immediately pass from the realm of thought to the realm of flesh and blood.....

.....But we have now reached the point comrades, when we are able to say that we have rejoined Marx, that we are once more advancing under his flag. If today we declare that the immediate task of the proletariat is to make socialism a living reality and to destroy capitalism root and branch, in saying this we take our stand upon the ground occupied by Marx and Engels in 1848; we adopt a position from which in principle they never moved. It has at length become plain what true Marxism is, and what this substitute Marxism has been. (Applause). I mean the substitute Marxism which has so long been the official Marxism of the Social Democracy. You see what Marxism of this sort leads to, the Marxism of those who are the henchmen of Ebert, David and the rest of them. These are the official representatives of the doctrine which has been trumpeted for decades as Marxism undefiled. But in reality Marxism could not lead in this direction, could not lead Marxists to engage in counter-revolutionary activities side by side with such as Scheidemann. Genuine Marxism turns its weapons against those also who seek to falsify it. Burrowing like a mole beneath the foundations of capitalist society, it has worked so well that the half of the German proletariat is marching today under our banner, the storm-riding standard of revolution. Even in the opposite camp, even where the counter-revolution still seems to rule, we have adherents and future comrades-in-arms.

Let me repeat, then, that the course of historical evolution has led us back to the point at which Marx and Engels stood in 1848 when they hoisted the flag of international socialism. We stand where they stood, but with the advantage that seventy additional years of capitalist development lie behind us. Seventy years ago, to those who reviewed the errors and illusions of 1848, it seemed as if the proletariat had still an interminable distance to traverse before it could hope to realise socialism. I need hardly say that no serious thinker has ever been inclined to fix upon a definite date for the collapse of capitalism; but after the failures of 1848, the day for the collapse seemed to lie in the distant future. Such a belief, too can be read in every line of the Preface which Engels wrote in 1895. We are now in a position to cast upon the account, and we are able to see that the time has really been short in comparison with that occupied by the sequence of class struggles throughout history. The progress of large-scale capitalist development during seventy years has brought us so far that today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all. Nay, more; not merely are we today in a position



to perform this task, not merely is its performance a duty toward the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. (Loud applause). What has the war left of bourgeois society beyond a gigantic rubble heap? Formally, of course, all the means of production and most of the instruments of power, practically all the decisive instruments of power, are still in the hands of the dominant classes. We are under no illusions here. But what our rulers will be able to achieve with the powers they possess, over and above frantic attempts to re-establish their system of spoliation through blood and slaughter, will be nothing more than chaos. Matters have reached such a pitch that today mankind is faced with two alternatives: it may perish amid chaos; or it may find salvation in socialism. As the outcome of the Great War it is impossible for the capitalist classes to find any issue from their difficulties while they maintain class rule. We now realize the absolute truth of the statement formulated for the first time by Marx and Engels as the scientific basis of socialism in the great charter of our movement, in the Communist Manifesto. Socialism will become a historical necessity. Socialism is inevitable, not merely because the proletarians are no longer willing to live under the conditions imposed by capitalist class, but, further, because if the proletariat fails to fulfill its duties as a class, if it fails to realize socialism, we shall crash down together to a common doom. (Prolonged applause.)

Here you have the general foundation of the Programme we are officially adopting today, draft of which you have all read in the pamphlet, "What Does Spartacus Want?" Our programme is deliberately opposed to the leading principle of the Erfurt programme; it is deliberately opposed to the separation of the immediate and so-called minimal demands formulated for the political and economic struggle, from the socialist goal regarded as a maximal programme. It is in deliberate opposition to the Erfurt programme that we liquidate the results of seventy years' evolution, that we liquidate, above all, the primary results of the war, saying we know nothing of minimal and maximal programmes; we know only one thing, socialism; this is the minimum we are going to secure. (Hear! Hear!)

I do not propose to discuss the details of our programme. This would take too long, and you will form your own opinions upon matters of detail. The task that devolves upon me is merely to sketch the broad lines wherein our programme is distinguished from what has hitherto been the official programme of the German Social Democracy. I regard it, however, as of the utmost importance that we should come to an understanding in our estimate of the concrete circumstances of the hour, of the tactics we have to adopt, of the practical measures which must be undertaken, in view of the probable lines of further development. We have to judge the political situation from the outlook I have just characterized, from the outlook of those who aim at the immediate realization of socialism, of those who are determined to subordinate everything else to that end.

Our Congress, the Congress of what I may proudly call the only revolutionary socialist party of the German proletariat, happens to coincide in point of time with the crisis in the development of the German Revolution. "Happens to coincide," I say; but in truth the coincidence is no chance matter. We may assert that after the occurrences of the last few days the curtain has gone down upon the first act of the German Revolution. We are now in the opening of the second act, and it is our common duty to undertake self-examination and self-criticism. We shall be guided more wisely in the future, and we shall gain additional impetus for further advances, if we study all that

we have done and all that we have left undone. Let us, then carefully scrutinize the events of the first act in the revolution.

The movement began on November 9th (1918). The revolution of November 9th was characterized by inadequacy and weakness. This need not surprise us. The revolution followed four years of war, four years during which, schooled by the Social Democracy and the trade unions, the German proletariat had behaved with intolerable ignominy and had repudiated its socialist obligations to an extent unparalleled in any other land. We Marxists, whose guiding principle is a recognition of historical evolution, could hardly expect that in Germany which had known the terrible spectacle of August 4th, and which during more than four years had reaped the harvest sown on that day, there should suddenly occur on November 9th, 1918, a glorious revolution, inspired with definite class-consciousness, and directed toward a clearly conceived aim. What happened on November 9th was to a very small extent the victory of a new principle; it was little more than a collapse of the extant system of imperialism. (Hear! Hear!).

The moment had come for the collapse of imperialism, a colossus with feet of clay, crumbling from within. The sequel of this collapse was a more or less chaotic movement, one practically devoid of reasoned plan. The only source of union, the only persistent and saving principle, was the watchword "From Workers' and Soldiers' Councils." Such was the slogan of this revolution, whereby, in spite of the inadequacy and weakness of the opening phases, it immediately established its claim to be numbered among proletarian socialist revolutions. To those who participated in the revolution of November 9th, and who nonetheless shower calumnies upon the Russian Bolsheviks, we should never cease to reply with the question: "Where did you learn the alphabet of your revolution? Was it not from the Russians that you learned to ask for workers' and soldiers' councils?" (Applause).

.....The weeks that have elapsed between November 9th and the present day have been weeks filled with multiform illusions. The primary illusion of the workers and soldiers who made the revolution was their belief in the possibility of unity under the banner of what passes by the name of socialism. What could be more characteristic of the internal weakness of the revolution of November 9th than the fact that at the very out-set the leadership passed in no small part into the hands of the persons who a few hours before the revolution broke out had regarded it as their chief duty to issue warnings against revolution (Hear! Hear!)___to attempt to make revolution impossible___into the hands of such as Ebert, Scheidemann, and Haase. One of the leading ideas of the revolution of November 9th was that of uniting the various socialist trends. The union was to be effected by acclamation. This was an illusion which had to be bloodily avenged, and the events of the last few days have brought a bitter awakening from our dreams; but the self-deception was universal, affecting the Ebert and Scheidemann groups and affecting the bourgeoisie no less than ourselves. Another illusion was that affecting the bourgeoisie during this opening act of the revolution. They believed that by means of the Ebert-Haase combination, by means of the so called socialist government, they would really be able to bridle the proletarian masses and to strangle the socialist revolution. Yet another illusion was that from which the members of the Ebert-Scheidemann government suffered when they believed that with the aid of the soldiers returned from the front they would be able to hold down the workers and curb all manifestations of the socialist class struggle. Such were the multifarious illusions which explain recent occurrences. One and all, they have now been

dissipated. It has been plainly proved that the union between Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann under the banner of "socialism" serves merely as a fig-leaf for the decent veiling of a counter-revolutionary policy. We ourselves, as always happens, in revolutions, have been cured by our self-deceptions. There is a definite revolutionary procedure whereby the popular mind can be freed from illusion, but, unfortunately, the cure involves that the people must be blooded. In revolutionary Germany, events have followed the characteristic of all revolutions. The bloodshed in the Chausseestrasse on December 6th, the massacre of December 24th, brought the truth home to the broad masses of the people. Through these occurrences they came to realize that what passes by the name of a socialist government is a government representing the counter-revolution. They came to realize that anyone who continues to tolerate such a state of affairs is working against the proletariat and against socialism. (Applause).

Vanished likewise, are the illusions cherished by Messrs. Ebert-Scheidemann & Co., that with the aid of soldiers from the front they will be able forever to keep the workers in subjection. What has been the effect of the experiences of December 6th and 24th? There has been obvious of late a profound disillusionment among the soldiery. The men begin to look with a critical eye upon those who have used them as cannon-fodder against the socialist proletariat. Herein we see once more the working of the law that the socialist revolution undergoes a determined objective development, a law in accordance with which the battalions of the labour movement gradually learn through bitter experience to recognize the true path of revolution. Fresh bodies of soldiers have been brought to Berlin, new detachments of cannon-fodder, additional forces for the subjection of socialist proletarians_____with the result that, from barrack to barrack, there comes a demand for the pamphlets and leaflets of the Sparatacus group. This marks the close of the first act. The hopes of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would be able to rule the proletariat with aid of reactionary elements among the soldiery have already to a large extent been frustrated. What they have to expect within the very near future is an increasing development of definite revolutionary trends within the barracks. Thereby the army of the fighting proletariat will be augmented, and correspondingly the forces of the counter-revolutionists will dwindle. In consequence of these changes, yet another illusion will have to go, the illusion that animates the bourgeoisie, the dominant class. If you read the newspapers of the last few days, the newspapers issued since the incidents of December 24th, you cannot fail to perceive plain manifestations of disillusionment conjoined with indignation, both due to the fact that the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, those who sit in the seats of the mighty, have proved inefficient. (Hear! Hear!).

It has been expected of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would prove themselves strong men, successful lion tamers. But what have they achieved? They have suppressed a couple of trifling disturbances, and as a sequel the hydra of revolution has raised its head more resolutely than ever. Thus disillusionment is mutual, nay universal. The workers have completely lost the illusion which had led them to believe that the union of Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann would amount to a socialist government. Ebert and Scheidemann have lost the illusion which had led them to imagine that with the aid of proletarians in military uniform then could permanently keep down proletarians in civilian dress. The members of the middle class have lost the illusion that, through the instrumentality of Ebert, Scheidemann and Haase, they can humbug the entire socialist revolution of Germany as to the ends it desires. All these things have merely negative force, and there remains from them nothing but

the rags and tatters of destroyed illusions. But it is in truth a great gain for the proletariat that naught beyond these rags and tatters remains from the first phase of the revolution, for there is nothing so destructive as illusion, whereas nothing can be of greater use to the revolution than naked truth. I may appropriately recall the words of one of our classical writers, a man who was no proletarian revolutionary, but a revolutionary spirit nurtured in the middle class, I refer to Lessing, and quote a passage which has always aroused my sympathetic interest: "I do not know whether it be a duty to sacrifice happiness and life to truth.....But this much I know, that it is our duty, if we desire to teach truth, to teach it wholly or not at all, to teach it clearly and bluntly, unenigmatically, unreservedly, inspired with full confidence in its powers.....The cruder the error, the shorter and more direct is the path leading to truth. But a highly refined error is likely to keep us permanently estranged from truth, and will do so all the more readily in proportion as we find it difficult to realize that it is an error.....One who thinks of conveying to mankind truths masked and rouged, may be truth's pimp, but has never been truth's lover."



November Revolution / Revolutionaries on the Brandenburg Gate, 1918, Berlin / Archival film footage courtesy Chronos Film GMBH, Berlin