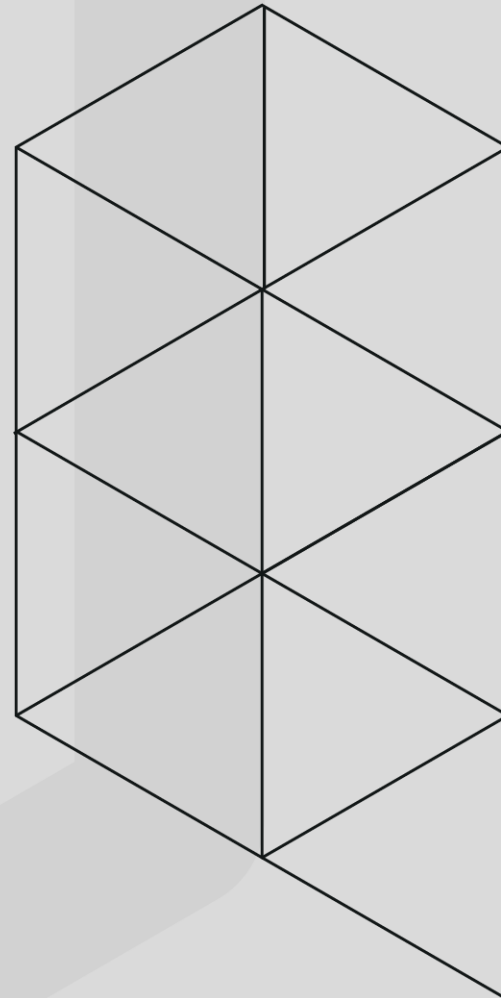


Waiting for the FIU: Joseph Beuys' Artist- Led Instituting

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The history of artist-led initiatives in Ireland would not be complete without considering Joseph Beuys' attempts at establishing the Free International University for Interdisciplinary Research (FIU) on the island during his visits in 1974 and his network's efforts thereafter. To include this case study, on whose legacy a good deal has been written,¹ however, also means reflecting (anew) on what artist-led organising and DIY instituting may have meant then – and what relevance for the present such material can have.

The FIU – and artist-led instituting in general, especially in the educational field – appear as contemporaneous with educational reform movements in Western European countries and the US after 1968 (such as at Cal Arts) and with dissident activities in the art and educational realms in Central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War.² These forces were mutually inspirational and feature strongly in current (art) historical accounts today. All the while, artists responsible for establishing this movement's legacy, the many artist-led institutions since the turn of the millennium rarely reference Beuys – unless their critical work is now in need of additional canonical and traditionally institutional safeguarding, such as is the case with Forensic Architecture, based at Goldsmiths College, London.³ The FIU itself, in a number of iterations and locations from Amsterdam to New York, Oxford Brooks to Kassel and Düsseldorf, is now a loose association of friends composed of associates and students of Beuys', working mostly at local level. Education appears as a relatively minor element in the activities of such groupings. Their activities can now arguably be seen as akin to reading groups (whether devoted to James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* or Karl Marx) and other longitudinal activities side-lined by the neo-liberal university and more at home in the context of contemporary art: "stealth activities" that are generally valuable for democratic societies in the sense in which e.g. Martha Nussbaum would argue this.⁴

In 1974, however, seeking to establish the FIU in Derry/Londonderry and Dublin was arguably quite a different matter. This (for me) new

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perspective is based on a recording of part of the Northern Ireland workshop that Beuys held as part of FIU activities at Documenta 6, 1977, in Kassel. It is part of the collection of ALA.⁵ How could I make sense of Beuys' vision for the FIU, when it appeared as more institutional than counter- or para-institutional?⁶ As a response, I recently conducted interviews and correspondence with some of those present in Kassel in 1977, among them Hugh Logue, Rainer Pagel, and Elma and Gordon Woods. This, alongside recollection of conversations with Caroline Tisdall, Beuys' companion in Ireland at the time, with Richard Demarco, Dorothy Walker and others, has encouraged a different understanding of the FIU plans that emerged from ca. 1973 to 1979 – one that arguably has relevance today. As a result, I would like to explore artist-led instituting in tandem with research on antinomies of social practice (Shannon Jackson) and on “statecraft” (Chiara de Cesari). This is to capture the DIY element of artist-led instituting in ways other than (self-)exploitative, individualistic (i.e. neo-liberal) ones: maybe words like the contingent, reparative, or calibration to affordances, or prefigurative politics may describe matters better? If so, this should emerge from the case itself and how it related to and intervened in its historical and socio-political situation.

Beuys had already founded an organisation with some students and friends: the Student Party, 1969, as a response to the clash between a conservative “grand coalition” government in Germany and youth culture emboldened by May 1968: an Extra Parliamentary Opposition. In the early 1970s, sit-ins were happening not just at Düsseldorf Academy, where Beuys was dismissed as Professor, but also in Dublin, where the NCAD Director resigned. This prompted art critic (and later FIU host) Dorothy Walker to write to Beuys and invite him to apply for the vacancy. He did not apply, but came with FIU ideas, developed with *Irish Diaries* author Heinrich Böll and Klaus Staeck, editor of Beuys multiples and active in the Social Democratic SPD. The Irish itinerary, which involved an exhibition of drawings at both the Hugh Lane Gallery in Dublin and the Ulster Museum in Belfast, was brokered by Tisdall and Edinburgh gallerist Richard Demarco, who had exhibited Beuys alongside Eastern European artists in 1970 and whose interest in the Celtic world and other peripheral European regions with shared legacies and contemporary difficulties, resonated with Beuys.

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The Guardian journalist Caroline Tisdall and her friends and contacts in Northern Ireland should be recognised as determining the depth of current local analysis for the FIU initiative. In April 1977, Tisdall organised (with Enrico Wolleb, but without Beuys' participation) an FIU seminar in Palermo on "development" and "underdevelopment" in European Peripheral Areas.⁷ She became curator of Beuys' Guggenheim Museum retrospective in New York, 1979, author of its catalogue – and of the application to the then EEC (later EU), seeking funding for the FIU.⁸ British colonial legacies, such as in North Africa, and the plight of the Palestinians after the 6-Day War in 1967 occupied her greatly – and she was to focus on these issues in the 1980s. It was her analysis of Northern Ireland, together with Böll's experiences in the early 1950s, when the Republic was not as yet a member of the UN, that underlay Beuys' actions there.

Education in Northern Ireland to this day remains largely segregated by religious affiliation. In 1965 a government committee (without Catholic participation) investigated at which other location than Belfast (where Queens University had become too small) a university could be placed. It decided for a rural area with a largely Protestant population in the North-West: Coleraine – to the detriment of a historical city with a largely Catholic population, Derry (as it wants to be called).⁹ (A Presbyterian college in its Magee area was also to move away in the process.) This decision's disenfranchisement was felt sorely – and became viewed as (yet another) proof of discrimination. Without wishing to suggest that withholding a human right to (adequate) education was the only or most important infringement felt by the population of Derry, the "university controversy" certainly fuelled engagement with human rights issues and a willingness to join marches organised by the Civil Rights Association. As we know, thirteen such marchers the British army shot dead on 30 January 1972: Bloody Sunday. For Beuys to come to Derry specifically only two years later and discuss the establishment of a university there – in whatever form – is clearly far from the usual understanding of artist-led initiatives as small and local: by artists and for artists and art-related purposes in the main. It sought to compensate and repair what the government failed (was unwilling) to do.

With the EEC application for funding, Caroline Tisdall and Beuys also inserted the project into the context of the UK and Ireland's 1973 accession to membership of what would become the EU: a brand

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new possibility, eagerly (and successfully for a considerable time) pursued by the SDLP (the Social Democratic and Labour Party, led by John Hume) to lift the Northern Irish issue – and possible solutions – onto the broader stage of European (and trans-Atlantic) politics. I wish to present the FIU as a strategic intervention in a fluid and emerging socio-political constellation on a number of levels – and that is, I think, best gauged by paying attention to how Beuys and his associates were going about this social practice / community organizing project, and with whom. I wish to chart (all too briefly) who a number of the players were, who travelled to Kassel for the FIU's Northern Ireland workshop at Documenta 6, 1977.¹⁰ The guests and speakers were a diverse group of people – all of whom were (in one way or another) teachers. "Trans-peripheral" or decentral and intersectional comparability was in the Periphery Workshop's foreground.

From Northern Ireland, there was Hugh Logue, a Maths teacher, who in 1973, at the age of 24, was elected to the newly established Northern Ireland Assembly for the SDLP.¹¹ Beuys told him a year later that art was similar to Maths – and possibly meant that in a chess-playing, strategizing kind of way. Logue became an accomplished EU politician, taking responsibility for the inclusion of marginalized groups, such as when Eastern European countries joined the Bloc and concerning women in science. What Beuys had heard in 1974 and invited Logue to contribute and present to Documenta 6, however, was a community project in Logue's home village outside Derry. The application for a community telephone kiosk had been refused and the (largely rural) population, therefore, kept isolated. Logue led one of the many necessary (reparative) DIY initiatives springing up in Northern Ireland in response to the necessities of life: someone working on a building site brought home a few breeze blocks, a local electrician did their work, a household had a piece of carpet left over – and there was even an armchair: a telephone kiosk-cum-community centre was established. Hugh Logue views his FIU engagement and visit to Kassel as outside his SDLP work. However, it appears evident that to pay creative attention to all that could help constituents, to calibrate possibilities and pursue civil rights concretely (John Hume had brought the credit union system to Derry to alleviate poverty) was core business, whether in already existing institutional constellations, or in making new ones.

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Logue became friends with an Education Professor, Gordon Woods and his wife Elma, when they came to live in Northern Ireland, as Woods was teaching the region's prospective teachers at the contested Coleraine Campus, opened in 1972. In the first years, Woods says, his students were "weird": they nearly all came from "across the water". This British colonial social construction through education, however, can only work if those tasked with implementing it fulfil the expectation and adhere to and perpetuate its terms of engagement. Woods' principle became to respect his students, even though he did not use educational reform terminology – and there was a wish to get religion out of Northern Irish politics. The family became friends with Caroline Tisdall and Beuys, embracing the FIU's ethos of connecting issues and people, however much Northern Ireland seemed apart from the rest of the world. At Documenta 6, Beuys expressed confidence that the FIU would be established with the help of the Education Professor of the University of Ulster, or even be a department of it. Informally, it likely functioned in that way – and Woods reported successes: feedback was that "the best teachers" were educated at his department.

It was Elma Woods, who entered detailed negotiations for the purchase of a building beside the Magee campus in Derry. She had to string along the estate agents, telling them that this was a really serious plan, and payment from Heinrich Böll was imminent. Böll had won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1972 and, for much of the 1970s, had to fight off allegations of not taking terrorists seriously enough, i.e. the most extreme elements of the extra-parliamentary opposition in Germany, the Red Army Faction (RAF).¹² While Böll did not glorify violence, he spoke out against over-reaction against the RAF. Any substantial support for something called "Free" and "International" in Derry, he likely rightly analysed, would have thrown oil into the fire. The "Free Derry" corner in the Bogside and Marxist internationalism are indicative of the context. Böll, instead of paying for the FIU building, retained the family's hut on Achill Island, where formative experiences in the 1950s had led him to understand what a legacy of colonialism would look and feel like. (He also witnessed Russian tanks on the streets of Prague in 1968 and did not join Beuys in Ireland in 1974: at the time, he was hosting expelled dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at home). Böll knew how important education was for people in the West of Ireland, who were likely forced to emigrate. He established a Foundation closely affiliated with the Green Party, pursuing ecological, civil rights – and educational –

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aims, now active in many different countries. Scholarships for students (including artists), residences in Achill (for a time), publications and conferences are only some of the formats offered: an FIU of sorts, especially through the “Green Academy” project since 1999.¹³ In the 1970s, Beuys appeared to have hoped that Böll and other actors in the Green movement, which was only fomenting into a party in 1979/80, would endorse the FIU as their own initiative. Beuys (despite seeking EEC funding for the FIU) became critical of the formalization of the Green movement, which decreased the chances for the FIU to become a “Green” institution; whereas Böll, before he died in 1985, expressed his hope that the Greens would become a parliamentary force.¹⁴

In the Woods household, Beuys left behind an artwork: a large, thick-walled bottle he found there. He advised his hosts should keep it filled with tap water. The organic matter that has accumulated in it since is, according to the artist, something one could sustain oneself with: making something out of nothing. While the FIU may have turned out to be “nothing”, the related organizing, led by an artist and a writer, its ideas fed into more “official” structures. Klaus Staeck became Director of the Academy of Art, Berlin; Böll instituted and enabled the work of the German Greens’ Political Foundation, active around the globe – and Beuys’ collaborators felt empowered to act in their various institutions, such as the University of Ulster’s Education Department at Coleraine – and the Belfast School of Art, which eventually became part of that same institution, as its Belfast campus.

One of Beuys’ Düsseldorf students, Tony Hill, was appointed there. Alastair MacLennan, who joined soon after Beuys’ visit, instituted a reputable MFA – and encouraged his graduates to invest their energy in artist-led initiatives, such as Catalyst Arts and studio cooperatives.¹⁵ Painters Catherine and Joseph McWilliams travelled to Documenta 6 with their family – and with artworks, such as Joseph McWilliams’ *Community Door 2*, 1977.¹⁶ It is a burnt door (from a Northern Irish community centre) that registers violence, but also lets gaps emerge, where the surface behind the door shows flames-cum-rainbow colours. Beuys apparently wanted staff from the only Northern Irish art academy to be present in Kassel. The somewhat traditional iconography did not stand in the way, on the contrary: there is a related piece in Beuys’ own oeuvre: *Poorhouse Door*, 1981, composed of items from his performance in the derelict former

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poorhouse in Edinburgh – similarly showing an interest in institutions that bear the traces of trauma. Joseph McWilliams was one of the few artists in Northern Ireland at the time, who worked against the consensus that one could not show (as yet) what was happening in the streets outside the Art School. “Show your wounds” was Beuys’ credo – and McWilliams modelled that spirit for his students there.

Rainer Pagel was an art student from Hamburg, who, with his Belfast School of Art teacher Alastair MacLennan, became one of the Art and Research Exchange initiators – and stayed.¹⁷ Since the FIU had not come about as planned, Beuys helped this artist-led initiative by paying the first rent in 1981.¹⁸ For several decades, Pagel founded and led (cross-) community organisations in Belfast, mostly paid for by the EEC/EU (e.g. the Peace programmes in the 1990s). His work can very much be characterised as self-help, similar to the telephone kiosk initiative of the young Hugh Logue. Pagel taught “movers and shakers” (not “gatekeepers”) to organise and represent themselves, e.g. in approaching Housing Associations, or through a media workshop to document the conditions in which people lived: “The State was not there”. Other organisations, proposed for EU funding applications (like the FIU), approached prejudice one person at a time, such as when youths from both communities and of varying abilities could get to know one another in a safe space. Only relatively recently, Pagel returned to more overtly artistic practice: performance. In the current context, it is unsustainable, however, to consider his leadership, teaching and organising as unrelated to (his) art.

To organise self-help, to take a systemically caring look and see who needs to be in touch with whom to tackle which issue; this is common to politicians, such as Logue, university teachers, such as Woods and McWilliams – and artists such as Beuys, MacLennan and Pagel. It is remarkable that these categories meld into each other: all of the above were and are teachers and artists – and le(a)d and institute(d) as such. Over time (e.g. once the Art School was part of the University of Ulster and when the peace process progressed), there was at once more possible in terms of art(ist)-led activities,¹⁹ but also less: a function of neo-liberalism, whose structures (in art / education and outside), just like those of the EU, became solidified and hegemonic, no longer as ready to be shaped artistically and communally. It should also not be forgotten that the educational landscape of Ireland had already witnessed a number of waves of

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creative instituting and undoing: monks who illuminated Biblical manuscripts and cared for Antique ones in their “artist-led archives” in the early Middle Ages established institutions, which then became “Romanized” and subsequently criminalised. Hedge schools as both precarious and ambitious teaching and learning environments in Ireland under colonial (Penal) law have already been linked to Beuys’ ethos and practice on the island.²⁰ Such memory is (apparently) inscribed into what is elsewhere a comparatively lowly (because “caring”) profession. How Beuys and others shaped horizons of the possible through art and at Documenta – and how doors thus opened can close again – is something to witness in 2022 at Documenta fifteen.

The artist-led instituting that I have so far described takes on a position in what is now called Social Practice (Art), as well as a specific section of it that one could call “artists instituting otherwise”. This formulation is BAK’s, an institution that has exhibited alternative pedagogies.²¹ Among the twenty-first century’s profusion of university projects by artists,²² the cancelled Manifesta 6, 2006, appears as the closest – and similarly “failed” – case study to the FIU in Derry. It was an attempt to establish lasting art educational infrastructure in Cyprus and thus repair what the divided island’s governing structures are not providing its artists. The prospective FIU site that Beuys viewed in Dublin became the Irish Museum of Modern Art, directed initially by Declan McGonagle, who had met Beuys as a student in Belfast.²³ It is an institution with a distinct emphasis on education: another indirect outcome of the FIU (or a direct one, as Dorothy Walker served on the Board). There appear, instead of one large artist-led university, a great number of often smaller, related initiatives that have lasted. Self-help / DIY culture and “artists instituting” has been foregrounded in several contexts. Today, due to increasing populism and authoritarianism, a retreating neo-liberal state, and / or late (or neo-) colonial constellations, states fail to provide adequately for their citizens. Chiara de Cesari has studied initiatives such as the Palestinian National Museum, where artists engage in “statecraft”.²⁴ Artists mock and copy functions of the state, partly in order to highlight absence, shame those in power, attract international attention – and/or bring about a hopeful *fait accompli* in the spirit of reparative or prefigurative politics.

Because the FIU did not see the light of day as anticipated in Derry, it is worth remarking that instituting for one particular space does not

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necessarily mean locating an initiative in that space. *The Art of Creating a State*, 2014, was Jonas Staal's project of setting up the non- (not yet) existing State of Azawad with an Embassy in an art space in the Netherlands.²⁵ Staal presented it as that of "a people's army – which includes the artist-soldier – [who] are collectively redefining the art of creating a state."²⁶ By contrast, the FIU did not (need to) establish a state as such, but "only" a function of it: a kind of higher education that would challenge the episteme of colonialism and authoritarianism (the mindset of soldiers) through interdisciplinarity, a central role for art / creativity, and international collaboration.

This is in line with what de Cesari analyses:

"[T]here have been several calls to 'decentre' the nation-state by examining how plural governance formations participate in it, and by uncovering progressive potential and forms of 'activist statehood' in the cracks and gaps between these formations, particularly those embedded in grassroots organising. [...] '[S]tate-like' initiatives instituted by non-state actors who playfully engage with these ambiguities. [...] examine contemporary artistic practices as sites for the performance and creative re forging of state institutions."²⁷

Maybe the Magee building in Derry was not purchased, but the ARE got its Belfast premises. Maybe the (currently named) Ulster University remained in Coleraine, but its staff and many players in the region (across its divides) came to know of each other as allies, as fellow teachers and actors in shaping the political and social landscapes: that of the EU to come, the devolved government (as it found and lost its bearings), the SDLP (achieving much for the region through its self-help ethos), combined with creative "statecraft". The individualisation that DIY most often connotes today (as neo-liberal self-styling) gets challenged and substituted by a connected, communal, a decentred spirit of instituting and "state-crafting" otherwise for an equitable society.

I learned much about the currency of the FIU in Northern Ireland when reading Shannon Jackson's²⁸ interpretation of Paul Chan's *Waiting for Godot in New Orleans*, 2007. Hurricane Katrina's devastation was as much a "non-natural natural disaster" as e.g. the Irish Famine: unevenly felt demographically and sign of a government's utter lack of care (absence). Chan described the work

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as his “DIY Residency”, where he brought community actors, independent bookshops etc. together, raised funds for them, not just for the play (performed by professionals).²⁹ *Waiting for Godot* as material let “a terrible symmetry between the reality of New Orleans post-Katrina and the essence of the play,”³⁰ emerge.

This DIY ethos points towards a realization of all-important interdependencies (such that will never fully be charted), towards recalibrations of artist / community-workers; teacher / politicians etc. at grass-roots level and state- / island- / EU-wide. Art expands into education and vice versa, fails in one moment and emerges in other spaces. Jackson evokes the figure of Sisyphus in the context of Chan’s *Waiting for Godot* project employing “time” as both currency and medium of his DIY residency: fail again, fail better. De Cesari asserts that

it is also by ‘failing’, by making and unmaking the state, that institutions like the Palestinian Museum [or the FIU] remain sites of institutional productivity and experimentation. By making and unmaking the state, [artist-led] organisations help us reconceive what progressive statehood might mean.³¹

In the context of FIU-related, artist-led, decentred educational instituting and “state-crafting” in the North of Ireland, it is only stringent to note that Samuel Beckett had his first job (the one that prepared him for *resistance* work in Paris) in Belfast – as a teacher.

Notes

1. Dorothy Walker: “Beuys and Ireland”, unpublished manuscript for a lecture at Tate Gallery Liverpool, not dated. Sean Rainbird, *Joseph Beuys and the Celtic World*. London: Tate 2005. Caroline Tisdall : *Joseph Beuys: We Go This Way*. London 1998. Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, “Beuys in Ireland; “James Joyce”, *Joseph Beuys-Handbuch: Leben – Werk Wirkung*, Timo Skrandies, Bettina Paust (eds), Stuttgart: J.B.Metzler 2021, pp. 162-164; 245-249 (with further literature). Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, “‘Sometimes you need help from other people’s ghosts’: Alastair MacLennan’s multi-disciplinary and ‘instituting’ practice as civil action”, in: *Actional Poetics – ASH SHE HE: The Performance Actuations of Alastair MacLennan*,

- 1971-2018. Sandra Johnston, Paula Blair, Cherie Driver (eds), Belfast, Bristol: BBeyond, LADA & Intellect Books 2021, pp. 97-108.
2. Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, "Beuys's Legacy in Artist-led University Projects", *Tate Papers*, no.31, Spring 2019, <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/31/beuys-legacy-artist-led-university-projects>; Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, "Notes on Activist Practices Behind the Iron Curtain: Liberation Theologies, Experimental Institutionalism, Expanded Art and Minor Literature", Nick Aikens, susan pui san lok, Sophie Orlando (eds), *Conceptualism - Intersectional Readings, International Framings: Situating 'Black Artists & Modernism' in Europe*, Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum, l' Internationale 2019, pp.332-351; <https://vanabbemuseum.nl/en/research/resources/articles/conceptualism-intersectional-readings-international-framings/>
 3. See Lerm Hayes, "Beuys' Legacy" in: *Tate Papers*, as note 2.
 4. Martha C. Nussbaum, *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, Princeton/Oxford 2010; Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, "The *Finnegans Wake* Reading Group as a Model for "Stealth Activities" Between Art and the University", theme issue "Text, Image, Performance", Jan Lazardzig (ed), *Forum Modernes Theater*, 2/2021 (32), pp. 278-287.
 5. A sound recording of Joseph Beuys with the Belfast branch of the Free International University, Documenta VI, 1977, is kept at The Artist-Led Archive, National Visual Arts Library Dublin. Sound Recording by Rainer Pagel.
 6. Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, "Future-Oriented Systemic Thinking: Effects of Beuys, Duchamp, Joyce, O'Doherty ... Yours and Mine", *Beuys & Duchamp: Artists of the Future*, Magdalena Holzhey et al. (eds), Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz 2021, pp.354-368.
 7. I thank Hugh Logue, who shared the poster for this conference with me. Among the participants in Erice, 2-7 April 1977, were more than 30 interdisciplinary academics and actors in fields such as Economy, Psychology and Education. From Northern Ireland came John Hume, Hugh Sockett (Acting Director, Institute for Continuing Education, Magee campus of the "New University of Ulster"), and Logue himself. The poster states the seminar's aim as "both a criticism of present centralized policies as implemented by the EEC and the national governments, and as a stage in the on-going research programme of the Free University. It is envisaged that the material presented in discussion papers and working groups in Erice and Palermo will be of value in our comparative study of the future of these regions, which we will be presenting to the EEC."
 8. Caroline Tisdall: „Report to the European Economic Community on the feasibility of founding a ‚Free International University for Creativity and Interdisciplinary Research‘ in Dublin.“ Contract No.

- 143 – 74 – 12, September 1975. See also the contributions of Caroline Tisdall to the discussions and Art/Not Art's contribution for its incorporation of the FIU's EEC application (white on black text): Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes, Victoria Walters (eds.). *Beuysian Legacies in Ireland and Beyond: Art, Culture and Politics*. Series: European Culture and Politics. Münster, Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, London: LIT 2011.
9. <https://pdst.ie/sites/default/files/The%20Coleraine%20University%20Controversy.pdf>
 10. For reproductions of blackboards created see: Joseph Beuys, *Periphery Workshop: documenta 6, 24-30 June 1977*, Göttingen: Steidl 2022. Shelley Sacks from South Africa was e.g. present. She later founded the Social Sculpture MFA at Oxford Brooks.
 11. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_Logue. I would like to thank Hugh Logue for an interview that he granted me in Belfast, 14 October 2021, his keen interest in and assistance with this emerging research.
 12. <https://us.boell.org/en/2017/12/01/timeline-heinrich-bolls-life>
 13. https://www.boell.de/en/foundation/green-academy.html?dimension1=div_stiftung
 14. <https://us.boell.org/en/2017/12/01/timeline-heinrich-bolls-life>
 15. Sandra Johnston, Paula Blair, Cherie Driver (eds), *Actional Poetics – ASH SHE HE: The Performance Actuations of Alastair MacLennan, 1971-2018*. Belfast, Bristol: BBeyond, LADA & Intellect Books 2021.
 16. <https://www.josephmcwilliams.com/info.html>, photo: https://www.josephmcwilliams.com/gallery_247118.html#photos_id=12833476
 17. I thank Rainer Pagel for many valuable conversations and an interview on 13 October 2021 in Belfast. He also made available documentation of the Northern Ireland workshop at Documenta 6 to the exhibition that Brian Connolly and I co-curated at the Golden Thread Gallery, 2015: *Northern Ireland + Performance*. The following text was published in place of a catalogue: Christa-Maria Lerm Hayes with Karine Talec, *Performance Art and the Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Troubles Archive Essay*, Belfast: Arts Council of Northern Ireland 2015, www.troublesarchive.com/resources/Performance_Art_Essay_Troubles_Archive.
 18. Chris Coppock, "A.R.E. – Acronyms, Community Arts and Stiff Little Fingers", *The Vacuum*, 11, Belfast: Factotum, <http://www.thevacuum.org.uk/issues/issues0120/issue11/is11artartres.html>
 19. In the University, this concerns work across disciplines, such as a PhD across issues in art and transitional justice by Sandra Johnston: Sandra Johnston. *Beyond Reasonable Doubt: An*

- Investigation of Doubt, Risk and Testimony Through Performance Art Processes in Relation to Systems of Legal Justice*. Series: European Studies in Culture and Policy. Berlin, Münster, Vienna, Zurich, London: LIT 2014.
20. Ullrich Kockel: The Celtic Quest. Beuys as Hero and Hedge School Master. In: David Thistlewood (Hg.): Joseph Beuys. Diverging Critiques. Liverpool 1995, 129-147.
 21. Tom Holert (curator), *Learning Laboratories*, BAK, Utrecht, December 2016–February 2017, URL: <https://archive.bakonline.org/en/Research/Itineraries/FutureVocabularies/Themes/InstitutingOtherwise/Exhibitions/LearningLaboratories>.
 22. Lerm Hayes, “Beuys’ Legacies”, *Tate Papers*, as note 2.
 23. See the Art School’s students’ responses to the visit in: John Carson, *what not: selected artworks and ephemera 1975-96*, Michele Horrigan, Sean Lynch (eds), Askeaton: A.C.A. Public 2021, 26-29, 133.
 24. Chiara de Cesari, “Anticipatory Representation: Thinking Art and Museums as Platforms of Resourceful Statecraft”, *Reimagining the State: Theoretical Challenges and Transformative Possibilities*, Davina Cooper et al (eds), London: Routledge 2019, 153-170.
 25. New World Academy Reader #4: *The Art of Creating a State*, Jonas Staal in dialogue with Moussa Ag Assarid (ed), Utrecht: BAK 2014. The Embassy/exhibition space is envisaged as one of “interlocution” Ibid. 17.
 26. Ibid. 25.
 27. De Cesari 154, 156.
 28. Shannon Jackson, *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics*, New York, London: Routledge 2011.
 29. See a chart of the organizational aspects of the project: Ibid. 230. Jackson reports that Chan was taken with the strategies of Prague Citizens during the Prague Spring (which Böll witnessed, as I said): to paint over road signs and mislead the Soviet invaders: Ibid. 223. *Waiting for Godot* had also been the choice of Susan Sontag and actors for collaborating in Sarajevo under siege. The book documenting Chan’s project also includes this: *Waiting for Godot in New Orleans: A Field Guide*, Paul Chan (ed), New York: Creative Time, 2010, 66-86.
 30. Jackson 219.
 31. De Cesari 168.

Citation

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