

CLOSE-UP



The Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament

Architectural History – Political Life – Art and Culture

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Preface



On the 8th of May 1947 – two years after the Second World War had ended – the first free and democratically elected Land Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein convened for its constituting session in Kiel. It was also in this first legislative period that the land parliament moved into the reconstructed House on Kiel Fjord at the beginning of May 1950, thereby ending a period of constant peregrination.

Over the past sixty years, no fewer than fifteen land parliaments have settled into the building, imbuing its halls with new political life over and over again. Not only has such variety resulted from the continual changes in everyday political life and the multitude of duties for which the Land Parliament is responsible, such variety also manifests itself in the Land Parliament's cultural commitment and in its ever-growing openness towards the concerns of Schleswig-Holstein's citizens.

The gradual remodelling of the Land Parliament, which has transformed it from a seemingly prosaic office building into an inviting civic forum, can be regarded as a lasting expression of this openness – right down to the glass walls in the plenary chamber that symbolize a transparent political culture.

This brochure aims to acquaint you with life in the Land Parliament. The brochure offers insights into the rich and varied architectural history of the House on Kiel Fjord that was originally built as a Naval Academy. In addition, it provides information about the wide range of cultural activities that supplement and illuminate the political work being done in the Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament.

We extend a warm welcome to you!

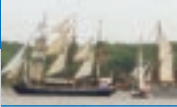
Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Martin Kayenburg". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Martin Kayenburg
President of the Land Parliament



The Naval Academy around 1900



The House on Kiel Fjord

The Naval Academy

The House on Kiel Fjord as it is called by the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein owes its attractive urban location on the inner fjord to its original purpose as a Navy School and Naval Academy.

These training centres were important components of the plans drawn up by Prussia to expand its naval forces as a reaction to the defeats it had suffered at sea in the wars against Denmark (1848 and 1864). Because of its favourable strategic location on a narrow fjord that is easy to defend, Kiel had already been chosen to become the Prussian naval base for the Baltic Sea in 1865 and was then promoted to the position of Imperial War Port in 1871. As early as 1872, the Navy Cadet School already in operation on a street called Muhliusstrasse was upgraded to a Naval Academy since one wished to offer in-depth academic training to future navy officers. After a short while, the Academy ran out of space and plans for a new building had to be made. A suitable location was found very soon. Much to the annoyance of Kiel's burghers, the Prussian financial authorities had already purchased the grounds of the public swimming baths situated on the waterfront in Düsternbrook in 1865. Initially, the property was used as a naval depot.

Master Builder Franz Puhlmann had already prepared a first blueprint for the Naval Academy and the Navy School at that point. When the decision was finally made in 1881 to construct a new building, this draft served as the basis for the building plans designed by Krafft &



Assembly Hall of the Naval Academy. Nowadays, the Schleswig-Holstein Hall is situated here.

Lübbers, an architecture and engineering firm. The Academy of Civil Engineering in Berlin and a study commission from Kiel served as advisory bodies. Gustav Ferdinand Thaulow, who was a historian and the director of the local museum, had been appointed to this commission. His comments on the building plans reflect an architectural concept that is typical of Historicism. From his description we learn that the new building's character was supposed to stand in contrast to the sober reality of the Prussian Navy's previous powerlessness, "That is to say the Naval Academy of the German Empire must be a majestic building, a building of truly beautiful architecture, impressing everyone who lays eyes on it at once because of its design, its external structure; it must be a building causing greatest pleasure."

And indeed, this is what happened: In 1884, after having laid the foundation by driving 2000 oak piles into the terrain consisting of peat and marsh, a four-storey palace-like brick cube was erected measuring 100 meters in length, 50 meters in width and 24 meters in height. This building added an architectural feature typical of metropolitan Berlin to Kiel's romantic waterfront. Together with two residential houses, gardens and tennis courts as well as a gymnasium, an observatory and a bowling alley, the Naval Academy formed an architectural entity that appeared as a highly visible landmark when seen from far away at sea, but also within the woody neighbourhood of Düsternbrook itself. In the year of its inauguration, architecture and crafts journals judged the Naval Academy to be "a proud edifice that would do credit to any metropolis."

By choosing a bare brickwork design with round arches characteristic for public representational buildings in Prussia, one was following the tradition begun by Karl-Friedrich Schinkel, the leader of the Higher Council of Architecture in Berlin.



The war-damaged Naval Academy in 1947

The round-arched style represented a system of architectural construction that was deliberately variable and did not adhere strictly to any specific, long-gone historical period, as was usually the case in Historicism. Using this style was less expensive than constructing a building from its floor plan to the decorative ornaments in a consistently neo-Gothic character, for example. Moreover, the round-arched style could be developed into a Romanesque church or a Renaissance palace and it even permitted a mixture of styles in its architectural and artistic design. With its abundance of friezes and brick patterns, the Naval Academy, modelled on the Dresden Polytechnic Institute designed by Heyn and on Waesermann's "Red City Hall" in Berlin, brings to mind the typical architecture of the days of the first German Emperor and the Hanseatic League and is evocative of early

Renaissance palaces in Italy as well.

The rhythm inherent to the structure is quite clear even nowadays. Four wings are joined together to form an oblong that is intersected symmetrically by a prominent central block enclosing two courtyards within. The seven-axis side wings facing north and south end in pavilion-like lateral projections that are decked out with flags on special occasions. The rooms along the central axis were dedicated to representational purposes and were therefore designed in a monumental style with round arch windows that were several storeys high. An atrium and an outdoor stairway were situated here as well as a garden hall. On the first floor there was room for an assembly hall overlooking Kiel Fjord and a library. The three-storey façade rests upon a basement finished with a facing of sandstone. The ground floor above is characterized by vaulted round arch windows placed in recesses. A solid cornice with a frieze of intersecting arches forms the connection to the first floor where punch windows reminiscent of the Palazzo Medici in Florence are set within the recessed arcades formerly infilled with plaster. Low fenestration with twin or triplet windows is the characteristic structural feature of the second floor. The elaborate cornice moulding at the very top of the façade has not been preserved; its ornate frieze zone resembled a delicate ornamental band, forming the transition to the sculptured decorative elements above.

The bronzed zinc sculptures created by Adolf Brütt were highly symbolic of the Prussian Navy's renewed claim to power. For emphasis, eagles spreading their wings were placed at the corners of the central block. A sculpture of the Goddess of Victory wearing a crown and flanked by male figures representing the Merchant Navy and the Imperial Navy towered above the landward façade, whereas a sculpture of Germania, placed between the eagles at the waterfront side of the central block, gazed out to the fjord and beyond.

Stepping through the round arches of the main entrance into the atrium and proceeding to the multi-tier entrance hall with galleries, colonnades and the garden hall, one moved about in a festive ambiance, which closely resembled the Renaissance period and was attributed to the influence of Admiral Albrecht von Stosch. Ascending a monumental outdoor stairway,

one reached the first floor where the assembly hall extending over two levels formed the climax of representational splendour. Three high round-arch windows afforded a magnificent view of Kiel Fjord; on the opposite side there was an elaborately decorated leaf door and above it a loge with a balcony. Above the wall panels, which were as high as a man, the walls themselves were partitioned into separate zones by domed semicolumns positioned on projecting bases. Sculptured fruit ornaments fixed below the decorated column shafts as well as wall draperies and a chandelier with candles perfected the Renaissance revival look of the assembly hall. The absolute highlight of the interior decoration scheme consisted of a life-size painting of the Naval Academy's founder, Prince Adalbert of Prussia, displayed on the southern side of the assembly hall.

The dormitories, common rooms and classrooms located in the wings of the building were by far less lavish. The first floor was dominated by public rooms and dining halls strictly separated according to hierarchy, while the second floor housed the sleeping and living quarters of the cadets and the supervisory staff. Storage rooms and crew accommodation were on the third floor right below the roof, whereas the offices of the Academy's administration were located on the ground floor. A modern heating plant combining air and steam heating systems had been installed in the basement, with the heat being transported from here to the offices and sleeping quarters via radiators and air ducts.

The Naval Academy was inaugurated on 6th October 1888. Two decades later, however, the edifice that had cost 34 million Euros to build lost its function as a training facility. As early as 1910, the Navy School was relocated to Flensburg-Mürwik; one of the reasons being that one wanted to keep the cadets away from the pleasurable amusements that a growing city like Kiel had to offer. The Naval Academy maintained its training operations until 1914 and was closed in 1919 pursuant to the Treaty of Versailles. The commanding admiral of the Baltic Sea Naval Base moved into the building in the same year and was to remain there until the year 1945.



Stuccoed ceiling in the northeast wing



Triplet windows with checkerboard pattern

The Making of the Land Parliament

One half of the former Naval Academy had been destroyed by bombs during World War II and the building had been confiscated by the British military government. Given that approval to reconstruct the ruin-like building had already been granted by the British authorities at the end of 1945, plans to turn the edifice into the temporary home of the Land Government could take concrete shape in 1946. The name "Landeshaus", German for state house, became common usage in those days. While reconstruction was still in progress, the German federal flag was already raised on the rooftop in 1949 to mark the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Flying the flag was also meant as a symbol that democracy had taken possession of the former Naval Academy.

The reconstruction work that needed to be done brought about fundamental changes in the building's architecture. Not only did the destruction of the sculptural ornaments contribute to a much simpler architectural redesign of the Naval Academy, the tight budget and austere architectural concepts of the post-War period did so as well. In order to create additional space for the Land Government, the cornice crowning the building was removed and an additional attic storey with square windows was added. A brick relief patterned like a grid replaced the former ornamental trim. The twin and triplet windows of the northeast pavilion, some of the frieze consisting of intersecting arches, and the brick pattern were preserved. Hardly any damage had been done to the fjord-ward side of the central block. This part of the building was also given more starkly functional lines by substituting rectangular fenestration for the round arch windows of former times. The landside central front had been totally destroyed and was rebuilt in a neo-Classicist style. It seemed as if this central front with its highly functional arrangement of the windows was meant as a citation of the strict, modular dimensions of the Naval Commissariat (currently the Ministry of Finance) next door, which had been built during the Nazi period. For a long time, these features in combination with the gray plaster façade of the Landeshaus created a rather gloomy atmosphere. On the inside, the preserved stuccoed or coffered ceilings initially were infilled with plaster and the former assembly hall was fitted with a low ceiling to create both a plenary chamber and sufficient space for a cafeteria on the floor above. The installation of a paternoster completed the first reconstruction phase of the Landeshaus. This paternoster, transporting two people from the basement to the attic floor at a speed of 25 centimetres per second, served as the sole "lift" for more than three decades. Due to stricter insurance regulations and some technical shortcomings, this magnet for visitors was supposed to be shut down at the beginning of the 1990's, but the Office for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings intervened in 1995. The authorities listed the former Naval Academy together with the reconstructions done after the Second World War as a historic building, so that the paternoster is allowed to keep on operating.

At the beginning of May 1950, the Land Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein, the Land Chancellery (nowadays called State Chancellery) and several ministries moved into the Landeshaus. "The peregrinations of the Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament are over now, we have our own plenary chamber," said the President of the Land Parliament, Karl Ratz, upon opening the 34th session of the first elected Land Parliament on 3rd May 1950. He carried on by reminding the audience of the different venues that had been used immediately after the war. The constituting session had been held in the Theatre of Kiel and the auditorium of the Teacher Training College in the Hassee neighbourhood; the Land Parliament had



Plenary chamber of the Land Parliament in the former assembly hall

convened in the lecture hall of the Institute for Milk Research or in a theatre on Wilhelmplatz, a square in Kiel, and had even accepted venues in other towns, such as Flensburg, Lübeck or Eckernförde.

Although the Land Parliament had weathered this phase, it still faced rather uncomfortable working conditions. As a “subtenant” it was obliged to follow the instructions of the Ministry of the Interior which was in charge of managing the property. Almost every President of the Land Parliament submitted written petitions pointing out how cramped the conditions were under which the legislators had to do their work. The discussions conducted in the 1960’s to remedy the situation, centred on the possibility of building a new Land Parliament or moving into Kiel Castle which had already been established as a cultural centre. A perennial lack of money, the housing shortage and high taxation rates, on the one hand, and a growing awareness of the necessity to showcase parliament itself, on the other, were the critical arguments exchanged in this debate.

Only in 1983, when the Ministry of the Interior moved into a newly constructed building of its own, did the situation improve. Work to thoroughly rehabilitate and modernize the Landeshaus was begun the very same year. The measures carried out at this stage of the reconstruction project included, among other things, exposing and restoring the corrugated iron and stucco ceilings that had not been damaged in earlier times, fitting the offices of the parliamentary parties, the administration, and the MPs with new technical equipment, installing a wheelchair-accessible elevator, building a fireproof stairway, and equipping the Land Parliament with a PA system. The façade on the weather-side of the building had to be restored as well because moisture had seeped into the stone masonry. Another two decades would go by before plans for redesigning the plenary chamber, the entrance hall that was said to have the appeal of a “burial site in ancient Egypt”, and the foyers actually became a reality.



Paternoster in the Landeshaus listed since 1995

Clarity and Transparency

“...Architecture can create conditions for democracy ... and can provide for openness and far-sightedness by supplying light, transparency and clarity.” The architectural plans for the new plenary chamber and the extension and refurbishment of the entire Landeshaus were drafted in 1999 with that guiding principle in mind. Based on this concept, the architecture offices of Pax and Hadamcik, Arndt, Brüning (PHAB) from Hannover won the EU-wide architectural competition held by the Land Parliament that year to launch the long overdue modernization of the parliamentary building. There were many reasons to do so: Due to so-called overhang or excessive mandates, that is, constituency seats which a party obtains over and above the seats to which it is entitled on the basis of the second votes cast for it, the ranks of the MPs swelled

to 89 legislators at one point, so that the plenary chamber was rather crowded. As a result, the working conditions for the camera crews and journalists deteriorated. A surge in new construction of parliamentary buildings in Germany was another important incentive.

But first and foremost, the Land Parliament, from whose ranks a building commission had been formed headed by the President of the Land Parliament, Heinz-Werner Arens, wished to reach out and achieve greater proximity to the people of Schleswig-Holstein. Its citizens were to gain a better insight into the workings of their Land Parliament and they were invited to become more involved themselves. The catalogue of specifications also included a separate level designed especially for visitors and journalists, furnishing and technical equipment adapted to the needs of the media, and a respectful treatment of the listed parts of the building that had been the Naval Academy in former times.

The architects of PHAB accommodated all of these wishes in their revised plans. The plenary chamber made of glass was built first. Erected within two years after the groundbreaking ceremony on 1st February 2001, the plenary chamber abuts against the waterfront side of the central wing by way of an interconnecting joint, thus offering an unobstructed view of the structuring elements of the Naval Academy's original façade. Thanks to a construction of supporting columns stabilized by a fair-faced concrete base, the glass cube measuring 20 by 20 meters has a light, delicate effect. It is fronted by a terrace which seems to float above a shallow pool of water and ends in a wide stairway leading into the remodelled public park. The underlying idea of transparency and far-sightedness has become a reality because MPs and visitors can savour an unobstructed view of the perpetually changing panorama of Kiel Fjord, whereas everyone passing by can look into the plenary chamber.

Up to 137 desks arranged in a wide circle can be set up in the new plenary chamber for the MPs, the members of the Land Government and the administration. A visitors' gallery can seat 89 visitors and journalists and two booths for interpreters were installed as well. The newly constructed building, handed over on 28th February 2003 and put into operation on 2nd April, is not only being used for political debates but also for readings, conferences and

exhibition openings. To serve this purpose, the area of the former garden hall was transformed into a visitors' lobby with stairs leading up to the gallery, an information centre, a cafeteria and the so-called Havana Lounge.

In May 2003, construction of a restaurant and a kitchen was begun in the north courtyard. Below a 14-meter high, column-free steel and glass roof construction an expanse of some 460 square meters was created, which currently seats up to 176 people and facilitates casual communication among visitors, MPs and employees. The former cafeteria on the third floor was refurbished and turned into a conference room that can be partitioned into smaller units. These projects, together with new offices, break rooms for the drivers and an upgraded, state-of-the-art press room represented the final stage of the reconstruction process. Work on remodelling the halls on the ground floor and first floor levels and the doorman's office had already begun in the summer of 2003. Transforming the first floor level into a space for organized events meant that the former plenary chamber also had to undergo a complete makeover. The furnishings and wall decorations were removed and put into storage because they are to be exhibited in a planned historical museum at some stage in the future. A totally new Schleswig-Holstein Hall was designed and appointed with multi-functional furniture and equipment. This part of the building can be used for festive events, lectures and hearings.

A competition to remodel the grounds surrounding the Land Parliament was held in the year 2001. Only when this landscaping work was done, could one actually say that the Landeshaus modernization project had been accomplished. In the old days, rhododendrons and a semicircular terrace with integrated seating had formed a barricade between the waterfront and the Land Parliament, whereas nowadays a wide, gently terraced slope offers a sweeping unobstructed view of a spacious landscape garden. As a highlight, a piece of artwork has been jutting into the sky since June 2004: the so-called "working lamp" sculpted from aluminium by the artist Stefan Kern from Hamburg. Looking at this easily accessible, free-standing sculpture with an overall height of 8.10 meters and a top made of reddish orange glass, the viewer is reminded of a lighthouse, a match or a rocket. When the Land Parliament convenes for its three-day sessions, the glass cap is illuminated, thus serving as a highly conspicuous symbol of the events and activities unfolding in the Land Parliament and especially in the glass cube. At the entrance to the restaurant situated in the north courtyard some other objects bear testimony to the variety of the Land Parliament's commitments. A sailboat shroud construction measuring 13 meters in height, and a stocked or fisherman's anchor are evidence of the Land Parliament's ongoing sponsorship of the sail training ship Gorch Fock, which was begun in 1982. The State Chancellery moved out of the Landeshaus in September 2006 and since then the building has been solely Land Parliament House.



Foyer on the first floor





The Road Leading to the 8th of May 1947

On the 8th of May 1947, Schleswig-Holstein's first democratically elected Land Parliament convened for its constituting session in the auditorium of the Teacher Training College after 69.8 percent of the population had participated in the election on 20th April. Two years earlier, in May 1945, at what is known in German as Stunde Null (zero hour), the British military government had taken command of the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein and had started to organize a new administration. The British intended to gradually establish democratic structures, i.e. an autonomous political culture with the people as the source of sovereignty.

In the summer of 1945, the first Land Offices were set up whose responsibilities for health and social affairs, for example, actually were quite similar to those of the present-day Land Ministries. These Land Offices were put under the supervision of a single uniform provincial administration in Kiel, with Theodor Stelzer, who was later to become Minister President, being appointed the first president. In September 1945, the British military government authorized the establishment of political parties. The SPD became active again in the fall of 1945, the CDU and the FDP were formed in the winter of 1945-46 and other parties were to follow suit later on. The first newspapers with a British license were published in Kiel, Flensburg and Lübeck in April 1946. Due to the shortage of paper, however, they could be printed only two or three times a week.

Sixty years of democracy in Schleswig-Holstein

A provincial advisory council was established in January 1946. Citizens from different professions and age groups and possessing a flawless political background were chosen by the British military government to join this council, whose task it was to deliberate "all affairs pertaining to the everyday life of the people." Even before this body composed of 55 men and 6 women took up its work in February 1946, it had been granted limited decision-making powers in its capacity as Provincial Parliament. The council was allowed to adopt rules of procedure, elect a president and form committees. The chairs of these committees were put in control of the Land Offices.

One of the most important tasks that the first appointed Land Parliament was entrusted with was to draft a provisional constitution. When this constitution was presented on 12th June 1946, Minister President Theodor Stelzer amazed the British military government by his self-confident turn of phrase which already anticipated Schleswig-Holstein's status as a "Land". Even though the designations Land Government and Land President could already be used, the official decree transforming Schleswig-Holstein from a Prussian province into an independent Land was issued only on 23rd August 1946.

By the summer of 1946, political administrative structures had been established at the county level to such a degree that it was possible to hold elections in 21 counties. The second Land Parliament was appointed on the basis of these election results. 39 of the 60 deputies who took up their duties on 2nd December 1946 were appointed by the British

military authorities based on proposals made by the political parties, whereas the other 21 members had won the elections to the county councils held in the different counties. The legislative period lasted only four months and new elections were called in the spring of 1947. It was in this phase that Schleswig-Holstein's Election Act was drafted. The law stipulated a legislative period of three years, laid down a combination between proportional representation voting and majority voting and fixed the applicable voting ages. One had to be 21 years of age to vote in an election, while the minimum age for candidates standing for election was 25.

The British Civilian Governor dissolved the second appointed Land Parliament on 19th April 1947 and just one day later, on Sunday, 20th April 1947, the legislators of Schleswig-Holstein gathered to nominate their own government. The first freely elected Land Parliament consisted of 70 Members of Parliament, 43 of them belonged to the SPD, 21 to the CDU and 6 to the South Schleswig Association (SSV, the later SSW). Given that the SPD was the largest party, the first Land Government coming into power after free elections was formed by the SPD under the leadership of Hermann Lüdemann (1947-1949) and Bruno Diekmann (1949-1950). On 13th December 1949, the Charter of Schleswig-Holstein, the precursor of the Land Constitution, was finally adopted, laying down the ground rules for the activities of a democratic parliament and government.

Six Decades of Land Politics in Schleswig-Holstein at a Glance

The first two decades after 1947 were characterized by economic, social and political reconstruction. Of all the Laender in the young Federal Republic of Germany, Schleswig-Holstein was the one that had to cope with the greatest number of refugees and the least tax revenues. A sensible and viable settlement structure had to be found, housing had to be built and a sufficient number of jobs had to be created. Schleswig-Holstein was to rely on the financial support from the federal level and the other Laender for many decades.

Compared to the other territorial Laender, the proportion of refugees to the population was the highest in Schleswig-Holstein. Within a very short period, Schleswig-Holstein's population climbed dramatically from 1.6 million (1939) to 2.7 million (1949) and as a result, the political party system changed as well. In the following elections, the SPD, the CDU and the FDP had to compete with political groups such as the Federation of Expellees and Disenfranchised People (BHE) and others. In 1950, the latter organization won 25 percent of the popular vote and entered into a coalition with the CDU, the FDP and the German Party (DP) to form the government. In the late 1950's the BHE lost ground and votes dipped in the elections.

The process of denazification proved to be a long drawn-out affair that occupied the Land Parliament again and again up to the 1960's. Although the investigation of the population was officially terminated by law in the 1950's, some of the supporters of the Nazi regime managed to assume public office or even were active politically. A parliamentary investigation committee was, therefore, set up for the first time in 1959. The legal recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities, particularly the rights of the Danes in the northern part of Schleswig-Holstein, was another important matter addressed by the Land Parliament. The Bonn-Copenhagen Declaration of 1955, which was based on the Charter of Schleswig-Holstein

adopted in 1949, reaffirmed the fundamental democratic rights of ethnic minorities. The Land Election Act was amended in 1957 to exempt the South Schleswig Voters' Association (SSW) from the so-called 5 percent clause, which stipulates that a party must receive a minimum of 5 percent of the vote to get any seat in the Land Parliament.

Reconstruction of the new infrastructure networks was completed in the 1960's. From 1950 to 1980, Schleswig-Holstein developed into an industry location and, being a bridge to the Scandinavian countries, it wished to play a key role within the European Economic Community (EEC). The increasing prosperity in Germany, which, among other things, was attributed to Chancellor Adenauer's policies, also had an influence on the election results in Schleswig-Holstein. The CDU, having participated in every government since 1950, gained so much ground that from 1971 the party was able to govern all by itself for almost two decades.

As a result of the student movement, commonly referred to as the "movement of (19)68" in Germany, Schleswig-Holstein was also affected by a process of social and political polarization which set in at the end of the 1960's. The consensus which previously had existed among the various political parties faded away, especially since the top spots were filled by young politicians. The Land Parliament held hearings to address the concerns and wishes of young people and when the age of majority was lowered from 21 years to 18 years in 1975, the Land Parliament followed suit by lowering the voting age to 18 and the age to run for office to 23.

Besides promoting the economy and expanding the education system, new political challenges, such as the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, had to be dealt with as well. Whereas the construction of a nuclear power plant in Brokdorf gave rise to continuing conflicts, consensus on environmental protection laws was reached easily in the Land Parliament.

In 1982, Minister President Gerhard Stoltenberg became a member of the federal government and took office as Federal Minister of Finance. Uwe Barschel, who was only 38 years old at the time, was his successor in Schleswig-Holstein. His aim was to achieve economic growth that created jobs and was environmentally sound at the same time. Other items on the political agenda were an increase in the funding of schools operated by the Danish minority, the establishment of a National Park in the Wadden Sea and the licensing of private radio and television stations.

The abrupt and tragic end of Uwe Barschel's tenure in the fall of 1987 marked a caesura in the history of land politics in Schleswig-Holstein. The beginning of the 11th legislative period was overshadowed by the political scandal brought about by the illegal machinations of Mr. Pfeiffer, Uwe Barschel's media consultant. A parliamentary investigation committee instituted to shed light on the matter and a special parliamentary commission of inquiry on "Constitutional and Parliamentary Reform" formed at a later stage, both came to the same conclusion regarding such governmental abuse of power. From their perspective, the only way to resolve the resulting crisis in political culture was to make fundamental changes in the Charter of Schleswig-Holstein so that it would effectively be transformed into a Land constitution. When Schleswig-Holstein's first Land Constitution came into force on 1st August 1990, it included an article on the citizens' right to participate directly in political decision-making (petition for a referendum, referendum), defined the Land Parliament as "the publicly elected highest body for the formation of political will" (Article 10 of the Land Constitution) vis-à-vis the Land Government, and strengthened the role of the opposition parties even further.

The post-election standoff in the fall of 1987 forced the Land Parliament to call new elections. On 8th May 1988, the SPD came into office once again after 38 years in the opposition. Under the leadership of Minister President Björn Engholm, the SPD implemented many new initiatives. By creating two new portfolios with the Ministry for the Environment and the Ministry for Women, the significance of these policy fields was emphasized. The Land Parliament extended its public relations efforts at that time to include two new target groups: while a Youth Parliament had already been established in 1988, a Senior Citizens' Parliament was convened as a new forum for political consultations in 1989. Both events have been held on a yearly basis since then.

When the Land Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein voted for Heide Simonis as Minister President after Björn Engholm had resigned as a result of new revelations in the Barschel affair, it was the first German Parliament ever to elect a woman to this high office. Key projects during Heide Simonis's focused on promoting equal opportunities for women, youths and disabled people, and on policy measures to boost the economy in Schleswig-Holstein. Her time at the helm, which lasted until 2005 and was supported by her coalition partner ALLIANCE 90/THE GREENS from 1996, was also characterized by programs to combat budding right-wing extremism and plans to reduce bureaucracy in public policy.



When the SPD, ALLIANCE 90/THE GREENS and the SSW failed to form a government after the elections for the 16th Land Parliament in spring 2005, the CDU and the SPD formed a grand coalition headed by Minister President Peter Harry Carstensen (CDU). Some key policy objectives are a consolidation of the budget and a major government funding program which aims to assure a better future for the people of Schleswig-Holstein through innovative economic and labour market policies. Some other salient features, such as a new concept for tourism, coastal protection and support of the fishing industry, focus on the specific strengths of Schleswig-Holstein, the land between two seas. The government's education policy is intended to give children and young people a better head start. And last, but not least, two other projects are at the top of the political agenda as well: a comprehensive reform of administrative structures and a forceful and determined streamlining of public administration.

Schleswig-Holstein's Land Parliament can look back on sixty years of history, which is reflected in an impressive manner by statistical facts and figures: 586 Members of Parliament have served in 16 freely elected Land Parliaments, 11 Presidents of the Land Parliament and 13 Minister Presidents have been elected since 1947 and the Land Parliament has passed 1,339 laws on more than 1,400 meeting days. (Last updated: May 2007.)

Stefan Kern, *Working Lamp*

“Art in the Political Arena”: How Politicians View Art

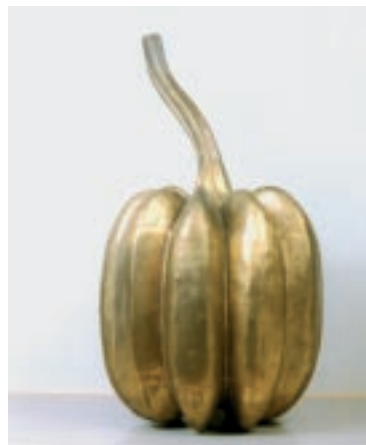
The thorough overhaul of the Landeshaus in 1983 also meant that the Land Parliament was offered the opportunity to spruce up the décor in the lobbies, hallways, functional areas and offices. The display of artwork on the premises, made possible by regular separate budgets for purchasing art and organizing exhibitions, served a dual purpose from the very beginning: it aimed to enhance the working environment and to foster a constant, critical exchange between art and culture, on the one hand, and the Land Parliament, on the other. In her remarks at a forum on “Art in the Political Arena” organized by the Land Parliament in 1990, Lianne Paulina-Mürl, then President of the Land Parliament, emphasized that one characteristic feature of art was thought to hold particular significance for a place of vital democracy such as the Land Parliament, namely its ability to pool and visualize the creative resources existing within society. Policymakers and society as a whole should learn from the artists’ creativity and imagination.

The concept behind the steadily growing collection in the Landeshaus has been to bring together as representative a cross-section of current art trends in Schleswig-Holstein as possible. The purchases included bronze sculptures, ceramics, wall hangings, paper art and artistic objects made of acrylic, fabrics and metal as well as light and kinetic artefacts. But arts and crafts collectibles were acquired as well. Some of the artwork made of porcelain, gold,

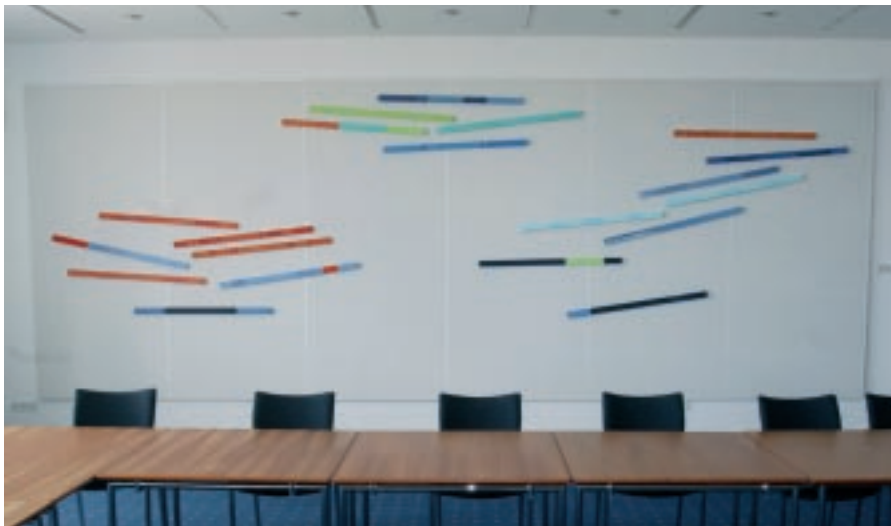
Art and Culture in the Land Parliament

silver, wood, glass, ceramics and textiles, which the Land Parliament purchased, was created by recipients of the Schleswig-Holstein Arts and Crafts Prize. This prize is awarded every three years and was donated by the Vereins- und Westbank in 1984.

The artistic objects are displayed in showcases and on the walls of various hallways and rooms in the Landeshaus. Regional landscape painting forms another focal point of the collection, with the motifs being represented in a realist style or in abstract colour compositions or also in the form of an installation, like the one shown in the hallway on the third floor, for example. Roswitha Steinkopf created her installation “Horizon” consisting of wooden poles painted in a wide spectrum of colours in the fall of 2006. The colours and the ornamental painting on the poles, which form a single line of more than 12 meters length, evoke memories of Schleswig-Holstein’s landscape. The same artist arranged two other installations in the dining hall of the Landeshaus. The three groupings of poles called “Impression” (see illustra-



Hermann Stehr, *Seed Vessel*



Roswitha Steinkopf, *Impression*, 2006, pole installation on the third floor

tion) remind the viewer of specks glistening on a gently rippling water surface that seem to mirror the colours and structural materials of the Land Parliament's architecture and its surroundings. Displayed on the opposite wall, the installation "Momentum" represents the movement of unconnected wave formations which can be interpreted as a metaphor for the flow of communication in the plenary chamber.

The parliamentary parties represented in the Land Parliament selected other paintings and works of art for their offices in the Landeshaus and commented on them at a forum on "Art in the Political Arena". The former Minister of the Environment Berndt Heydemann, for example, was impressed by a bronze sculpture called "Seed Vessel" created by Hermann Stehr in 1982. The artist shaped a rather inconspicuous creation of nature into a monumental sculpture. In his interpretation of this piece of art, Berndt Heydemann emphasized that, "It is important for ecology to have an understanding of the aesthetic principles of nature," and gave an example straight away: from his point of view, the seed vessel's orderly, symmetrical arrangement and its stability and structure created by a curvature are composed in such a way that they form an ingenious representation of well-organized and renewable nature.

Currently, the sculpture of the giant seed vessel can be found in the restaurant in the north courtyard, which is why it is one of only very few, easily accessible pieces of artwork in the Landeshaus. One of the oldest artistic objects, consisting of 23 stuccoed and partly gilded coats of arms by the artist Alwin Blaue from Kiel (1896-1958), is displayed above the main stairwell in the Land Parliament. The coats of arms represent the old and new Laender of the Federal Republic of Germany and some of the former Eastern German Territories as well. An oil painting called "Happy Hour" created in 1989 by Hanna Jäger hangs in the Havana-Lounge located next to the cafeteria in the visitors' lobby. The colours, laid on loosely all over

the canvas, resemble whirlpools which are meant to convey some of the lightness associated with the sheer enjoyment of life. Many other paintings adorn the walls of offices and hallways in the Land Parliament; the parliamentary parties also organize their own temporary exhibitions on a regular basis.

The Land Parliament itself has been arranging exhibitions that present art from Schleswig-Holstein at regular intervals since 1988 and in the meantime has become a kind of fixed institution where politicians, citizens and artists encounter each other. Originally, these exhibitions mainly focused on female artists from Schleswig-Holstein, but more recently a show highlighting a group of painters called the North German Realists and a new series of exhibition entitled "Couples" have broadened the spectrum. The latter set of exhibitions goes back to an idea which the President of the Land Parliament, Martin Kayenburg, developed together with the show's curator Götz Dietsche. Their intention is to present duos of artists who have a connection to Schleswig-Holstein and whose art reveals the positive tension existing between personal closeness and the realization of the respective creative objectives pursued by the two individuals.

Usually, the paintings coming to the Landeshaus were finished and the canvas was dry, but this was to change in the year 2003. Bearing brushes and canvas, the North German Realists entered the building of the Land Parliament in order to paint plenary debates and to bring colour into Land politics.

"Colourful Debates" – How Artists View Politics

Following a suggestion made by the journalist Michael Legband, Heinz-Werner Arens, then President of the Land Parliament, invited the North German Realists to attend a symposium on "Colourful Debates - Realists in Parliament" and to paint in the plenary chamber in June 2003. It took some convincing, but the artists were eventually allowed to engage in this unusual activity in the Land Parliament with the approval of the Ältestenrat, an all-party parliamentary committee responsible, among other things, for weighing various subjects beyond party boundaries. Besides the events taking place in the plenary chamber, the painters also took a closer look at the hard-working kitchen staff, the legislators engrossed in deliberation in the meetings held by the parliamentary parties, the queues forming in front of the pater-noster and last, but not least, the architecture of the Landeshaus.

In her pen drawings, the painter and graphic artist Brigitta Borchert concentrated on snapshot impressions and essential characteristics, presenting them in clearly defined contours and using colour only sparingly. She emphasized the matching colour scheme of a blonde with a red skirt and two red and yellow folders in one picture, while the cluttered, tangled mass of asparagus being peeled by the chef of the Land Parliament's restaurant caught her eye in another. Tobias Duve was a fan of the Land Parliament's architecture. He worked with thick layers of colour, painting the Landeshaus from different angles and capturing mirror images, light reflections and changing silhouettes. André Krigar's aim was to render a portrait of events; he discovered the specific personality of the Land Parliament in typical gestures that the speakers made or in the way the audience reacted, and recorded his impressions in coloured sketches. Martin Nill dared to move up even closer to the politicians, he took note



Jens Rusch, *Government Policy Statement*, 2003

of every aspect of his “targeted person” from hairline to posture and elected to present terse drawings of details or diagonally arranged compositions. Jens Rusch described his own paintings as being “shorthand using a brush and oil colours”. The pictures tell a story of highly concentrated work in the plenary sessions and the meetings of the parliamentary parties and show an atmosphere alternating between factual debate and heated argument with no detail, be it a modern lamp or a shipyard’s crane in the background, being left out.

The Land Parliament presented the results of the symposium, which won unanimous praise from every politician, in an exhibition in November 2003 and purchased some of the paintings. One of them is the “Government Policy Statement” shown above. During his term as President of the Bundesrat, i.e. the Federal Council, Minister President Peter Harry Carstensen carried the idea even further so that the North German Realists were also given the chance to prove their worth as artists in the Bundesrat in Berlin.

Dear readers, now it is your turn to get a picture of what the House on the Fjord is all about. You are cordially invited and you don’t even need to bring brushes, colours, canvases or rags if you would like to visit the Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament.



Kunst im Landtag

PAARE

Hanne Nagel-Axelsen und Peter Nagel

Art in the Land Parliament Couples: Hanne Nagel-Axelsen and Peter Nagel

Come Visit the Land Parliament

Evenings for visitors, plenary sessions, discussions, hearings, forums, readings or exhibitions – there are plenty of reasons to visit the Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament. Information on dates and topics are posted on the Land Parliament's website, so have a look at www.sh-landtag.de. Please call +49 (0) 431-988-1163 if you wish to register for an event.

You do not need to register in advance for the open evenings at the Land Parliament which are held once a month on the very last Monday. These evenings start at 6 PM and usually last just over an hour. The main entrance is our meeting point and also the beginning of a guided tour which is meant to give you a first impression of the Land Parliament as the arena where politics are made at the Land level. Take a seat in the plenary chamber and enjoy the spectacular view of Kiel Fjord, listen to some information about politics at the Land level and the building's architecture and feel free to ask as many questions as you like. Please call the number mentioned above or check our website for exact dates and times.

Plenary debates are open to the public and visitors are very welcome indeed. Members of Parliament convene for a plenary session once a month for three consecutive days, always beginning on Wednesdays at 10 AM, to debate current political issues in public and make binding decisions. Afterwards, there is time for discussion with the legislators. Before you actually take your seat on the gallery in the plenary chamber you will be given a short introductory talk in the visitor's lobby next door and will receive important information and materials such as the agenda, for example. If you would like to visit the Land Parliament as a group, we ask you to make a booking by mail or phone and please be patient because there is such a great demand for these visits. As a rule, committee meetings and hearings conducted by the committees are also open to the public, so that interested parties can get a first-hand impression of how parliament works. On the Land Parliament's website you will find all invitations and parliament minutes. You can also take a look at plenum-online which provides updated information on the debates and any decisions made by the Land

Parliament while it is in session. Twice a year the Land Parliament hosts public readings under the heading “Political Literature in the Land Parliament”. Everyone is cordially invited to this series of readings cosponsored by the Land Centre for Political Education. The exhibitions organized by the Land Parliament every year are not only devoted to art but focus on historical events as well and are meant as a contribution to political education in Schleswig-Holstein. The exhibitions are open seven days a week from 10 AM to 6 PM; there is no admission charge.

If you have neither the time nor the opportunity right now to come and see us in Kiel, never mind: the Schleswig-Holstein Land Parliament sets up its information booth at the agricultural fair Norla in Rendsburg every year and takes part in Schleswig-Holstein Day which is celebrated every two years.

Since its establishment in 1965, our in-house magazine “Der Landtag” has been published regularly at the beginning of every plenary week, providing an interesting cross-section of the various issues, initiatives and legislative projects that the Land Parliament is currently involved in. Please call the Public Relations Department of the Land Parliament for a free subscription (Tel. +49 (0) 431-988-1163). Last, but not least, a wide range of information material and almost everything you might want to know about the Land Parliament is right at your fingertips on the Land Parliament’s website, so a virtual visit is well worth your while!

Anne Heinig

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