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OPEN LETTER to Trustees, Directors,
Chiefs of Security of Museums
and Cultural Institutions.

FROM: Jean TOCHE
1 White Street,
New York, NY.

I have reason to believe that I have suffered permanent damage to my health, as a result of the physical assault on me by five guards of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City on January 12, 1971 (For details of the assault see my letter of January 13, 1971 to Douglas C. Dillon, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of that Museum). Since that assault I have been suffering, for the first time in my life, at frequent intervals, day and night, from an acute pain in the back of my head.

Therefore, in the eventuality of my premature death, as a possible result of injuries received in that assault, and if "HEAD INJURY" is listed as the cause of, or a contributing factor to my death - whether it be a concussion, lesion of the skull, hemorrhage, aneurism, or any other injury resulting from a blow or pressure on the skull - I hereby instruct Jon HENDRICKS, presently residing at 1 White Street, New York City, to forward to the District Attorney of New York City, this open letter, my letter of January 13, 1971 to Douglas C. Dillon, the medical report, and any other type of evidence.

I further instruct Jon HENDRICKS to demand, at the time of my death, that an autopsy be made, to determine the exact nature, cause and approximate date of the injury, and whether it is related to the assault on me by five guards of the Metropolitan Museum of Art on January 12, 1971.

In the case that this is affirmative, I further instruct Jon HENDRICKS to press criminal charges of MANSLAUGHTER - and/or CONSPIRACY to physically harm and/or deprive me, or others, of their Civil Rights, i.e. life - against:

- 1) Douglas C. Dillon, personally, and as the present Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 2) Thomas D. Hoving, personally, and as the present Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 3) The Chief of Security of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, personally, and as the present Chief of Security of that Museum.
- 4) The five guards of the Metropolitan Museum of Art who assaulted me on January 12, 1971.

The prosecution will have to determine whether this possible conspiracy - a possible conspiracy which might have resulted in a policy of violence - involves Trustees, Directors, and Chiefs of Security, of several other Museums and Cultural Institutions, such as New York's Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art.

New York, January 27, 1971.

Jean Toche
Jean TOCHE.

Jean Toche

Sworn to before me this

27th day of January 1971

Notary Public

Dora Lorenz
DORA LORENZ

STATE OF NEW YORK
Notary Public

Qualified in New York County

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I, Jon HENDRICKS, presently residing at 1 White Street, New York City, agree and am determined to carry out - in case of the premature death of Jean TOCHE, as stated in his open letter of January 27, 1971, to the Trustees, Directors, Chiefs of Security of Museums and Cultural Institutions - to the full extent of my energy, a vigorous prosecution of those individuals and institutions directly or indirectly responsible for his death.

New York, January 27, 1971.

Jon Hendricks
Jon HENDRICKS.

Sworn to before me this
27th day of January 1971

Dora Lorenzi
Notary Public

DORA LORENZI
NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF NEW YORK
No. 31-2404285
Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires March 30, 1974

Jon Hendricks

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Jean TOCHE
1 White Street
New York, NY

January 13, 1971

To the attention of Mr. C. Douglas Dillon,
Chairman of the Board of Trustees.
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART,
Fifth Avenue, at 82 nd Street,
New York, NY

The brutal, unprovoked, unnecessary, irrational, and irresponsible physical assault on my person by 5 guards of the Metropolitan Museum of Art yesterday evening in the public galleries - fact verifiable by a number of witnesses, which names I can provide on request - is an outrage, a humiliation, a disgrace - a state of affairs which is indicative of the low regard for human beings and human concern by the policy makers of the Museum.

I and a number of other artists came to the Museum last night to peacefully and non-violently protest the wasteful and ostentatious spending of money on the frivolity of a private dinner held in the Period Rooms of the Museum, this at a time the Museum is crying out for funds, is begging the City of New York for more funds and is imposing a forced discriminatory donation onto the public.

The attack on me came after we had encountered the diners, after we had handed out leaflets, after we had peacefully left the area of the banquet, and as we were on our way to the exit of the Museum.

The attack came from the back, without warning, without a request to stop, and was executed with totally unnecessary brutality, and with the maximum of pain to my throat - a karate hold - tearing my clothes and choking me for a period of time - leaving me gasping for air - as the guards, the five of them (and in the presence of plainclothe security men) threw me into a corner, with them on top of me.

All of this was uncalled for, because at no time did I offer any resistance nor struggle.

Not only was I attacked but a photographer's film was confiscated under threat of implied violence, and the keys to my home were not returned to me.

This policy of violence must stop. This hypocritical belief that by using the strong arms of the guards you can silence people who question the priorities and values of the Museum, is a corrupt and warped reflection of the policy makers of the Museum, and is consistent with their character.

I demand the immediate resignation of the Director of the Museum, Mr. Thomas Hoving, and a public inquiry into the policies, the priorities, the administration and the financial dealings of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is partially financed by City funds, and is therefore answerable to the people of this City.

Sworn to before me this

27th days of January 1971

Notary Public

DORA LORENZI
NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF NEW YORK
No. 31-2404265
Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires March 30, 1971

Jean Toche
Jean Toche

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Jon HENDRICKS
Jean TOCHE
1 White Street
New York, NY.

January 11, 1971.

To John Hightower, Director.
Museum of Modern Art,
11 West 53 Street,
New York, NY.

On Monday January 11, about 2.30 pm., we were both pushed, shoved, dragged - and Jean TOCHE was violently kicked - by two guards of the Museum of Modern Art of New York, and by their superior, acting under the direct order of, and in the physical presence of Mr. Richard Koch, Director of Administration of the Museum. (For photographic documentation, please contact Jan VAN RAAIJ, 77 Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.)

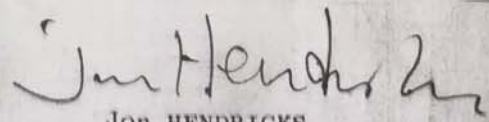
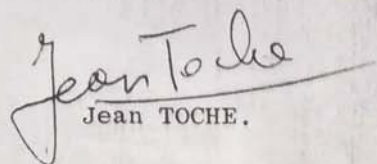
We were in the lobby of the Museum, as part of a non-violent protest by the Art Workers Coalition, regarding the abandonment of the "Monday-Free Day" policy by the Museum, replaced by a racist discriminatory policy of " PAY WHAT YOU CAN, BUT PAY YOU MUST", which forces poor people to the humiliating position of paying "little" or paying what they cannot afford, this under the supervised intimidation of the guards and staff.

The violent response of the guards against our physical persons occurred as we sought free entrance to the galleries of the Museum.

We cannot accept this this policy of pay as you can, and denounce it as a disguise and a deceit for mismanagement of the Museum and misappropriation of funds in term of priorities.

We denounce the new policy of the Museum of Modern Art of New York, which orders violence to enforce its discriminatory regulations.

Therefor, we call for the immediate resignation of Mr. Koch,
We call for a public apology by the Museum of Modern Art.


Jon HENDRICKS

Jean TOCHE.

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NOV 05 1970

THE GUERRILLA ART ACTION GROUP FULLY SUPPORTS
THE HISTORIC REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE TO FREE THE
OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF BELGIUM. THE IDEAS AND CONCEPTS
AS EXPRESSED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT AND "DECLARATION
OF WAR" OF THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, ARE
CONSISTANT WITH THE THINKING OF THE GUERRILLA ART
ACTION GROUP, AND EXPRESS IN MANY WAYS THE PROBLEMS
AND ISSUES IN THE FASCIST UNITED STATES.

November 5, 1970.

Jon Hendricks

Jon HENDRICKS, for the
GUERRILLA ART ACTION GROUP.

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CULTURAL AFFAIRS
Government in Exile
Republic of the Federal
Socialist States of Belgium
(R.F.S. S. B)

72 Carmine Street
New York, N. Y. 10014
(212) 242-7287

DECLARATION OF WAR

PART I

In order to restore dignity and freedom to all oppressed people in Belgium, in order to free them from the capitalist evils of exploitation, oppression, repression, racism, and sexism, in order to end 200 years of French colonialism in Belgium, and so that everyone knows what are our intentions and program, we proclaim the urgent need for, and demand the immediate application in Belgium of the 4 following revolutionary concepts:

I- WE CALL FOR THE CREATION OF PEOPLE'S COURTS,

to be convened all over Belgium, at the level of each community - a community is any group of people with common ethnic or cultural background, a community is any group of people with similar interests, occupations, religion, sex, age, recreational interests, a community is any group which claims to be a community - and to deal specifically with the cultural, economic, social, sexual, religious and political crimes committed against the following people, whom we define as the oppressed people of Belgium:

- 1) The Lumpenproletariat, which to quote Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, " are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society. That part of the industrial reserve army held perpetually in reserve; who have never worked and never will; who can't find a job; who are unskilled and unfit; who have been displaced by machines, automation and cybernation, and were never retained or invested with new skills; all those on Welfare or Receiving State Aid."
- 2) The gypsies who, because of their cultural and ethnic identity and pursuits, are the constant victims of discrimination and repression, not only from the police forces and government policies, but also from most other cultural groups in Belgium.
- 3) All political prisoners - there is no such thing as a non-political prisoner in Belgium today, because all those imprisoned

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are victims of laws and conditions of life which are oppressive and repressive, and which must be changed - and those confined in mental institutions and reform schools, who have to live in inhuman and bestial conditions, having been denied all their civil rights, and which we consider as the direct and primary victims of a system which is primarily concerned with property rights, property protection, property expansion, property glorification, and power - 55 pages out of 63 in the original Belgian Constitution of 1831 relate only to property and power - a system which has a complete disregard for the human conditions of life.

- 4) The working class which includes:
 - a) the servants and menial workers, such as street cleaners, garbage collectors, waiters and waitresses, dishwashers, sewer workers, cleaning people, tram conductors, shop employees, etc.
 - b) the manual laborers, such as construction workers, truck drivers, road builders, etc.
 - c) fishermen.
 - d) agricultural workers.
 - e) industrial workers, such as miners, metallurgists, factory workers, dock workers, ... who work in oppressive conditions and are economically exploited.
 - f) technological and other skilled workers exploited by the capitalist system.
- 5) Women, who have been both exploited and oppressed throughout history, because of the traditional male position of power in the patriarchal system.
- 6) Children, young people and students, who have been denied any rights within the society and are repressed within the family structure, by the educational system, in reform schools, and by attitudes and laws of the adult society.
- 7) Old people, disabled people, and especially the very old, who are forced by their children and by the State to live in isolation and reclusion, in kennel-like, City-run dormitory institutions, where they are left to die.
- 8) Gay people, who have had to hide their life-style in order to survive, and have been victimized in all areas of society.
- 9) Cultural and religious minority groups, such as Blacks, Jews, Arabs, Italians, Sicilians, Hungarians, etc.
- 10) The alternate culture people, such as those who use hallucinogenes or consciousness-expansion drugs - which we recognize as a possible means of liberation - and those who refuse to conform to the religious, mental, and social attitudes and myths of the capitalist patriarchal society.

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The following, whom we define as oppressors, will be tried in the People's Courts:

- 1) All American capitalists, in all aspects of their economic, military and cultural involvement, guilty of having committed or instigated crimes of exploitation, oppression, repression, racism and sexism against the oppressed people of Belgium.
- 2) All the Belgian accomplices, lackeys and puppets of American capitalism.
- 3) All the French-speaking Belgians, guilty of colonialism, exploitation, oppression, repression, racism and sexism against the oppressed people of Belgium.
- 4) All those Flemish and Walloon traitors, guilty of association for self-serving purpose or of complicity, with either the French-speaking Belgian colonialists or the American capitalists
- 5) All large property owners, and those small property owners who have used the capitalist system for their own benefit and profit, because they have instigated, used and profited from a political, judiciary, constitutional, legal and economic system, which in Belgium protects exclusively the property owners to the detriment of the life and the life-style of the oppressed people of Belgium.
- 6) All members of the clergy, because:
 - a) the Catholic Church in Belgium has destroyed all grass-root culture of the Flemish and Walloon people.
 - b) the Catholic Church has destroyed any culture which has been in opposition to its religious dogma.
 - c) the Catholic Church has been involved in the continual persecution of the Flemish and Walloon people and their ethnic ancestors throughout Belgian History - from its early conquest and colonization by the Roman armies, when Roman Catholicism was embedded into the Belgae people by monks (with loving kindness), who had the force and the blessing of the Holy Roman Empire behind them, and who annihilated the Belgae Druidist culture - through the genocidal Inquisition, during the second half of the 16th Century, when the impotent fanatic Philip II of Spain crushed the Reformists through tortures and exile , in order to save Catholicism - to the Modern times, when the Church still maintains its power through the hypocritical myth of male supremacy, erroneously preaching the dispensability and the sexual guilt of women through all its dogmas.
- 7) All those guilty of perpetuating, glorifying or sanctifying the present oppressive and repressive capitalist patriarchal system, its myths and its mental attitudes - through the means the structure, the disciplinary methods, the curriculum and the grading of the educational system, through the arts, and through the media(Radio, Television, Newspapers, Magazines, Books, Publicity) and who have had the effects of brainwashing the oppressed people of Belgium.

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- 8) All the policy-makers of corporations and government agencies, guilty of colonialism, economic exploitation, sexism, racism, mental oppression and social repression.
- 9) Any individual, groups, corporations, government or judiciary agents, guilty of associating with or protecting hard-core drug-pushers and members of the mafia, which we recognize as the worst types of capitalists.
- 10) The leaders and policy-makers of Labor-Unions and Student-Unions guilty of having betrayed the revolutionary and cultural aspirations of the oppressed people of Belgium.
- 11) All agents, official or unofficial, knowing or unknowing, willing or unwilling, who maintain and protect the oppressive laws and myths of the capitalist patriarchal system.
- 12) The king of Belgium, for being the executive agent of capitalism in Belgium, and members of his family, who have contributed to the oppressive condition of all oppressed people in Belgium.

The People's Courts will have the power to decide what form of reparation and restitution is to be granted to the oppressed people and what form of punishment is to be given to those found guilty, whether it will be life-inprisonment, or re-education.

If we are going to cleanse society of all its oppressive and repressive conditions, we must realize that some of the oppressed people have also been guilty of oppressing other cultural groups or individuals, or even people within their own cultural groups. Therefore, as oppressed people, they have the right to testify against those who have oppressed them, but as oppressors, they must stand trial for the crimes they have committed. Total liberation implies freeing oneself from one's oppressive condition, but it also means purging oneself from one's oppressive role. A liberated society excludes by definition any form of oppression or exploitation.

* * * *

II- WE CALL FOR THE ABOLISHMENT OF PROPERTY RIGHTS AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES, AND THE ABOLITION OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY,

which are the two basic elements through which society maintains its position of power over the oppressed people. This repression begins with the early tactile manipulation of a new born baby, continues with the denial of rights to all children, especially the so-called "illegitimate" child (there is no such thing as an illegitimate child); with the educational process of inducing false myths of racial superiority, male supremacy and property rights, with the social and economic functionalism of the family, organized like a corporation under the supervision and possessive domination of the father, as patriarch, and whose role mimics the structure of the Church and the Government in maintaining law-and-order; and ends in the glorification of the attainment of property which is the highest state of 'grace' in the capitalist system.

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In a revolutionary society, there are no rights of possession of people or objects. However we recognize the needs of people to have the temporary use of objects and of a variety of tools necessary for their life, education and cultural fulfillment, but no one has the exclusive use of any object or tools and when those objects or tools are needed by other people of their community, they must be shared.

In a revolutionary society, children will be considered people, not property, and will be given the primary rights of all people. Their education and life will be a process of total liberation for themselves as well as for their teachers and their community, and will necessitate the abolition of the traditional destructive family structure. This educational process of liberation is the basis for continuous revolution.

In a revolutionary society, where all people share, for free and equally, the necessities of life, such as food, housing, clothing, medical attention, transportation, etc, there will no longer be a place for the crime of exclusion or denial of education, especially to the young, who under the present system of necessities, have to leave school in order to "earn a living", under the demanded pretext of helping their family, or other excuses.

In a revolutionary society, there will no longer be a privileged culture class. There will no longer be a privileged educator/student class. There will no longer be a privileged working class. In a revolutionary society, every individual has the right and use of work, education and cultural fulfillment.

* * * *

III- WE CALL FOR THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF BELGIUM,

which must be interpreted as a process of communilization, for the benefit, and under the control, of all communities of the new revolutionary State of Belgium:

- 1) Nationalization of the land and water resources. The land and waters are capable of producing more than one hundred % of the food and nutritional needs of the people of Belgium. This can be achieved only through ending the proprietorial rights of farm and land owners and of food producing water users. It is not only a question of necessary mechanization, but also a question of interrelation and communal use of all the tools and resources for maximum production, without depletion of the natural resources. It means a national program of coordination, cooperation and long-term planning of the use and of the enrichment of the natural resources.
- 2) Nationalization of all domestic and foreign means of production and consumption. Because today American capitalism controls most of the Belgian economy, the benefits of the production and the consumption are predominantly for the enrichment of a select few, with a large proportion of that monetary enrichment leaving the country altogether. All this is done at the expense of, and is the direct cause of the continued oppression of the labor force and of all the oppressed people of Belgium.

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In a revolutionary society, there is no such thing as an acceptable level of unemployment. Nationalization means the total control of the means of production and consumption by the workers and their community, and with the needs of the entire population, as a basis for production.

- 3) Nationalization of the transportation system, of all forms of health and medical needs, of the educational system (including the catholic schools and universities), of housing and recreational facilities. All of these being basic human needs, must be free and accessible to everyone, without preference.
- 4) Nationalization of the communication system. As these can be considered as part of the revolutionary educational process, they must be controlled by the people, and be used for the benefit and cultural enrichment of all people.
- 5) Nationalization and restitution of all cultural objects, of all Church lands and properties, and the return of the Walloon language to the Walloons.
 - a) The cultural objects produced by the people of an ethnic group belong to the cultural heritage of that ethnic group. All cultural objects, stolen legally or illegally, must be returned to the cultural ethnic group that produced them, to be used as the people of that ethnic group sees fit.
 - b) Religion, if it is to exist, should not be an instrument to propagate, impose or extend the myths and mental attitudes of property owners and patriarchy, as well as the glorification and sanctification of a ruling class. Rather, it should be one of the revolutionary means through which the individual will liberate himself and his community.
 - c) We call for the immediate legalization of Walloon as the official language in Wallony. We call for the creation of Walloon-taught schools and universities in Wallony, as opposed to the existing French-speaking ones (French being the language of the ruling class, and of the big cities), so that all grass-root workers can have access to, and the benefit of education taught in their own language.

* * * *

IV- WE CALL FOR THE WRITING OF NEW REVOLUTIONARY CONSTITUTIONS FOR EACH SEPARATE COMMUNITY OF BELGIUM,

to be written by all the people of each community and which would deal with the broad spectrum of the human needs, rights and aspirations of the now oppressed people of Belgium. We can only denounce the present revision of the Belgian Constitution by the government and parliament, as a hypocritical compromise, because it does not guarantee fully the cultural liberation as well as the political, social, sexual, religious and economic liberation of the Flemings, and which in Wallony will bury for ever the cultural identity, needs and rights of the Walloons, for the sole benefit of the Belgian French-speaking elite of the big cities, while at the same time perpetuating the intolerable conditions of all oppressed people.

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This refusal to confront the reality is not astonishing, because the present Constitution is being revised and rewritten by the cultural descendants of those same French-speaking property owners, who in 1831 legalized, in a national constitutional disguise, the language, the culture and the laws of the French conquerers and colonialists, to the exclusion of all others. The fact it is rewritten with the complicity of Flemish and Walloon traitors does not alter this basic truth.

A revolutionary constitution must guarantee:

- 1) equal rights to, and equal share of work, education and cultural fulfillment;
- 2) that menial work and mental drudgery work (which are presently necessary to the functioning of all society) must be shared by all members of society, on a rotating basis;
- 3) the possibility of changing itself according to new possible needs;
- 4) that periodically public hearings on the constitution be held, to decide if it still serves fully the needs of the people.

* * * *

PART II

In order to implement these 4 revolutionary concepts, we recognize as basic human rights and necessity the right to self-defense, and the right of all oppressed people to arm themselves, so that they can free themselves from their oppressive and repressive conditions.

We call for the immediate formation of LIBERATION FRONTS and for the intensification of actions, provocations and confrontations by those existing revolutionary groups.

We call for the abolition of the following repressive and oppressive institutions and social structures:

1) THE MONARCHY IN BELGIUM:

Kink Baudouin, businessman and property owner - with the help of his brother Albert, trustee of many corporations and unofficial economic ambassador at large - is the prime manipulator of a consortium of 200 all-powerful families(today in connivance with American capitalism), which keeps an inescapable death-grip on the economic, political, social, religious, sexual and cultural life and life-style of the people in Belgium.

Furthermore, by being in fact the banker and the mortgage-holder of the Government, by having the veto power over the formation of any new government, and by retaining exclusively the executive and veto power over any new legislation, the King is indeed the final instrument in the perpetuation of the patriarchal capitalist system in Belgium, and the main obstacle to any valid change.

2) THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LEGISLATIVE BODY:

As those groups are in a position of enacting, maintaining, and changing laws, it is evident that the Government and the legislators have been involved in maintaining (not changing) all those repressive laws that have perpetuated the condition of the oppressed people in Belgium.

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It has to be noted that just abolishing repressive institutions does not constitute in itself a revolution. It just constitutes the abolishment of those repressive institutions. Revolution is an on-going process, with the responsibility lying in the hands of all the people.

Each People's Court could be the nucleus of each community revolutionary People's Government.

As they would be directly involved in the hearing and the correcting of the crimes committed against the oppressed people, they would be in a position of making necessary revolutionary changes within the structure of their community. In other words, they would be directly involved, by their function, in the process of enacting, maintaining, or changing laws, and therefore would be answerable to all the people of their community.

However, these People's Courts must not become a new form of elitism and repression: all the people of the community must have the right to sit on the People's Courts, and no one has the right to stay on the People's Courts longer than a time-limit established by the people of that community.

3) THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES:

For having failed to address themselves to the needs and the aspirations of all oppressed people in Belgium.

We denounce especially the Belgian Socialist Party, for having persistently ignored, since its foundation, the cultural aspirations of all oppressed people in Belgium.

We denounce the conservatism and the stagnation of all those who follow blindly the dogmatic and bureaucratic party-line of the capitalist-inspired French Communist Party. We denounce their revisionist and counter-revolutionary attitudes for failing to have translated the marxist-leninist ideology into the grass-root revolutionary needs of the Flemish and Walloon people. We denounce the Volksunie for their superficial cultural nationalism and for failing to endorse revolutionary ideologies and national/international revolutionary people.

We denounce the cultural nationalism of the Vlaams Volks Bewezing, who in the name of "brotherhood of language" support the racist and fascist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa, and who by their reactionary and extreme right attitudes and ideologies, have prepared the foundation for a neo-nazi party in Belgium.

We denounce the francophile party F.D.F., for being anti-Flemish to a point of fanaticism, and for its cultural nationalism, which leads its members to demand the secession of Wallony and its joining with its former colonialist master and conquerer, France, in the name of their phony, artificial, superficial, French-imitated, culture, which does not relate at all to the cultural needs and language of the Walloon people.

4) THE PRESENT LABOR UNIONS:

For having failed to represent and support the needs and aspirations of all oppressed people in Belgium, in order to get an equal share of the capitalist power and pie. They are nothing but fashionable bought-off reactionary movements, excluding any attack against the capitalist system, and are involved in the traditional notion of superiority and exclusivity.

We especially denounce them for failing to realize that the large Arab minorities which live in Belgium have become the vanguard of the fight against the capitalist system.

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The very harsh and inhuman conditions in which the Arab minorities have to work and live, their complete lack of civil rights due to the fact they are immigrants and poor, the constant threat of the police to deport them if they strike or demonstrate, the discrimination they have to face in the racist courts, have made them among the most oppressed groups in Belgium for the last ten years. Their economic and social conditions in Belgium are similar to those of the Chicanos in the South West United States. It has made them the most gutsy and grass-root militant revolutionaries of Belgium.

5) THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM AND PRESENT REPRESSIVE APPARATUS OF THE POLICE FORCES, THE GENDARMERY AND THE MILITARY FORCES IN BELGIUM:

Whose sole purpose is to enforce the oppressive rules, apparatus and ideologies of an elitist racist patriarchal capitalist system. Those repressive forces should be replaced by agencies controlled by the people of each community, and whose role would be of public service, that is, to serve the many needs of each community.

6) THE BELGIAN INVOLVMENT IN SUCH ORGANIZATIONS:

- a) the World Bank.
- b) BENELUX
- c) the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC)
- d) the EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY (ECSC)
- e) the EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY (EURATOM)
- f) NATO.

Those organizations are nothing but tools for the continued expansion and profits of a power-hungry international clique, controlled by American capitalism.

We demand the immediate expulsion from Belgium of the NATO headquarters, and of all its military installations.

* * * *

PART III

We suggest the **FOUR** following steps as a realistic possible approach, or viable means, to achieve the necessary changes within a repressive society:

- I- People must first begin by become politically conscious of their oppressed conditions, and also of all those factors and structures which contribute to, or are the direct or indirect cause of oppression and repression. They must share this awareness with other individuals and groups. They must permit and encourage other forms of awareness, and not be guilty of creating new forms of repressing elitism under the pretext of having found "the way". The cause of Revolution is served by seemingly inconsistent means and contradictory methods of approach.
- II- A further step would be the multiplication and politization of existing non-marital Communes, as an alternative to the present structure of the patriarchal family. Total self-liberation starts with sexual liberation, and total sexual liberation implies poli-

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10.

tical awareness of one's condition of being sexually oppressed. This should include the creation of revolutionary people's day care centers, permanently opened, on a 24 hour basis, which would be a part of the liberating process of women. As an alternative to the present medical and legal system, we urge the creation of communes of doctors and free clinics, dedicated to the free care of all oppressed people; and communes of lawyers, which would assume without fee the defense and the legal protection of all oppressed people. It would be the function of some individuals within the commune to provide the necessary money for the cost of living for all members of the commune; this would mean that those "money-getters" would have to temporarily work for the oppressors. But their role within the commune would be as important as those working for free for the oppressed people. Such communes are already able to function successfully in many areas of the repressive and fascist United States. *

III- A next step would be the progressive paralysis of all aspects of the economic and legal system of capitalism in Belgium. To accomplish this, there are many possible forms of Reality-Theater of Destruction, that individuals and groups can perform:

A- Mischievous acts of destruction or provocation:

- 1) Select quantities of food at supermarkets, and abandon them at check-out counters.
- 2) Order quantities of material to be delivered to a fictitious address under fictitious names, or pretend to speak for the management of existing corporations or businesses.
- 3) Let air out of tires.
- 4) Throw tacks on the roads, streets and highways.
- 5) Stall your car at rush hour in particularly congested areas of the city.
- 6) Change road signs, set up road blocks in main areas of commercial traffic.
- 7) Plug up sewers.
- 8) Chain doors of guilty institutions.
- 9) Throw paint at public statues, or at doors of guilty institutions.
- 10) Put stink-bombs in churches and guilty institutions.
- 11) Destroy or soak the mail in letter-boxes, with blood, detergent.
- 12) Massive sit-ins and be-ins in heavily traveled locations, such as the Central Station of Brussels.
- 13) Organize rebellions and demonstrations in the secondary schools, and burn all the books which perpetuate the capitalist patriarchal system.
- 14) Constant walk-outs in factories and universities on trivial pretexts.
- 15) Inundate corporations or guilty institutions with trivial phone calls.
- 16) Boycott a specific consumer product which is manufactured by one of the main contributors to the oppression in Belgium such as Campbell soups, or electric appliances of General Electric

* Cellular communilization must be viewed as part of a process of total communilization, which can only be achieved at a point when the society in its totality becomes completely revolutionary.

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- 17) Drop political subversive pamphlets in public places such as lounge counters, sidewalks, trains, tramways, church pews, etc.
 - 18) Obtain through subversion incriminating information, relating to guilty parties, and distribute it widely. Dish the dirt.
 - 19) Photograph and distribute pictures, names, addresses and phone numbers of undercover agents.
 - 20) Paralysis of the Court system through mass-demonstrations sit-ins and be-ins inside and outside the Courts.
 - 21) Constant confrontation with the religious and sexual taboos and myths.
 - 22) Try to blackmail a priest, or a corporation director.
 - 23) "Plant" marijuana on guilty people, in order to incriminate them. Use the tricks of the oppressors against the oppressors.
 - 24) Harassment of foreign embassies, and embassy personnel, especially the American embassy, to make it difficult for them to function.
 - 25) Acts of petty larceny where you work.
 - 26) Mischievous acts of destruction and sabotage of goods produced, at the production and distribution level.
 - 27) Petty acts of vandalism or arson at plants, factories, warehouses and commercial outlets.
 - 28) Telephone Bomb threats from public phones to guilty institutions.
 - 29) Subvert the process of oppression in whatever ways possible, in whatever job you might hold.
 - 30) Progressive slow-downs of the means of production and consumption.
 - 31) Boycott and sabotage elections.
 - 32) Other means...
- B- Overt acts of sabotage and terrorism such as:
- 1) Printing and mass distribution of fake money, or subtle desecration of real money.
 - 2) Undermining of the foundations of guilty institutions.
 - 3) Constant sabotage of public facilities, such as, cutting telephone lines, or blowing the main fuse in a post office, a bank, a university, etc.
 - 4) Cutting off water, gas, electricity and telephone lines to factories.
 - 5) Organizing hideouts and escape routes for draft deserters and for those sought by the police and military authorities
 - 6) Organizing rebellions in the prisons, and destruction of prison equipment.
 - 7) Blow up the doors of prisons and reform schools, so that there can be mass escapes.
 - 8) Stealing of munitions from military depots or shops specialized in explosive material. Blow up the war factory in Belgium.
 - 9) Sabotage of troop movements and the transportation of military equipment.
 - 10) Blowing up of railway tracks, radio transmitters, printing presses, etc.
 - 11) Blowing-up of police stations and all military installations.
 - 12) Destruction of the nuclear reactor of Moll.

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12.

- 13) Destruction of equipment of all laboratories, universities and factories involved in the research and the production of war materiel, chemical/biological warfare or repressive devices.
- 14) Destruction of the computerized communication and research system as well as the files of the police and military forces in Belgium.
- 15) Blow-up at night of big corporations and government buildings, national and foreign.
- 16) Kidnapping of business and government officials, national and foreign.
- 17) Other means...

All Destruction Theater actions should employ guerrilla tactics and should:

- 1) Avoid the slave mentality, where you hurt yourself, your community or other oppressed people, instead of those guilty people and institutions.
 - 2) Direct violence to property, not people.
- Be creative. Avoid falling into identifiable or predictable patterns. Confuse and distract your enemy. Work in small groups of two or three, in order to avoid infiltration.

IV- As a final step toward the process of nationalization, we call for the take-over of the control of, and permanent occupation of:

- 1) The land.
- 2) Domestic and foreign means of production and consumption.
- 3) The Stock-Exchange, and national and foreign banks.
- 4) The transportation system.
- 5) All forms of health and medical needs, of housing and recreational facilities.
- 6) The communication system.
- 7) All cultural and educational institutions.
- 8) The churches.
- 9) All police and military installations, especially those of the Belgian Occupation Forces in West Germany, so that a blockade of the West German economic system can be established, to further destroy or paralyze the capitalist system in Europe.
- 10) All government agencies.
- 11) All offices of the traditional political parties and labor unions.
- 12) All agencies of censorship and espionage.

* * * *

We can only stress that the final taking away of all the powers of the oppressive pyramidal patriarchal capitalist system does not constitute an end in itself. AS LONG AS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY AND CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES PERSIST, the revolutionary society is in danger of reverting back to an old form, or some new form, of pyramidal, patriarchal capitalist process, with its attributes of racism, sexism, oppression, repression, exclusivism, elitism, exploitation, discrimination, etc.

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13.

The real test for the revolutionary process will be its capability to survive as a revolutionary process. Therefore, there must be a continued process of re-education, on all levels, and of liberating oneself from those attitudes and actions that could lead to types of oppression. One must realize that those found guilty of oppression by the People's Courts will still be physically present, but cannot be a part of, or contribute to a revolutionary society, as long as they haven't freed themselves from those attitudes.

In a revolutionary society, or during the struggle to achieve a revolutionary society, if at any time an individual, or groups of individuals, or a commune, or a community within the society, notices, or feels a reappearing process of oppression, or a process that could lead to an old or new form of pyramidal patriarchal capitalist system—such as the formation of self-interest groups, or alliances between individuals, groups, communes or communities, or provocations, overt or subtle, by inside or outside agents of the surrounding capitalist system (who will try to destroy any successful revolutionary process)—they would have the right and duty to call for a public hearing at a People's Court.

A public hearing would not constitute a trial in itself, and does not imply a stigma of guilt or of incrimination, and would be considered as a part of a healthy society. However, if the People's Courts should find, in the course of the hearing, evidence that oppression or counter-revolutionary actions have occurred, it would be followed by a trial, and those found guilty would have to go through a process of re-education, beyond that educational process shared by all members of the revolutionary society.

* * * *

We recognize the need for international solidarity among all revolutionary people of the world, and call for the active support, training in, and physical cooperation with all international revolutionary guerrilla groups, liberation fronts, and with the revolutionary struggle for liberation of the Third World People.

A revolutionary society must guarantee:

- 1) A refuge for all oppressed people escaping from any oppressive or repressive society.
- 2) International assistance and training to all other revolutionary people fighting for their liberation.

THIS DOCUMENT DISSOLVES THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE AND THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC, TO BE IMMEDIATELY REPLACED BY MORE UNDERGROUND SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS. POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



November 5, 1970.
Jean TOCHE, President of the
Republic of the Federal
Socialist States of BELGIUM.

For the Belgian Government
in Exile.

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ART



AWC protest at MOMA in front of 'Guernica': Mini-cause célèbre

Ars Gratia Artis?

One afternoon last fall, two men and two women walked into the lobby of New York's Museum of Modern Art, dropped some leaflets and began to claw at one another's clothing. As they screamed incoherently, guards and museum visitors gathered in a circle to watch. Then the four burst sacks of beef blood which they had concealed under their garments and sank to the floor, writhing and moaning in bloody pools. After lying motionless for some moments, they stood up, put on their coats and left.

This "event" was staged under the auspices of the Art Workers Coalition, a loosely knit group of some 100 artists, writers and filmmakers who for the past year have channeled their disaffection with the art Establishment into open forums and demonstrations calling for sweeping change. Specifically, the "blood bath" served to dramatize the group's demand for the resignation of the Rockefeller family from the museum's board because of its alleged interest in companies that produce materials for war.

Massacre: "The time for art as diversion is over," says AWC artist Jean Toche. "How can we enjoy it, or hold it sacred when people in Vietnam are dying?" The AWC has used Vietnam to underscore its charge that art no longer serves humanity. And last month, in a mini-cause célèbre over a poster depicting the reported massacre at Song My, it put the staff of MOMA—AWC's primary target—temporarily at odds with its trustees.

The staff had enthusiastically agreed to sponsor with the AWC the printing of a poster taken from Ron Haebler's *Life* magazine color photo of Vietnamese corpses, including many children, lying in a ditch. Union lithographers donated their services and paper was obtained

without cost. The museum's imprimatur was to have appeared in a corner of the poster, but just before its completion the staff met with William S. Paley, president of the museum's board of trustees and board chairman of CBS, who said he could not commit MOMA to "any position on any matter not directly related to a specific function of the museum." Whereupon the Art Workers staged a lie-in at the museum, carrying copies of the poster in front of Picasso's antiwar "Guernica."

The AWC sees the museum's non-involvement as just another aspect of a "corrupt and repressive" Establishment in which art has become an object and commodity alienated from both artist and community. Toche and Jon Hendricks, members of the AWC-affiliated Guerrilla Art Action Group, also visited the gala opening of the Metropolitan



Toche at Met: Gift-wrapped

Museum's "New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940-1970" show last fall. Hendricks, representing "the curator" in black tie, "honored" Toche, the "artist," who emerged from a gift box by dousing him with champagne and smearing his face with caviar.

Ghetto: The AWC has submitted eleven demands to MOMA, including branch museums in ghetto areas, equal representation for women and separate exhibition spaces for black and Puerto Rican artists. None of the demands has been met as proposed. Bates Lowry, who has since resigned as director, wrote to the AWC that art was selected for its quality "without regard to the artist's religion, race, political affiliation or the country in which he was born." Says AWC's Alex Gross: "They want our artists to make art, our niggers to eat watermelon and our women to stay in the kitchen."

The AWC is not the first group to march against the established order in art. Earlier in the century the Dadaists and Futurists campaigned with a slashing mixture of esthetic wit and polemic fury against museums, critics, the idolization of art and most of AWC's targets, and many a fist and bowl of rancid spaghetti was thrown in the heat of battle. What is new is not the fact of organized protest; it is the consonance of the AWC's program, amorphous as it is, with the sense of social concern and antimaterialism demonstrated by other echelons of "the movement."

Hendricks admits that the Art Workers are not all idealists bent on social reform. "There are so many different interests," he says. "Many want their fair share of the Establishment pie; and others, like the blacks, are more interested in gaining a symbolic foothold."

Ethical: Can the AWC be as successful as the student radicals in changing at least some of the more obviously ossified aspects of "the system"? MOMA recently announced that it would charge no admission on Mondays, a partial fulfillment of the AWC demand for free admission on all days. And MOMA's incoming director, 36-year-old John B. Hightower, is not going to brush off the issues. "I certainly plan to talk to groups of young people, like the AWC," he says. "I think their central argument is an ethical one—that the whole idea of art as investment, as object, needs to be analyzed."

Up to now both sides have behaved decorously. "No artist," says Gross, "would dream of destroying the work of another artist." And on its side the museum has shown restraint, refusing to call in police during demonstrations. But, says Hendricks, "a lot of people in the AWC are quite militant—and are growing more so. And not just about museums but also art schools, critics and galleries—the whole system is corrupt, and many of the Art Workers are getting tired of waiting for things to right themselves. This thing doesn't end with a free day or any other such gesture. I expect we'll have plenty to keep us busy."

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A. With regard to modern art museums in general and the New York Museum of Modern Art in particular, AWC makes the following demands:

1. The Board of Trustees of the Museum should be made up of one-third Museum staff, one-third patrons, and one-third artists, if it is to continue to act as the policy-making body of the Museum.
2. Admission to the Museum should be free at all times and it should be open in the evenings to accommodate working people.
3. The Museum should decentralize to extend its activities into the Black, Spanish, and all other communities. It should also support events which these communities can identify with and control.
4. The Museum should abandon its plans to build a skyscraper in one of the most expensive real-estate areas of the city. Instead its fund raising campaign should aim at the conversion of many existing structures all over the city into relatively cheap, flexible branch-museums that will not carry the stigma of catering only to the wealthier sections of society.
5. A section of the Museum under the direction of Black and Puerto Rican artists should be devoted to showing the accomplishments of Black and Puerto Rican artists. *Black Study Center*
6. The Museum should encourage female artists to overcome the centuries of damage done to the image of the female as an artist by establishing equal representation of the sexes in shows, museum purchases and on selection committees. *How about TV?*
7. The Museum should maintain available to the public an up-to-date registry of all artists. *NYSCA or City*
8. Museum staff should take positions publicly and use their political influence in matters concerning the welfare of artists, such as the Lower Manhattan Expressway, rent control for artists' housing, and legislation in favor of artists' rights. *Absolutely*
9. *Scout New Works* The Museum's exhibition program should give special attention to works of artists which for one reason or another are not being shown in commercial galleries. The Museum should also sponsor the production and exhibition of such works outside its own premises.
10. Artists should retain a disposition over the destiny of their work, whether or not it is owned by them, to ensure that it cannot be altered, destroyed, exhibited or reproduced without their consent. *Agreed*
11. *What about Buy -* In order to remain a Museum of Modern Art, the Museum should follow the general principle of acquiring and exhibiting only works which are no more than 30 (thirty) years old. All other works in its possession, and also those that eventually pass this age limit should be sold to museums whose collections record the history of art. The proceeds of such sales should be used for the requirements of the present and the future.

B. Until such time as a minimum income is guaranteed for all people, the economic position of artists should be secured in the following ways:

1. Rental fees should be paid to artists for all work exhibited where admissions are charged, whether or not the work is owned by the artist.
2. A percentage of the profit realized on the resale of an artist's work should revert to the artist
3. A trust fund should be set up from a tax levied on the sales of the work of dead artists. This fund would provide stipends, health insurance, help for artists' dependents, and other social benefits.

THE DEMANDS OF ART WORKERS COALITION

ADOPTED JUNE, 1969

*NYSCA
why not?*

FOR STUDY PURPOSES ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.

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[Sotto question
NYSEA]

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NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1971 36

A Creepy Protest at Museum

By TIMOTHY FERREIS

The Metropolitan Museum of Art now has cockroaches.

A group of artists unhappy with the administration of the museum invaded a banquet of museum trustees last night and poured a jarful of roaches on to the table.

The demonstrators, members of the Action Committee of the Artworkers Coalition, contended that the trustees showed contempt for the public by closing off the museum's Louis XVI Room to hold their dinner there.

As museum director Thomas Hoving and other startled dinner guests looked on, some swatting the cockroaches with their napkins, guards hustled the artists from the room. One demonstrator was wrestled to the floor in a corridor outside, but there were no injuries. No arrests were made.

Not Sporting

The museum alarm system sounded and the heavy gold doors of the main entrance were shut and locked. Some visitors thought a theft was in progress. Others, thinking there was a fire, hurried to the entrance and found it closed.

The demonstrators were escorted to the personnel office, where museum secretary Ashton Hawkins told them he felt they had violated "the rules of the game."

"I'm all for having dialogue and even confrontation but not this sort of thing," said Hawkins.

"Our purpose is to point out that there is a very big gap between art and what you people are about," said Ann Arlen, an artist and writer, who snapped photos of Hawkins as he talked.

Other members of the coalition charged that the museum was more interested in business values than human values and was preoccupied with acquiring art rather than helping to communicate the spirit that produced it.

Off Limits

Hawkins said the museum was trying to stabilize and refine its collection rather than just acquire more art. He said the dinner had been paid for by the museum acquisitions committee and was held in the Louis XVI Room because paintings proposed for sale could be exhibited there.

The rooms, he said, "were off limits, just as an exhibit being rearranged is off limits."

Hawkins said he was always willing to meet with members of the coalition.

Ann Arlen replied that "when we sit around and discuss is when we get co-opted because absolutely nothing happens."

The museum has been a target of the Artworkers Coalition since it refused to close its doors during a one-day artists strike the group had called after the shootings at Kent State University.

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The Museum of Modern Art

To Participants in the Meeting of May 28, 1970
From John B. Hightower
Date June 4, 1970
Re

If all of you are substantially and individually in agreement with it, the following is the request I intend to make of the Board of Trustees. A copy of the Minutes of the meeting is also attached.

1. That artists be allowed to provide lectures to groups throughout the Museum particularly relating their concern to war, racism, and repression.
2. That a statement be made by the Museum against death.
3. That an exhibition be initiated on the question of politics and art or the artist as social critic.
4. That such a show become a circulating exhibition.
5. That a film loop/slide presentation of the works and statements of various artists be set up in the lobby of the Museum on questions regarding war, racism, and repression.
6. That a liaison group be set up between artists and the trustees of the Museum.

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The Museum of Modern Art

To
From
Date
Re

JBH
MARGO
SEPT. 4

Thought you might find these interesting.....

OTHER SCENES, October 1970

New tactics will be developed by artists in their battle against the Kulture. Angry art groups which have been protesting museum policies, and by implication their involvement in the war, have been outwitted. Increasingly it has become politic for museums threatened by disruptive action to allow the action to take place -- at specified, convenient (for the museum) times. Authorities at NYC's MOMA waited until the VIpreview was over, at a recent opening, and then invited protestors in to stick up their posters and then, perhaps inevitably, join in the drinking and dancing. Such protests have limited effect and now the emphasis is to shift to more anarchist-type adventures aimed at museums that *don't* cooperate.

The public is so accustomed to events, even radical events, being explained away as artistic happenings that the stage is set for a revolutionary action which only a perceptive few will accept as being the perfect fusing of radical theory with creative endeavor. What is the difference, after all, between a colored plume of smoke masking a busy street corner and the same event coinciding with a massive jail break or bank heist?

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MAY 6 1970

THE DEMANDS OF THE ART WORKERS COALITION

A. WITH REGARD TO ART MUSEUMS IN GENERAL THE ART WORKERS' COALITION MAKES THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS:

1. The Board of Trustees of all museums should be made up of one-third museum staff, one-third patrons, and one-third artists, if it is to continue to act as the policy-making body of the museum. All means by which it might be possible to do away with the board of trustees should be explored in the interest of a more open-minded and democratic museum. Art works are a cultural heritage that belong to the people. No minority has the right to control them; therefore, a board of trustees chosen on a financial basis must be eliminated.
2. Admission to all museums should be free at all times and they should be open evenings to accommodate working people.
3. All museums should decentralize to the extent that their activities and services enter Black, Puerto Rican, and all other communities. They should support events with which these communities can identify and control. They should convert existing structures all over the City into relatively cheap, flexible branch-museums or cultural centers that would not carry the stigma of catering only to the wealthier sections of society.
4. A section of all museums under the direction of Black and Puerto Rican artists should be devoted to showing the accomplishments of Black and Puerto Rican artists, particularly in those cities where these minorities are well represented.
5. Museums should encourage female artists to overcome the centuries of damage done to the image of the female as an artist by establishing equal representation of the sexes in exhibitions, museum purchases and on selection committees.
6. At least one museum in each city should maintain an up-to-date registry of all artists in their area that is available to the public.
7. Museum staffs should take positions publicly and use their political influence in matters concerning the welfare of artists, such as rent control for artists' housing, legislation for artists' rights and whatever else may apply specifically to artists in their area. In particular, museums, as central institutions, should be aroused by the crisis threatening man's survival and should make their own demands to the government that ecological problems be put on a par with war and space efforts.
8. Exhibition programs should give special attention to works by artists not represented by a commercial gallery. Museums should also sponsor the production and exhibition of such works outside its own premises.
9. Artists should retain a disposition over the destiny of their work, whether or not it is owned by them, to insure that it cannot be altered, destroyed, or exhibited without their consent.

(OVER)

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B. UNTIL SUCH TIME AS A MINIMUM INCOME IS GUARANTEED FOR ALL PEOPLE, THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ARTISTS SHOULD BE IMPROVED IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS:

1. Rental fees should be paid to artists or their heirs for all work exhibited where admissions are charged, whether or not the work is owned by the artist.
2. A percentage of the profit realized on the resale of an artist's work should revert to the artist or his heirs.
3. A trust fund should be set up from a tax levied on the sales of the work of dead artists. This fund would provide stipends, health insurance, help for artists' dependents and other social benefits.
4. Artists should retain a disposition over the destiny of their work, whether or not it is owned by them, to ensure that it cannot be altered, destroyed, exhibited or reproduced without their consent.

THE ART WORKERS COALITION IS EMPHATICALLY NOT THE SPOKESMAN FOR ANY ONE STYLE OR ANY ONE GENERATION. ON THE CONTRARY IT INSISTS THAT ALL DIVERGENT MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO EXIST CONCURRENTLY AND THAT AESTHETIC DIFFERENCES SHOULD NO LONGER PREVENT THE COOPERATION OF ALL ARTISTS FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

Adopted by
ART WORKERS COALITION
June 1969,
Revised March 1970.

A. W. G.
BOX 553, OLD CHELSEA STATION
N. Y., N. Y. 10011

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STATEMENT BY ART WORKERS COALITION

May 21, 1970

The Business Committee on the Arts likes to imagine itself as an idealistic cultivated group of nonetheless hard-headed businessmen who are doing their best to help the artist in his pitifully misguided plight. It is in fact merely being used as a public relations device by business to give the impression that businessmen are interested in the arts and to whitewash the dubious image of business today. The Art Workers Coalition wishes to make the following observations concerning the Business Committee on the Arts.

- 1) The BCA is an enclave of the business world inside the arts -- it is an incursion, an invasion, an interruption inside the life of the arts. Any meaningful collaboration between the arts and business must allow for the arts to infuse business with artistic values rather than the reverse for the values of life to triumph over the values of death and expediency.
- 2) The BCA is doing everything it can to convince businessmen to go into the arts in order to achieve what the police and the military have failed to accomplish. The arts are meant to function as a soft policeman in our society, limiting our imaginations rather than expanding them.
- 3) The BCA is encouraging the public to suppose that business is really doing something for the arts, when in fact it is merely taking advantage of built-in tax loopholes which work to their advantage in any case. Businessmen want us to think that they are helping to solve the problems of artists in this country when in fact they are only offering piecemeal solutions for enormous problems they themselves have created. If business paid its legitimate taxes to the government, there would be no problem financing the arts in this country.
- 4) One of the reasons there is a growing depression in this country is an unjust war abroad. Another reason is the total lack of imagination of businessmen in creating new and life-enriching structures and products for a new age. It is only by opening their minds to the creative ideas which artists can offer them that this nation's leaders, or others replacing them, can hope to bring sanity to America. One of the most meaningful ways of doing this is to set up an agency allowing artists and technologists to work together in a true collaboration, unlike the misguided experiments started by EAT with the emphasis equally on artists and technologists.

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New York City Community College

OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK • 300 JAY STREET, BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201
DIVISION OF CONTINUING EDUCATION & EXTENSION SERVICES

May 18, 1970

MAY 22 1970

Mr. John Hightower
Director
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53 Street
New York, N. Y.
10022

Dear John:

In the May 14th issue of THE ROLLING STONE magazine, there appeared a news item on the Art Worker's Coalition in the column called Random Notes. It was reported that the AWC would be glad to distribute Song My posters to interested parties in lots of one hundred or more.

As a consequence of this mis-information, the Song My poster requests have been pouring in. We have been swamped with well over one hundred letters from media people, radio stations, universities and individuals asking for the poster. In some cases individual letters have requested as many as 2000 posters.

As you are probably aware, the first edition of the poster was exhausted about two weeks after its printing. From the discussion of this dilemma at the last AWC meeting emerged the idea that it is the time to rekindle with MOMA the joint sponsorship of another edition of the poster, this time to comply with numerous requests we have received.

As a representative of the AWC I am asking you to initiate discussion once again for the joint sponsorship of another edition. I know that since you have assumed office at the Museum, the atmosphere has taken a turn for the better. Yet, the invasion of Cambodia, the killing of Kent State students and Jackson students and the murders in Augusta, all demonstrate that all we can do to realize meaningful social change in this country can never be enough.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barry".

BARRY N. SCHWARTZ
Assistant Professor

Please respond to me at: 190 8th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11215

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The Museum of Modern Art

To The Files

From

Date May 1, 1970

Re Meeting with representatives of AWC and MOMA Director

Attending were:

TRUSTEES: Mr. J. Frederic Byers, III and Mr. John de Menil

STAFF: Mr. John Hightower, Director and Miss Esmeralda Santiago,
Secretary

MEMBERS AWC: Mr. Tom Lloyd, Mr. Ralph Ortiz and Miss Faith Ringgold

ALSO PRESENT: Miss Vinnette Carrol and Mr. Mark Primus

The Art Workers Coalition demands that the Museum establish a Study Center of Black and Puerto Rican culture, that the Museum hire a Black and Puerto Rican Co-Ordinator, meeting the approval of the AWC, to head the Study Center, and that the Museum issue a public statement committing itself to implementing a number of "cultural programs relevant to the Puerto Rican and Black communities." Among these is the "creation of a Black and Puerto Rican artist advisory board responsible for the administration of finances."

The AWC has nominated Mr. Carroll Green, Jr. for the post of Co-Ordinator representing the Black artists. Mr. Green is presently with the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, DC.

The AWC charges that there is no representation in the Museum of the Black and Puerto Rican artist.

Mr. Hightower agrees with the AWC on the lack of representation of Black and Puerto Rican art in the Museum. He agrees that their demand for a deeper concentration to bring Black and Puerto Rican artists' work into the Museum is needed. He intends to present to the Board of Trustees his suggestions regarding the Center. If the Center is formed, he reserves the right to veto the appointment of the two Co-Ordinators, and the Black and Puerto Rican advisory board shall be responsible to him, as they demand he be responsible to them. The AWC has recognized and accepted this right.

Another meeting will take place between the AWC and Mr. Hightower on Friday, May 15 at 4 p.m., at which time Mr. Hightower will present a written response to the AWC.

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NYSCA

New York State Council on the Arts

c.c. A. Schoener, K. Dewey

3/25/70 - Gross also said, "What we really want is some of your power." And I said, "Then why don't you join the staff?" And he said that AWC would have no one to speak for them and that his place was really with them.

Lucy Kippard
 Lauren
~~James~~ Rabinowitz
 Adelle Preeger
 Alex Gross
 Tom Lloyd
 Betty Blythe
 — Oster
 James Sneed
 Bob Carter
 Jack Hunter
 Lavinia Kuznetsov
 Milton Marmore
 Rose ^{Rosenman} Castillo
 Todd Williams

meeting." He probably means Council meeting, and I hope it was not overestimating our worthy Council members to say that they would enjoy the dialogue, particularly if there were more AWC as articulate as Gross. When he said that they ~~would~~ might sit-in at our office also, this time I felt I could reply with complete assurance that we would be delighted.

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NYSCA

New York State Council on the Arts

c.c. A. Schoener, K. Dewey

MEMORANDUM

TO: John

FROM: Lucy

DATE: 3/16/70

RE: Alex Gross and the Art Workers Coalition

Last Saturday evening I attended a panel meeting entitled "How Artists Organise" at Museum, Inc. Mainly Alex Gross was the panel. There were also another man named Farman, a reactionary AWC member, and the moderator from MUSEUM who also spoke.

- NYSCOA was discussed for all of about forty-five minutes in many contexts. Since Alex had the most to say about us, I'll briefly summarise his comments.
1. NYSCOA and its staff has contradicted all his pre-conceptions about establishment art institutions. Some of the staff there are more radical and progressive than many AWC members themselves!
 2. The \$17,000 grant - they talk about it as a fait accompli, a gift from NYSCOA. (What is its status? Will it travel through MAP advisory?)
 3. Naturally, there is criticism within ranks for taking the grant. The person who wrote the proposal reasoned, said Alex, that the important think was to get the money and then do with in what they wanted. Hence, he couched it in terms which he thought would be acceptable to us.
 4. They might very well donate all \$17,000 to the Black Panther bail fund. However, only if their black and Puerto Rican members are for this. Presently, only the white AWC members are for this.
 5. If NYSCOA "interferes" or gives them trouble, they will sit-in at its office.

After the panel I thought that I had better go up and say a few friendly words to Gross and Farman, such as that I thought that NYSCOA and AWC had a real common ground, i.e. decentralisation of art and culture from heavy concentration in a few large centers to the community at large. Gross said that they might sit-in at our "next meeting." He probably means Council meeting, and I hope it was not overestimating our worthy Council members to say that they would enjoy the dialogue, particularly if there were more AWC as articulate as Gross. When he said that they ~~would~~ might sit-in at our office also, this time I felt I could reply with complete assurance that we would be delighted.

3/25/70 - Gross also said, "What we really want is some of your power." And I said, "Then why don't you join the staff?" And he said that AWC would have no one to speak for them and that his place was really with them.

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March 2, 1970
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SOUND OF THE AWC

Fridays, 11 P.M., WBAI, 99.5 FM
March and April

*John
Hightower*

Sound of the AWC, produced by Art Workers Coalition and formerly called Artists in Rebellion will continue on a weekly basis in March and April.

The Art Workers Coalition is an open-membership organization concerned with the 'lack of humanism and ethics in the art world,' according to Doloris Holmes, coordinator for the series. The program aims to bring some of the critical problems faced by New York artists to public attention and to mobilize artists to a more active role in changing the art establishment. The series will continue in the fall.

SCHEDULE OF PROGRAMS

3/6: Ethics of Ecology--Moderator, Armand Schwerner, and Doloris Holmes, talk with guests Murray Bookchin, writer on ecology; Dr. Ethel Tobach, Museum of Natural History; and Doris Planz, public health nurse.

3/13: Art Workers Coalition Reports on Where It's At--Confrontation with the establishment: John Hightower, new director of the Museum of Modern Art, and Ralph Burkhardt, American Council on the Arts. Alex Gross, Tom Lloyd and Doloris Holmes represent AWC.

3/20: Changing Family Patterns for the Woman Artist--Guest Margaret Mead, anthropologist discusses these patterns with Juliette Gordon, Sylvia Goldsmith and others from AWC

3/27: Environmental and Tech Art: Alex Gross talks with members of Supernova

REPLAYS:

4/3: AWC Manifesto' Laurin Raikin, Jean Toche, Jon Hendriks and Poppy Johnson present a Radio Art Action which evokes themes from manifestoes of AWC and Art Action Group

4/10: Gallery Expose--Writers and artists (in and out of galleries) discuss the gallery scene with gallery director Ivan Karp. Participants: Ralph Ortiz, Al Brunelle, Tom Wolfe and Alex Gross. Moderator: Stella Waitzkin

4/17: Urban Environment--Doloris Holmes, Armand Schwerner, Barry Schwartz and Laurin Raikin discuss aspects of the artists' relationship to urban living. Doloris Holmes reads from her Oxygen Utility Dome.

4/24: Art Workers Coalition Reports on Where It's At. Repeat of the program of 3/13

SOUND OF THE AWC March/April 1970 Fridays 11 P.M.

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ARTISTS PROTEST AGAINST MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

PRESS RELEASE

Friday, March 14, 1969

On January 3, 1969, an artist removed his work from the Machine Show at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. The artist, Takis Vassilakis, a fellow of the Center for Advanced Visual Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, resorted to this action because the Museum, which owns the work, had ignored his request that it not be displayed. Other artists represented in the Machine Show had encountered personal disrespect, negligence, and even deliberate disregard of instructions as to the proper care and display of their work. By his action, Takis demonstrated that these and other artists need not submit passively to the arbitrary decisions of the Museum.

As a result of a spontaneous sit-in by supporters of Takis following the removal of his work, Bates Lowry, the Director of the Museum, agreed to a dialogue with the artists to be held on January 24, 1969. In the days following Takis' action, artists began to realize that their initial complaints were merely symptoms of a conflict between the Museum on one hand and artists and the community on the other. When ten artists and critics arrived at the Museum on the appointed day, Mr. Lowry refused to see them on the grounds that they were too many and that art journalists were among them. As a result of another spontaneous sit-in, Mr. Lowry agreed to meet with a smaller group on January 28.

On that day, a group of seven artists and critics presented a 13 point program for change to Mr. Lowry and members of the Museum Staff. After a brief discussion, Mr. Lowry rejected the artists' first point which called for a public hearing on "The Museum's Relationship to Artists and to Society", to be held under the auspices of the Museum. In reply, the artists suggested a period of ten days during which Mr. Lowry and his associates could study the 13 points and reconsider his refusal to hold a public hearing.

At the end of ten days, Mr. Lowry sent a letter to each member of the group requesting a delay of another week before formally answering the points at issue. In his final response on February 14, 1969, Mr. Lowry informed the artists by letter that he was recommending to the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art that a "Special Committee on Artists' Relations" be appointed within the structure of the Museum.

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The artists objected to this proposal for the following reasons:

- 1) Before discussions in detail could be constructive and meaningful, all interested persons must have had an equal opportunity to express their opinions in a public forum.
- 2) By their limiting and exclusive nature, formal committee sessions make equal participation by all interested persons impossible.
- 3) While a committee appointed by the Museum as an interested party could serve to represent the interests of the Museum, such a committee could not serve as a properly constituted public forum.

In their reply of February 22, the artists stated that "concrete answers" to nine points of the original program for change were a condition for further discussions. These demands were singled out for the following reasons:

- 1) Seven of the points (#5,7,8,9,11,12,13) could be carried out by the Museum independently, since they dealt with matters of internal policy-making in which discussions with other parties would be of no help.
- 2) The points concerning black artists and community relations required direct answers because it was necessary to know the Museum's principal attitudes toward these questions.

A reply to this letter was requested from Mr. Lowry by March 7. In a letter received by the artists on March 7, Mr. Lowry reiterated his plan for the formation of a committee appointed by the Museum ("our committee") which was to hold a "well-organized series of meetings." He did not respond to any of the 13 points.

Conclusions:

- 1) The Museum of Modern Art refuses to deal sincerely with artists.
- 2) The Museum of Modern Art refuses to respond to the needs of the Black, Spanish and other communities.
- 3) The Museum of Modern Art refuses to subject itself to a searching examination.
- 4) Artists, prepared to rectify and update Museum policies and practices, find that neither meetings nor correspondence with officials of the Museum of Modern Art help to bring about overdue changes.

The number of artists aware of their rights, duties, and responsibilities is growing. They will resort to whatever action they deem necessary.

In behalf of the concerned artists: Carl Andre
Hans Haacke
Tom Lloyd

(Enclosed: 13 point program for change)

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MEMO:

I

TO: J. HIGHTOWER

FROM: P. YAMPOLSKY

RE: MEMORABLE MONDAY: OF A.R.T. W.O.R.K.E.I.R.S.
MARCH 2 1970, C.O.A.L.I.T.I.O.N.

① Hall of Systems: EXHIBIT OF contemporary
(All) Beliefs - MOSTLY HUMAN- (DA'HAI TO STOCK MARKET)
People can apply for membership of their belief (cult,
system, or whatever the term may be)... There must be
minimal but nevertheless standards for entry. There may
be, barometers of systems ratings - as for example,
Black Panthers rise & yogis lessen.

② WHO WANTS WHAT?

A They want - meaning why do they exist - ?

I mean... of course they want to benefit the ARTIST - but
why? (however)... More than other people? - Do they
want to benefit others & consider artists and OR
MOMA more capable of benefiting the world?

Who are artists - Define -

" " these " (that they represent)

Are they willing to exist as a real coalition of the art
community of NYC? - or are they willing to be a chapter in

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II

a network of coalitions? (25 AWC's?)

B You want? meaning why did you take the job?

Both your answers were based outside of you

1. - "Because I believe there is a recognition of the need to change")

2. - "I think I can get through... etc." (S)

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WALTER BAREISS

SCHACHENMAYR, MANN & CIE.
7333 SALACH / WÜRTTEMBERG
TEL. SÜSSEN 07162-645

Salach, February 24, 1970
WB/Vö.

Mr. Wilder Green
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53 Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Wilder:

A few days before I arrived in Europe the enclosed article appeared in a German news paper. I heard some hints about it, but had not read anything about the problem in the United States. I have no time to translate the article for you, but I believe either Waldow's or the secretary in my own office could make the translation. I spoke to John Hightower about the matter in general terms, but as long as he is supposedly taking care of our relations with the Art Worker's Coalition, it might be a good thing to have him informed of this. The whole matter concerns a supposed request bei the Art Worker's Coalition to Picasso to have him remove the Guernica from the Museum. I do not think it is serious but as those people are completely irresponsible or rather the extremist storm troops, you never know to what length they might go. I am marking the section that seems to me of some importance.

Best regards,

sincerely yours


(Walter Bareiss)

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Feb. 1970

REMOVE GUERNICA FROM THE MUSEUM!

An Action By The American Art Workers Coalition.

The disputes which have existed for approximately one year between the Museum of Modern Art and the organization called Art Workers Coalition--which has been mentioned before--became more aggravated this ~~past~~ February. To give a brief summary of the recent history: Founded by artists, writers, technologists, and young scientists, the AWC began working toward the following objectives: To examine the function of a contemporary 'Kunstmuseum' (museum with a permanent collection), the relationship between artists and museums, and the question whether wealthy trustees should be permitted to influence museum politics. It was only natural that this group would choose New York's Museum of Modern Art as their starting point and forum for the open discussions they demand. For after all the museum they wish to reform--MOMA-- is their museum.

Even though many demands made by the AWC were poorly formulated, misunderstandings arose quickly, and though especially the trustees were sensing a massive attack against the art establishment they embody, it is yet undeniable that we're dealing here with the only organized professional group which is working toward a redefinition of the role of the artist in a highly political society. The first items raised by the AWC for their basic program were all matters so far aptly ignored by museum directors, gallery owners and art dealers, as well as by some older artist organizations. In this sense, the

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organization which creates disturbance would appear to be of an important function--and in the present situation, necessary.

Angered by the lack of public response, innuendos by the press, and the increasingly conservative trend since the beginning of the Nixon administration, the AWC now has taken a step which very much resembles a declaration of war. In a letter to Pablo Picasso which has already been circulated to the press, the AWC is urging him to request the return of his painting, GUERNICA, which he entrusted to the Museum of Modern Art in 1939. Their demand is resting on the indication that the American was doing things in Viet Nam which would make Guernica, Oradour and Lidice into minor incidents by comparison. The significant sentence reads: "The continuing display of GUERNICA in the Museum of Modern Art indicates that our establishment has the moral right to judge the crimes of others, while ignoring their own." The museum has so far made no comments to this letter; whether Picasso will respond no one can predict. GUERNICA, before which there was a recent protest by members of the Coalition against the Viet Nam war, remains at any rate in the museum so far.

Yet on another issue this very active organization has won a partial victory. The museum management has agreed to drop its regular admission fee of \$1.50 each Monday. The maximum demand was originally that no admission fees should be charged, because the museum is to be regarded as a public institution. The New York Times published a long letter from the AWC on February 8, which used the distinction between

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3.

the German Kunstmuseum and Kunsthalle as constructive criticism of the Museum of Modern Art's organization. MOMA has ceased, so they contend, to manage successfully its double function as storage center for its great treasures of modern art (Kunstmuseum) and as organizer of temporary exhibitions (Kunsthalle).

ROBERT VON BERG

Münchner Kulturberichte Auf Seite 19

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January 22, 1970

JAN 29 1970

To the Art Worker, The New York Times

The eleventh demand of the Art Workers' Coalition, as distributed

TO: June, 1969 Richard Koch

FROM: John B. Hightower

DATE: January 26, 1970

SUBJECT: Art Workers' Coalition - And Injunction

My shuttling around the Eastern seaboard this week may make me an unusually elusive telephone target. Ergo - a few thoughts on the injunction proceedings against the Art Workers' Coalition as well as your drafted letter:

1. The Injunction Despite the exasperation and enervation that has resulted from the demonstrations, I still think it would be a mistake to serve an injunction. It may be sound legally, but publicly it puts the Museum in the position of acting with exactly the kind of imperious establishment insularity that the AWC so virulently objects to - and not entirely without justification which, I gather, is a feeling some members of the staff share. Also, an injunction is newsworthy enough to obscure, if not obliterate, all the months of discussion and attention everyone at the Museum has given to this.

Needless to say, I find myself in the position of one of those, in the words of that well-known punchy phrase-maker, Zorba T. Agnew, "political eunuchs" by being in the limbo of no-man's land between 11 West 53rd Street and 250 West 57th Street. Consequently, my alternative to an injunction is to do nothing more than nothing. I strongly urge that any formal action against the AWC be delayed as long as possible, preferably till after May Day when I am feeling more there than here and am in a position to be more involved than is appropriate for me to be at this time.

2. The Letter Again, I feel it best not to send a letter at all. If it seems to be the only recourse, then perhaps something that is respectful without being patronizing could be composed. Whatever is said will undoubtedly be multiplied by the gross load, distributed widely, and used as the yeast for any number of articles. A draft attempt is attached which may help as a point of departure.

enclosure

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January 22, 1970

JAN 29 1970

To the Art Editor, The New York Times:

The eleventh demand of the Art Workers' Coalition, as distributed publicly in June, 1969, reads:

In order to remain a Museum of Modern Art, the Museum should follow the general principle of acquiring and exhibiting only works which are no more than 30 (thirty) years old. All other works in its possession, and also those that eventually pass this age limit, should be sold to museums whose collections record the history of art. The proceeds of such sales should be used for the requirements of the present and the future.

The demand constitutes a somewhat more stringent restatement of an agreement made between the Modern, the Metropolitan, and the Whitney in 1947, rescinded in 1951, in which a distinction was made between "modern art" (defined as work "by a living artist" or "still significant in the contemporary movement in art") and "classic art" (defined as works "which have become part of the cultural history of mankind"). At no point has the AWC made the "capricious proposal" of "scattering the Museum's permanent collection to the winds" or selling it back to private collectors, as stated by Hilton Kramer in the Sunday Times of January 18, 1970. Mr. Kramer also accused "the museum's younger, politically inspired critics" (also called "these left-wing critics") of denying "the value of museums in principle", and his article ended with a clarion call "for all of us who believe in the very idea of art museums -- in museums free of political pressures.... to say loud and clear that we will not stand for the politicization of art that is now looming as a real possibility."

Such statements reflect the general problem afflicting those who, unwilling to seriously consider the need for museum reform, prefer to dismiss the AWC as a museum-burning, art-defacing, collection-crushing boogie man. On the contrary, the Coalition, composed primarily of artists, is probably more concerned with the basic principle of museums (that is, art) than any other group. We would like to believe, but we can't clap our hands just yet, not until we feel the New York museums are indeed what Mr. Kramer would have them -- "a sign of the democratization of high culture".

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The Museum of Modern Art at the moment is not a public museum but a private institution partly supported by public tax-exemptions; until last week, when, after 10 months of pressure from the AWC, it finally instituted one free day (Monday, on an experimental basis), the exorbitant entrance fee was \$1.50 at all times.

Mr. Kramer ignores the fact that what radical critics are opposed to is the present conservative politicization of the Museum, which threatens to destroy the modernity of the Modern by retention of those now-historical works with a guaranteed permanent market value. Nor do conservative politicizers ever question the propriety of an esthetic institution which considers negligible the fact that much of its money comes from the profits of the Vietnam war, of South African Apartheid, of Latin American colonization. If the men now controlling the Museum of Modern Art are not politically involved, who the hell is?

If, on the other hand, Mr. Kramer means by "the politicization of art" neither real politics nor art-world politics, but political art, he should be made aware that the AWC has never offered any opinions on the content or form of art, which we consider the concern of individual artists alone. If Mr. Kramer's fear of politicization has to do with the poster protesting the Song My Massacre, "AND BABIES?", recently printed by the AWC and originally co-sponsored by the Museum, he should be made aware that the Coalition is under no illusion that the poster is art -- high or low; it is a political poster, a documentary photograph treating an issue that no-one, even the most ivory tower esthetic institution, can ignore in January 1970. At one point the Museum staff agreed with us on this fact.

The reason the AWC chose MOMA as an initial target was not only because it is the establishment of establishments, but because its members were sufficiently concerned with the Museum's functions and its collections to work hard for change, change that would enable it to continue a valid existence as a Museum of international modern art, a virtual impossibility if the major part of its funds and energies continue to be spent on the care and housing of an endlessly augmented collection. Every few years the museum undertakes an all-out fund-raising campaign to keep up with its col-

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lection, and every few years later it has to start all over again. It is obvious to every concerned observer as well as to the Museum itself that some superior method of selectivity must be imposed. If two rooms were required to show the current Calder collection and a great many more to show the Museum's abstract expressionist collection last summer, the permanent collection as a whole is doomed to be stashed away, no matter how much the real estate is expanded.

The Museum has always prided itself on fulfilling successfully its dual role as Kunstmuseum (repository of permanent collection) and Kunsthalle (temporary exhibition hall). It is increasingly obvious that with the funds now available to American Museums, these roles are becoming contradictory, at least in a museum unclear about the degree of its responsibility to either role and unable to make any radical decisions as to its role in the world. The Calder show is a classic example. Based as it is on the haphazard manner in which such a motley collection of one man's work is necessarily assembled, it is a curious way of presenting an artist's oeuvre. And why Calder now, when the Guggenheim just presented a major retrospective? As publicity for the Museum of Modern Art's collection again? Yet that collection turned out to be so sadly lacking in major works from the 40's and 50's that a desperate move like last year's "First Generation" show was necessary, in which artists were solicited for donations to the collection to fill embarrassing gaps and make a validly "historical" show.

It should also be pointed out that when the AWC talks about contemporary art we mean the 450's and 60's as well as "right now". We would prefer less, and longer-lasting, major ^{year} temporary exhibitions, and many smaller one-man shows of major contemporary artists per year rather than the one or two, often overblown, blockbusters which only inflate the present star system governing the art world. We think a museum of modern art should be a source of information about the history of modern art, but also a place things can happen out of, not just in; an area not necessarily within reach of the

Yale Club or Saks Fifth Avenue, an area with some responsibility to the community at large, some awareness of the modern world's fragmentation; an area where Good Design is not emphasized over ~~space and accessibility and whose~~

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space and accessibility, and where a minimum of hard-found money is spent on publicity and props. As long as "modern" museums continue to concentrate on high-level acquisitiveness (which, incidentally, also serves to retain the blue-chip level of private collections), on social events designed to create still more donors and more space problems, the kind of energy and creativity necessary to find solutions to the prevailing deadlock between new art and museological tradition, is being dangerously dissipated. The Art Workers' Coalition would very much like to hear Mr. Kramer's program for the ills of the Museum of Modern Art, of which he is certainly as aware as we are.

Sincerely yours,

Frazer Dougherty
Hans Haacke
Lucy Lippard

Art Workers' Coalition

cc: John Hightower, William Rubin, Elizabeth Shaw
The Museum of Modern Art
Hilton Kramer, Grace Glueck
The New York Times

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AGGRESSION ART
Jean Toche
72 Carmine Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

return to NB

A. C. A.

1-14-70

TOWARD A NEW HUMANISM

W R

LAUGHTERED. IT IS BEING VICTIMIZED BY ITS OWN TRIVIALITY. IT CREATES CRISES AND FOOLS ITSELF WITH THE PURSUIT OF IRRELEVANT AESTHETICS, WHILE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OPPRESSES PEOPLE AND DESTROYS HUMAN LIFE. THAT POLITICAL SYSTEM REPRESENTS GROUP INTERESTS INSTEAD OF SERVING THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE, AND THEREFORE HAS BECOME A LIE TO TRUE DEMOCRACY.

ART TODAY GLORIES IN ITS OWN SELF-IMPORTANCE AND ITS FALSE SETS OF VALUES. IT GLORIFIES PROPERTY INSTEAD OF RELATING TO PEOPLE. IT HAS BECOME PROPERTY. ART HAS BECOME BUSINESS, A STOCK MARKET, A REPRESSIVE AND RACIST MEGA-CORPORATION THAT ENRICHES ITS DIRECTORS AND STOCKHOLDERS, AND EXPLOITS ITS WORKERS TO A POINT OF COMPLICITY IN THE CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST HUMAN LIFE.

ART IS GUILTY OF THE WORST SORT OF CRIME AGAINST HUMAN BEINGS: SILENCE. ART IS SATISFIED WITH BEING AN AESTHETIC/MACHINERY, SATISFIED WITH BEING A CONTINUUM OF ITSELF AND ITS SO-CALLED HISTORY, WHILE IN FACT IT HAS BECOME THE SUPREME INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH OUR REPRESSIVE SOCIETY IDEALIZES ITS IMAGE. ART IS USED TODAY TO DISTRACT PEOPLE FROM THE URGENCY OF THEIR CRISES. ART IS USED TODAY TO FORCE PEOPLE TO ACCEPT MORE EASILY THE REPRESSION OF BIG BUSINESS. MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS ARE THE SACRED TEMPLES WHERE THE ARTISTS WHO COLLABORATE IN SUCH MANIPULATIONS AND CULTIVATE SUCH IDEALIZATION ARE SANCTIFIED.

ART IS TODAY THE HIGHEST SYMBOL OF THE DEHUMANIZED PROCESS OF BUSINESS, AND ART WHICH SHOWS THE REPRESSION OF OUR SOCIETY IS AUTOMATICALLY SUPPRESSED. ARTISTS HAVE BECOME THE CELEBRATED BUFFOONS OF SOCIETY'S MANIPULATORS. THROUGH DEHUMANIZATION, ART HAS BECOME DEVITALIZED; IN MOST OF THE ARTS PRACTICED TODAY, THE VERY SUBSTANCE OF EMOTION IS PURPOSELY LACKING. EMOTION, INSTEAD OF BEING EXPRESSED, IS BEING REPRESSED!

* * * * *

WHAT DO YOU THINK ART IS ALL ABOUT? IS IT SOME SORT OF MYTHICAL ABSTRACT COMMODITY THAT IS TRADED ON THE MARKET AND GUARDED BY THE POLICE? HOW CAN IT BE THAT ART NEEDS POLICE PROTECTION? ONLY "VALUABLE" POSSESSIONS, PROPERTY AND MONEY ARE GIVEN POLICE PROTECTION - IS THAT WHAT ART MUST BE? IS PROPERTY MORE VALUABLE THAN LIFE AND FREEDOM? SHOULDN'T ART RELATE TO LIFE AND FREEDOM RATHER THAN PROPERTY?

SHOULDN'T THE ARTIST BE CONCERNED WITH THE BASIC EMOTIONAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MORAL CRISES THAT CONFRONT US ALL? HOW CAN AN ARTIST BE RELEVANT WHEN HIS ART DEALS ONLY WITH THE BUSINESS OF ART? HOW CAN WE BE CONCERNED SOLELY WITH A BIG WHITE STRIPE ACROSS A WHITE CANVAS, OR A GIGANTIC SCULPTURE OF A DOLLAR BILL, OR THE AESTHETIC RELATION OF A COLORED SHEET OF METAL ON THE FLOOR, OR THE CONCEPT OF A RAILWAY TRACK LEADING NOWHERE IN THE DESERT, WHILE WE ARE FACED WITH THE SLAUGHTERS OF SONGMYS AND FRED HAMPTONS?

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TOWARD A NEW HUMANISM

A. C. A.			
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ART IS BEING SLAUGHTERED. IT IS BEING VICTIMIZED BY ITS OWN TRIVIALITY. ART IGNORES CRISES AND FOOLS ITSELF WITH THE PURSUIT OF IRRELEVANT AESTHETICS, WHILE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OPPRESSES PEOPLE AND DESTROYS HUMAN LIFE. THAT POLITICAL SYSTEM REPRESENTS GROUP INTERESTS INSTEAD OF SERVING THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE, AND THEREFORE HAS BECOME A LIE TO TRUE DEMOCRACY.

ART TODAY GLORIES IN ITS OWN SELF-IMPORTANCE AND ITS FALSE SETS OF VALUES. IT GLORIFIES PROPERTY INSTEAD OF RELATING TO PEOPLE. IT HAS BECOME PROPERTY. ART HAS BECOME BUSINESS, A STOCK MARKET, A REPRESSIVE AND RACIST MEGA-CORPORATION THAT ENRICHES ITS DIRECTORS AND STOCKHOLDERS, AND EXPLOITS ITS WORKERS TO A POINT OF COMPLICITY IN THE CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST HUMAN LIFE.

ART IS GUILTY OF THE WORST SORT OF CRIME AGAINST HUMAN BEINGS: SILENCE. ART IS SATISFIED WITH BEING AN AESTHETIC/MACHINERY, SATISFIED WITH BEING A CONTINUUM OF ITSELF AND ITS SO-CALLED HISTORY, WHILE IN FACT IT HAS BECOME THE SUPREME INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH OUR REPRESSIVE SOCIETY IDEALIZES ITS IMAGE. ART IS USED TODAY TO DISTRACT PEOPLE FROM THE URGENCY OF THEIR CRISES. ART IS USED TODAY TO FORCE PEOPLE TO ACCEPT MORE EASILY THE REPRESSION OF BIG BUSINESS. MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS ARE THE SACRED TEMPLES WHERE THE ARTISTS WHO COLLABORATE IN SUCH MANIPULATIONS AND CULTIVATE SUCH IDEALIZATION ARE SANCTIFIED.

ART IS TODAY THE HIGHEST SYMBOL OF THE DEHUMANIZED PROCESS OF BUSINESS, AND ART WHICH SHOWS THE REPRESSION OF OUR SOCIETY IS AUTOMATICALLY SUPPRESSED. ARTISTS HAVE BECOME THE CELEBRATED BUFFOONS OF SOCIETY'S MANIPULATORS. THROUGH DEHUMANIZATION, ART HAS BECOME DEVITALIZED; IN MOST OF THE ARTS PRACTICED TODAY, THE VERY SUBSTANCE OF EMOTION IS PURPOSELY LACKING. EMOTION, INSTEAD OF BEING EXPRESSED, IS BEING REPRESSED!

* * * * *

WHAT DO YOU THINK ART IS ALL ABOUT? IS IT SOME SORT OF MYTHICAL ABSTRACT COMMODITY THAT IS TRADED ON THE MARKET AND GUARDED BY THE POLICE? HOW CAN IT BE THAT ART NEEDS POLICE PROTECTION? ONLY "VALUABLE" POSSESSIONS, PROPERTY AND MONEY ARE GIVEN POLICE PROTECTION - IS THAT WHAT ART MUST BE? IS PROPERTY MORE VALUABLE THAN LIFE AND FREEDOM? SHOULDN'T ART RELATE TO LIFE AND FREEDOM RATHER THAN PROPERTY?

SHOULDN'T THE ARTIST BE CONCERNED WITH THE BASIC EMOTIONAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MORAL CRISES THAT CONFRONT US ALL? HOW CAN AN ARTIST BE RELEVANT WHEN HIS ART DEALS ONLY WITH THE BUSINESS OF ART? HOW CAN WE BE CONCERNED SOLELY WITH A BIG WHITE STRIPE ACROSS A WHITE CANVAS, OR A GIGANTIC SCULPTURE OF A DOLLAR BILL, OR THE AESTHETIC RELATION OF A COLORED SHEET OF METAL ON THE FLOOR, OR THE CONCEPT OF A RAILWAY TRACK LEADING NOWHERE IN THE DESERT, WHILE WE ARE FACED WITH THE SLAUGHTERS OF SONGMYS AND FRED HAMPTONS?

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THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF ART HAVE BEEN PERVERTED BY THE NOTION OF BUSINESS. ART TODAY NEGATES HUMAN VALUES OF LIFE AND FREEDOM. ART HAS BECOME A MEANINGLESS GAME FOR THE SOLE BENEFIT OF THOSE ENGAGED IN THE SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN LIFE AND VALUES, THE TOY FOR A WHITE ELITE, WHICH IN THIS COUNTRY DESTROYS THE CULTURE OF BLACKS, PUERTO RICANS AND INDIANS, AN ELITE WHICH FORCES ONTO THEM A FOREIGN AND IRRELEVANT CULTURE.

IS THAT WHAT ART IS ALL ABOUT? AN ELITIST GAME OF REPRESSION AND DESTRUCTION? OR IS IT AN EDUCATIONAL PROCESS OF AWARENESS, A HUMANIZATION PROCESS WHICH CONFRONTS THE INSANITY AND VIOLENCE OF OUR SOCIETY, AND GIVES RELEVANCE TO LIFE?

WHAT IS BUSINESS? WHAT IS THE MEANING OF A SOCIETY RELYING SOLELY ON THE CONCEPT OF BUSINESS, WHAT IS KNOWN AS FREE ENTERPRISE? THE VERY NOTION OF BUSINESS IMPLIES MANIPULATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROFIT. IT RELATES TO PROPERTY AND HOW TO EXPAND PROPERTY. IT DOES NOT RELATE TO PEOPLE. THROUGH THE REALIZATION OF BUSINESS, PEOPLE BECOME THE VICTIMS OF PROPERTY AND PROPERTY OWNERS. POVERTY, EXPLOITATION, DISCRIMINATION, RACISM AND WAR, ARE DIRECT CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONCEPT OF BUSINESS. IS THERE ANY BUSINESS TODAY IN AMERICA WHICH DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE IN SOME WAY TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND RACISM IN AMERICA? IS THAT WHAT ART SHOULD RELATE TO? TO BUSINESS, WITH ALL ITS BRUTAL, INHUMAN RAMIFICATIONS? ART AND BUSINESS SHOULD BE AT WAR WITH ONE ANOTHER - NOT ALLIES!

* * * * *

LET'S MAKE NO MISTAKE. THE ARTIST IS AS GUILTY AS THE BUSINESSMAN. THROUGH THE PRODUCTION OF AN ART COMMODITY, THE ARTIST HIMSELF HAS BECOME A BUSINESSMAN. IN ORDER TO MARKET HIS COMMODITY AND INCREASE ITS VALUE, HE MUST CREATE A MYSTIQUE ABOUT HIMSELF AND HIS WORK. THE GALLERY IS THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE COMMODITY IS DISPERSED. THE MUSEUM SERVES THE PURPOSE OF SANCTIFYING BOTH THE COMMODITY AND THE ARTIST. THE COLLECTOR IS THE STOCK SPECULATOR. THE CORPORATION PATRONS USE THE COMMODITY AS A SANCTIFICATION AND SANITIZATION OF THEIR IMAGE. THE ART MAGAZINES ARE THE TRADE JOURNALS, THE FINANCIAL REPORTS OF THE ART WORLD. AND THE CRITIC SERVES THE FUNCTION OF THE WHIP-HAND FOR ALL.

THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF ART AS A COMMODITY IS SO INGRAINED THAT ART HAS BECOME VERY MUCH LIKE THE BUSINESS OF MADISON AVENUE ADVERTISING AGENCIES. THE ARTIST HAS EVOLVED FROM SELLING OBJECTS TO COLLECTORS, TO SHOWING COSTLY TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS SUBSIDIZED BY BIG BUSINESS AS A WAY TO BETTER THEIR IMAGE, TO FINALLY SIMPLY SELLING IDEAS TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER. THE ARTIST HAS BECOME A PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN, THE SECRET AGENT OF BUSINESS TO SUBVERT CULTURE.

THE MOTIVATION OF ART AS A COMMODITY IS SO STRONGLY INGRAINED THAT ARTISTS TODAY ACCEPT WITHOUT BLINKING AN EYE THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF CORPORATIONS AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES INVOLVED IN HUMAN DESTRUCTION AND MANIPULATIONS. YES, THE ARTIST IS AS GUILTY OF MURDER AS THE BUSINESSMAN.

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WHAT IS NEEDED IS A RADICAL CHANGE AWAY FROM THE PERVERSION OF ART BY BUSINESS. A REVOLUTION THAT WILL FREE ART SO THAT IT CAN SERVE THE NEEDS FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-EXPRESSION, AND FIGHT THE VIOLENCE AND HATE THAT THE PRESENT ART SUPPORTS. YOU CAN PARTICIPATE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE CHANGE. ACTION CAN FORCE THE ELITISTS TO RELINQUISH THEIR DEATH GRIP ON ART. IT TAKES WORK, AND IT TAKES YOU. IF YOUR ART AND YOUR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE INCONSISTANT, IF YOUR WORK DOES NOT REFLECT YOUR POLITICAL COMMITMENT, THEN ONE OF THE TWO WILL BE A LIE. IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES, YOU HAVE TO BE ABLE TO DEAL EFFICIENTLY WITH YOUR THOUGHTS, YOUR FEELINGS AND YOUR ACTIONS, AND THAT IS THE VERY PROCESS OF EXPRESSION. EXPRESSION IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ART. REVOLUTION IS A FORM OF ART.

IF YOU, AS AN ARTIST, ACCEPT THE REPRESSION OF SOCIETY AND WORK WITH THE SYSTEM, YOU MIGHT DELAY CHANGES. OF COURSE THERE IS SUCH A THING AS SUBVERSION FROM WITHIN, AND THERE ARE MANY MORE WAYS THAT REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES CAN TAKE PLACE, BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT YOUR WORK AND YOUR ACTIONS ALWAYS REFLECT AND CONFRONT THE CRISES OF THE SOCIETY WE LIVE IN. AS LONG AS THE ARTIST CATERS TO THE ELITE, THE ELITE WILL BE ABLE TO CONTROL ART AND WILL NOT ALLOW A FREE EXPRESSION OF ART.

IF ART IS TO RETURN TO ITS TRUE MEANING OF EXPRESSION, IT MUST REJECT MONETARY VALUES; IT MUST REJECT ALL BUSINESS/AESTHETIC VALUES; IT MUST BE FREED FROM THE CORRUPTION BY BUSINESS. IT MUST DEAL WITH THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE; IT MUST DIRECT ITSELF TOWARD THE HUMAN VALUES OF LIFE AND FREEDOM; IT MUST BE RELEVANT AND ANTI-TRIVIAL; IT MUST SHAKE THE MINDS OF ITS VIEWERS INTO A REALIZATION OF THE ESSENCE OF CRISIS; IT MUST DIRECT AND INVOLVE ITS VIEWERS INTO ACTIONS; IT MUST QUESTION; IT MUST PROVOKE.

ART MUST EMPLOY THE BODY AND MUST PURGE ITSELF OF THE IDEA OF PRODUCING OBJECTS. HOWEVER, HAPPENINGS WHICH DEAL WITH THE USELESSNESS AND INTENTIONAL IRRELEVANCE OF ACTIONS, AND TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTAL ART WORKS WHICH ARE A MERE AESTHETIC AND PLAYFUL INDICATION OF A PROBLEM, ARE AN INTELLECTUALIZATION AND ABSTRACTION AWAY FROM THE EMOTIONAL CRISES. POSTERS AND REPRESENTATIONAL PROPAGANDA ART, WHICH ARE MERELY AN INDICATION OF A PROBLEM DO NOT DEAL DIRECTLY ON AN EMOTIONAL BASIS WITH THE CRISIS, AND REMAIN A PURE INTELLECTUALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM. ON A NON-ART REALITY BASIS, IT MEANS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WATCHING A RIOT ON TELEVISION IN THE SAFETY OF YOUR LIVING ROOM, AND BEING IN THE MIDDLE OF A RIOT IN THE STREET. THE TELEVISION CREATES, IN TERMS OF EMOTIONAL RESPONSE, A SAFE DISTANCE BETWEEN YOURSELF AND THE REALITY OF THE ACTION, A DISTANCE BETWEEN YOURSELF AND THE CRISIS.

YOU CAN DRAMATIZE AN URGENT CRISIS OR AN IMMEDIATE REALITY/SITUATION THROUGH AN ACTION PIECE, EXPLOITING THE AMBIGUITY BETWEEN ART/ACTIONS AND REAL LIFE. ART MUST ASSAULT THE SENSES; IT MUST REVOLT THE MIND AND TALK TO THE SOUL.

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JANUARY 10, 1970

GUERRILLA ART ACTION GROUP
JON HENDRICKS
POPPY JOHNSON
JEAN TOCHE

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List of Committees Formed with Art Workers Coalition

Meeting of November 25, 1969

1. Watchmen Committee
(Scheduled to meet December 5, 10 a.m.)

Joan Snyder
Tom Lloyd
Dan Flavin
Roy Lichtenstein
Arthur Drexler
John Szarkowski

2. Community Affairs Committee

Lucy Lippard
Lauren Raikin
Waldo Rasmussen
Elizabeth Shaw
Emilio Ambasz
Elaine Johnson

3. Women Artists

Juliette Gordon
Sara Saporta
Bill Rubin or Bill Lieberman
John Szarkowski

4. Guerilla Art
(Meeting held December 1, 2:30)

Jon Hendricks
Jean Toche
Poppy Johnson
Arthur Drexler

5. Admissions Committee

Bob Huot
Bob Barry
James Umland
Dick Koch
Emily Stone

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6. Black Artists
(Meeting held December 2, 10 a.m.)

Betty Blayton
James Sneed
Tom Lloyd
Arthur Drexler
Bill Rubin

7. Poster Committee
(Meeting held December 3, 10 a.m.)
Irving Petlin
Jon Hendricks
Frazer Dougherty
Elizabeth Shaw

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM RELEVANT TO THE BLACK AND PUERTO
RICAN COMMUNITIES AND THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

1. Immediate appointment of a Puerto Rican and Black artist to serve as educational coordinator to be responsible to the artists advisory board.
2. Textbooks, portfolios of reproductions, slides and films about Black and Puerto Rican art and artists, to be available for sale and to rent to the public schools.
3. In service for public school teachers, to be taught by Puerto Rican and Black artists.
4. Commissions for films and posters to be used as educational materials in the schools.
5. A continuing program of slide talks, gallery lectures, and film showings, for school children to be run by Black and Puerto Rican artists.
6. A program of busing children to and from predominantly Black and Puerto Rican schools to the Museum of Modern Art.
7. Rhythm and Blues Puerto Rican concerts relevant to Puerto Rican and Black culture to be performed in the garden.

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Black and Puerto Rican Artists of Art Workers Coalition and other Black artists groups have been discussing diversity with respect to the implications of radically changing the Museum of Modern Art into a more meaningful and relevant institution for Black and Puerto Rican people and communities. The Museum of Modern Art must address itself to the specific changes inherent in an acceptance of diversity.

In response to the issues, Black and Puerto Rican members of Art Workers Coalition and other Puerto Rican and Black Artists put forth the following agenda.

Program for Change: Black and Puerto Rican Culture

- I. We demand that the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Study Center for Black and Puerto Rican Culture be created by March 10, 1970. The program necessitates the rearranging of the institutional patterns at the Museum of Modern Art.
- II. We demand that a Black and Puerto Rican Coordinator, meeting the approval of Art Workers Coalition Black and Puerto Rican Bloc and other Puerto Rican and Black artists, be hired by February 10, 1970. Their functions will be to organize and provide the basic machinery for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Study Center.
- III. The Museum should immediately issue a press release committing itself to implementing the following culture programs relevant to the Black and Puerto Rican committees.
 1. Creation of a Black and Puerto Rican artist advisory board responsible for the administration of finances. The Puerto Rican and Black coordinators will be responsible to the board.

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2. The immediate acquisition of no less than 100 works of art by Black and Puerto Rican artists.
3. Exhibit showing the impact that the arts of Africa and South America have had upon the twentieth Century Western Cultural revolution in painting, sculpture, music and dance.
4. Retrospective show of Romare Beardon's and Franz Serboni's work.
5. Exhibit of commissioned posters by Puerto Rican & Black artists.
6. Three man exhibit of Black and Puerto Rican painters.
7. Three men exhibit of Puerto Rican and Black Sculptors.
8. One large group exhibit of Black and Puerto Rican artists.
9. A program to give assistance to Puerto Rican and Black filmmakers to show regularly at the Museum of Modern Art.
10. Support for a special program similar to the Parks Department's sculpture of the month program for Black and Puerto Rican Sculpture, and a special program similar to the City Walls project for Puerto Rican and Black Painters.
11. Immediate appointment of patron memberships to black and Puerto Rican people.
12. Museum sponsored travelling exhibits to Black and Puerto Rican communities in other cities.
13. Museum sponsored series of concerts by Black and Puerto Rican choreographers and Black and Puerto Rican dancers.

Art Workers Coalition Black
and Puerto Rican Committee and other
Black and Puerto Rican Groups.

Tom Lloyd
Faith Ringgold.
Bob Carter
Todd Williams
Jack Hunt
Adrian Garcia
Nicolas Baginis
Ralph Ortiz
James Sepyo

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Memorandum
To John Hightower
From Richard H. Koch
Date 956-7518
956-5903
Re Draft of letter
we plan to
send before
starting injunctive
proceedings.
Please call me
after parsons.
Lrk

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January 22, 1970
DRAFT

AWC

Miss Joan Snyder
Acting Secretary
Art Workers Coalition

Dear Miss Snyder,

During the past twelve months the Museum of Modern Art has been the scene of ~~a number of~~ demonstrations conducted by ~~various individuals associated with~~ the Art Workers Coalition. Some of the ~~the~~ demonstrations have taken place in the Museum's Sculpture Garden, some in its galleries, and some in the Lobby. In addition to the distribution of printed matter and other literature in the galleries and Lobby, the ~~the~~ demonstrations have involved the following kinds of conduct on various occasions:

Attempted forcible entry into the Museum from the Sculpture Garden.

Distribution to the public of forged passes purportedly entitling the holder to free admission to the Museum.

Entering the Museum without purchasing tickets, and evading the ticket-takers by hurdling the token barriers in the Lobby.

Removing a painting from the gallery wall and placing it on the floor.

Creating confusion and congestion among the public in the Lobby, and disrupting the flow of visitors.

Conducting a mass sit-down in the galleries and refusing to disperse despite repeated requests to do so, at the same time engaging in loud and disorderly behavior.

Use of an electrically amplified bullhorn in the Lobby.

Dumping a large quantity of blood on the floor of the Lobby, and staging a mock fight in the resulting pool.

Disrupting operations and service to the public in the Lobby.

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by purchasing numbers of admission tickets entirely with pennies.

Bringing into the Lobby a billboard for the display of posters, together with a folding table and chairs for use in ^{their distribution.} ~~distributing copies~~ ~~of them~~

Soliciting contributions in the Lobby.

Most of the foregoing demonstrations took place on Saturdays or Sundays, when the Museum is particularly crowded with as many as 5,000 visitors per day. The demonstrations in the ~~Lobby~~ ^{Lobby} seriously interfered with the orderly passage of ~~Museum~~ visitors into and out of the Museum, ^{and} with check-room service and ~~with~~ the sale and collection of tickets. The demonstrations in the galleries jeopardized the safety of works of art and distracted and disturbed the Museum's other visitors. ~~Although~~ ^{the} Museum ~~has~~ ^{is} repeatedly ^{requests to} ~~asked~~ the individuals involved in these demonstrations to cease their disruptive conduct ~~our request~~ have gone unheeded.

The Museum has tolerated this conduct until now in order not to jeopardize the safety of visitors and of works of art. In recent weeks, however, there has been a series of especially disruptive demonstrations in the Lobby and in the galleries, and the Museum has concluded that in accord with its responsibilities to the artists whose work is on exhibition in its galleries, to the lenders and donors of these works of art, and to the visiting public, it can no longer permit such demonstrations to take place within the Museum, ~~or on its premises.~~

We are aware, of course, that many members of the Art Workers Coalition have not participated in these demonstrations, and we understand that some members of the Coalition have dissociated themselves from such activities altogether. It is apparent, however, that ~~the conduct of~~ those individuals who have been particularly active in the demonstrations seek to convey the

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3.

impression that they are ^{acting} ~~undertaken~~ on behalf of the entire Coalition.]

Although ST ~~we~~ do want to continue the discussions which began last fall among representatives of the Coalition and members of the Museum ~~Staff~~ as a means of airing grievances and reviewing specific proposals, ^{however,} it is difficult to conduct such discussions objectively [in an atmosphere filled with the threat of disruption and disturbances.] ^{under the present circumstances.}

In summary: the Museum is not objecting to demonstrations conducted outside its doors, but it can no longer permit demonstrations to be held within the Museum itself or on its premises.

Sincerely yours,

For the Operating Committee

copies to:

Wilder Green
Elizabeth Shaw
Arthur Drexler
John Hightower
Arthur Tourtellot
Richard Salomon

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STATEMENT BY X12 Group show of 12 women artists beginning Jan.27 at Museum, 729 Broadway -2-

We are on the threshold of the unknown quantity in us, X, of the equation yet to be discovered, like $E=mc^2$, that split the atom and changed everything. We do not deny our femininity, whatever it may be. We affirm all the vital values: Health, Beauty, Creativity, Courage, Sensitivity, Strength, Feeling, Energy. Between the fully liberated man and woman we see no difference but biology. Women are unliberated, and held back from full self-realization because of their conditioning which makes of culturally transmitted characteristics such as passivity, dependency, softness, unassertiveness, into innate feminine qualities. In art parallel qualities are said to be "feminine", i.e., delicacy and softness are feminine but not strength. Men can be sensitive, feeling, creative, delicate too--witness Paul Klee. We therefore ask the Museum to sponsor a program flexible enough to open up possibilities for women as artists to fulfill their unrealized potentialities. X is the unknown quantity in an equation yet to be resolved.

WAR demands, presented to MOMA, Dec., 1969:

1. A continuous, non-categorized, rotating, non-juried show: exhibition in the museum proper of works by women to be held by women.
2. An all-departmental exhibition of works by women from all times and cultures, involving intensive research, with selection subject to WAR approval.
3. a) Retrospective of a well-known woman artist today.
b) Exhibition of famous women artists since 1850.
c) Exhibition of Black Women artists.
4. Acquire a significant amount of new works by relatively unexhibited women artists from first exhibition (dem. 1).
5. Publish a poster series of and by women to be sent throughout the US to encourage women artists.
6. Encourage new women film makers with assistance and regular showings to the public.
7. City walls and sculpture of the month for women.
8. Educational exhibits circulating to various parts of the community, based on research from second exhibition; for schools, hospitals, community centers; nationwide.
9. A museum series of new media experiments and events, sponsored by the museum, by women working in mixed media and environmental art.
10. Creation of a women artist advisory board responsible for administration of above programs, open to consultation, addition of future programs and projects, and administration of finances. One salaried female consultant responsible to advisory board (mutually sponsored).

"I would like it clearly understood that the black artists wholeheartedly support the demands of the women's rights group of AWC. We see their demands paralleling ours. We will work with them to see aims realized. I urge all art workers to support them."

Tom Lloyd, The Black and Puerto Rican
Committee, AWC

WAR has been conducting a survey among the galleries on the subject of their attitude toward women artists. A WBAI panel discussion grew out of this project, which included two taped interviews by Juliette Gordon of Allan Stone Gallery and Johnny Meyers of Tibor de Nagy. The program was part of a series on AWC, organized by Dolores Holmes.

All material submitted to WAR Newsletter is welcome. (The Editor)

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*please distribute to curators, trustees, etc.
more can be obtained on request.*

FROM
THE NEW YORK ART STRIKE
TO
ALL INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH MUSEUMS

please sign & return to Art Coppage 57 W. 16th St N.Y.C.

Our nation is presently engaged in a war in Southeast Asia, which has world-wide implications, and which at home threatens to tear our very social fibre. The following statement is an expression of our concern as human beings, who can no longer just sit by and witness a war that kills our boys and their boys. As members of institutions which glorify life and harmony amongst all men, we feel it our duty to speak out against the war and especially the roots of war.

We resolve: that the most pressing cultural and national issues of our time are racism, sexism, and repression. The war in Southeast Asia is the most blatant manifestation of these crises. Therefore, we demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. Military involvement in Southeast Asia.

Signed,.....

Please print Name.....
Title.....
Museum.....
Date.....

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A PROPOSAL TO THE NEW YORK ART MUSEUMS FROM THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE MUSEUMS COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK ART STRIKE

Don't we all agree that it is time to assume a more responsible role in our world, to participate more actively in making our democratic system work, to be more responsive to more of the people, whoever they may be? Museums and artists have already agreed at the Association of American Museums meeting at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel on May 20, 1970, that very pressing issues must be met with more than a shrug of the institutional shoulder. They have agreed to hold a conference at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in October, but what will you be conferring on then? Isn't it the time now to plan and take some action to be reported on, especially since New York is supposed to be a leader in the art world?

What is your museum planning?

Our committee suggests the following as possibilities(Though we hope you have already been making plans, long before this missile meant only to nudge you, slightly) :

1. A table of literature, to be chosen by the museums, with the aid of the artists, if so desired, on the themes of War, Racism, Sexism, and Repression. The material may be selected by each museum separately, or in conjunction with each other. The table will be placed in the main lobby, and manned by a staff member, or a changing shift of staff members, able to discuss the issues in open dialogue with the interested public, and even to collect public opinions on tape, or in written form, which can then be widely distributed.
2. A large wall, or a large section of the lobby given over to a weekly or daily changing show of protest art dealing with the four themes. The display could be selected by both the staff and the artists, and the general public, depending on the courage of the staff, to allow selection to be made, and their readiness to trust others.
3. A major show of new and recent art on the four themes of protest, held in or by October, preferably (A.A.M. Conference) to be selected by the staff and the artists(in a large group, at least 12) If this is begun now, there is time to have it ready.
4. Special shows dealing with each of the four themes, separately, with other factors of selection being the same as #3.

Our group would be pleased to meet with you to discuss anything and offer our assistance where needed.

Call or write Juliette Gordon
10-11 Ave of the Americas
N.Y.C. 10018
594-7349

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The Lively Arts/Barbara Rose OUT OF THE STUDIOS, ON TO THE BARRICADES

"... The art world is turning into a scene of anti-war and anti-materialism protest more virulent than anything since Weimar..."

Young Midwestern artist, on his first trip to Paris and his first trip on acid, vomiting all over the Place de la Bastille, screaming: "Kill, spend, waste... no more consumption, no more objects..."

Eminent establishment art critic (ex-thirties radical), sitting under a palm tree in a tropical country club, sipping a Cuba Libre: "Of course I enjoy traveling. The purpose of the CIA is to give us trips."

Director of a major American museum, in a recent catalogue introduction: "To me, as a kid, Negroes were people. But they were happy, foot-twitching, smiling and sunny. They were not to be (and when they were, it was a problem) sour, moody, bitter, silent and mad like Frank, the chauffeur. 'Why can't he be like Bessie the maid? Always friendly, always gay and warm?'"

Member of the Congressional Committee on Cultural Affairs: "Look, if you guys are so upset, why don't you all go home and paint *Guernicas*?"

Black delegate of the Emergency Cultural Government: "We don't need to paint *Guernicas*. America is making *Guernicas* for us all over the world."

Famous pop artist, explaining his recent iconography: "*Fagends* equals P's [Picasso's] *Charnel House*. Ball, she bomb... After it's poured, Styrofoam so called goes up the fagends slowly. It rises like a soda or our famous explosion... The Studio is the setting for the most horrible crimes: the fagends are pierced with the wire, and twisted. They are then tied to chairs, twisted again, and the Urethane is poured in. They swell. After a few minutes, all movement ceases..."

"Raze Harlem. Erect in its place, painstakingly accurate replica, Chicago fire, near the end, or San Francisco earthquake. For Welfare Island, propose a famous park: Disneyland of Death."

Among my least cherished souvenirs is a worn rubber stamp marked PRO-

TEST which I acquired working with a now-defunct group called the Artists and Writers Protest. We used to have depressing meetings in figure-painter Leon Golub's studio. On the walls, Golub's giant monster men writhed in Expressionist agony; on the floor, sad knots of non-establishment artists commiserated with a few writers. At that time we sent out a call asking the artists chosen to represent the United States at the Venice Biennale to withdraw their work as a protest against the Vietnamese war. After considerable squabbling—nothing is settled among hyper-individualists like artists without squabbling—we agreed on a mild statement to be distributed in Venice. Many art-world luminaries, including a number of famous artists, signed. In the end, however, no one wanted to risk withdrawing from the Biennale. Government support of the arts was so provisional that artists, loath to give up the little gravy they were getting at the affluence banquet, were not anxious to draw attention to themselves.

To add to our sense of futility, we never did find anyone to give out our statement in Venice, either. Art-world types were still too busy sipping Cinzano in the Piazza San Marco and meeting *principessas* to involve themselves with anything so mundane and tasteless as politics. But we held some small auctions and raised a little cash for peace groups. Generally we felt frustrated and powerless as the art world went merrily along making money, turning on at endless parties and jetting from opening to opening.

That was two years ago. Since then, the war has monstrously escalated, and blacks and students have been jailed and murdered. The universities are closed, and workers are clubbing students. Anyone who teaches will tell you the schools in general are deeply troubled. But if the colleges are a mess, then the art schools are an even bigger mess. Notoriously sensitive, artists are often first to feel any kind of disturbance. The result in many instances has been that all students have stopped making objects for the market and are turning their energies instead to guerrilla



The May 22 vigil at the Met.

theatre, political films and posters, and a variety of radical activities, some of them bordering on the dangerously destructive.

The history of the peace movement in the art world dates back to 1965, when hundreds of artists from all over the country erected a 60-foot-high tower in Los Angeles. Under the leadership of sculptor Mark di Suvero and painter Irving Petlin, they covered the huge structure with their works to demonstrate their objections to the war in Vietnam. Because local Birchers threatened to burn the tower and several times attempted to destroy the works of art, Irving Petlin took a room across the street where he could watch the tower. At all times when the tower was open to the public, he was forced to defend the besieged art tower physically. When the tower was

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finally dismantled, the paintings, including those by such high-priced artists as Stella, Warhol, Lichtenstein and Rauschenberg, were wrapped in brown paper and sold—grab-bag style—for \$25 apiece. The proceeds went to the peace movement.

Both Petlin and di Suvero remained active in the peace movement. Petlin has devoted more and more of his time to organizing the art world in the joint causes of peace and social justice—to the extent that he has not been able to

atmosphere of extreme unrest. During the recent Yale demonstrations against the trial of the New Haven Black Panthers, the art school served as a hospital. Is it any wonder students are confused as to the role of art in this society?

Just because students are not working, however, does not mean they are not thinking. On the last day of my class in contemporary art at Yale, students handed out dollar bills with the *Mona Lisa* in the center, instead of George Washington. Earlier, they had taped interviews with people in the street. They announced that the government had just paid one billion dollars for the *Mona Lisa* and asked for people's reactions. Most people accepted the fact calmly, admitting you just didn't know what the government was going to do next. A very small minority thought perhaps we might use the money better to feed people or to solve our social problems.

While the future artists of America are decorating their gas masks with clenched fists, untroubled souls on 57th Street—secure in their knowledge that the baseness of politics will never sully the untouchable purity of art—continue passing objects and paper back and forth. The game, which resembles Chinese checkers, is being played with considerably less enthusiasm, however. Smaller galleries are beginning to find it hard to stay open, although those solid temples to the twin gods Apollo and Mammon, Marlborough and Knoedler, continue successfully to cannibalize other galleries, collect estates of dead artists and, in general, serve as perfect microcosms of the advanced stages of Monopoly capitalism.

Downtown, the artists have their hands full fending off the city fire and buildings departments, the exploitative landlords, the Lower Manhattan Expressway, the dilettantes and culturati who want to move into their neighborhoods, and the Internal Revenue Service, which is investigating their tax returns, since artists no longer have the right to deduct gifts of their works to museums.

Yes, these are hard times for the art world. In the wake of the balmy days of sixties art speculation, a vast population of artists, drawn by the myth that Ivan Karp had paved the streets of SoHo with gold, moved in below 14th Street. Living off unemployment, money from home, working wives and various menial jobs (stretcher-making, moving, cleaning studios), they began to form a kind of restive lumpen-proletariat of the art world, which was denied access to the fame and money they came to seek. When new galleries like David Whitney, O.K. Harris, Paula Cooper, Reese Palley, and Max Hutchinson

opened in the SoHo area, some of the pressure was taken off. Still, a lot of people who thought of themselves as artists had no place to exhibit. As a result, they began to organize themselves in a number of ways to work for greater democracy in the art world.

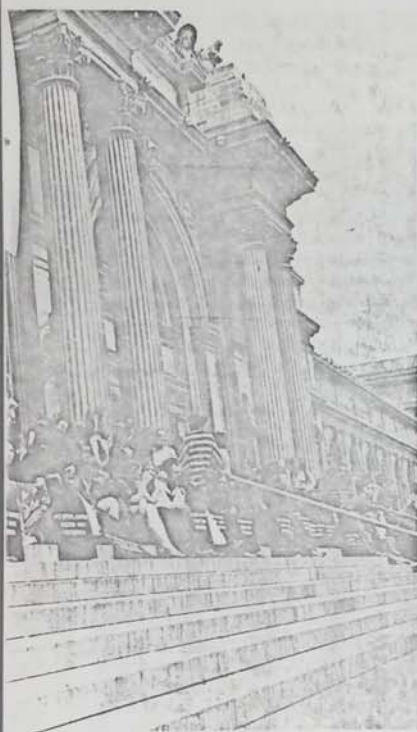
First of all, there was Museum, an artists' cooperative gallery on lower Broadway with an open exhibition policy—no jury, no selections, no quality control. Then there was the Art Workers Coalition, which insisted on the equal exhibition rights of blacks, Puerto Ricans and women and made a series of "non-negotiable demands," including free admission to museums and artists' representation on museum governing boards.

To gain credibility with the establishment, these groups needed a famous artist as spokesman. Fortunately they had Carl Andre, a sculptor who could have been the darling of the *vernissage* set, but preferred to cover himself with as much hair as possible and go about dressed in Maoist coveralls—the only proper costume for preaching the cultural revolution.

Andre's first blow to the profit motive consisted of taking the money a collector had paid for a commission, buying an ingot of gold with it and giving the gold back to the collector. These days Andre's work consists mainly of standard units of one kind or another, including flat metal sheets placed end to end in regular repetitive arrangements. That you can go out and buy the raw material yourself if you like a piece well enough has not kept collectors from purchasing Andre's work. His sculpture is known and admired throughout Europe. Next fall, he will have a retrospective at the Guggenheim Museum. The point of which is, Carl Andre doesn't have to show at Museum or protest for the rights of blacks or Puerto Ricans or women.

As the leading light of the Art Workers Coalition, which is dedicated to the egalitarian proposition of having no leading lights, Andre has developed a number of novel plans for redistributing the resources of the art world in a more equitable manner. His plans include a tithe on high-priced works and a tax on the resale of works by dead artists to be used to support young or non-commercial artists. Needless to say, however, they are meeting with a certain resistance from parties less disinterested than Andre.

Andre is one of the few "haves" associated with the Art Workers Coalition, which is essentially an organization of "have nots." But the have nots are enjoying their day everywhere, and the art world is no exception. Museum personnel quake when approached by a



500 artists strike for peace.

paint in months. Far more responsive to his pleas than older artists with a considerable stake in the establishment and the status quo are the alienated young. Indeed, the very young are so paralyzed by the social and political crisis that they appear incapable of creating objects at all. The result is that they are turning the art world into a scene of anti-war and anti-materialism protest more virulent than anything we have seen since Weimar. By virtue of their activities, they have managed to render some of the nation's leading art schools barely functional any longer. The Yale School of Art and Architecture, for example (which proudly displays a geometric symbol of Josef Albers' *Homage to the Square* and other abstract art) was burned out last year by anonymous arsonists in an

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"... It is incredible that cultural institutions can be directed by people who have never made a single contribution to art ..."

member of the Coalition. "Well, suppose they storm the director's office, then what?" a museum staff member was heard to ask. Under pressure from the Art Workers Coalition, museums are beginning to feature black art, and to set aside times when admission is free. There is, in fact, talk that both the Metropolitan and the Modern have made private deals with black light artist Tom Lloyd regarding special quarters for black art. However, this still leaves a lot of mad Puerto Ricans and women to be pacified—and Hoving isn't going to buy off the ladies by pointing with pride to Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair*.

The virtue of the activities of the Art Workers Coalition, which draws a lot of its support from the residents and faculty of the School of Visual Arts, is that it has reopened dialogue in the art world. The powers that be tremble before their representatives; they wouldn't dare not talk to them. God knows what acts of extremism crazed artists might perpetrate if ignored: the stink bombs in the Museum of Modern Art elevator during the Dada and Surrealism exhibition, for example, or the incessant picket lines at the Met. Better to avoid such disruptions. Use the old tried-and-true strategies. Invite them to cocktail parties; fight fire with firewater. Have Tom Hoving talk to Tom Lloyd man to man. Better a black artist in a black tie than in a black mood.

Following this policy of fraternization, on May 22, when 500 artists closed the Met by blocking the entrance. Curator Theodore Rousseau served them sandwiches and coffecake. (Undoubtedly, in the back of his mind, he remembered the advice of the lady who said, "Let them eat cake.") The reason that the artists were sitting on the steps of the Met to begin with was that they had decided, as an exceptional gesture of their concern, to ask museums and galleries to close in protest against the war and the killings of blacks and students.

Like the peace movement generally, protest activities in the art world picked up considerable momentum after the United States entry into Cambodia and the Kent State massacre. A meeting called on May 18 at Loeb Student Center drew a record crowd of 1,500 artists, dealers and critics. The result was the Art Strike against War.

ingly active in art politics, won out.)

Despite the plea of the Art Strike, the Met decided not only to remain open on May 22, but to stay open for five additional hours. So the artists sat for twelve straight hours on Kevin Roche's monumental bleachers, which seemed just made for such an occasion. As the Met went on with business as usual, the artists sat in vigil for those murdered at Kent State, Orangeburg, Jackson State and Augusta and for those killed in Vietnam and being killed in Cambodia.

This time, when a call was sent out by the Emergency Cultural Government, a majority of artists chosen to represent the United States in Venice withdrew their work. Because they wished to protest without curtailing cultural activities in any way, these artists, who include such well known printmakers as Baskin, Dine, Krushenick, Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Rauschenberg, Motherwell, Youngerman, Warhol, etc., have started making plans to exhibit the work chosen for Venice in New York.

On June 16, a group of artists and dealers went to Washington as representatives of the Art Strike to register the deep concern of the art community regarding the current social and political crisis. If they learned anything at all, it was how little the government thinks of art or culture. Said one distinguished politician, "Well, if it had been doctors threatening to strike, that might have meant something." The executive assistant to the President's executive assistant canceled her appointment with the group, so no artist ever set foot in the White House.

A strategy to induce the publishers of the major art magazines to run the poster of the My Lai massacre on their September covers was also torpedoed. The poster, a sickening photograph of bleeding and mutilated Vietnamese women and children killed by American troops, was created by the Art Workers Coalition for distribution by the Museum of Modern Art to its membership. The staff agreed to use it; but distribution was stopped by the trustees. The same was true of the plan to use the poster as the cover for several art magazines; the plan was vetoed by the publishers of two of the magazines on the ground that it would diminish the individuality of their respective publications.

Many of those involved in the Art Strike had been looking forward to the reaction of art-loving Nelson Rockefeller to four identical color photographs of

dead Vietnamese babies on his coffee table. "He'll just have a tapestry made of it," an artist conjectured.

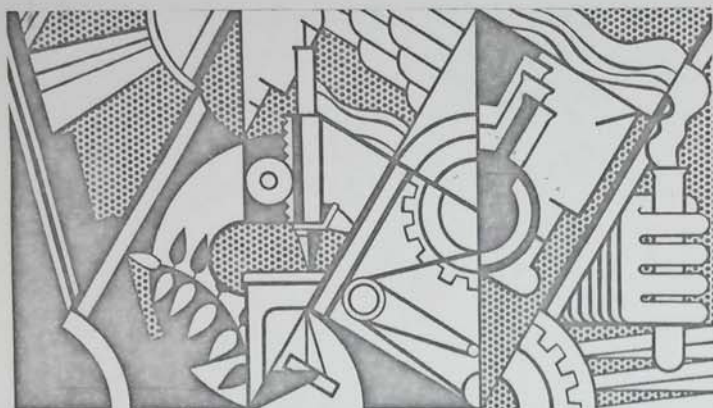
Since the owners of art magazines belong—by blood, social and economic ties, and vested interests—to the same power elite as the people who are making the decisions in Washington, it is easy to see why nothing came of these efforts. In September, when the art season reopens, it will be business as usual.

Well, not quite business as usual. Finally, even the artists are getting the message that at the top of every pyramid, whether economic, cultural or political, there are the same people blocking progress in all areas, using the country's cultural resources in the same way they use the country's economic and natural resources—for their own personal enjoyment, entertainment and gain. Having realized this, at least some members of the art world are determined not to allow the use of their art as a diversion or escape any longer. To implement their convictions, they formed themselves into an Emergency Cultural Government.

Among the early active members were Robert Morris, Max Kozloff, Klaus Kertess, Phil Leider and Poppy Johnson. In a statement of intention, the Emergency Cultural Government announced itself as "an artist-created body (that) will challenge the U.S. government for the loyalties of American artists in each and every up-and-coming international art event in which governmental sponsorship is a criterion for participation. Thus every official exhibition of American art abroad will also be a test of our determination to end all complicity with a government whose policies we now consider illegitimate."

The U.S.I.A., which coordinates the government's international program, was not going to take such a statement lying down, especially when the Emergency Cultural Government call persuaded 22 of the 33 artists originally selected for the Venice Biennale to withdraw. The next thing one knew, a new figure of 44 artists was released by the U.S.I.A. Then ensued one of the most painful and probably stupid episodes in recent American art history, as the representatives of the Emergency Cultural Government attempted to find out who the additions were so that they might be contacted, while the U.S.I.A. carried on in cloak-and-dagger fashion, refusing to make public any of the new names. For several days, Irving Berlin, Robert Morris, Max Kozloff and Klaus Kertess were on the phone virtually around the

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Poster Protest: "Peace Through Chemistry," by Roy Lichtenstein

clock in the Bykert gallery, which Keress directs, trying to inform artists of new developments. One of the developments was that the U.S.I.A. refused to honor signatures or verbal commitments and decided not to acknowledge that an artist had withdrawn until it received a letter or telegram from the artist in question. Until the complete list was made public, there was the futile feeling that as soon as an artist withdrew, the government added another name to the top of the list.

Although the drama and secrecy may have been petty, it was still another illustration of the state of undeclared civil war that exists in this country. Finally, one of the members of the Emergency Cultural Government steering committee called his most beloved professor, now a high official in the cultural bureaucracy, to ask him to join the artists in their protest. When he hung up, it was hard to tell if his eyes were wet from anger or from sadness.

Students against teachers. Artists against museums. The polarization continues. But for the first time in two decades, a large part of the art world has publicly declared which side it is on. A growing consciousness of the artist's rights has helped, of course, to politicize the art world. No longer content to have the institutions which live off them run by trustees who do not represent them, artists, too, are beginning to demand representation on policy-making levels. It is incredible that cultural institutions can be directed by people who have never made a single significant contribution to either art or culture. If students can sit on the governing boards of universities, surely artists have the right to sit on the boards of museums.

Changing the art world is not the solution, but it must be part of the solution. Artists, like other minority groups, need legislation to protect them

from various kinds of exploitation, including speculation on the value of their work and special tax problems involved with fluctuating incomes. They need decent places to work and live, just as anyone else in the city does.

It is now well over a decade since Harold Rosenberg and Robert Motherwell wrote that "Political commitment in our times means, logically—no art, no literature." Students believe that the situation of crisis is now so extreme that there is no point in thinking of art as separate from society, since the very existence of society is in peril. They can no longer see any sense to a statement like that made by the U.S.I.A.'s program director, Lois Bingham. According to Miss Bingham, "For nearly 20 years the international program has worked hard to separate art from politics. I hate to see it get back into the political arena."

Today, many artists, spurred by the ideas of the young, the alienated and the dispossessed, are realizing that art has not invaded the political arena at all; politics, by the gravity and pervasiveness of the crisis, impinges today on all activities, including art. Finally, art can only survive in a healthy society. And at this point even the most isolated artist tuning out the dirty news in his immaculate studio cannot fail to realize there is something fundamentally diseased about a society that worries more about saving the art treasures of the temples of Angkor Wat than about saving the people taking refuge inside them.

Initially scheduled to open symbolically on Independence Day, the protest show finally opened on July 21. Its original purpose—to bring the Venice Biennale to New York—was drastically altered as a result of minority groups demanding representation. "What

began as a protest against the war became a protest against the art world," explains Poppy Johnson, co-chairman of the Art Strike. Because factions representing Black, Puerto Rican and feminist groups denounced the Biennale protest show as just another elitist maneuver, the exhibition was finally opened to anyone who wished to participate. By enlisting participation from dissident radical minority groups, such as the Young Lords and the Black Panthers, whose work never sees the inside of a museum, the Art Strike tried to stave off further crises, but continuing dissension and misadventures, including the "kidnapping" of works of art, drove some of the original Biennale withdrawers, including Oldenburg and Krushenick, to withdraw from this exhibit as well.

The show is the first "open" exhibition including well-known professional artists—Stella, Rauschenberg, Lichtenstein, Baskin, Dine, Francis and Warhol remain—to be held in New York in over 50 years. The last open exhibitions were held by the Society of Independent Artists to break the hold of the National Academy of Design on the art world. Their policy of hanging all work submitted in alphabetical order was challenged in 1917 when Marcel Duchamp submitted a urinal signed R. Mutt. When it was refused, he resigned as vice-president of the Society.

Today R. Mutt's *Urinal* has been seen in the best museums, and a new set of academic norms is being attacked in unlikely ways. Looking at the works by unknown artists, outnumbering the prints submitted by the original artists who withdrew from Venice, one senses what a radical restructuring of the art world would really mean: Depriving art of its elitist, privileged status does not deprive it of its quality. "Elite" art is a status concept; quality is an esthetic value. We can live without elite art because quality will emerge whatever the context.

American artists have enjoyed their recent role as insiders. They liked going down to the White House, partying with the Kennedys and Johnsons. It will be interesting to see who will have the courage to be an outsider again. Usually people take risks when there is nothing to lose, and the situation in the art world is still one of considerable stakes. There are signs of change, however. John Cage, who until recently had been rather apolitical, withdrew his prints from Venice. In a recent book, he wrote, "Our proper work now if we love mankind and the world we live in is revolution." He might have meant this statement in any number of ways, but right now a lot of people in the art world are ready to take him literally.

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ALL MUSEUMS FREE-A.W.C.

COME TO THE FIRST FREE MONDAY AT THE MODERN MUSEUM ON FEBRUARY 9TH BETWEEN 5 AND 9 P.M. BY COMING AT THIS TIME YOU WILL HELP TO SHOW THE URGENT NEED FOR CULTURE WHICH IS ACCESSIBLE AND MEANINGFUL TO THE ENTIRE POPULATION. THE MUSEUM IS LOCATED AT 11 WEST FIFTY-THIRD STREET IN MANHATTAN.

From February 9 onwards the Museum of "Modern" Art is free on Mondays. It is free because the Art Workers Coalition fought to make it free. It is free because a growing cultural revolution in this country requires that it be free and that the functions of all cultural institutions, along with the very definition of "culture" itself, be expanded to keep pace with a changing society. What is the point of a culture that can only admit a money-paying public to see works of art that must be guarded by guards with guns?

The Art Workers Coalition (A.W.C.) is continuing its fight to reform the art world structure. Here are some of the things it is fighting for:

To have only one 'pay day' each week, instead of only one free day, at all museums in the country.

To decentralize all cultural institutions into the poorer and minority areas of this city and to encourage any changes this process may bring about in what we think of as "culture."

To bring about fair representation of black and puertorican artists in the museums of this city and to give black and puertorican artists the encouragement which the present museum-gallery system has failed to give.

To give artists a place in running our museums and to bring to artists the same resale and revenue privileges in their work as are available to writers and composers.

To bring about fair treatment of women artists and of artists without galleries.

To create free unstructured alternatives to museums, similar to England's arts labs, where cultural preconceptions can be suspended.

COME TO A.W.C. MEETINGS AND HELP US REACH THESE AND OTHER GOALS SOONER--EIGHT O'CLOCK EVERY MONDAY EVENING AT 729 BROADWAY, CORNER OF WAVERLY PLACE, SECOND FLOOR. FOR MORE INFORMATION PHONE 982-1500.

ALL MUSEUMS FREE-A.W.C.

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NYS

New York State Council on the Arts

Miss Joan Snyder - Draft
January 26, 1970

of the Art Worker's Coalition to this specific request.

Sincerely,

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NYS

New York State Council on the Arts

DRAFT
January 26, 1970
John B. Hightower

Miss Joan Snyder
Acting Secretary
Art Workers' Coalition

Dear Miss Snyder:

During the past twelve months, the Museum of Modern Art has been both the focus and scene of a number of effective, even compelling, demonstrations by the Art Workers' Coalition. As you know, the recent decision to eliminate the admission fee on Mondays was in part due to the intensive efforts of the AWC and members of the Museum staff, who have been advocating this action for some time.

In recent weeks, several demonstrations have taken place inside the museum often on weekends. We have no objection to the AWC demonstrating against the museum; not only would it be meaningless of us to do so but some of the concerns expressed by various members of the AWC are ones we share in common.

We are, however, concerned about possible damage to works of art and the distraction that demonstrations inside the Museum, particularly in the entrance lobby, cause to other visitors of the Museum. We therefore respectfully request that you confine your demonstrations to the area outside the front of the main building at 11 West 53 Street. Obviously, this is not the ideal time of year for sustained outside activity, and we will make every effort to see that any member of the AWC receives periodic relief from the brutality of New York's winter.

We would greatly appreciate favorable consideration

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MANIFESTO FOR THE GUERILLA ART ACTION GROUP

1. We demand that the Museum of Modern Art sell the equivalent of one million dollars worth of art works from their collection and that the money be given to the poor of all races of this country, the money to be used by those communities and for those communities, without any interference or attached conditions.

We as artists feel that at this time of social crisis there is no better use for art than to have it serve an urgent social need. We realize that one million dollars given to the poor to help alleviate their condition can be no more than a symbolic gesture, but at this time of social crisis even the smallest gesture on the part of an art institution will have a profound effect toward changing the attitude of the establishment toward the poor. In a sense, the donation is a form of reparation to the poor, for art has always served an elite, and therefore has been part of the oppression of the poor by that elite.

2. We demand that the Museum of Modern Art decentralize its power structure to a point of communilization.

Art, to have any relevance at all today, must be taken out of the hands of an elite and returned to the people. The art establishment as it is used today is a classical form of repression. Not only does it repress the artist, but it is used:

- 1) to manipulate the artists themselves, their work, and what they say for the benefit of an elite working together with the military/business complex
- 2) to force people to accept more easily - or distract them from - the repression by the military/business complex by giving it a better image
- 3) as propaganda for capitalism and imperialism all over the world. It is no longer a time for artists to sit as puppets or "chosen representatives of" at the feet of an art elite, but rather it is the time for a true communilization where anyone, regardless of condition or race, can become involved in the actual policy making and control of the museum.

3. We demand that the Museum of Modern Art be closed until the end of the war in Vietnam.

There is no justification for the enjoyment of art while we are involved in the mass murder of people. Today the museum serves not so much as an enlightening educational experience, as it does a diversion from the realities of war and social crisis. It can only be meaningful if the pleasures of art are denied instead of reveled in. We believe that art itself is a moral commitment to the development of the human race and a negation of the repressive social reality. This does not mean that art should cease to exist or to be produced - especially in serious times of crisis when art can become a strong witness and form of protest - only the sanctification of art should cease during these times.

ART WORKERS
COALITION

New York, October 30, 1969
GUERILLA ART ACTION GROUP

Jon Hendricks
Jean Toche

Jon Hendricks *Jean Toche*

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COMMUNIQUE

Silvianna, Poppy Johnson, Jean Toche and Jon Hendricks entered the Museum of Modern Art of New York at 3:10 pm Tuesday, November 18, 1969. The women were dressed in street clothes and the men wore suits and ties. Concealed inside their garments were two gallons of beef blood distributed in several plastic bags taped on their bodies. The artists casually walked to the center of the lobby, gathered around and suddenly threw to the floor a hundred copies of the demands of the Guerrilla Art Action Group of November 10, 1969.

They immediately started to rip at each other's clothes, yelling and screaming gibberish with an occasional coherent cry of "Rape." At the same time the artists burst the sacks of blood concealed under their clothes, creating explosions of blood from their bodies onto each other and the floor, staining the scattered demands.

A crowd, including three or four guards, gathered in a circle around the actions, watching silently and intently.

After a few minutes, the clothes were mostly ripped and blood was splashed all over the ground.

Still ripping at each other's clothes, the artists slowly sank to the floor. The shouting turned into moaning and groaning as the action changed from outward aggressive hostility into individual anguish. The artists writhed in the pool of blood, slowly pulling at their own clothes, emitting painful moans and the sound of heavy breathing, which slowly diminished to silence.

The artists rose together to their feet, and the crowd spontaneously applauded as if for a theatre piece. The artists paused a second, without looking at anybody, and together walked to the entrance door where they started to put their overcoats on over the bloodstained remnants of their clothes.

At that point a tall well-dressed man came up and in an unemotional way asked: "Is there a spokesman for this group?" Jon Hendricks said: "Do you have a copy of our demands?" The man said: "Yes but I haven't read it yet." The artists continued to put on their clothes, ignoring the man, and left the museum.

- NB: - According to one witness, about two minutes into the performance one of the guards was overheard to say: "I am calling the police!"
- According to another witness, two policemen arrived on the scene after the artists had left.

New York, November 18, 1969

GUERRILLA ART ACTION GROUP

Jon Hendricks
Poppy Johnson
Silvianna
Jean Toche