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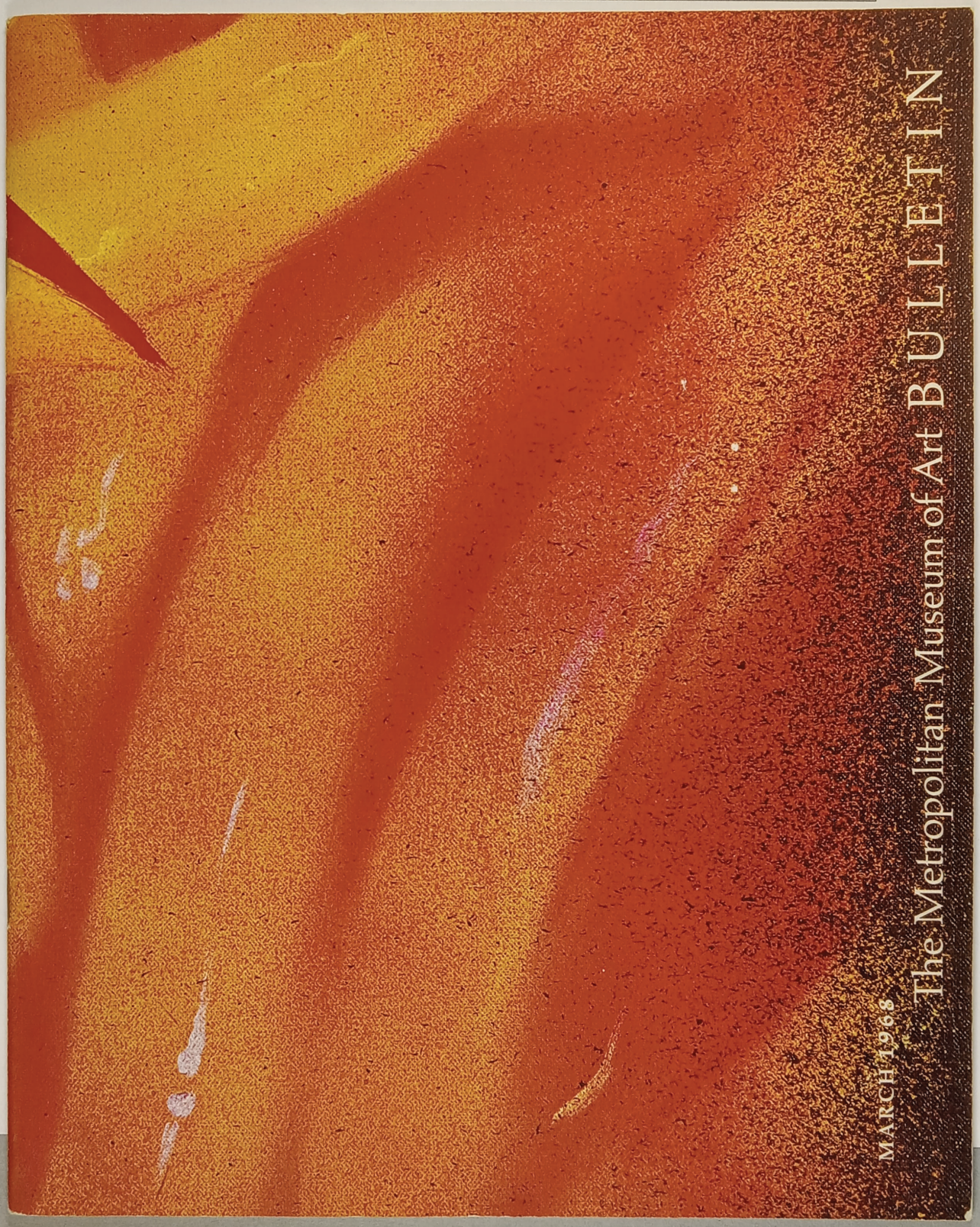
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James Rosenquist at work on the F-111. Photograph: Hans Namuth

James Rosenquist's F-111

HENRY GELDZAHLER *Curator of Contemporary Arts*

Pop art can best be described as the new American landscape. Landscape painting has always selected, idealized, and described man's environment. The subject of landscape has shifted from nature to urban life in the twentieth century, and pop art, in its development since 1960, has used the close-up technique of film on the artifacts and data of contemporary communication, making billboards, comic strips, packaging, picture magazines, and advertising the legitimate subjects of an art that is peculiarly American and of our decade.

No movement in the history of American art was named and received more quickly. A year after it hit the galleries and magazines, I had an air conditioner installed in my apartment. An Andy Warhol painting of six Marilyn Monroes was leaning against a wall. "What's that, pop art?" the air-conditioner man asked. Can you imagine someone in a similar situation in 1950, say, asking of a Jackson Pollock, "What's that, abstract expressionism?" For one thing, pop art was literally named before it began (Lawrence Alloway having used the phrase about certain English painters in the late 1950s), while the art of Pollock, Kline, and de Kooning was called action painting, New York school painting, and still other names before it settled down as abstract expressionism.

Pop art was radical and came as a surprise, yet somehow the American art public was waiting for it. This of course became clear only after the fact. Nobody could have predicted it. There was a school of critics in the fifties crying for a return to the figure, for a "new humanism." What they were hoping for was something comfortable and recognizable, a resuscitation of the art of the past veiled in the few flaying brushstrokes of abstract expressionism. When they got their new figuration, it was not the tortured humanism of the post-nuclear world for which they were longing but an art based on billboards, comic strips, and advertising. These critics cried "foul," and they cried it hard and long. Some are still crying it.

Pop art has taken into account the way our world looks and the ways in which we receive its information. This explains in part the deep hostility engendered by this art in some, and the quick acceptance it elicited from others. The one group felt that there were things about our environment it was best not to notice, let alone mention. The

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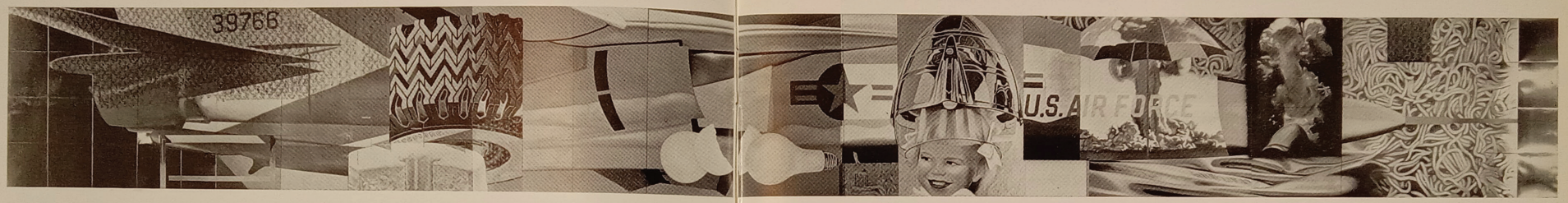
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ON THE COVER: *Detail of the F-111, illustrated on pages 278-279. Photograph: Malcolm Varon*

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other group recognized the familiar and felt a thrill in seeing it elevated to a fine art. Landscape painting has always made it possible for us to see more clearly and concretely the phenomena of the world that surrounds us. Formerly these phenomena were natural, though often man-shaped; now they are totally man-made.

At its best, then, pop art is an intelligent response to our environment. The youngest generation of Americans, grown up in front of its television sets, may be relatively illiterate in the old terms (that is, library books and verbally oriented IQ's), but it has absorbed and stored millions of visual images, many of which are related to form a new and still mysterious fund of knowledge. What this generation will produce as a result of this visual inundation is totally unpredictable. One of the things I am looking forward to is seeing the art and films of these TV kids ten to twenty years from now. I think it likely that some of the attitudes and styles, some of the techniques and types of subject matter that pop art legitimized will figure heavily in the prehistory of this art of the future.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART *Bulletin*
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By 1957 or 1958 it looked as if American art and mainstream modern art in general were going to remain abstract forever. The abstract expressionists so dominated the scene that the younger artists could choose only between working out the implications of de Kooning's art or, let us say, Philip Guston's. The prime positions in the abstract expressionist field had been pre-empted by the first great practitioners of the style (Pollock, Kline, de Kooning, Newman, Rothko, and the others), and the second generation (it was a curious generation in that it came only about five years after the first) had little room in which to maneuver on its own.

It was in this atmosphere that the differing sensibilities of half a dozen pop artists were forming. They shared the common background of modern art, were aware of the recent dominance of the abstract expressionist style, and each alone, in his different way, reacted against the flayed canvas, the loose brushstroke, the sense of personal handwriting. These young artists (I am referring to Andy Warhol, Jim Rosenquist, Jim Dine, Roy Lichtenstein, Robert Indiana, Tom Wesselman, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, and Marisol), for the most part yet unknown to each other, shared another bond. They were all very much aware of, and very much impressed with, the work of two artists who might have been second-generation abstract expressionists but who chose rather to invent their way out of that style. These inventors were, of course, Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, both of whom emerged in the mid-fifties with intimate knowledge of the methods and achievement of their abstract expressionist contemporaries.

It is simple-minded to say that pop art came as a reaction. Cause and effect enter into the history of art, but they never operate as clearly as we like to think. It would be more accurate to say that of the many factors that contributed to pop art, a reaction against abstract expressionism figures as a major one.

F-111, by James Rosenquist (born 1933), American. 1965. Oil on canvas, 10 x 86 feet. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Scull, L 68.3. Photographs (assembled): Rudolph Burckhardt

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Jim Rosenquist was trained as a painter by Cameron Booth in Minnesota, beginning in 1952. He came to New York in 1955, painted abstractions, and through 1960 supported himself by painting billboards, often in the Times Square area. He became completely conversant with the techniques of enlarging photographs in paint to the scale of the billboard. It was when he discovered, independently but at the same time as his future pop art colleagues, that there was no intrinsic reason to isolate the commercial billboard technique from the fine arts, that his own work entered the mainstream of inventive contemporary painting. One way of reading the history of innovation in twentieth-century art is to see it as the progressive inclusion of images and techniques previously unassociated with art. Duchamp's ready-mades, the art of children, graffiti, the art of the insane, the imagery of dreams, the abstract and automatic handwriting of the surrealists, and most recently the commercial and advertising techniques of our society have all been made legitimate through the authority of artists. Each came at first as a shock; each quickly became recognized as art. Dada, surrealism, collage, the art of Paul Klee, the art of Jean Dubuffet, abstract expressionism, and now pop art have all resulted from the confrontation of traditional technique with new and previously extraesthetic material.

Rosenquist's F-111 is not only the largest pop work, it is also the grandest. Although its precise size is interesting only statistically, the painting is thirteen feet longer than the airplane it memorializes. More to the point, the F-111 stands as the symbol of the industrial-military complex of our time, a paranoic subject worthy of Dali. The meaning of the F-111 as fighter and bomber is ruthlessly counterpointed by the angel food cake, the beach umbrella, the little girl under the dryer. Rosenquist's work always raises the specter of surrealism, but, as he himself has pointed out, there is a major difference. In the classical surrealist painting the space is that of a box surrounded by a frame, or, to put it another way, the objects and images exist in a space just beyond a hypothetical window. This is the space of Renaissance painting. Jackson Pollock and the painters who followed him changed the scale of painting to the point where Rosenquist can say, "My images are so much larger than the picture frame that they are at first invisible." He maintains that his intention is not to paint heroically but rather to make a visual equivalent to the physical extravagance of our economy, which he calls an "economy of surplus."

One's impulse may be to make sense of the dislocated visual elements in Rosenquist's work: to read them as a story, to superimpose a moral on them. But, while these are to an extent problem pictures, there are no correct answers. Much of the answer, the rightness of Rosenquist's imagery, is visual and preverbal. In abstract painting, particularly in abstract expressionism, there is a temptation to read the recognizable into the abstract forms. The suggestibility is that of Polonius to Hamlet's indication that a cloud is like a camel, then a weasel, then a whale. Rosenquist reverses this process and makes of the recognizable an abstraction, by taking details and blowing them up to the scale of Cinemascope close-ups, by dislocating the familiar and placing it in a new context. Thus, specifically, the spaghetti in the F-111 refers back as much to abstract painting of the fifties as it does to the billboard advertising for spaghetti from which it derives. As a visual element it hovers between the two and works to unify the right-hand quarter of the painting. The absence of spaghetti behind the skindiver's exhaled air and its replacement by undifferentiated black serves to highlight the similarity of the image to the atomic explosion beyond the umbrella. Rosenquist completely controls such devices.

The F-111 is being shown in this Museum on three walls. Elsewhere it has been shown all on one wall, on two walls, or on four walls, wrapping around a room. However exhibited, the painting, through the compelling nature of its imagery and its sheer magnitude, creates an environment that engulfs the viewer. The question of quality seems irrelevant when one is confronted with the F-111. In its own terms the painting is so powerful and consistent that the viewer's total attention is given to absorbing it. Before and after the confrontation the immemorial question, Is it art? suggests itself. One may also wonder, Will its impact last? Such questions can be answered only with time. For the moment the painting makes a big statement and makes it convincingly.

Detail of the F-111



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Re the F-111:
A Collector's Notes

ROBERT C. SCULL

In 1961 I heard about an artist who was working in a manner different from that of the then prevailing abstract expressionism. He was not represented by a gallery, and one had to visit his studio to see his work. My guide was Richard Bellamy, director of the Green Gallery. One Sunday we rendezvoused in front of a building on Coenties Slip, in lower Manhattan, and after the usual shout-from-the-street-instead-of-doorbell, we made our way upstairs.

To this point, the preceding could describe many of my loft and studio visits. Meeting James Rosenquist was another experience. I encountered an ill-at-ease ex-North Dakotan of about twenty-eight who spoke in a painfully abstract manner. He had been in New York some six years, I learned, and till recently he had made his living as a billboard painter. I had to ask to be shown his paintings. The first ones, his older work, evidenced the influence of the abstract expressionists. This was not surprising, considering the impact of the great works that had recently come from Pollock, de Kooning, Still, Rothko, and Kline. After this slightly historical display Rosenquist brought out three canvases he had just completed. They were figurative works, but their images were unlike any I had ever seen. They seemed to me as disconnected and puzzling as Rosenquist's way of speaking.

The one that interested me the most was a large canvas in acid-bright colors. It was not the color that aroused my curiosity, but rather the madness of the imagery. Entitled The Light That Won't Fail, the painting was divided into three sections. The largest was given over to a large part of a television screen; one of the smaller sections revealed part of a Spam sandwich, the other, the profile of a girl's mouth, chin, and neck.

I asked why the objects were not centered – why only fragments of them were used. No answer. I pressed for some explanation. The artist finally came out with, "Man, this is our new religion – the cathode-ray tube – and the painting *is* the explanation."

I liked that. It focused on what I came to see was at the heart of Rosenquist's work: his immediate concern with the forces playing on all of us.

I judge art, not by history, but by the measure of my response and personal involvement in the art experience. The Light That Won't Fail almost annoyed me and at the same time it charmed me, for I could see that Rosenquist was looking at things in a new, contemporary manner. I bought the painting then and there (incidentally giving the artist his first sale). It seems to me as strong today as it did in 1961.

By 1964 the extraordinary movement that came to be known as pop art was a generally accepted fact. New works by Rosenquist, Oldenburg, Dine, Wesselman, Warhol, Indiana, and Lichtenstein were being bought by collectors and museums, and the new art had even triumphed over the name given to it, half in fun, half in condescension. During the winter of 1964-1965 the art world heard that Rosenquist was working on a mammoth canvas. I asked Jim if I might see it. No, I was told. Even he had not seen it all together, he said, since he was painting it in sections and his studio, big as it was, could not accommodate the whole thing. Disappointed in that, I inquired if he had other new work to show. No, he said, because the "big one" was taking all his time.

As the weeks went by, about the only solid news from the studio was that the new work included a gigantic rendering of a fighter-bomber and that the painting itself was more than eighty feet long. Jim gave his friends the impression that his task was perhaps too great. He would mumble that he "had to get on with it," that "there was no turning back." I sensed obsession. His attitude may have had romantic overtones, but what it meant, practically speaking, was that for over half a year there were no canvases for sale and the artist's obligations were piling up.

In the spring of 1965 I left the city on a vacation. After attending four of Jim's openings in a row, I was going to miss the unveiling of the "big one," since his schedule and mine could not be made to coincide. However, I counted on returning while the canvas was still in the gallery.

The exhibition opened and the F-111 was an immediate success – if that word also means instant controversy. As usual, Rosenquist's work was applauded by those who understood its significance. Those who disliked pop art could not dismiss the painting and were astonished by what they deemed the arrogance of such a huge undertaking.

My vacation ended. When I returned to New York and went to 4 East 77 Street, I was surprised to see trucks at the entrance and moving men on the stairs leading to the gallery. Somehow I had arrived a day late and the painting was being taken down. Worse news was in store. Leo Castelli, Jim's dealer, was in the act of dispatching forty-one of its fifty-one panels to individual buyers all over the United States. The role of this remarkable dealer must be noted. Although he had sold the majority of the panels, he had had the foresight to stipulate that all sales were subject to cancellation if a purchaser could be found for the entire painting before it left the gallery. I informed Mr. Castelli that I would buy the painting and keep it together.

For me, the F-111 is tremendous. I am not referring to its size, although it is certainly a tour de force in this respect, with some 850 square feet of real excitement. First of all, it is a great painting in the traditional sense of orderliness, integrity, and execution. But I have encountered these qualities in many paintings I did not care to own. Two things drew me to this one: its authority – every bit of it was done with the dexterity of a master – and its content. Most art historians seem to agree that one of the specifics for greatness in a work of art is that it seriously mirror or comment on its own time. The F-111 does this overwhelmingly. It presents the essence of the United States' relationship to the world, displaying the equation of the good life of peace, with its luxuries and aspirations, and our involvement with the potential for instant war and final annihilation. I regard the painting as a milestone in the visual literature of what is perhaps art's greatest theme: the struggle between life and death. It speaks to all mankind, employing the plain language of everyday men, not the secret signs of the specialist.

The history of the F-111 since I bought it is a story in itself. Like a true flying machine, it has traveled to other countries, touching down wherever a large enough wall space was available. I am happy indeed to welcome it home again and to have it seen by visitors to the Metropolitan.

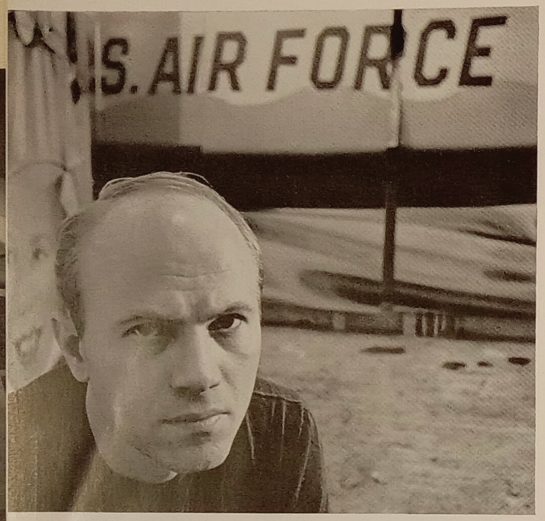


The Light That Won't Fail, by James Rosenquist. 1961. Oil on canvas, 67¾ x 96 inches. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Scull, New York. Photograph: Eric Pollitzer

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Photograph: Hans Namuth



An Interview with James Rosenquist

When the F-111 was exhibited at the Jewish Museum in New York in 1965, Gene Swenson, a poet and playwright, interviewed the artist as they stood before the painting. The interview appeared in the Fall 1965 issue of the Partisan Review. A condensation of it is offered here.

SWENSON: What is the F-111?

ROSENQUIST: It is the newest, latest fighter-bomber at this time, 1965. The first of its type cost many million dollars. People are planning their lives through work on this bomber, in Texas or Long Island. A man has a contract from the company making the bomber, and he plans his third automobile and his fifth child because he is a technician and has work for the next couple of years. Then the original idea is expanded, another thing is invented; and the plane already seems obsolete. The prime force of this thing has been to keep people working, an economic tool; but behind it, this is a war machine.

SWENSON: What about the man who makes the F-111?

ROSENQUIST: He is just misguided. Masses of people are being snagged into a life and then continue that life, being enticed a little bit more and a little bit more in the wrong direction.

SWENSON: What have you tried to do in this painting?

ROSENQUIST: I think of it like a beam at the airport. A man in an airplane approaching a beam at the airport, he may fly twenty or thirty miles laterally, out of the exact way, but he continues to be on the beam. As he approaches closer to what he wants, or to the airport, he can be less divergent because the beam is a little narrower, maybe only one or two miles out of the way, and less and less until when he gets right on it; then he'll be there.

The ambience of the painting is involved with people who are all going toward a similar thing. All the ideas in the whole picture are very divergent, but I think they all seem to go toward some basic meaning. They're divergent so it's allowable to have orange spaghetti, cake, light bulbs, flowers . . .

SWENSON: Going toward what?

ROSENQUIST: Some blinding light, like a bug hitting a light bulb.

I think of the picture as being shoveled into a boiler. The picture is my personal reaction as an individual to the heavy ideas of mass media and communication and to other ideas that affect artists. I gather myself up to do something in a specific time, to produce something that could be exposed as a human idea of the extreme acceleration of feelings. The way technology appears to me now is that to take a stance – in a painting, for example – on some human qualities seems to be taking a stance on a conveyor belt: the minute you take a position on a question or on an idea, then the acceleration of technology, plus other things, will in a short time already have moved you down the conveyor belt. The painting is like a sacrifice from my side of the idea to the other side of society.

If a company or institution is using people like digits and massing them in schools of learning toward appreciating new ideas and new inventions, I react to that and try to pose a problem to think in terms of humanity again. So this picture is partial, incomplete maybe, but a fragment I am expending into the boiler.

SWENSON: In 1961 it seemed that you were adopting techniques and styles that were not your own but those of sign painters, professional and almost objective techniques. That had the aspect of anti-style; yet *Time* magazine recently referred to "Rosenquist's precise, realistic style."

ROSENQUIST: Well, the style I use was gained by doing outdoor commercial work as hard and as fast as I could. My techniques for me are still anti-style. I have an idea what I want to do, what it will look like when I want it finished – in between is just a hell of a lot of work.

When they say the Rosenquist style is very precise, maybe they just know that painting style as they know it is going out of style. Ways of accomplishing things are extended to different generations in oblique places. Billboard painting techniques are much like Mexican muralist techniques. Few people extend themselves in it at the time because it is not very much considered.

SWENSON: Would you fill in some background on each of the images, beginning at the left?

ROSENQUIST: I used those same wallpaper roller patterns in 1962 on a painting called Silver Skies. I saw the pattern in an elevator lobby and thought of a solid atmosphere; you walk outside of your apartment into what used to be open air and all of a sudden feel that it has become solid with radioactivity and other undesirable elements. So I used a wallpaper roller with hard artificial flowers to hang in the atmosphere like a veil. In the panel at the other end, at the right side of the painting, I tried aluminum flowers on an aluminum panel to give a softer visual effect.

SWENSON: What about the aluminum panels on either end?

ROSENQUIST: People came into the gallery and immediately they'd say, "It's a picture of a jet plane painted on aluminum panels." People thought the ends were simply panels that hadn't been painted, and that the rest of the picture was on aluminum. The physical feeling that gave, the feeling of metal, is something different from canvas, a brittle feeling. The picture is mostly painted on canvas, but I think I achieved that brittle feeling with an economy – at least for a few people.

Originally the picture was an idea of fragments of vision being sold, incompleted fragments; there were about fifty-one panels in the picture. With one of them on your wall, you could feel something of a nostalgia, that it was incomplete and therefore romantic. That has to do with the idea of the man now collecting, a person buying a recording of the time or history. He could collect it like a fragment of architecture from a building on Sixth Avenue and Fifty-second Street; the fragment even now or at least in the near future may be just a vacant aluminum panel whereas in an earlier period it might have been a fancy cornice or something seemingly more human.

Years ago when a man watched traffic going up and down Sixth Avenue, the traffic would be horses and there would be a pulsing, muscular motion to the speed on the avenue. Now what he sees may be just a glimmer, a flash of static movement; and that idea of nature brings a strange, for me even now, a strange idea of what art may become, like a fragment of this painting which is just an aluminum panel.

SWENSON: It might have been better, closer to your intention, if it had been sold piece by piece.

ROSENQUIST: Yes.

SWENSON: Then what would have happened to the picture?

ROSENQUIST: I don't know exactly. I wanted to relate the idea of the new man, the new person who appreciates things, to this painting. It would be to give the idea to people of collecting fragments of vision. One piece of this painting would have been a fragment of a machine the collector was already mixed up with, involved in whether he knew it or not. The person has already bought these airplanes by paying income taxes or being part of the community and the economy. The present men participate in the world whether it's good or not and they may physically have bought parts of what this image represents many times.

Then anyone interested in buying a blank part of this, knowingly or unknowingly – that's the joke – he would think he is buying art and, after all, he would just be buying a thing that paralleled part of the life he lives. Even though this picture was sold in one chunk,

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I think the original intention is still clear. The picture is in parts.

SWENSON: If someone bought one of these panels, he would be buying a souvenir, of the painting, of the F-111, of the time?

ROSENQUIST: Yes.

SWENSON: To get back to the images, what about the . . . angel food cake?

ROSENQUIST: It's foodstuff. The small flags planted on it show the elements in the cake, like protein and iron and riboflavin–food energy. There is also a shaft that goes in the middle of the cake that is from the core or mold used to bake those cakes. I always remember it as some kind of abyss, this big hole in the middle of the cake. The flags also mean flaming candles, like on a birthday cake, of age and time, and flags being planted and staking out areas in life, like food, being eaten for energy. Actually the F-111, the plane itself, could be a giant birthday cake lying on a truck for a parade or something – it has even been used like that – but it was developed as a horrible killer.

SWENSON: And the tire?

ROSENQUIST: The tire is a crown, a celebration of the town and country winter tire. The design, magnified, appears regal. I'd never thought of what rubber tires or wheels meant to me, and I looked at the tire tread and it seemed very strong and cruel or at least very, very visual. It also looked like it was rising up, like a crown, and so I used the image on top of the cake that way. And of course the two images have similar shapes.

SWENSON: And those three light bulbs?

ROSENQUIST: Yes, in pink, yellow and blue, which are the three basic colors of the spectrum. In that area of the picture they allowed me to try experiments in color and scale that I could not have tried in another painting in a smaller size. That huge area allowed me to paint with regular artist's oil paint, the pink-gray and yellow-gray and blue-gray, on top of a fluorescent background. The dark red fluorescent paint appears to be lighter than the three light bulbs but the paint in the three light bulbs lets you get the idea that the bulbs are glowing, but not that they are turned on. It seemed to be like force against force.

The broken one is not broken the way a light bulb would break, but more like an egg would crack.

The spaghetti just on the right, with the fork, has been painted orange with artist's oil color; then a transparent fluorescent dark red color has been spread on top of the whole area, to give it a general tone change, like a glaze.

SWENSON: The girl under the hair dryer?

ROSENQUIST: In the gallery she seemed very crucial; everyone looked at her because they faced her when they went into the room. Here at the Jewish Museum it isn't so prominent and I like it better. I thought of taking the face out many times, but then the whole painting would be closer to what is historically the look of abstract painting. I didn't think the face related to earlier painting.

The little girl is *the* female form in the picture. It is like someone having her hair dried out on the lawn, in Texas or Long Island. Painting the grass in Day-Glo green colors is like the change of nature in relation to the new look of the landscape.

SWENSON: Next there is an umbrella superimposed over an atom bomb blast. Is that about fallout?

ROSENQUIST: I suppose the umbrella could be something about fallout, but for me it's like someone raising his umbrella or raising his window in the morning, looking out the window and seeing a bright red and yellow atomic bomb blast, something like a cherry blossom, a beautiful view of an atomic blast.

When I was working in Times Square and painting signboards the workmen joked around and said the super center of the atomic target was around Canal Street and Broadway. That's where the rockets were aimed from Russia; and these guys, the old-timers would say, "Well, I'm not worried. At least we'll have a nice view right up here against the wall."

To me it's now a generation removed, the post-Beat young people. They're not afraid of an atomic war and think that sort of attitude is passé, that it won't occur. The Beat people, like Kerouac and Robert Frank, Dick Bellamy, Ginsberg and Corso, their first sensibility was of it being used immediately and they were hit by the idea of it, they were shocked and sort of threatened. Now the younger people are blasé and don't think it can happen. So this is a restatement of that Beat idea, but in full color.

The umbrella is friendlier than having to do with fallout. It's an aperture for a view. The rod holding up the umbrella goes right down the middle of the explosion like something being saved, the center of something else at the same time. The umbrella is realistic, it's a realistic vision, with frost or snow on top of it. The blue in the umbrella is its own color, not a Surrealistic piece of sky. It's a beach umbrella that was left up in the winter.

Then next, that's an underwater swimmer wearing a helmet with an air bubble above his head, an exhaust air

Photograph: Hans Namuth

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bubble that's related to the breath of the atomic bomb. His "gulp!" of breath is like the "gulp!" of the explosion. It's an unnatural force, man-made.

I heard a story that when a huge number of bombers hit in Vietnam, and burned up many square miles of forest, then the exhaust of the heat and air pressure of the fire created an artificial storm and it started raining and helped put the fire out. The natives thought that something must be on their side; they thought it was a natural rain that put the fire out but it was actually a man-made change in the atmosphere.

SWENSON: What is the blanket-like form at the bottom of the picture?

ROSENQUIST: It is a huge arabesque, a huge fold. I painted it as a fold of aluminum material, an image of aluminum cloth. It appears soft, like a blanket.

It reminds me of a painter's drop cloth, finishing up the bottom of the painting, hanging under the painting out onto the floor, catching the drops and residue of his paint. That's the nature from the artist's brush. The idea – his art – is on the wall; the junk or stuff of paint on the floor is nature, and something else. The artist is like a samurai; he selects something, and his art is what the artist says it is, it's not something else. The shiny gray arabesque is an extension of the relation between the painter and nature which could be a drop cloth or paint quality.

Then the arabesque changes into foodstuff, into spaghetti, and from its gray color into orange. The painting has its ending in an orange field, the image of spaghetti.

SWENSON: Some critics have said you have a love of size for its own sake. Do you?

ROSENQUIST: No.

SWENSON: What about originality for its own sake?

ROSENQUIST: Not conscious of it – and not of art for its own sake.

I do it for myself, but there is the possibility that it could appeal to all kinds of people, that it could snag someone into looking. I thought maybe if paintings were just done very well, the person could grasp something in one way immediately, the look of it, visually. After a person has reached a certain thing, after he has gone through it, then he could discard it.

The fault of this picture may be that it lets someone get too far off the beam; one person said that I had a love for the billboard – and damnit, I don't love it at all.

SWENSON: You were quoted in the *Times* as saying that you wanted this painting to be an antidote to the new devices that affect the ethics of the human being.

ROSENQUIST: Yes. I hope this picture is a quantity that will release the idea of the new devices; my idea is that a man will turn to subversion if he even hears a rumor that a lie detector will be used on him in the normal course of business. What would happen if a major corporation decided to use all the new devices available to them? I'm sure the hint of this is starting to change people's ethics.

I said this picture was an antidote. To accumulate an antidote is to shift gears, to get to an area where an artist can be an effect.

SWENSON: You were also quoted as saying that you were involved with the United States and the position of a person trying to be an artist. Were you suggesting by this that people ought to learn painting rather than how to run IBM machines or make F-111s?

ROSENQUIST: No. I'm amazed by – when I think of technology, I think of it being fantastic. I *would* want them to stop making F-111s because it's a war industry; but I wouldn't try to get a technologist to become an artist.

SWENSON: You don't see any war between technology and art?

ROSENQUIST: No. I see a closer tie with technology and art and a new curiosity about new methods of communication coming from all sides. The present position of an artist seems to be a person who offers up a gift, an antidote to something, a small relief to a heavy atmosphere. A person looking at it may say, "That's beautiful, amazing, fantastic, a nice thing." Artists seem to offer up their things with very much humility and graciousness while society now and the economy seem to be very rambunctious. The stance of the artists now, compared with the world and the ideas in society, does not seem to equate; they don't relate except as an artist offering up something as a small gift. So the idea of this picture was to do an extravagance, something that wouldn't simply be offered as a relief.

Washington Crossing the Delaware

JOHN K. HOWAT *Assistant Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture*

"I do not hesitate to say to you, gentlemen, that I consider the picture of 'Washington Crossing the Delaware,' as one of the greatest productions of the age, and eminently worthy to commemorate the grandest event in the military life of the illustrious man whom all nations delight to honor. I am quite sure you will all join me in cordially wishing health and happiness to Mr. Leutze." The occasion for this enthusiastic toast to Emanuel Leutze was a New York banquet given in his honor in September 1851, when he was accompanying his most recent and already most famous painting (Figure 2) on tour along the eastern seaboard. The gentleman offering the toast was Abraham M. Cozzens, a leading New York art collector, a patron of Leutze's, and, most importantly, the president of the American Art-Union. The Art-Union, a public-spirited institution, had supported American artists since its founding in 1840 by purchasing their works and distributing them by lot. It was soon, in 1852, to be declared illegal in New York State for operating a lottery, but commendations from its president still carried considerable weight. Although his praise of Leutze's painting, which now belongs to the Metropolitan and is on indefinite loan to the Washington Crossing State Park Commission in Pennsylvania, may seem fulsome, Cozzens was merely joining the chorus of American and European critics who had been lauding the picture for the almost two years since the project had been started. What the well-known artist did in his Düsseldorf studio was regarded as news: the intelligence in the fall of 1849 was that Leutze had completed his latest masterpiece, The Attainder of Strafford, for the Art-Union, and that he had begun work on sketches for Washington Crossing the Delaware, "the figures to be life size." Bulletins came forth regularly from reporters, artists, friends, and Leutze himself, following the progress of the painting, and these were eagerly printed and reprinted in the art gossip columns of Europe and the United States. The artist Worthington Whittredge, who along with Eastman Johnson worked in Leutze's studio, gave an eyewitness account of the preparation of the picture in his autobiography: "I had not been in Düsseldorf an hour before [Leutze] showed me a pencil sketch of this subject . . . a large canvas for it had been ordered . . . when it came he set to work immediately drawing in the boat and figures with charcoal, and without a model. All the figures were carefully corrected from models when he came to paint

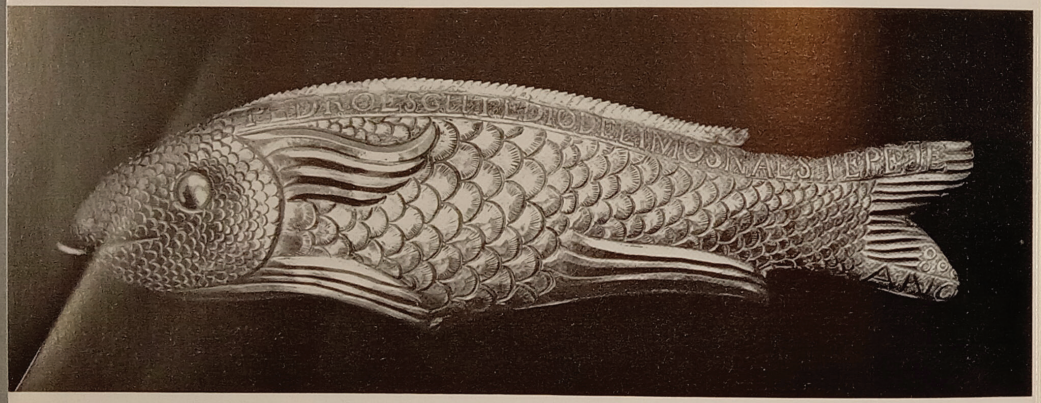
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Peruvian Silver: 1532-1900

When the conquering Spaniards arrived in Peru in the sixteenth century, they found a well-established tradition of fine metalwork in gold and silver. They were able to improve mining methods and the extraction of silver from its ores, but their artisans offered little beyond new designs and the use of filigree and enamel to the skilled craftsmen the Inca had assembled at Cuzco.

The Conquest affected the silversmiths less than most other Indian groups. They merely switched from being full-time government employees working exclusively for the Inca to become members of the new guilds, on a par with Spanish and Creole smiths, and the heredi-



Fish, the symbol of St. Peter. Peruvian, dated 1800. Raised and stamped silver, length 16½ inches. Convent of Sto. Domingo, Lambayeque

tary father and son aspect of the craft was replaced by the European master and apprentice system. Peru continued its pre-Conquest role as the principal source of fine silverwork in the New World.

The churches and convents, the viceroys, and the leading Spanish and Creole families became the new consumers, taking the places of the Indian temples and the Inca's retinue. As our visitors will see in an exhibition opening here on March 14, the new products created over the next three centuries cover an extremely wide range, including liturgical objects, columns and other architectural elements, candelabra, household articles, stirrups, spurs, and horse trappings. Stylistically these objects run from very ornate Iberian to what may be termed a heavy or massive Creole style. There is also a mestizo variant, which utilized exotic local plant and animal forms as decorative elements in an otherwise European design.

DUDLEY T. EASBY, JR.

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Art Community Here Agrees on Plan to Fight War, Racism and Oppression

By GRACE GLUECK

The issues of war, racism and oppression brought the New York art world together last night in an unprecedented joint political action meeting.

More than 1,000 artists, dealers, museum officials and other members of the art community attended a gathering at New York University's Loeb Student Center to plan a coordinated policy in protesting United States war activities and to reassess the art world's priorities.

With applause, cries of "Right On!" and some scattered booing, they managed to approve these resolutions:

¶That a one-day strike be declared on Friday to close museums and galleries as a protest against the war; with optional continuance for two weeks.

¶That an "emergency cultural government" be formed to sever all collaboration with the Federal Government on artistic activities.

¶That artists take over the ground floors of galleries and museums to help politicize visitors.

¶That a tithe—10 per cent—be imposed on the sale of every work of art to go into a fund for peace activities.

The original idea for the meeting came from the faculty and staff of the School of Visual Arts, a professional art school at 209 East 23d Street, in response to the recent events in Cambodia and at Kent State University, and the wave of student strikes across the country.

Last night, the group elected as its chairman Robert Morris, a well-known sculptor and art theorist, who earlier in the day had closed down his one-man show at the Whitney Museum, scheduled to run until May 31.

In an accompanying statement, Mr. Morris said his action was intended "to underscore the need I and others feel to shift priorities at this time from art making and viewing to unified action within the art community against the intensifying conditions of repression, war and racism in this country."

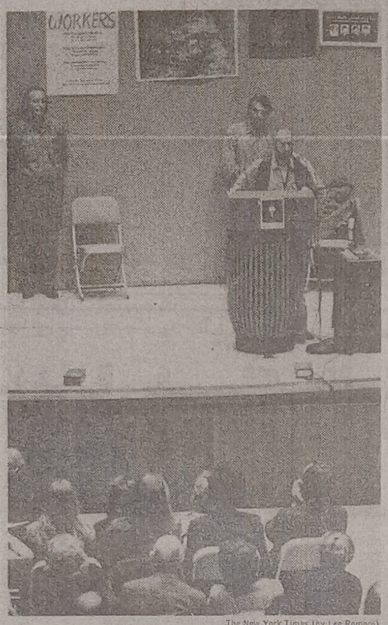
His move followed the closing last Wednesday of the ground-floor galleries at the Jewish Museum by artists participating in two exhibitions —"Using Walls (Indoors)" and "Using Walls (Outdoors)." The shows will remain closed until May 31, although the rest of the museum is open.

At last night's meeting Karl Katz, director of the Jewish Museum, read a short statement in which he declared that the artists had closed their show because they believed "the crash course pursued by the Administration would lead to a creative blackout."

"While the artists' action represents a response to the frustration of our times," Mr. Katz continued, "as an arte historian and museum director I believe that functioning museums can serve to help in the present situation, and can be extremely important in our times."

Speaking for about 40 of the city's art galleries, Klaus Kertess, director of the Bykert Gallery, said that the group "accepted the symbolic gesture of a one-day closing of our galleries as an indication of solidarity within the art community." He added that the dealers would support the use of their galleries as information centers for peace activities.

Others who addressed the meeting included individuals speaking for themselves, and representatives of the Art Students Coalition, Women Artists in Revolution, the Art Workers' Coalition, Artists and Writers in Protest, an dthe Student Committee of Artists United.



The New York Times (by Lee Romero)

Robert Morris speaking at the N.Y.U. Loeb Student Center

David Cryer Leaves '1776'

John Cullen will take over the role of Edward Rutledge, the South Carolina delegate, in "1776," at the 46th Street Theater. He replaces David Cryer, who has signed to star in the Off Broadway production of "Whispers on the Wind," opening June 3 at the Theatre de Lep.

in a minute.)

On the whole, the museum has dealt with these divertissements in a sportsmanlike manner, keeping the police off its turf, allowing protestors to function in museum space and—good MOMA that it is—never ever raising its voice in chastisement.

More importantly, however, at the urging of MOMA president William S. Paley, (presumably acting for the trustees), staff members have been meeting informaliy with the Coalition since last spring, to discuss the 11-point list. At a gathering last

seum use its resources to publish such a poster and distribute it (subject to approval by the Staff Executive Committee), but it "might undertake to get other museums in the city to join with it, making it city-wide and maybe even a nationwide thing." With the project almost unanimously endorsed by the museum's staff, the poster itself was immediately hatched by an AWC-MOMA committee. It was composed of simple documentary material—the famous photograph of a corpse-lined trench by Ron Haeberle, overprinted

directly related to a specific function of the museum. At 6 P.M. that day, therefore, the AWC was informed by phone that the museum could not associate itself officially with the poster.

Plunging ahead anyway, the AWC published the poster (minus MOMA's name) in an edition of 50,000 and has since been distributing it through "an informal network" of artists, students, and peace movement workers. It has also been handing out copies in MOMA's very own lobby, and some Coalitionists have mounted rites

kept a considerable distance from the staff and its problems. The board should have been aware of the "pulse" of the negotiations and its staff's strong feelings in the matter. And, if it was not prepared to back the staff's commitments, it should have dealt with the AWC itself or sent duly empowered representatives of its own to the meetings. Its persistent refusal to encounter the dissidents lends credence to a belief that many trustees of cultural institutions in this country lead dangerously sheltered lives.

common enemy? In June 1969, during an exchange with artists who had (we charged) a collector. A list of questions circulated by an artworker and glued to doors throughout the or outside, have to be dealt with one another, now.

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Art Notes

Yanking The Rug From Under

By GRACE GLUECK

A SERIES of lively, though unscheduled art events has been occurring at the Museum of Modern Art this past year—and not exactly with MOMA's wholehearted cooperation. I'm referring to the demonstrations put on by the determined and somewhat studiedly seedy disorganization known as the Art Workers Coalition. (The AWC, in case you've just come in, is a loose-knit group of museophobic artists, writers, filmmakers and ephemeralists, who seek—without the aid of foundation money—to reform the art world structure. They have presented MOMA with an 11-point list of demands, ranging from free admission at all times to the establishment of a section devoted to the work of black and Puerto Rican artists.)

The demonstrations at the museum, staged by AWC-ers and/or an independent-but-sometimes-affiliated team known as the Guerilla Art Action Group, have included (a) the gentle removal by Guerilla Actioneers of a Malevich painting from a gallery wall, and its replacement with a list of three demands, including one that MOMA sell $1-million worth of its art and distribute the money to the poor; (b) a Guerilla Actioneers' "blood bath" that had G.A.'s in MOMA's lobby chanting and clawing at each other to release sacks of beef blood concealed in their clothes—this to protest the alleged involvement of Rockefeller interests in the production of war materiél; (c) an AWC picketing of the museum last spring to decry its showing of Gov. Rockefeller's private collection; (d) three recent AWC actions relating to the museum staff's failure to keep its promise to help the Coalition produce a poster condemning the alleged Songmy massacre. (We'll get back to the Songmy poster in a minute.)

On the whole, the museum has dealt with these divertissements in a sportsmanlike manner, keeping the police off its turf, allowing protestors to function in museum space and—good MOMA that it is—never ever raising its voice in chastisement.

More importantly, however, at the urging of MOMA president William S. Paley, (presumably acting for the trustees), staff members have been meeting informally with the Coalition since last spring, to discuss the 11-point list. At a gathering last Nov. 25, in fact, attended by Coalitionists, MOMA staffers and several invited non-aligned artists, including Dan Flavin, Roy Lichtenstein, Alex Katz and Robert Motherwell, a number of MOMA-AWC committees were formed to explore individual points. One group worked on free admission, and helped bring about the Coalition's biggest success to date: the recent decision by MOMA's board of trustees to drop the museum's $1.50 admission fee on Mondays for an "experimental" period.

But every silver lining has its cloud, and exultation over the "free day" has been somewhat dampened by the Songmy poster affair. The idea for the poster was proposed at the Nov. 25 meeting by pro-AWC artist Irving Petlin, and agreed to by Arthur Drexler, head of MOMA's Department of Architecture and Design, and chairman of its Ad Hoc Planning Committee (set up to prepare a report for the trustees on the future of the museum).

Drexler assured the group that not only would the museum use its resources to publish such a poster and distribute it (subject to approval by the Staff Executive Committee), but it "might undertake to get other museums in the city to join with it, making it city-wide and maybe even a nationwide thing." With the project almost unanimously endorsed by the museum's staff, the poster itself was immediately hatched by an AWC-MOMA committee. It was composed of simple documentary material—the famous photograph of a corpse-lined trench by Ron Haeberle, overprinted with the legend, "And babies?" (the shocked rhetorical question put to an alleged G.I. participant by TV interviewer Mike Wallace).

Finally assured on Dec. 9, after some delay, that the museum was ready to proceed with the project, the AWC got permission to use the photo. A donated printing job was found through the Amalgamated Lithographers Union, and 30,000 sheets of paper were given by businessman Peter Brandt. With the color plate completed Dec. 18, all that was lacking was museum approval of the joint AWC/MOMA credit line. At that point Drexler and Wilder Green, director of exhibitions at the Museum and a Staff Executive Committee member, decided to "touch base" with President Paley. They showed him a mock-up of the poster and lo! he informed the two of his disapproval. If the staff felt strongly about it, he said, he would present the matter "without prejudice" to the board of trustees at its Jan. 8 meeting, but he felt he could not commit the museum to a position on any matter not directly related to a specific function of the museum. At 6 P.M. that day, therefore, the AWC was informed by phone that the museum could not associate itself officially with the poster.

Plunging ahead anyway, the AWC published the poster (minus MOMA's name) in an edition of 50,000 and has since been distributing it through "an informal network" of artists, students, and peace movement workers. It has also been handing out copies in MOMA's very own lobby, and some Coalitionists have mounted rites protesting the museum's disengagement in front of "Guernica," the famous Picasso anti-war mural housed on MOMA's third floor. On Jan. 8, the date of the last board meeting, about 20 Art Workers staged a "lie-in" before the mural, and sent word into the meeting asking to speak with the trustees. The request was refused, and at the meeting's end the trustees scurried off, unconfronted.

There is plenty of room for argument, indeed, over whether an educational institution should get involved in a "hot" political issue the facts of which are still a matter for legal determination. But the real issue is staff vs. trustees: analogous to the "troubles" at certain universities, in which administrators mandated by their boards to deal with dissident students had the rug yanked from under them when it was felt they exceeded their authority.

Perhaps Drexler erred in not taking up the matter immediately with the board, as a seasoned director might have done. On the other hand, the trustees seem to have kept a considerable distance from the staff and its problems. The board should have been aware of the "pulse" of the negotiations and its staff's strong feelings in the matter. And, if it was not prepared to back the staff's commitments, it should have dealt with the AWC itself or sent duly empowered representatives of its own to the meetings. Its persistent refusal to encounter the dissidents lends credence to a belief that many trustees of cultural institutions in this country lead dangerously sheltered lives.



Jan Van Raay

A "protest" rite, staged by the Guerrilla Art Action Gorup before Picasso's anti-war mural, "Guernica," at the Museum of Modern Art.

A series of lively though unscheduled art events

common enemy? In June 1969, during an exchange with artists who had (we charged) a collector. A list of questions circulated by an artworker and glued to doors throughout the or outside, have to be dealt with one wa another, now.

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art

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MOMA in a clever move (some might call it "repressive tolerance") threw open its garden gates to more than 300 demonstrators, a good number of whom, contrary to the New York Times, were indeed black. Speakers took turns at a bullhorn and the museum passed out its own mimeographed literature. At one point a group of protestors demanded exit through the museum. The museum provided a ribboned-off corridor.

The following day the Times quoted Museum Director Bates Lowry as saying that the public hearing and free admission were "absolutely impossible, and can't be considered." At last a direct answer! The Art Workers Coalition, however, is having an open hearing on its own at the School of Visual Arts on April 10 from 6 to 10 p. m. The subject is "What should be the program of the art workers regarding museum reform and to establish the program of an open art workers coalition?" Each person who wishes to speak will be assigned, upon arrival, an approximate time for speaking. All witnesses are encouraged by the Coalition to present their views in writing. The complete record of the proceedings will be published and brought to the attention of all art workers and art institutions in New York City and elsewhere. More than any of the recent demonstrations, I think that this is an important, positive step forward.

The protest activities so far have already accomplished something. The museum is beginning to wake up, slowly, very slowly. It should be perfectly clear by now that MOMA can no longer rest on its laurels. New times demand new policies. The museum is in the process of appointing a special committee to look into the questions recently raised, although the members of the committee have not been announced and its eventual effect remains in doubt. The museum has recently announced a Children's Art Carnival at the Harlem School of the Arts. A statement of policies handed out during the Sunday demonstration helped clear up many misunderstandings. Some of the anger and distrust toward the museum can be directly traced to bad public relations, particularly in regard to artists.

Certainly a lot of difficulty has arisen merely because of the size of the museum's organization. Red tape can be held responsible for many of the artists' gripes. I feel that as a token of its good will the least that the museum can do at this point is to grant at least one of the initial demands: Appoint a responsible person to handle any grievances arising from its dealings with artists—a sort of artists' ombudsman within the museum. Along with this, however, would have to come a change in attitude. Artists can no longer be treated like children and second-class citizens, and the wishes of a living artist in regard to his own work must be respected. The time has now come when in order to insure a healthy "gate," MOMA needs the artists much more than the artists need MOMA.

Also, I think that the museum should consider at least one day of free admission. Although MOMA claims that one-quarter of its budget comes from admission fees, almost half of this is from membership fees. I am not convinced that one free day, perhaps a Tuesday, or some other low-traffic day would wreck the museum financially. Most or all of the financial loss could be made up by keeping the museum open evenings for the rest of the week. The loss of $13,000 (one-sixth of the admissions fees) would probably not even be this much since obviously most admission money is earned during the weekends. Although on paper MOMA's policy for free passes seems liberal, red tape again keeps it from being effective. Moreover, those who are poor should not have to beg for free admission or be limited to working [illegible] schools or organi[illegible] (artists

art

MOMA & THE WORKERS

by John Perreault

The Museum of Modern Art seems to have been playing a delaying game with those artists and writers who, sparked by the Takis incident, have become concerned enough and socially conscious enough to demand museum reforms. These reforms, I believe, would not only aid artists, but aid in increasing the museum's relevance and perhaps insure its very survival. But the longer MOMA delays, contrary to expectations, the stronger and the larger the group of concerned artists grows.

Undoubtably, many within the museum's structure would themselves like to see these reforms, but one doubts that they are in the majority. The initial negotiations and confrontations were handled very badly, so much so that I felt it necessary to withdraw my deKooning lecture as a protest. As the group—now called Art Workers Coalition, "workers" being the only word anyone could think of that would make room for writers, choreographers, historians, film-makers, etc.—has grown in numbers, the museum has grown in sophistication. Rumors circulated that the first demonstration might be met with an invitation to a party.

Why do art officials still think that artists can be placated by a little wine and a little bread? The view that artists are children is not only romantic, it is also childish itself. It is also convenient. To grant artists any autonomy, wisdom, or intelligence might mean that their demands would have to be taken seriously. Perish the thought.

Occasioned by the museum's refusal to give yes or no answers to any of the 13 proposals for reform, there have so far been two demonstrations. At the first, on Saturday, April 22, a token group of 25 carried signs, handed out leaflets, and gave out facsimiles of MOMA's artists' admission pass, clearly stamped Art Worker in large type. They petitioned for free admission and were, of course, denied.

The second demonstration occurred the Sunday before last in MOMA's garden, stripped of most of its sculpture and temporarily sealed off from the rest of the museum. The museum is terrified of vandalism, but the protestors have a strong anti-vandalism policy. They are idealistically and perhaps misguidedly for art, otherwise most would not have spent so much time trying to get the museum to reform.

Continued on page 18

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Art Workers Coalition

Probably its most effective stroke was publication of the Songmy massacre poster, captioned "Q: And babies? A: And Babies." It was distributed free in an edition of 50,000, despite CBS' William Paley's rejection of for the Museum of Modern Art of the agreed joint sponsorship.
(Lucy Lippard, "The Dilemma," Battcock anth)

"Abbie Hoffmann...the Weathermen bombings, Charlie Mansion, the storming of the Pentagon, are far more effective as radical art than anything artists have yet concocted." (ibid)

Feigen, confronted with a space in his exhibition calendar and a group of artists refusing to show, decided to organize an anti-Chicago exhibition for the City. He thought that it would have more symbolic value than the art strike, and was able to convince the artists of the same. So, "Richard J. Daley" opened on October 23 with about 50 artists participating. Artists such as Noland, Stella, Judd, R. Smith and Tony Smith sent works in their recognized styles while other artists addressed themselves to the theme and purpose of the show. For example, Newman made the grid of barbed wire titled "Lace Curtain for Mayor Daley" and Tinguely made "Chicago Collage." Ed Flood contributed a piece called "Marked for Evidence", and Oldenburg made a drawing of Daley's severed head on a platter and "Fire Plug Souvenir", a model painted in red (blood.)

"After the Daley show, art in Chicago went on as usual."

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Art Workers Coalition -- see Lucy Lippard essay in Idea Art, pp. 102 ff

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~~Exptidx~~

Mud Muse

Came out of Tuchman's Art and Technolgy show. Worked with Teledyne, in LA area. "It certainly was enlightening. I got to work with some of the best executives and research people I've ever seen. I just couldn't do anything outlandish enough for them. The reason Mude Muse took the direction it did was that I'd worked enough with EAT to realize that even among artists there was a serious attitude that technology had something to do with mystery, and with fun houses. I thought Hollywood had done that sort of thing better. We designed something that did not have to be seen with the lights off. It was made of the most basic materials, but with complex technology to make it look like a hunk of Yellowstone Park (where I've never been) -- those sort of ponds with geyser action. I made a tape, which is not used, and played it to the piece, and we recorded its own sound in reply. All of its activity is self-generated.

"It sat in a warehouse for years after that show, in many parts. I got concerned it was never going to be put back together. So I took advantage of the Stockholm show to get it out -- Pontus wanted it, and Teledyne was pleased.

"It's extremely complicated technology in order to make mud behave erratically."

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ARTISTS & 1968 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION- CHICAGO

Because of the brutal events of Chicago in Summer 1968, the artists decided that some public measure must be taken to identify them as being anti-war and on the side of the Yippies. ~~In fact, Oldenburg was clubbed and beaten to the ground in a melee in Grant Park.~~ (wrong)

By the beginning of September (reported Sept. 5 in the NY TIMES), 50 artists had formed a group whose purpose was not to exhibit in Chicago for 2 years (Summer 1968-Summer 1970) in protest to the events. This strike was aimed at all art facilities in Chicago & suburbs including all museums, galleries, and schools. The names reported in the TIMES article were Gottlieb, Motherwell, Lichtenstein, Newman, Jimmy Ernst, Guston, Rothko, Tony Smith and Saul Steinberg. Oldenburg also joined this group, but he had already withdrawn from a one-man exhibition at the Feigen Gallery scheduled for September in protest to the events. (Other artists not in article-Balcomb Greene, Poons, Kelly)

Oldenburg said- "... in Chicago, I like so many others ran head-on into the model American police state. I was tossed to the ground by six swearing troopers who kicked and clubbed me and called me a Communist ...A gentle one-man show about pleasure seems a bit obscene in the present context."

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Hedda Sterne → Jesse Reichek as organizers protest. — See ART IN AMERICA March 1972 — in Anx.

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Editorial

Marcel Duchamp, 1887-1968

If an artist turns his life into a masterpiece (which is the accusation and the boast of Marcel Duchamp's detractors and admirers respectively), he really shouldn't die. And Duchamp's life had become such a glittering, formalized combination of intelligence and charm that the pictures and objects from his hand seemed like dim reflections of his quintessentially French genius.

All Gauls can be divided into three parts: there are the Cartesians with their passion for logic, the Pascalians with their logical passions and the Rabelaisians who know everything and attack all knowledge for the sake of the reality principle—whether the reality of survival or that of a great soup.

Duchamp's genius was to combine the strengths of Descartes and Pascal into a system for the defense of the Rabelaisian norm. He was the inspired *débrouillardeur*—the man who can extract himself from any difficulty.

When Paris became impossible, he became a New Yorker. And vice-versa.

He evaded the crisis of modern art by becoming an artist anti-art.

He avoided the deathly estheticism of anti-art by giving up art altogether (well, almost altogether).

He packed his complete works into an overnight valise and, because he was able to travel so light, skipped into the future with the contraband of his past.

A man must have the gift of prophecy to play so gracefully with time, and Duchamp not only could read the handwriting on the wall, he scribbled a good deal of it himself. His entry in the 1917 exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists, a urinal, was no joke, as his friend Salvador Dali has pointed out: two generations of sculptors have been stuck with its basic shape and texture; its descendant white stone bulges and hollows are strewn over the international sculpture-garden landscape. His 1920s image of the Bride and the Bachelors snared the best of the 1940s Surrealists, Matta, and, in the 1960s, the most thoughtful of the Neo-Dadas, Jasper Johns.

Like all prophets, his art was directed outside — wittily *ex urbe*, usually *ad orbi*.

Before Duchamp (perhaps by the year 2168 it will be indicated as "B.D."), artists in cafés raged against the "system" and the middle-class establishment; then they went back to their studios and worked in aristocratic ignorance of any class-wars and all politics. Duchamp would enjoy his position as a favorite society celebrity; then go back to his study and sharpen another attack on its mores.

He was *par excellence* the modern artist as a man in the world, and that is why it is so sad to realize he has left it.

He died in Neuilly, according to the *Times* reporter, after having dined with some friends. I hope that he had what he once told me was a favorite dish, "My usual little brains—*au beurre noire*." "That's like coals to Newcastle," I said. He grinned, and you could see through the folds of time around his eyes that diamond-sharp young Marcel who was the first to insert store-bought knick-knacks and schoolboy puns into the tottering Palace of Art.

The Artists and Mr. Daley

After watching with the rest of a horrified liberal community the televised events in and around the Democratic Convention at Chicago, a number of painters and sculptors resolved that "something" must be done, and about 50 of them, from New York and California, decided to refuse to lend any of their works to exhibitions in that city. They telegraphed Mayor Daley that they will boycott Chicago for two years—the balance of his term in office—stating: "The recent actions by Chicago's police directed and supported by Mayor Daley and not repudiated by the people of Chicago have marked that city as being unfit for membership in a civilized society. As painters and sculptors we know that art cannot exist where repression and brutality are tolerated . . ."[1]

Other artists joined this effort as individuals and published their own announcements.[2]

Three days later, 27 artists in a public letter denounced Mayor Daley and his "machinations of repressive forces," but concluded that "an attrition of Chicago galleries and museums is likely to hurt the wrong people and might even be in the interest of Mayor Daley." Therefore, they continued to let their work be included in an exhibition titled (appropriately enough) "Options" at the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art [see *Editorial*, A.N., Oct. '68].[3]

Finally, Richard Feigen, a Chicago-New York dealer, organized a protest exhibition in his Chicago quarters and invited many of the better-known boycotters to join, which created a certain amount of confusion, until one contributor brilliantly explained that a "protest exhibition is not an 'exhibition.'" (A commentator noted that this reminded him of the Talmudic demonstration of why a duck is a fish.)

A number of issues are raised by the situation, the most poignant being the helplessness which artists and other intellectuals feel—"as flies to wanton boys"—in front of the grim realities of life in America.

But without going into the murky problems of alienation and of the strategic ineffectuality of the mind, the Chicago episode suggests some remarks on tactics.

A boycott, for example, should only be declared, it seems to us, after the enemy territory is written off as lost, when it is impossible to continue to fight within its boundaries. And certainly Chicago has not disappeared behind a Meat Curtain.

Furthermore, the whole idea of art implies a presence. An absence of art is not a lack, but a kind of fallacy—a vacuum that instantly will be filled with something else, probably worse.

A more appropriate response by the artists to the Chicago police violence would be to hire the Auditorium Building where the Convention was held and fill it with thousands of glorious paintings, sculptures, assemblages, movies, dances, with music, poetry, strobe Happenings, kinetic constructions, etc., and, if they wish, give it some general title like "Up against the Wall, Mother Daley."

The exhibition organized by Richard Feigen will naturally be a more modest affair, chosen to impress local collectors by the prestige of its collaborating artists. In other words, it will be a fashionable line-up. But this has its merits in theory; it would have been better to let the artists make their own selections, but only if they could for once agree to honor the axiom that *nothing good ever comes from bad art.*

How artists can become politically effective through their chosen mediums remains a problem, but the fact that they choose to be political can no longer be questioned. T.B.H.

1 Among the telegram's signatories were: Paul Brach, James Brooks, Herman Cherry, Adolph Gottlieb, Philip Guston, Ellsworth Kelly, Roy Lichtenstein, Richard Lindner, Robert Motherwell, Barnett Newman, Kenneth Noland, Larry Poons, Mark Rothko, Tony Smith, Theodoros Stamos, Saul Steinberg, Hedda Sterne, Jack Tworkov, Esteban Vicente, Jack Youngerman. Signing the telegram later were: John Altoon, Larry Bell, Billy Al Bengston, Robert Irwin, Peter Voulkos, Balcomb Greene, Alexander Calder. The painter Jesse Reichek organized the demonstration.

2 E.g. Dan Flavin, who wrote: "As an artist and a citizen, after sufficient consideration, I have determined not to offer art in Chicago nor appear there publicly until the people of that city decide to remove Mayor Richard J. Daley from office or he himself departs official responsibility . . ."

3 Signing this letter to Mayor Daley were, among others: Carl Andre, Harry Bertoia, Enrique Castro-Cid, Tom Doyle, Peter Forakis, Eva Hesse, Stanley Landsman, Joop Sanders, Robert Smithson.

ART News Nov 1968

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THE DEMANDS OF ART WORKERS COALITION TO THE GALLERIES

The galleries are the profiteers of the systematic exploitation of culture. They are guilty of manipulating and exploiting all artists; at the same time they maintain an elitist art world that ignores black, Puerto Rican and women artists. This structure has turned art into a purely commercial and decorative form of currency to be traded like baseball cards among the few very rich collectors and the museums they incestuously control. Nobody should profit from art. Profit as a motive for making or selling art distorts its very essence. Artists and the public are forced into an orientation of art as commodity. Art becomes indistinguishable from the other ephemeral products of capitalism like automobiles and fancy clothes, modified every year to increase cash turnover. Reinforced by manipulative art criticism, presumed the heir to the classical avant-garde, this art offers status and investment to a minority who can afford to be fashionable.

Since the galleries are the means for showing contemporary art to the general public, the galleries have a responsibility to that public and to the community of artists. Their responsibility to the artist is that they provide a means for his work to be seen and a means for his subsistence through his art work. Their responsibility to the people is that they relinquish their strangle hold on aesthetics and show all kinds of art by every kind of people so that the artistic view of a certain class of white male is not touted as the only expression of contemporary culture. The crisis in art today is only the result of its exploitation.

A. SUBSISTENCE THROUGH THE SALE OF ART

The artist is the sole author of the work of art he makes. The sale of this work is his only means of survival through his profession of artist (art maker). The inherent value of the work of art is present at the moment of its completion and the showing of the work does not create additional value. Therefore, the author is entitled to its full financial evaluation.

1) 100% of the value the artist ascribes to his work is paid to the artist by the purchaser in the form of one check.
2) 15% additional is to be paid to the gallery, or dealer, or agent as a seller's commission by the purchaser in the form of a second check.
3) 15% and not more may be given by the artist to his gallery to advertise and promote his work.

B. POST SALE OBLIGATIONS

Since the increased value or esteem attributed to a work of art after its initial sale is earned only by the merit of the work, the artist who created the work is entitled to its new financial evaluation as well as belated esteem.

1) The artist receives any difference between the sale and the resale price minus the 15% dealer's commission.
2) The Artist's Survival Fund receives the above difference on the resale of works of dead artists whose heirs (immediate dependents) are also dead. Until such time as a minimum income is guaranteed for all people, the Artist's Survival Fund will provide an income to artists whose art work society refuses to evaluate in terms of a living wage. An artist is anyone who calls himself an artist. All the money in the Fund is divided by the number of living artists and distributed equally to them at the end of every fiscal year.
3) Rental fees are paid to artists or their heirs or to the Artist's Survival Fund for all works exhibited in institutions where admissions are charged, whether or not the work is in the possession of the artist.

(over)

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C. BUSINESS RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GALLERIES

1) All artists represented by galleries are entitled to equal amounts of exposure, promotion, and contractual benefits.
2) An artist whose work is handled solely by one gallery is entitled to be shown in one man shows for three successive years by that gallery at the artist's option regardless of the saleability of the work.
3) Works delivered to the gallery on consignment are the property of the artist and are at his disposal at all times.
4) Galleries must have no backroom showing to special collectors. Everyone is equally entitled to see any work.
5) The work an artist sells in his studio does not entitle his dealer a service commission since no service has been rendered. (The studio sale by the artist does not refer to the work's saleability in a commercial salesroom. Gallery promotion and advertising applies to the galleries selling procedures within the gallery space only.)
6) Private dealers or agents who bring about a sale by taking a collector to an artist's studio are entitled to their 15% dealer's commission from the purchaser.
7) Artists must have control of their exhibitions; choosing the works, hanging them, the character of the advertisement policies, etc.
8) The galleries' books must be open to both artists and collectors at all times.
9) Dealers must know the financial sources of potential buyers - especially those based on war or racist enterprises and must inform the artist whose work is being considered for purchase.
10) Galleries must cooperate with artists in requiring the aforementioned rental fees.
11) Galleries must refuse to deal with artists whose prices are exploitive of other artists and collectors.
12) Galleries must give space to "non-saleable" work.

D. AESTHETIC EXPLOITATION

1) All galleries must have equitable representation of black and Puerto Rican artists.
2) All galleries must have equitable representation of women artists.

The dealer is an outsider to the creative process and must not interfere with its natural evolution. He has foisted the art of a minority on the world's people. The aesthetic criteria of the white males who are gallery dealers, art critics and collectors cannot continue to deny validity to the modes of expression of those artists who are not white and/or male. Their absolute power in determining standards for art is an illegal usurpation of a power which belongs to nobody or everybody.

Art Workers Coalition April 1970

AWC/BOX 553, OLD CHELSEA STA./N. Y., N. Y. 10011

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ART WORKER"S COALITION

According to Lucy Lippard (see attached article), the Art Worker's Coalition was conceived on January 3, 1969 when Takis removed a work from the "Machine" exhibition at MOMA. - ACCOUNT IN NY TIMES ARTICLE ATTACHED However, it was not until April 1969 that the group was formed. On April 10, about 300 art world people met at the auditorium of School of Visual Arts for a session titled "Open Public Hearing on the subject: What Should Be the Program of the Art Workers Regarding Museum Reform, and to Establish the Program of an Open Art Workers' Coalition."

A list of 13 demands were given to MOMA the previous February, were revised to 11 in June 1969 and to 9 in March 1970- the list o demands is in the attached Lippard article.

The group met every Monday night after this at MUSEUM at 729 Broadway. (Beginning April 14, 1969). According to Lippard between 60 and 100 people attended the weekly meetings. MUSEUM was an artists' cooperative exhibition and meeting hall. (FOR HISTORY & WORKINGS, SEE ATTACHED ARTICLE, ART IN AMERICA

ACTIVITIES

The AWC addressed itself to ethnic concerns, monetary problems, museum policy and other art/artist problems. The involvement with the war in Viet Nam was not the immediate concern of the group in 1969. (ISSUE TACKLED ON AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF TYRANNY.

AWC and MOMA

Takis problem- see attached NY TIMES article.

The artists that were included in the exhibition "The New American Painting and Sculpture: The First Generation" (June 18-October 5, 1969) received a letter at the beginning of June asking for donations of paintings. The AWC was incensed by this act, even though all the artists in the exhibition supported MOMA's right to request works of art. B.Newman said he was "deeply suspicious of the motives and sincerity of the Art Workers' Coalition." He also said that the motives of the AWC were self-serving and that they were practicing a kind of blackmail against MOMA.

On March 30, 1969 about 300 members and guests of the AWC demonstrated for 1 1/2 hours in the garden of MOMA. The staff of MOMA knew the demonstrators were coming, so they had the guards open the gates to the 54th Street garden entrance so the group would have easy and free access to the Museum. The only problem arose when about 100 demonstrators entered the museum and tried to leave by the doors to 53rd St. The guards stopped them, but Bates Lowry, then director, gave his OK for this exit.
The demonstration was called by the AWC Committee for Black Bloc. The protestors (most of whom were white, listened to speeches calling for more black art in MOMA and free admission for all.

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On November 25, 1969 a meeting of the AWC, MOMA staff and 4 non-aligned artists was held to explore the 11 point demands given MOMA in June. (The 4 non-aligned artists were Flavin, Lichtenstein, Alex Katz and Motherwell).
The most talked about demand was free admission for all. The meeting resulted in the MUseum having one free day every week. This policy contines today in a slightly abridged form. The visitor to MOMA can pay anything he or she wishes, but one must pay something.

Another demand disuussed often was for MOMA to disperse its permanent collection and give all its viewing space to new art, with one wing devoted to the work of black and Puerto Rican artists. There were several variations of this demand, one of which was for the museum to give away or sell all art in their permanent collection older than 25 years. The money gained in such a sale would be used to buy the work of young artists. (The irony of this position was never openly acknowledged).

January 1970 saw more active protests by members of the AWC against MOMA. An affiliate group, the Guerilla Art Action Group removed the Malevich "White on White" from the galleries and replaced it by a list of demands one of which for MOMA to sell $1 million worth of art and give the money to the poor of NYC.
This same group appeared in the lobby of MOMA with clothes filled with sacks of beef blood. When they faked a fight, the bags split and blood was all over the lobby. They said this was a protest of Rockefeller interests in the production of war materials. MOMA showing his collection.

On May 2, 1970 black & PR protestors from AWC demonstrated at MOMA with 1 smoke bomb, 2 live chickens that served as a symbol of white rule. When freed, the artists would be released from the white rule of the museums. Ralph Ortiz & Tom Lloyd met with Director John Hightower to disucss the demands.

Most of the activities of 1970 of the AWC were addressed to the problem of the war in Viet Nam and the role of the artist and museum in the protest of it. (Dissussed in WAR section).
The war in SE Asia was finally intertwined with the other demands (ethnic, monetary, etc) by 1970-71.

For example, in January (12) of 1971 several protestors from the AWC walked into a banquet of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum held in the Louis XVI room, opened a jar of roaches and emptied them on the elegant table. The Met had been a target of the AWC since they had refused to close in Spring 1970 for a one-day strike against the war. The demonstrators said that the Met was more interested in business than in human values. There were no injuries or arrests. NY Post, JAN 13, 1971

Photo of event Repro in ARTFORUM, FEB 1975
p 31

common enemy? In June 1969, during an exchange with artists who had (we charged) a collector. A list of questions circulated by an artworker and glued to doors throughout the or outside, have to be dealt with one another, now.

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On April 10 1969, some 300 New York artists and observers thereof filled the amphitheatre of the School of Visual Arts for an 'Open Public Hearing on the subject: What Should Be the Program of The Art Workers Regarding Museum Reform, and to Establish the Program of an Open Art Workers' Coalition'. The last time such a large and various group had got together for non-aesthetic reasons concerned the Artists Tenants Association's threatened loft strike in 1961, which did not take place. The hearing was preceded by a list of 13 demands to the Museum of Modern Art and demonstrations supporting them which emphasized artists' rights: legal, legislative and loosely political; they were the product of the newly-named Art Workers' Coalition (temporarily and simultaneously the Artists' Coalition). The AWC was conceived on January 3 1969, when the kinetic artist, Takis (Vassilakis), removed a work of art, made by him but owned by the Museum of Modern Art, from the museum's 'Machine' show, on the grounds that an artist had the right to control the exhibition and treatment of his work whether or not he had sold it. Not a revolutionary proposition, except in the art world.

Despite the specific subjects announced for the Open Hearing, taped and later published verbatim by the AWC, the real content of the night was the airing of general complaints about The System, keynoted by Richard Artschwager's use of his two minutes to set off firecrackers instead of talk. The picture of frustrated violence that emerged from this motley cross-section of the art community (70 artists, architects, film-makers and critics, a number of them Black, spoke) surprised the establishment at which it was aimed. As well it might, since art world complaints are made loudly, but in the relative privacy of studios and bars, rarely in public. Those who voiced them were immediately accused of opportunism by some of those who remained closet protestants. A number of speakers considered the Museum of Modern Art an unworthy object of artists' attention, but a grudging concensus agreed it was the best place to start if only because it is the seat (in all senses) of power; not enough people, time and energy were available then to tackle all the museums at once and MOMA qualified by its rank in the world, its Rockefeller-studded Board of Trustees with all the attendant political and economic sins attached to such a group, its propagation of the star system and consequent dependence on galleries and collectors, its maintenance of a safe, blue-chip collection, and particularly, its lack of contact with the art community and recent art, its disdain for the advice and desires of the artists that filled its void. The demands made in February 1969 were boiled down from 13 to 11 in June, and revised slightly as the nine-plus below to apply to all museums in March 1970:

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 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 centres that could 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 (or other) minorities are well represented.
5. Museums should encourage female artists to overcome 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 their own premises.
9. 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, or exhibited without their consent.

B. UNTIL SUCH TIME AS A MINIMUM INCOME IS

The Art Workers' Coalition: Not a History
Lucy Lippard
Studio Int
Nov 1970

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s known, to say loud and clear that we
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ment. What anyone can do via the AWC for the Panthers or for peace or for Welfare mothers or trees can be done a hundred times better within those organizations specializing in each of those fields. As an artist, however, he can exert his influence on those institutions which depend on him for their life, to make them speak up and influence others. The fact that these institutions are run by people running other areas of the larger world makes artists' actions as artists all the more important. What is sad is how few artists will even acknowledge their political burden, how many seem to feel that art, and thus their own

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GUARANTEED FOR ALL PEOPLE, THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ARTISTS SHOULD BE IMPROVED IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS:

Rental fees should be paid to artists or their ·irs for all work exhibited where admissions ·e charged, whether or not the work is vned by the artist.

A percentage of the profit realized on the -sale of an artist's work should revert to the tist or his heirs.

A trust fund should be set up from a tax ·ied on the sales of the work of dead artists. his fund would provide stipends, health in·rance, help for artists' dependants and other ·ial benefits.

ıe extent to which each 'member' agrees th each 'demand' fluctuates to the point ıere structural fluidity of the organization elf is unavoidable. The AWC has as many ·ntities as it has participants at any one ıe (there are no members or officers and its ıin manner of fund-raising is a 'Frisco rcle' at meetings, and the number of par·ipants varies as radically as does their licality, according to the degree of excite·nt, rage, guilt, generated by any given ıe. It has functioned best as an umbrella, a conscience and complaint bureau in·porating, not without almost blowing in· out, groups and goals that are not only ·erent, but often conflicting. Advocates of a ıter structure, of a real dues-paying union ıation, have reason but not reality on their ·. Nobody, inside or outside the coalition, illusions about its efficiency; the difference hat everyone outside thinks it could be ıe better another way and from the inside t looks impossible.

ı Judd, for instance, has been interested in ıion set-up since the Coalition began, but disgusted with the meetings he visited d did not, incidentally, try to change or in·nce them by saying anything about his ideas, which is too bad, because we ld use his blunt, articulate intelligence). In ·cent statement on art and politics (*Artforum*, Sept. 1970) he wrote: 'There should be an artists' organization. It's very odd to have a whole activity that can't help anyone in the same activity, that can't defend itself against carelessness and corruptions. The organization should have its own money; there could be a self-imposed tax by members on all sales, part from the artist's portion, part from the dealer's.' We've discussed this, but need, naturally, the support of a few more artists who have a portion at all, or a dealer. Judd also says that 'unlike the Art Workers, an artists' organization should decide what it wants to do and go after it practically'. Yet he agrees with our first demand and suggests we state that and talk to the museums. We have, and still are. Then he says that those museums 'who refuse without reasons can be struck'; by whom? Judd and the rest of the art community's silent majority? If all those artists who want a union would get together and take over section B of the Coalition's demands it could comprise another special interest group under the 'umbrella', or as a separate entity. But as long as the AWC's notorious sightseers, now perennial (Smithson, Serra and editor Philip Leider come immediately to mind), many of whom are respected members of the art community and good talkers and would be able to convince a lot of people; as long as they play with themselves in the bar, telling everyone how absurd or mismanaged the AWC is, instead of saying the same things in the public arena (arena it often is, unfortunately), they will be the bane and to some extent the downfall of the Coalition.

If I sound wistful, *or* over-optimistic, it's because I can't help remembering the beginnings of the Coalition. At the first few open meetings there was a terrific atmosphere of aesthetic and economic mistrust. Eventually basic dislike of organizations, innate snobbism about which artists should or could be associated with, the reluctance to waste time, and revulsion for yelling, rhetoric and opportunism (not unique to the AWC) broke down in favour of common excitement and, finally, even affectionate tolerance for some of the more therapeutically-oriented participants. Nobody thought it was ideal; and nobody had ever seen New York artists come on any other way, either. Despite the heterogeneous composition, during the winter and spring of 1969 the AWC became a community of artists within the larger art community. The honeymoon period centred around plans for the open hearing and publication of its record and, later, around the 'alternatives committee', whose search for alternative structures ran the gamut between a trade union complete with dental care, a massive takeover of the city's abandoned Hudson River piers for studio and exhibition space (that is now being done by the establishment itself), and an information centre complete with Xerox machine, ending comfortably, if a little wearily, as a discussion group covering the highest tides of idealism and philosophical foam, with which New York art is very much at home. The weekly general meetings consisted of about 60 people, sometimes 100; the committees were much smaller. Both were characterized by reversals and arguments and endless bullshit (usually defined as somebody else talking), naïveté, commitment, and lack of knowledge about how to implement it, a high evangelical pitch reached in the bar after meetings, not to mention the endless phone calls that plague a small organization with no efficient communication channels, all backed up by an excited realization that MOMA was, for some inexplicable reason, afraid of us.

This period culminated in intermural quarrels surrounding the problem of what to do about the Museum of Modern Art's 'blackmail' of First Generation New York School artists (which I consider one of our most important endeavours), and problems of structure, now that the coalition was getting big with what sometimes seemed a false pregnancy. These most often concerned the point of whether or not the general meetings should have veto power over the hard-working committees or

ry idea of art museums – in museums free ·litical pressures – to make our commit·s known, to say loud and clear that we not stand for the politicization of art that w looming as a real possibility'. We e a lengthy reply which was published his third article on the subject (Feb. 8,). In it we said that if by the 'politiciza· of art' he meant 'political art he should ıade aware that the AWC has never ed any opinions on the content or form of which we consider the concern of in·ual artists alone'; also, that 'Mr Kramer es the fact that what radical critics are lack of resolution casts doubts on the strength of the Museum's commitment to art itself, and can only be seen as bitter confirmation of this institution's decadence and/or impotence'. Via this and other experiences we discovered that semi-private institutions are unable to buck their trustees, particularly when the issue is one that presents the trustees with a direct conflict of interest. (As Gregory Battcock said at the Open Hearing: 'The trustees of the museums direct NBC and CBS, the *New York Times* and the Associated Press, and that greatest cultural travesty of modern times – The Lincoln Center. They own

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New York art strike at the Metropolitan
m, New York, May 22 1970

rom first Art Workers' Coalition protest against
useum of Modern Art, New York, March 30 1969

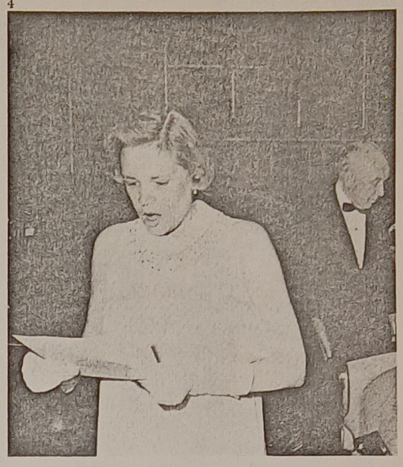
icketing the Nelson Rockefeller Collection
Museum of Modern Art, New York,
6 1969

al interest groups, including the usually
oversial 'action committee' where the
ants and the Guerrilla Art Action Group
focussed. I, for one, agreed whole-
edly with Kestutis Zapkus' anti-veto
osal' circulated in the summer of 1969,
h stated, among other things: 'There is
ason why the AWC should model itself
he procedures of conventional bureau-
organizations. The development of
al interests must not be dissipated by a
nvolved majority'.

most controversial aspect of the AWC
g artists and establishment has been its
lled 'politicization of art' term, a term usu-
sed to cover the Black and women's pro-
mes as well as demands that museums
out against racism, war and repression.
May 4, 1969, Hilton Kramer of the *New*
Times left-handedly complimented us by
g that the Open Hearing proposed,
it incoherently... a way of thinking about
oduction and consumption of works of
at would radically modify, if not actually
ace, currently established practices, with
heavy reliance on big money and false
ge.' He had 'the vivid impression of a
l issue which wiser and more experienced
s have long been content to leave totally
amined.' But as the AWC gathered
(or power), we became less attractive;
cond article (Jan. 18, 1970) ended with
to all those nice people 'who believe in
ry idea of art museums–in museums free
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opposed to is the present conservative politicization of the Museum... If the men now controlling the Museum of Modern Art are not politically involved, who the hell is?' The AWC did not begin as a political group, but its models were clearly the Black and student movements of the 1960s, and by the time of the Open Hearing it was obvious that non-art issues would assume if not priority, a major rhetorical importance. Though the Black Panthers, the Chicago Seven and other radical causes have been supported; though we have protested by telegram and testimony ecological catastrophes, budget cutbacks to museums, expressways etc., and once gave half the treasury (some £300 from sales of the books) to a Biafran woman who delivered a particularly stirring plea at a meeting, the AWC, like its predecessor and sometime colleague, the Artists and Writers Protest, has concentrated its political energies on Peace, as did the May 1970 Art Strike. On the first Moratorium Day (Oct. 15, 1969) the AWC managed to get the Modern, the Whitney and the Jewish museums and most of the galleries to close, and (with the crucial help of the participating artists) the Metropolitan to postpone the opening of its big American painting and sculpture show till a more auspicious date, though the museum itself stayed open and, with the Guggenheim, was picketed.

The bitterest quarrel the AWC has had with the museum (aside from the 'blackmail' issue) was over joint sponsorship of the Song-My massacre protest poster–a ghastly coloured photograph of the event by a *Life* photographer captioned 'Q: AND BABIES? A: AND BABIES', which was vetoed by the president of the Board of Trustees after an initial, though unexpected, executive staff acceptance of the proposal. We picketed and protested in front of *Guernica*, published 50,000 posters on our own and distributed them, free, via an informal network of artists and movement people; it has turned up all over the world. Our release read, in part: 'Practically, the outcome is as planned: an artist-sponsored poster protesting the Song-My massacre will receive vast distribution. But the Museum's unprecedented decision to make known, as an institution, its commitment to humanity, has been denied it. Such lack of resolution casts doubts on the strength of the Museum's commitment to art itself, and can only be seen as bitter confirmation of this institution's decadence and/or impotence'. Via this and other experiences we discovered that semi-private institutions are unable to buck their trustees, particularly when the issue is one that presents the trustees with a direct conflict of interest. (As Gregory Battcock said at the Open Hearing: 'The trustees of the museums direct NBC and CBS, the *New York Times* and the Associated Press, and that greatest cultural travesty of modern times–The Lincoln Center. They own

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T A & T, Ford, General Motors, the great multi-billion dollar foundations, Columbia University, Alcoa, Minnesota Mining, United Fruit and AMK, besides sitting on the boards of each others' museums. The implications of these facts are enormous. Do you realize that it is those art-loving, culturally committed trustees of the Metropolitan and Modern museums who are waging the war in Vietnam?') We also discovered that one thing museum administrators can't seem to realize is that most of the art workers lead triple (for women, often quadruple) lives: making art, earning a living, political or social action, and maybe domesticity too. When the museum official gets fretful about our distrust of long dialogues and our general inefficiency (irresponsibility, he calls it), he forgets that he is being paid a salary for 'caring for' work and issues that his opposite number on the picket line produces in return for no financial assurances whatsoever, and that the Coalition itself has to beg time from the 'real' world to get anything done at all.

Certainly it is everybody's individual choice as to how he is going to handle his political burden (though anyone so sheltered as to believe he has no such burden is riding for a shock). The AWC will be powerful only in the art field, where artists have power, and it seems to me that if an artist is more involved in the Peace Movement than in artists' rights he should be working directly for the movement. What anyone can do via the AWC for the Panthers or for peace or for Welfare mothers or trees can be done a hundred times better within those organizations specializing in each of those fields. As an artist, however, he can exert his influence on those institutions which depend on him for their life, to make them speak up and influence others. The fact that these institutions are run by people running other areas of the larger world makes artists' actions as artists all the more important. What is sad is how few artists will even acknowledge their political burden, how many seem to feel that art, and thus their own

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rt, is so harmless that it needs no conscience. t least I don't hear that doubtful statement My art is my politics' quite so often since Art trike and other recent developments. It's ow you give and withhold your art that is olitical. Your art is only your politics if it is latantly political art, and most of the eople who say that are blatantly opposed to olitical art. The Coalition is neutral; it has ways been a non-aesthetic group involved thics rather than aesthetics. (Lenin said hics was the aesthetics of the future.) For e most part, however, the artist's dilemma: this the kind of society I can make art in? hat use is art in this or any society? Should have no use, even morally? remains unved in or out of the AWC.

October 20, 1969, Carl Andre read the WC a devastating summary of its failures as 'preamble' to its second year of operations. Among his complaints were: 'We have failed o convince Artworkers that it is futile to recapitulate in the art world the enormities and injustices of the American economic system...We have failed to convince Artworkers that the profession of art is not a career but a constant witness to the value of all life. We have failed to convince Artworkers that the essence of art is inspiration and not petty ambition. We have failed to convince Artworkers that a myth of quality is no substitute for the fact of art...THEREFORE WE OF THE ART WORKERS' COALITION DEMAND OF OURSELVES THAT: 1. ART, OUR WORK, BE WIDELY AND HONOURABLY EMPLOYED. 2. ART, OUR WORK, BE JUSTLY COMPENSATED. 3. ART, OUR WORK, BE ALL THE BEST THAT WE CAN LIVE OR DO.' Rhetoric, perhaps; eloquence, certainly. But the central issue always seems to come down to dignity, dignity and tolerance–the central issues of any civil rights cause. Black or woman artists are most disturbing to their colleagues and to the art world at large because their demands for dignity in their profession carry a large quotient of rage. It makes them harder to live with and their co-operation–with other interest groups–harder to retain. Artists are the Blacks of the broader intelligentsia. A bright, angry Black woman artist may be the most explosive factor around. She has the Nothing to Lose that has traditionally made potent revolutionaries.

The ethical role of the Coalition infuriates people. It is frequently criticized for not representing enough of the art community to be listened to; we in turn frequently criticize the rest of the art community for not speaking up, with *or* against us. The Coalition is out there working and occasionally accomplishing something; where do those guys get off resting smugly in a nest-egg of their *own* compromises and preferring to fight us rather than the common enemy? In June 1969, during an exchange with artists who had (we charged) been subjected to blackmail by donating works to MOMA for an 'historical' show that just incidentally had to come from the museum's collections, we wrote: 'Our actions should not be mistaken for those of the community as a whole, but rather as a "conscience" in regard to the existing system. We represent the present membership [of the AWC] and, by default, the passive element in the art community. Anyone who does not speak for himself will be spoken for by us until he does take a position on the various issues...The AWC does not begrudge the success of the artists in this show, to whom we all owe a major aesthetic debt, nor are we judging the aesthetic content of the exhibition. We are all too aware of the conditions in which these artists have existed for years under the present system, and it is this system we would like to change. We have no intention of letting the "watchdog" ghost of Ad Reinhardt lie. In the 1960s large sections of the world's population have realized what Reinhardt realized in the art world long before, that sins of omission and commission, crimes of silence and rhetoric, are equally indefensible.'

The crux of the matter is, of course, that no artist, in or out of the AWC, wants to be told anyone else is thinking for him. Nor does anyone like to be reminded that he is a pawn of the system. It comes harder to more successful artists than to those who are just beginning. The artist is a person who has chosen a life of 'independence' from the conventional structures. He is by nature unequipped for group thinking or action. He has also made certain sacrifices in order to have the advantages of 'freedom'. However, he prefers to bitch to (and about) his fellow artists about the gallery system, museums' ignorance of art and artists' lives, how critics 'use' him and his art, than to do anything about it. And this is, I suspect, because if he admitted to himself how far up against the wall he has been driven, life would be pretty unbearable. The illusion of freedom is of the utmost importance to a person for whom society does nothing else. Even if he is successful (and some of the aesthetically and ethically unhappiest artists in the city, the ones that act like cornered rats when talking to members of the Coalition, are the most successful socially and financially), even then, if he measures his success against his compromises, he is asking for a downer. It's pleasanter not to be aware of the issues than to feel nothing can be done about them. Ad Reinhardt and Carl Andre, two artists who have had the courage to expose publicly the contradictions inherent in their own situation, have come in for far more mud-slinging than their weaker colleagues who have accepted to wallow in suspect patronage, than the artist who is content to be waterboy to a critic or mascot to a collector. A list of questions circulated by an artworker and glued to doors throughout the city in June, 1969, enraged almost everyone by demanding 'Does money manipulate art? Does money manipulate galleries? Do galleries manipulate artists? Do artists manipulate art?...Is art a career (career–"highway a running from or to, carting, carrying")? Is a career carousing? Are galleries pimps for carousing artists cruising immortality?'

The real value of the AWC is its voice rather than its force, its whispers rather than its shouts. It exists both as a threat and as 'place' (in people's heads, and in real space as a clearing house for artists' complaints). Its own silent majority is larger than is generally realized. More important than any of our 'concrete' achievements is the fact that whether or not we are popular for it, the Coalition has brought up issues that American artists (since the 30s) have failed to confront together, issues to do with the dignity and value of art and artist in a world that often thinks neither have either. If the American artist looks with increased awareness at his shows, sales, conferences, contracts as an autonomous and independent member, even mover, of his own system, the AWC has made sense. But if aesthetic differences are a barrier even to a successful artist's understanding of working with equally successful colleagues, of artists for artists' rights, maybe there's no ballgame. Maybe artists will have the unique distinction of being the only vocation in the world that can't get together long enough to assure their colleagues of not suffering from their mistakes. Maybe sweetness, light, idealism and personal integrity, conventionally presumed to characterize art, have been bred out of it by this brutal age. Maybe the Coalition is about not thinking so, even if the odds look bad.

Tomorrow night (September 21) there is a meeting of the AWC, the Art Strike, Soho Artists Association and an artists' housing group, the first of a season, the first of the AWC's third season, the first season after 2000 artists gathered to protest Cambodia and Kent State and Augusta and Jackson and formed the Art Strike, the first of a season that promises to be low on the kind of social (as in socializing) stimulation generated by moneyed institutions. A lot of people know that their time this year might be best spent in the studio and in the streets. You have to be pretty far above it all to stay aloof. At the same time the majority of the art world is afraid to take its bullshit out of the bars and into the streets, afraid of losing the toehold got last year on the next rung of the ladder but at the same time afraid that the ladder will have been burned, toppled, or blown up high just as they get near the top (and there's no fury like that of a man who hates himself for compromising and is having the fruits of his ass-kissing taken from him too). Not a new situation, but one that will, inside of the AWC or outside, have to be dealt with one way or another, now.

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WAR AND BIENNALE 1970

PART OF THE ARTISTS' STRIKE FOR PEACE

On May 18, 1970 the Emergency Cultural Government Committee was formed by Robert Morris, Frank Stella, Irving Petlin and Max Kozloff. The purpose of the committee was to serve the art community in all matters related to the U.S. Gov't. and art.

Because the Venice Biennale was under political pressures from Italy and other European countries, the U.S. protest of the organization of the exhibition was not unusual. 20 artists, including Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Rauschenberg, Morris, Warhol and Motherwell, withdrew from the American section organized by Henry Hopkins "as an act of dissociation from U.S. Government sponsorship." They continued saying that they denied "the use of their art as a cultural veneer to cover policies of ruthless aggression abroad and intolerable repression at home." NY TIMES, June 6, 1970.

The American exhibition was American prints and print workshops with examples of the machinery and technique of the printing process (fine Art prints). 47 artists are listed in the catalogue, but more than half withdrew. Jasper Johns, Sam Francis, Alexander Lieberman and Ed Ruscha were among the artists that did participate in the exhibition. also Flavin

A special Rothko exhibition of 27 paintings was held at the Museo d'Arte Moderna, but because it was geographically separate from the Biennale exhibition, there was no difficulty in mounting the show.

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June 29, 1970

Dear Mr Oldenburg,

There have been recent developments here in New York which have had an effect on the forthcoming exhibition. As one of the original 26 artists who have withdrawn from the Venice Biennale we are writing you to appraise you of these recent developments and to ask whether or not you approve of the most recent steps the ECG has taken in relation to the show.

It was brought to our attention that the selection for Venice was highly unbalanced in terms of excluding both black and women artists. Presumably race and/or sex were not criteria in the selection of the prints. Nevertheless, the very constitution of the ECG was a response to the deepening crisis of war, racism, sexism and repression. It's specific work was to deprive the U.S. Government of American art as an international veneerfor its aggressive and repressive policies. Sponsering international shows that would normally be mounted by the U.S. is a positive action but one which does not necessarily attack the internal structure of these shows which can be discriminatory in terms of selection and exclusion. This is not to blurr a distinction between esthetic criterion and any other that can be established. In this case, however, the ECG wishes to open the show completely rather than preserve and honor a criterion of taste, presumably esthetic, but in point of fact discriminatory and suspect, which has been officially sanctioned by the U.S. Government.

Many artists participating in the Biennale were first made aware of their presence in the show by Lois Bingham's letter asking their position with regard to withdrawing. There was no previous attempt on the part of the Smithsonian or Henry Hopkins to communicate to the original participants either the expected esthetic focus and criterion for selection of the show or who the other participants might be.

In the light of these facts, together with the issue of whose taste should be perpetuated in a show that is now not under government sponsership, the ECG Committee has resolved to declare the show entirely open to any artist who submits a graphic work. Anything short of this would be a substitution of a second criterion for the original one which has now become questionable.

The ECG writes to you to ask if you approve and support the liberation of the Biennale to be held here in New York. As a core member of this show, and one who's affirmation of our first intentions gave us the encouragement to follow through with the organization, we hope you continue to support this step so recently taken. Would you please let us know that you do in fact support this move and want to remain in the show as one of the 26 core members.

Please respond to: Emergency Cultural Government
c/o Bykert Gallery
24 E 81 Street
New York, N Y 10028

Thank you

spelling

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VIET NAM

One of the earliest organized protests of the war in SE Asia by artists was the PEACE TOWER in Los Angeles, organized by Mark di Suvero. In the Fall of 1966, di Suvero constructed a tall, pylon-like structure on which was installed works of art by leading American and European artists.

The protest against the war by New York artists and art world people was not organized until the inception of the AWC in 1969. Along with protests and demands that related only to the art world, they also made demands about the war and the war establishment.
For example, In January of 1970 a protest was made by the AWC about Flavin's participation in the exhibition "Spaces" at MOMA (exh organized by Jenny Licht.) The problem of Flavin's installation was that the 20 flourescent bulbs were donated by General Electric. The AWC said, "We question the use of art (and artists) by a corporation that is one of the Government contractors of war materials." quoted by Grace Glueck, Jan. 2, 1970, NY TIMES, p. 34.
It was also pointed out by the AWC that the workers at GE were on strike at the time making Flavin a strikebreaker.
Flavin had no public comment on any of this.

The war effort escalated when the U.S. invaded Cambodia and 4 students were killed at Kent State. On May 18, 1970 a meeting of artists, critics, museum and gallery staffs, etc. was held at Loeb Student Center of NYU. About 1,000 people discussed many issues, but came up with three demands-

1. A one day strike to close museums and galleries as a protest to the war in SE Asia.

2. A setting up of an Emergency Cultural Government to sever relations with the U.S. Gov't. on all art matters.

3. 10% of every art work sale to go into a fund for peace.

Robert Morris and Poppy Johnson were elected co-chairpersons of this new group.

A lot of press coverage was given the artists' mobilization by the major news media in New York. For example, Grace Glueck on May 20 in the NY TIMES wrote of the reactions to the Artists Strike for Peace and the cooperation of the art community. Robert Morris had cancelled his exhibition at the Whitney Museum- it had been scheduled to run to May 31- in protest to the war. -DN MAY 18

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Glueck continues by quoting Hightower- "I intend to do all I can to see that arts institutions address themselves to relieving the sense of hopelessness we all share." MOMA immediately mounted a special photo exhibition showing scenes and atrocities of the war in SE Asia and the events at Kent State. Hightower also called for all the other NY museums to give space for peace exhibtions and peace materials.

All art schools were called on to supply visual materials and to suspend all classes for the strike.

An editorial in the NY TIMES on the same day, May 20, 1970, p. 40, calls the artists' activities stupid. The TIMES said that artists should use their art to convey ideas, and that the forced closing of the museums was sensless.

FRIDAY, MAY 22- The New York Art Strike
reported in NY TIMES, May 23, p. 19 Grace Glueck

About 500 artists, art students, art teachers, gallery workers, and other concerned citizens arrived at the Met. Museum around 10 A.M. and demanded that the museum close (all the other Museums in NYC had closed that day). The Met did not close, but the strikers succeeded in drastically cutting attendance from about 4,000 per day to a mere 1500.

About 20 helmeted policemen were in attendance, but no trouble occurred.

At around 10:30 A.M. the then V.P. of the Met came out and offered to close the doors for one hour to honor the strike. The protestors refused. Hoving was in Europe at the time, so Theodore Rousseau who was Vice Director at the time came out at one point in afternnon to talk to the protestors about their plans and demands.

Hightower commented on the artists strike by saying that the artists' actions put them "in the same position of Hitler in the 30's and 40's, Stalin in the 50's- and more recently, the Soviet repression of free expression in Czechoslavkia." (IN the Glueck ARTICLE)

There were other activities in the Spring of 1970 when the entire country expressed moral outrage. The officers of the College Art Association sent a letter to Pres. Nixon on May 9, 1970 asking him to withdraw American troops from SE Asia immediately. This letter is printed in ART JOURNAL, Summer 1970.

By the Summer of 1970, attention had been concentrated on the U.S. participation in the Venice Biennale, and by the Fall of 1970 various groups took up the banner of stopping the war, each group calling for different kinds of activities to express their sentiments.

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For example, an ART FOR PEACE exhibition was organized for the week of Sept. 20, 1970 for a one week period. The ART works were shown at 32 NY galleries and sold at a Parke Bernet auction on September 29. The proceeds of the sale went to Referendum 70- a group that attempted to elect anti-war Congressional candidates. The poster for the exhibition was made by Saul Steinberg.

Some of the participating artists included de Kooning, Warhol, Lichtenstein, Rivers, Stella, Frankenthaler, RAUSCHENBERG.

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ART WORKERS COALITION / ARTISTS AND WRITERS PROTEST

AWC/AWP Box 553, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10011

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PRESS CONTACT: Janet McDevitt
AL 5-4127
or 226-5304

LETTER TO PICASSO REQUESTS REMOVAL OF GUERNICA AS VIETNAM WAR PROTEST

Today a cablegram was sent to Pablo Picasso informing him that Art Workers Coalition and Artists and Writers Protest are circulating for signatures among American artists and writers a request that he remove Guernica from The Museum of Modern Art in New York City. The Songmy massacre has made it clear that this nation and this museum no longer have the right to hold for safekeeping this monumental cry against the slaughter of innocents.

At the same time a petition is circulating among artists and writers in other countries of the world for support of this request to Picasso.

The text of the open letter is:

Dear Pablo Picasso, When the Franco government of Spain recently invited you to return and to bring Guernica to Madrid, you said no: only when Spain is again a democratic republic will Guernica hang in the Prado.

American artists have always been proud of the fact that your great painting, an outcry against injustice, hangs in our leading museum, in temporary refuge on the way to your freed homeland.

But things have changed. What the U. S. government is doing in Vietnam far exceeds Guernica, Oradour and Lidice. The continuous housing of Guernica in The Museum of Modern Art, New York, implies that our establishment has the moral right to be indignant about the crimes of others -- and ignore our own crimes.

American artists want to raise their voices against the hundreds of Guernicas and Oradours which are taking place in Vietnam. We cannot remain silent in the face of Mylai.

We are asking your help. Tell the directors and trustees of The Museum of Modern Art in New York that Guernica cannot remain on public view there as long as American troops are committing genocide in Vietnam. Renew the outcry of Guernica by telling those who remain silent in the face of Mylai that you remove from them the moral trust as guardians of your painting.

American artists and art students will miss Guernica but will also know that by removing it you are bringing back to life the message you gave three decades ago.

The world-famous painting, Guernica, was executed by Picasso in "a fury of action" following the bombing of the ancient Basque town, a non-military objective, on April 26, 1937, by German bombers flying for General Franco during the Spainish Civil War. The destruction of Guernica in a practice manoeuver was the first

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saturation bombing of a city in military history.

Picasso began the 11' 5 1/2" by 25' 3/4" painting in May and completed it in June for the Spanish Republican Pavilion in the Paris Exhibition of 1937. At the time he said, "In the panel on which I am working, which I shall call Guernica ..., I clearly express my abhorrence of the military caste which has sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death ...."

The painting was brought to New York in 1939 and loaned to The Museum of Modern Art. It remains the property of Pablo Picasso in trust until Spain is free. The Spanish government recently requested that Guernica be given to the Prado now. Picasso refused this request.

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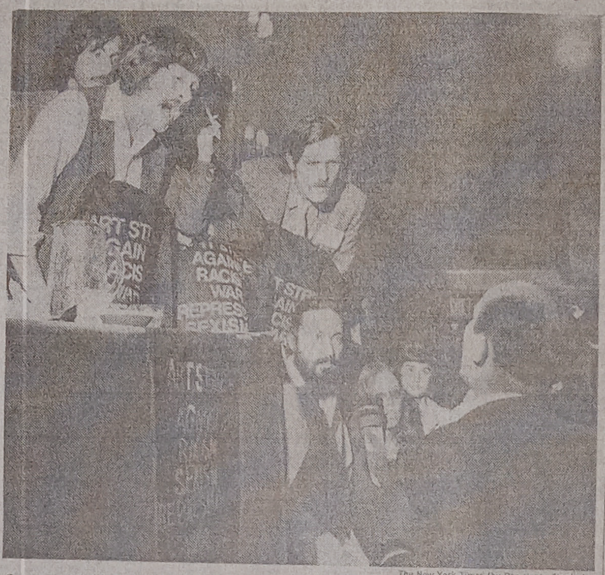
Art Group Disrupts Museum Parley

By GRACE GLUECK

Flourishing protest banners as they invaded the speakers' rostrum, a group of more than 30 dissident artists broke up the staid business meeting of the American Association of Museums at the Waldorf-Astoria yesterday morning, and turned it into their own thing.

After about 20 minutes of loud give-and-take between irate conferees and the protesters, who said they were members of the New York Artists Strike Against Racism, Sexism, Repression and War, the meeting was abruptly adjourned by William C. Steere, the A.A.M. president. The disruption occurred immediately after a keynote address by Nancy Hanks, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

The dispute arose over the group's insistence that two of its members, scheduled to speak later in the morning, follow Miss Hanks directly. Before the adjournment Mr. Steere gave the floor to one of them, Ralph Ortiz, an artist and director of Museo El Barrio, a museum in East Harlem devoted to Puerto Rican art and culture.



The New York Times (by Don Hogan Charles)

One man, right, who did not agree with the protesters' disruption of the meeting of the American Association of Museums at the Waldorf, engaging in shouting match with them.

Calls for Changes

Charging that cultural institutions existed for private, rather than public interests, Mr. Ortiz demanded that they change radically "to meet the needs of all the people." And he called for an association emergency committee to implement such changes. "Must we wait for protesters to be murdered on the lawns of our museums?" he asked.

In her talk earlier, Miss Hanks stressed that museums must henceforth be concerned not only with their roles as repositories for "treasures," but with their public roles as well. "It's no longer a case of either or," she said. She also urged that cultural leaders learn to communicate better to the public their understanding of the "why" of museums—"that they enable us to be human beings in a civilized world."

After Mr. Ortiz's speech, the microphones were turned off, but the group continued to engage the audience in an informal free-for-all. "As united artists, we mean to change the existing structure to meet our needs and the needs of the larger community," read a circulated handbill.

The handbill called for, among other actions, an association declaration urging the immediate withdrawal of all United States troops from Southeast Asia, investigation of museum expansion plans to assure their "relevance" to minority peoples, and a change in the composition of museum governing bodies to include artists and staff members.

The loosely structured group is the same organization that staged a sit-in on the steps of the Metropolitan Museum May 22 to condemn its open-door policy on a day that artists had declared a protest strike.

As the morning wore on, group members arranged chairs in a large circle, and held an informal session with more than 100 conferees who had lingered in the peacock-and-gold Grand Ballroom after the meeting was adjourned. "I see only one culture represented here," said Arthur Coppege, a black artist who served as informal master of ceremonies. "The only way we can do something to bring about a more equitable situation is to bring about a dialogue."

Among those taking turns at the hand microphone were Thomas P.F. Hoving, director of the Metropolitan Museum, who suggested that the group meet with officials and staff for further discussion; Leon Golub, an artist, who urged that the association suspend its normal business to deal with the issues of war, racism and repression; and Peter Swan, director of the Royal Ontario Museum, who said that many museum officials were in sympathy with the group's aims, but that it must maintain a "sane, calm dialogue" with them.

At 3:30 in the afternoon, while delegates attended undisrupted sections on Art, Education, Museum Operations and the like, some of the group members met in the hotel's ornate 18th-floor Gold Room with museum directors and association officials to formulate a set of resolutions to take back to the main convention.

What they came up with was a single resolution to form a national workshop conference for "the purpose of examining the responsibility of institutions with regard to racism, sexism, repression and war, and determining ways in which they can relate constructively to the daily changes and growing stresses in our culture."

There was more excitement at the evening session, held in the auditorium of the Brooklyn Museum. Entitled "War, Racism and Repression: What Can and Should Museums Do About It?" it was presided over by John Hightower, director of the Museum of Modern Art.

A speech by Mr. Hightower about the contributions of museums to war, racism and repression was followed by a dramatic walkout on the part of a group from the Artists Strike Committee, assembled on the stage behind him. The group, spearheaded by Tom Lloyd, a black artist, and Mr. Ortiz, charged that Mr. Hightower and the Modern had reneged on a promise to establish a Martin Luther King Jr. center for black studies at the museum.

After the walkout, Mr. Hightower told the conferees that he had informed Mr. Lloyd that afternoon that the black studies center would have to be postponed and that further, he would prefer to see it called the Langston Hughes Center.

Meanwhile, he told Mr. Lloyd, he would set up an education center at the museum, headed by a black director.

He also said that he had offered Carroll Greene Jr., curator of the Frederick Douglass Museum in Washington and the man proposed by Mr. Lloyd as head of the King study center, the directorship of a forthcoming Museum of Modern Art show of contemporary American art next season.

"I told Mr. Greene the post would possibly be permanent and he said he'd consider it," Mr. Hightower said. "I feel the museum would be making a more profound and prolonged commitment to blacks by working with them within the museum structure, rather than isolating one as head of a black studies center."

The association's 65th annual convention, which will continue through Thursday, has drawn more than 1,000 members and exhibitors from the three major museum fields—art, history and science. Among its scheduled highlights are an address Wednesday morning by Governor Rockefeller, a banquet this evening at which August Heckscher, New York City's Administrator for Recreation and Cultural Affairs, will speak on "The City and Its Museums," and a banquet tomorrow evening at the Metropolitan Museum to be addressed by Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate subcommittees on Education and on Arts and Humanities.

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About MOMA, The AWC And Political Causes

2/8/70

By HILTON KRAMER

ELSEWHERE on this page today readers will find a letter from representatives of the Art Workers Coalition commenting on my article of Jan. 18. "Do You Believe in the Principle of Museums?" This letter is important, I believe, in two respects—for what it says about museum policy, and for what it fails to say. Because of its importance, I want to deal with some of the issues raised in this letter today.

Before turning to these issues, however, it seems necessary to make one point unmistakably clear. In my opinion, the Art Workers Coalition is, at the present moment, the only professional art group in this country that is addressing itself to the fundamental social and political problems that currently afflict the visual arts both as a profession and as a cultural enterprise. Other professional groups — the art dealers, the art historians, the art critics, the art educationists, the museum directors, the museum memberships, and the older, mostly somnolent organizations of artists—have chosen, for the most part, to remain silent, indifferent, or simply superior in the face of these problems.

*

For better or worse, it has been left to the AWC to bring these problems into the open by the now familiar means of direct confrontation. One may dislike the method. One may recoil from some of the values that are implicit in the AWC program. One may even despair that the problems in question can ever be

these trustees is an economic one. The AWC letter does not persuade me otherwise. The trustees are men of great wealth. Why? Because they are the principal source (direct or indirect) of the museum's funds. That such men are likely to be conservative in their social values; that they are not always disinterested in their decisions, particularly in matters affecting the market value of their own private collections; and that they are known to intervene in areas of museum business where they have no competence—all this, it seems to me, is undeniable as well as distasteful. But does it constitute the politicalization of the museum? I don't believe so.

*

For whatever their sins may be, the trustees have not—so far as I know—obliged the museum to serve a political cause, conservative or otherwise. If, because of "the profits of the Vietnam war," etc., their money is politically "tainted," as the AWC claims, from what untainted sources should the necessary funds be drawn? The Federal Government, which is conducting the war in Vietnam? It may in the end come to that. But given the present conservative temper in Washington, would the substitution of Government money for private patronage strengthen or weaken the museum's conservative tendencies? It's a moot question—and still another on which the AWC offers us no ideas.

Now the AWC does, specifically, call upon the museum to serve political

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solved in a manner altogether satisfactory to all parties concerned. But it would be folly to suppose that the AWC has somehow "created" these problems. I underscore the point because certain private communications that came in after my Jan. 18 article have left me with the impression that some quite intelligent people, people who are otherwise not conspicuously stupid about the world they live in, have satisfied themselves that this is the case. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Like it or not, the AWC has earned our gratitude for bringing these problems to public notice with the proper sense of urgency. At the very least, it has brought us a vivid reminder of the fact that museums are social institutions with social responsibilities. But whatever our debt may be in this respect —and I think it is a large one—it cannot disguise the woeful deficiencies of the AWC's own ideas and proposals.

Today's letter, for example, does not contain a single concrete idea about the way museums should deal with their permanent collections—the problem, after all, with which my own article was concerned. A useful distinction is made between "Kunstmuseum (repository of permanent collection) and Kunsthalle (temporary exhibition hall)," and the AWC proposes that the Museum of Modern Art should simply abandon its role as Kunstmuseum in order to function solely as a Kunsthalle. But this proposal is anything but a solution to the problem. It merely transfers the problem to other physical premises where "the care and housing of an endlessly augmented collection," as the AWC letter puts it, would remain the same vexing responsibility. I can only conclude that, on this particular question, the AWC has no ideas to offer us.

*

The political questions raised by the AWC are another matter. The AWC argues that the Museum of Modern Art is already serving political interests—its letter refers to "the present conservative politicization of the museum." There is a clear (though unstated) suggestion here that political tests have been applied in the selection of the "men now controlling the Museum of Modern Art." Well, I agree that the museum's Board of Trustees is no band of rebels, but I have always assumed that the primary test applied in the selection of causes. What this suggests to me is a society in which every organization, every group, and, ultimately, every individual—no matter how politically disinterested their work may be—will be obliged to serve political causes in order to pursue their own professional interests. It suggests a society totally governed by political tests—in other words, a totalitarian society. Does the AWC really believe that such tests advance the cause of political liberty? I doubt it. But the AWC is marvelously cavalier in ignoring the implications of its own demands.

In saying all this, I don't want to suggest that the museum situation, whether at the Museum of Modern Art or elsewhere, is all sweetness and light. Far from it. Some means must be found to insure the authority and autonomy of curatorial staffs against the importunities of trustees. But to exchange such importunities for outside political pressures is not my idea of a change in the right direction.

*

The AWC letter today concludes by inviting me to present my own "program for the ills of the Museum of Modern Art." This is both flattering and embarrassing, for—dare I confess it?—I have no such program to offer. Were I to frame one, however, its first tenet would be to guarantee the integrity of the museum's permanent collection as well as public access to as much of that collection as the physical premises permit. If anything, I would like to see the museum keep itself at a greater distance from the current art scene than it now does. Its permanent collection is the greatest of its kind in the world. It seems to me to border on the perverse to suggest its liquidation or transfer simply to provide another temporary exhibition hall. The AWC writes, in any case, as if our New York museums were not already engaged in a frantic competition to mount temporary exhibitions of new work.

On another issue raised by the AWC's proposals—the extension of the museum's museological services to communities that now do not enjoy easy access to them—I hope to write in detail on a later occasion. The most interesting program of this sort which I have personally observed is the one which the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston is now engaged in. When I have had the opportunity to study it further, I shall report on it at length.

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Artists Threaten Sit-in at the Modern

TIMES
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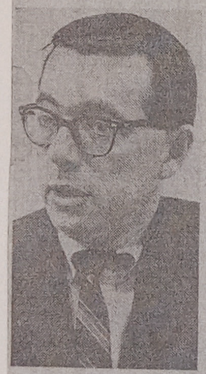
By GRACE GLUECK

The Museum of Modern Art should open an exhibition gallery for the work of black artists. It should pay artists a rental fee for the exhibition of their work. Most important, it should hold a public hearing on the topic "The Museum's Relationship to Artists and to Society."

These proposals are among a list of 13 recently submitted to the museum by a small group of artists and critics, who are demanding sweeping changes in museum policy and practices. Unless the museum gives evidence by the middle of next week of its intention to hold a public hearing, the group plans to stage a sit-in.

The threatened action recalls similar measures taken against Establishment art institutions in Europe last year: the disruption of two big international art shows—the Venice Biennale and Documenta, at Kassel, West Germany—by student and artist groups, and student sit-ins and debates last summer protesting the "obsolescence" of art education at two English schools, the Hornsey and the Guildford Colleges of Art.

Takis Vassilakis, a Greek-born, technologically oriented sculptor who serves as the New York group's "symbolic spokesman," said yesterday that its list of proposals was "the beginning of an international movement against the stagnant policies of art museums all over the world."



The New York Times

Bates Lowry, museum chief

Working at M.I.T.

Mr. Vassilakis, known professionally as Takis, is an artist-in-residence at the Center for Advanced Visual Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He initiated the protest against the Modern Museum on Jan. 3 by removing his "Tele-Sculpture" from the exhibition "The Machine at the End of the Mechanical Age." He was also one of four internationally known artists who removed their work from Documenta last summer on the grounds that the exhibition's administration had behaved "dictatorially."

Yesterday Prof. Gyorgy Kepes, director of the Center for Advanced Visual Studies, and a painter himself, said that he supported "most" of the group's proposals.

A Spokesman for Blacks

Among the other members of the 13-man group are John Perreault and Gregory Battcock, writers on art, and the sculptors Wen-Ying Tsai and Hans Haacke (both of whom were represented in the museum's "Machine" show), Len Lye and Tom Lloyd, a spokesman for black artists. A separate spokesman, who was originally with the group, is Willoughby Sharp, a cinematographer and exhibition organizer.

The group says it has the backing of dissident artists throughout the country and could muster "at least 300 supporters" for a sit-in.



Ed Shull for The New York Times

Takis Vassilakis, spokesman for the protesting artists

In response to these proposals, Bates Lowry, director of the museum, said yesterday that a Special Committee on Artists' Relations was being formed "to explore problems concerning the relationships of artists and museums."

The committee to be made up of people experienced in the needs and practices of both artists and museums, would hold a series of public hearings and make the record of all proceedings available "to anyone interested in consulting or publishing it."

'Extremely Complicated'

Noting that some of the group's proposals were "identical" to those already under discussion at the museum, Mr. Lowry said that some of the problems raised were "extremely complicated." They would not be solved by a "single large public meeting," he said.

"We feel that a series of regularly scheduled committee hearings at which individuals and representatives of various organizations have an uninterrupted opportunity to state their positions in great detail and engage in a dialogue with a special committee charged with this responsibility is a more effective way to gather information on complicated questions."

Last night Takis, appraised of Mr. Lowry's statement, said that he would consult with the artists' group to determine the course of action. The group has favored a large open hearing, he noted, to give "dramatic emphasis" to the needs of artists internationally and "to gather every shade of opinion from the artistic community."

"As a group we are not so pretentious as to say that we represent all artists," he said. "We want to have an honest and democratic representation."

Among the group's other proposals are the extension of the museum's activities into black, Spanish and other communities; the formation of a committee of artists with curatorial responsibilities to arrange exhibitions at the museum; free admission at all times and the establishment of a museum section permanently devoted to showing works of artists without galleries.

A number of the museum's trustees are known to favor several of the group's ideas. "There is a need for a serious dialogue with the artists," said one board member, who indicated that he was in agreement with "some but by no means all" of the proposals.

The artists say they are "flexible" about their demands. "You always ask for more than you can get," noted Takis.

Musical Americana Put on View

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Dissidents Stir Art World

N.Y. TIMES 4.12.69

By GRACE GLUECK

Should the Museum of Modern Art be shut down? Or should artists simply ignore it? Are black artists entitled to special exhibition facilities? And what are some constructive alternatives to the present art world structure?

Questions such as these will be discussed Monday night at a meeting of the Art Workers' Coalition, a group of dissident artists, writers, filmmakers, critics and museum people. The meeting, to be held at Museum, an artists' cooperative exhibition hall at 729 Broadway, is a continuation of a public discussion staged by the group Thursday evening at the School of Visual Arts.

The heated but relatively decorous meeting (two firecrackers went off) lasted four hours and drew a come-and-go audience of 250 people. They heard nearly 50 dissidents speak on topics ranging from the Museum of Modern Art and its contemporary relevance to the life style of wealthy artists.

A number of Negro artists had the floor, and read similar statements denouncing the Museum of Modern Art for its alleged exclusion of black and Puerto Rican artists. They also demanded the establishment of a Martin Luther King Jr. wing for the exhibition of work by such artists.

As spokesmen for the group, Students and Artists United for a Martin Luther King Jr. Wing for Black and Puerto Rican Art at the Museum Art, they also announced that 200 artists, art and university students and secondary school children would meet at the museum tomorrow at noon. There they will conduct a "walking tour" for the purpose of "evaluating the museum in its default of cultural responsibility to the public and the artistic community."

The group had requested use of the museum's auditorium for "briefing purposes." But permission was denied, a museum spokesman said, on the grounds that the museum does not lend its auditorium to any group for such use. Members of the group, unless holding special admission cards, will also be asked to pay the regular admission fee.

"We don't intend to," Tom Lloyd, a Negro artist and one of the group's organizers, said. "Our whole point is that black people cannot afford to pay the museum's admission fee of $1.50. Nor can blacks afford to become members."

Filmmakers were another vocal group at the Thursday evening meeting. Also using the museum as their target, they called for a number of improvements in the Film Department.

Other proposals regarding the museum included one by Lucy Lippard, a critic, that it shift its exhibition function "to a series of smaller museums resembling branch libraries, in loft buildings, or any large simple space—as vital community centers that would provide space for experimental projects in all media."

Sol Lewitt, a sculptor, whose statement was read for him, advocated that the museum limit itself to collecting works no more than 25 years old.

"Older works would be sold off and the proceeds used to maintain a truly modern collection," he suggested.

A number of ideas were also put forth on the artist's role. Bill Gordy, a film editor, rejected the idea of what he called a "darkies wing" at the museum ("How about a wing for women? WASPS over 30? Jewish Heterosexual Magic Realists?").

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, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1970

Art Mailbag

Why MOMA Is Their Target

Continued from Page 23

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 his article, "Do You Believe in The Principle of Museums?" 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 politicalization of art that is now looming as a real possibility."

Such statements reflect the general problem afflicting those who, unwilling to consider seriously 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 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 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.

Kramer ignores the fact that what radical critics are opposed to is the present *conservative* politicalization 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, Kramer means by "the politicalization 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 Kramer's fear of politicization has to do with the poster protesting the Songmy massacre, "And Babies?", recently printed by the AWC and originally cosponsored 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, not even the most ivory tower esthetic institution, can ignore in February, 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 collection, 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 1940'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 1950's and 60's as well as "right now." We would prefer less, and longer-lasting major loan 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 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 Kramer's program for the ills of the Museum of Modern Art of which he is certainly as aware as we are.

FRAZER DOUGHERTY,
HANS HAACKE,
LUCY LIPPARD,
Art Workers' Coalition
New York City

"HARD TO FORGET"

TO THE EDITOR:

As one of the founders of the Art Workers Coalition, I welcome Grace Glueck's recent article and am particularly happy about her detailed account of the Songmy poster. This is a truly important article appearing at an important time for the art world.

I would, however, like to point out that the reaction of the "Modern" Museum to the Coalition's activities has on the whole been nowhere near so sportsmanlike as she has perhaps been informed, nor has the "Modern" Museum in any sense succeeded in "keeping the police off its turf." A few hours before last spring's big demonstration in the 54th Street garden, MOMA's directors had 30 uniformed policemen smuggled into the basement storeroom beneath the museum cafeteria. These police were held at the ready for any disturbance (which due to the restraint of the demonstrators never developed), though at least one museum administrator was later criticized because these police were subject to no clear chain of command as to when to go into action, with all the inherent danger to both demonstrators and works of art this might have caused. Police were again called in following the "blood bath" action, and at least six plain-clothesmen were present inside the "Modern" Museum (in addition to several uniformed policemen outside) during the Coalition's attempt to reach the trustees on January 8. In all cases these police were supplemented by a large contingent of MOMA's own formidable security force.

It is also hard for some members of the Coalition to forget that only a year ago they were branded by the "Modern" as dangerous vandals and that MOMA even went so far as to suggest that a Chinese-American artist was in fact a Maoist agent. Nor are present relations between the AWC and MOMA helped by the Museum's failure to issue a joint statement with the AWC concerning the "free day" on Mondays, although this represents a great success, as Miss Glueck points out quite correctly, for the campaign begun by the Coalition.

ALEX GROSS
New York City

"ERRONEOUS"

TO THE EDITOR:

The assertion in Grace Glueck's article on the clash between the Art Workers Coalition and The Museum of Modern Art over the Songmy massacre poster that "the project [was] almost unanimously endorsed by the museum's staff" is completely erroneous. The staff of The Museum of Modern Art is over 500 persons. Not only did almost none of us have any knowledge of this poster prior to its publication, but our own Department of Public Information had to issue a release on its history for the benefit of our silent majority.

LYNN H. SCHAFRAN,
Project Associate,
Department of Exhibitions,
The Museum of Modern Art
New York City

Miss Glueck replies: The sentence should have read, "staff executive committee." It was the museum's executive staff committee that, with one or two exceptions, "almost unanimously endorsed" the Songmy poster. The executive staff committee consists of the heads of departments at the Museum and does not speak for the staff as a whole.

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Art Mailbag

Why MOMA Is Their Target

To the Editor:

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

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Art

Daumier Under the X-Ray

By JOHN CANADAY

ALMOST three years ago Harvard's Fogg Art Museum acquired a bronze cast of Daumier's bas relief "Les Emigrants," and it occurred to members of the staff that a nice little exhibition of Daumier sculpture would be an appropriate celebration. Things didn't turn out to be all that simple. It soon became evident that the problems of identification and attribution in the field were both formidable and touchy. Nobody likes to be told that his Daumier isn't a Daumier, whether he is a collector who owns just one or an international dealer with access to the sources (whatever they are) that have been supplying Daumier sculptures in surprising quantities recently.

The potential embarrassments were such that a huddle was held at the Fogg to consider the wisdom of abandoning the project. "Yet abandonment would have been pusillanimous," in the words of Agnes Mongan—director of the Fogg as of last week—and the staff emerged from the huddle fired anew with determination to clear up a mess.

The result is an impressive collection of originals, fakes, acknowledged replicas, questionable bits and pieces, anonymous works related in some way to Daumier, and some pertinent works by his contemporaries, as well as prints and drawings by Daumier related to the sculptures. This is the largest exhibition of sculpture by Daumier or attributed to Daumier ever held in this country, but it is not an art exhibition in the usual sense. What it is, is the first critical and comparative study of the subject on a sound scholarly basis, with technical and esthetic aspects linked in an effort to establish just how much is and just how much is not Daumier in the confused mass of sculpture called his. The catalogue, with much additional material, is so far the definitive study. We have to say "so far" since Miss Mongan believes that the exhibition may "flush out some documents," bringing answers to some questions after the show is over.

*

The situation that this exhibition does so much to clean up has been messy indeed. In the first place, not a single bronze by Daumier was cast during his lifetime. (While this was also true of the sculpture of Degas, both the original waxes and the posthumous casts were fully documented.) The only existing works surely from Daumier's hand are the small busts, possibly 34 in number, supposedly made as models for his lithographic caricatures of French politicians. These are in unbaked clay (not in terra cotta as so often said) and, extremely fragile, have chipped, crumbled, cracked, and been restored and re-restored to such an extent that even here Daumier's hand has been partially obliterated. During the preparation of the Fogg show two photographs of one of the busts were received—one with a nose, one without. The nose had fallen off during photography.

Daumier died in 1879. It was not until 50 years later that the busts were cast. For the Fogg exhibition Arthur Beale, the museum's conservator, has arranged a display repeating the entire process of casting, illustrating each stage, beginning with his own clay copy of one of the busts and ending with the raw bronze fresh out of the mold. In its purely objective comment, this demonstration is a rather shocking clarification for the layman who thinks of a cast as a necessarily accurate repetition of an object. The chances the process offers for departure from the original work if the sculptor has no hand in it—particularly in the final hand-executed refinements—come as an unpleasant surprise. And at that, Mr. Beale's original clay remained in better condition than Daumier's. It did not crack or warp in drying, even though coarse clay was used. Daumier is said to have used clay from his own back yard.



Artists And The Problem Of 'Relevance'

By HILTON KRAMER

IN the social turmoil that has overtaken American life in recent years, artists and art institutions have tended to play a negligible role — if, indeed, any role at all. As individuals, of course, a great many artists have taken part in civil rights demonstrations, anti-war activities, and other forms of protest politics, but such political activity has rarely been allowed to penetrate the sanctum of the studio. In this realm, at least, there has been no attempt to revive the attitudes of the nineteen-thirties. There has been nothing like the current movement of playwrights, poets, and prose writers to place political issues at the center of their creative work. The general assumption among painters, sculptors, and artists working in related visual media has been that, so far as explicit political involvement goes, the work of art must remain inviolate.

Museums, too, have tended — correctly, I think — to be wary of political involvement. Though many museums now conduct a variety of community programs — designed, for the most part, to bring art more directly into the lives of those who have heretofore had little acquaintance with it — they regard these programs as ancillary to their principal function, which is to act as a disinterested custodian of the artistic achievements of both the near and the distant past.

When, on rare occasions, artists and museums have deviated from their customary practice and plunged into one or another political task, they have usually turned themselves into amateur journalists. This has been as true of those artists who, upon urgent request, have gotten up some quick visual statement on the war in Vietnam as it was of the Metropolitan Museum's "Harlem on My Mind" exhibition. In both cases, traditional artistic values were judged to be irrelevant, and those of photo-journalism or political caricature were advanced in their stead.

*

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the problem of "relevance," so far as our artists and museums are concerned, had been exhausted by these failpurpose of organizing some kind of protest against the policies of the Museum of Modern Art. In the course of that meeting, a great many patent absurdities were voiced — one had reason to doubt whether certain speakers had ever been inside the museum — yet at least one issue of real importance was put forward repeatedly, and it is an issue that bears serious attention.

This was the issue of the artist's moral and economic status vis-a-vis the institutions that now determine his place on the cultural scene, and indeed, his ability to function as a cultural force. Though the Museum of Modern Art was the immediate target of complaint, the issue obviously went beyond the museum and its policies. What was denounced was the entire social system — not only museums, but galleries, critics, art journals, collectors, the mass media, etc. — that now decisively intervenes between the production of a work of art and its meaningful consumption. What was proposed — albeit incoherently, and with that mixture of naivete, violent rhetoric, and irrationality we have more or less come to expect from such protests — was a way of thinking about the production and consumption of works of art that would radically modify, if not actually displace, currently established practices, with their heavy reliance on big money and false prestige.

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In part, then, this was a plea to liberate art from the entanglements of bureaucracy, commerce, and vested critical interests — a plea to rescue the artistic vocation from the squalid politics of careerism, commercialism, and cultural mandarinism. Though I cannot recall that a single workable idea was advanced in that long and repetitious meeting, I nonetheless took away from it the vivid impression of a moral issue which wiser and more experienced minds had long been content to leave totally unexamined.

Radical proposals are not, however, the sole property of anti-establishment rebels — a fact which the rebels themselves tend to be curiously ignorant of. At the moment, I should say that the most radical program for the future of art was being carried

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made for him by sculptor friends during his lifetime, of "Ratapoil" and one version of "Les Emigrants." The original clays were destroyed in the process of making these casts, but the casts at any rate have not been subject to the deterioration that the clays would have suffered, and the best casts from them would surely have satisfied Daumier himself. The exhibition gives an opportunity to compare the plaster cast of "Ratapoil," Daumier's only full-length free-standing single figurine, with one of the casts made by Siot-Decauville about 1890, one of those made by Rudier about 1925, and one of the Alva reproductions made in 1961 from synthetic material. The illustration on this page is from an X-radiograph of a cast from the Rudier edition, made to determine the method of casting.

All the sculptures have also been subjected to the merciless X-ray of visual inspection and scholarly deduction by Jeanne L. Wasserman, who was in charge of the exhibition, and Joan M. Lukach, who assisted her with special attention to the busts. Since "Ratapoil," "Les Emigrants," and the busts are the only Daumier sculptures mentioned by his contemporaries and friends who carefully listed his work, it is safe to conclude that a large percentage of the mass of work called Daumier's is not Daumier's even if his contemporaries missed an item or two in their inventories. Some pieces bearing the initials "h.d." in good imitation of Daumier's handwriting and some bravely bearing "Daumier" in the body of the terra cotta (which he is not known ever to have used) or bronze are identified, if not in so many words in the catalogue, as forgeries, that is, works by other hands made with the intention to deceive. Certain other pieces, not signed, may be only works by other sculptors that have been misattributed to Daumier either in honest conviction, wishful thinking, or opportunistically.

There are numerous figurines, sculptural repeats of figures in Daumier's lithographs, that have been appearing in increasing quantities. None really bear the stamp of his power; all are slimmer, prettified, even cute. Most damning, they are not mirror-images of the lithographic figures. If Daumier has made them as studies for the lithographs, the printed lithograph and the figurine would have been reverse or mirror images of one another, a technical twist that the makers of these statuettes neglected to consider if their intention was to deceive.

Where, one may begin to wonder, does this confusion of forgeries, misattributions, originals, casts, recasts and casts from casts leave Daumier as a sculptor? It leaves him a very great sculptor—with Degas and Rodin one of the greatest of his century—who looks all the greater now that this exhibition clears away some of the debris. The exhibition continues through June 23 and the catalogue, in soft cover, costs $10 plus 50 cents postage.

X-radiograph of bronze cast of Daumier's "Ratapoil," at Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
Subjected, also, to the merciless X-ray of scholarship

Movable Object, Irresistible Force

By GRACE GLUECK

TEN years ago an irresistible force named June Wayne, painter, print-maker and skilled persuader, met a somewhat movable object, the Ford Foundation. Together, they decided that the neglected art of lithography, technically the most difficult of all fine-printing processes, was due for a revival. With an initial Ford grant (renewed twice and totaling $1,400,000) Miss Wayne established the Tamarind Lithography Workshop in Los Angeles, a nonprofit organization devoted to "the stimulation and preservation of the art of the lithograph."

The purpose of Tamarind, named simply for the street it faces, is twofold: first, to train master lithographers, a profession almost nonexistent in this country, and secondly to acquaint contemporary artists with the rewards of a medium dynamically explored in the past by such artists as Goya, Daumier, Manet, Redon, Toulouse-Lautrec, Matisse and Picasso. Lithography's complexities require close collaboration between artist and printer, and artists invited to Tamarind (on fellowships, as are printer-trainees) are chosen not only to provide a variety of esthetic approaches but also for the technical problems their work may present.

Now, 152 artists (including guests), 67 printers, and 2,500 lithograph editions later, the Museum of Modern Art is honoring the influential workshop with a show—"Tamarind: Homage to Lithography." Chosen by William S. Lieberman and Virginia Allen of the Museum's Department of Drawings and Prints, it presents a selection of 150 lithographs produced at Tamarind in the nine years of its existence. The gamut runs from black-and-white crayon drawing traditional to the medium, such as Philip Guston's 1963 print, "Untitled," to Kenneth Price's elaborate, multiplate color extravaganza of 1968, "Japanese Tree Frog Cup."

True to Tamarind's reputation, there are noteworthy (if not terribly innovative) technical achievements here. Hard-edge imagery, once thought to be anathema to lithography, is delineated with razor sharpness in the work of Nicholas Krushenick, George Sugarman, and Jesse Reichek, for instance, with clear, bright colors evenly sustained. The same fastidiousness informs the sizzling color juxtapositions of Op artist Henry Pearson and the delicately balanced "squares" of Josef Albers (represented here by a suite of six prints).

Besides the aforementioned print by Ken Price, a gem, more advanced technical explorations include Paul Brach's beautifully produced "Silver Series," a cluster of silver coin dots overlaid by a crackle screen (that works better for this viewer than his mono-image paintings); Billy Al Bengston's "Le Roi Dracula," a witty print whose shades of black are so close-valued that they barely permit the eye to coax a jet flower image from a midnight ground; and three "Quantum Suite" prints by Garo Antreasian, Tamarind's first master printer, notable for their controlled gradations of metallic color.

In art styles, Tamarind's output covers a far-flung range. Abstract Expressionism, for instance, is represented by Esteban Vicente and Guston (each contributing a black-and-white drawing that might have been done by the same hand); Op, by Henry Pearson and the resonating colors of Leon Polk Smith; Pop in the shape of "Big Henry," James Stromboine's—well, florid — tribute to Henry Geldzahler; Minimal by the serial forms of John McLaughlin.

*

Styles and modes aside, the show points up an interesting difference in the way sculptors and painters translate their imagery into the lithographic medium. While painters naturally tend to transfer their themes directly from the canvas, sculptors seem to ditch their 3-D forms for drawings or color (with the exception of Louise Nevelson, whose lithograph series relating to her sculpture "Walls" is, to this viewer, a failure). Two engaging examples here are the cartoony renderings by the whimsical sculptor in wood, H. C. Westermann, and Gabriel Kohn's beautiful color collage, "Untitled," both totally unrelated to their volumetric work.

Unfortunately, the esthetic quality of the prints in this show — badly selected, it is true—by no means lives up to their technical execution. Many of them, in fact, seem far less exciting than oeuvre by the same creators in more accustomed media. One accountable factor may be Tamarind's educational emphasis on training printers rather than accommodating artists. Another may be that for a number of the artists Tamarind represented a first involvement with the medium.

Is Tamarind here to stay? The Ford Foundation grant ends in 1970, and Miss Wayne has not yet announced her future plans. Whatever Tamarind has lacked in the way of esthetic and technological innovation, however, it must be acknowledged, as Miss Allen points out in the catalogue introduction, that the workshop has "profoundly influenced the quality and ethics of lithography in establishing new standards and enforcing old ones in danger of being abandoned."

What's more, it has seeded the country with a number of trained printers. Many are teaching in university art departments, and a few, such as Irwin Hollander and Ken Tyler, have established their own lithography workshops. Tyler, in fact, may be said to be Tamarind's most successful alumnus. Proprietor of the Gemini G.E.L. Workshop in Los Angeles (unlike Tamarind, a commercial venture), he has gone far beyond the conservative Tamarind approach in expanding the technical dimensions of the medium, proving that sophisticated technology, put to the service of the hand-produced print, does not diminish but can enhance its quality as a multiple object.

Meanwhile, as a case for the continued purist pursuit of traditional lithography, as practiced at Tamarind, convincingly demonstrated in this show? I'm not altogether sure. Having helped to make so much possible, Tamarind's mission may be over.



"Untitled," by Nicholas Kruschenick, a print in the "Tamarind: Homage to Lithography" show at the Museum of Modern Art
For the neglected art of lithography, some healthy stimulation

are being raised in other terms—terms that go beyond parochial questions of subject-matter in order to redefine the artist's fundamental relation to society. And they are being raised in quite different quarters — both within the establishment and outside it — and in the name of quite different values.

At a considerable distance from the establishment, for example, is the group of artists, critics, filmmakers, and other interested parties that calls itself the Art Workers Coalition. A few weeks ago I sat through the four-hour open meeting which this group conducted at the School of Visual Arts — a meeting called for the

out within the establishment itself. I refer to the ambitious project initiated by Maurice Tuchman, the senior curator of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which calls for the collaboration of well-known artists and big-time industry. This "Art and Technology" project, which is already under way on the West Coast promises, if successful, to alter the terms of the artistic vocation to a much greater extent than anything put forward by the Art Workers Coalition — but in precisely the opposite direction.

The artists working under Mr. Tuchman's plan — and they include many illustrious names — are able to avail themselves of a vast amount of technical information, expert advice, physical assistance, and actual materials. No doubt this will lead to certain artistic conceptions that could otherwise never be realized. But it is always an illusion to assume that such advantages are to be gained without cost, and what remains to be calculated is precisely the moral price of this enterprise, which, in effect, marks the first major collaboration of advanced art and the West Coast military-industrial establishment. It is odd to think of certain artists who have entered into this collaboration after having contributed to various anti-war exhibitions.

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But what I think the most interesting, if not the most radical, aspect of this project is the new role which the museum has assumed in conceiving it. For Mr. Tuchman has, on this occasion, acted as a kind of broker between the artist and the industrial establishment, promoting a conception of the work of art that would, if carried to its logical conclusion, take the whole concept of art outside the museum. Mr. Tuchman has — in principle if not in fact — moved to place the artist in a position of utter dependency upon the industrial process, and thus upon the network of social values which supports that process.

Compared to such a dependency, the artist's relation to the museum is relatively innocent and autonomous, despite the fears and accusations voiced by the Art Workers Coalition. Mr. Tuchman, too, is concerned about "relevance" — the relevance of art to a culture increasingly dominated by complex technology — and instead of conceiving of the museum as a countervailing force in such a culture, he clearly believes the museum should lend its prestige to adjusting art to the inevitable.

Compared to the future which this promises, the present system, with all its moral failings, seems almost pastoral in its old-fashioned freedoms. The prospect before us may, in fact, be far more grim than the Art Workers Coalition has yet imagined.

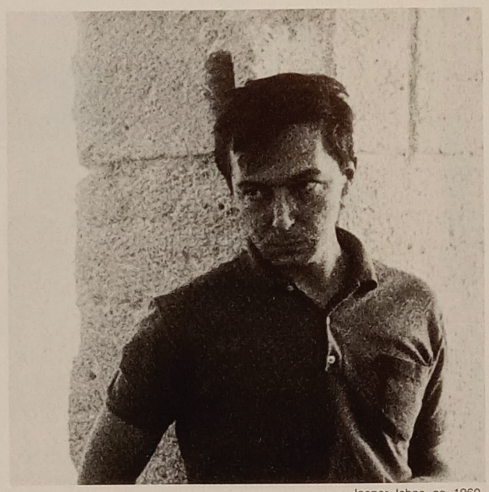
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THE AESTHETIC OF INDIFFERENCE



Robert Rauschenberg with his *White Painting*, 1951.



Jasper Johns, ca. 1960.



Merce Cunningham in *Suite for Five*, 1956.



John Cage, c. 1950.

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Moira Roth

Two novels set the parameters of national feeling in the McCarthy period (1950–1954) and provide an index to an important new aesthetic impulse in American art during those years. In *One Lonely Night* (1951), Mickey Spillane's hero, Mike Hammer, tells a friend: "I killed more people tonight than I have fingers on my hands. I shot them in cold blood and enjoyed every minute of it. I pumped slugs into the nastiest bunch of bastards you ever saw and here I am calmer than I've ever been and happy too. They were Commies, Lee. They were red sons-of-bitches who should have died long ago."

Holden Caulfield, the dispirited hero of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), sees his life as a pointless game against hopeless odds. One night, unable to sleep, he thinks of committing suicide: "I felt like jumping out the window. Probably would've done it, too, if I'd been sure somebody'd cover me up as soon as I landed. I didn't want a bunch of stupid rubbernecks looking at me when I was all gory."

These attitudes—bigoted conviction and embittered passivity—expressed by Spillane's Mike Hammer and Salinger's Holden Caulfield were in many ways characteristic of America's state of mind during the McCarthy period, when those with right-wing commitments pursued their goals with a blind and ardent zeal that was often channeled into the cause of anti-Communism. Others of a more liberal and self-critical persuasion found themselves paralyzed when called upon to act on their convictions, and this paralysis frequently appeared as indifference. This essay will deal with a number of artists—Duchamp, Cage, Cunningham, Rauschenberg and Johns—who made a positive cult of indifference and whose ideology, as a group, coalesced during the McCarthy period. This group espoused a new aesthetic that I shall call here the Aesthetic of Indifference.[1]

The 1950s were assaulted with literature, popular culture and art describing feelings of indifference, neutrality and passivity in the world of the Cold War: and the Aesthetic of Indifference should be seen in this psychological ambience. A sociological study of this pervasive sense of "alienation" (which itself became a catch-all term of the period) was undertaken by David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950). In film, one of the most famous contemporary portraits of alienation was the James Dean character in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), whose impotent defiance of an indifferent world led to his inevitable defeat. The early 1950s also witnessed Beat literature and lifestyle, the curious Beat blend of passion and indifference which was crystallized in Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (1956) and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957). In *The Dharma Bums* (1959), Kerouac describes the choice for himself and his generation: "The only alternative to sleeping out, hopping freights, and doing what I wanted, I saw in a vision would be just to sit with a hundred other patients in front of a nice television set in a madhouse where we could be 'supervised.' " But in the early 1950s, a growing number of intellectuals consciously espoused indifference as a virtue, as the correct way to deal with an uncertain world.

A language of neutrality developed during the McCarthy period. Marshall McLuhan's *The Mechanical Bride,* published in 1951, the same year as the Spillane novel, was an early announcement of this new tone of indifference. *The Mechanical Bride,* a study in advertising manipulations, was written in a cool rather than indignant manner. McLuhan likened his nonjudgmental stance to that of the imperiled sailor in Poe's "The Maelstrom," a figure who saved himself by studying a whirlpool's movements with "amusement," estimating the velocity of objects as they were drawn downward. McLuhan specifies: "It is in the same spirit that this book is offered as amusement. Many who are accustomed to the note of moral indignation will mistake this amusement for mere indifference." In this statement McLuhan defended himself against anticipated criticism that he lacked moral indignation, but more to the point here was his choice of the words "amusement" and "mere indifference." They signalled a new language of neutrality, one cultivated by artists as well as writers.

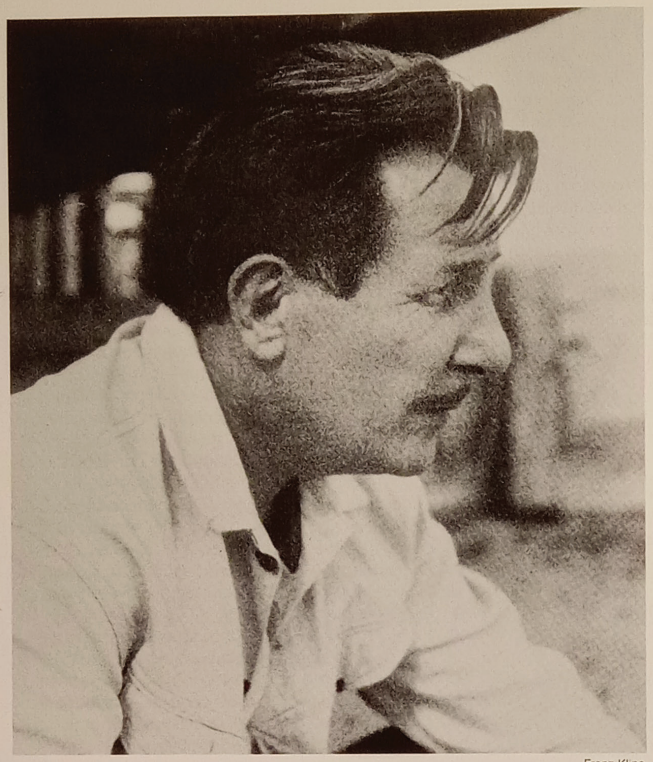
The key exponents of the Aesthetic of Indifference were Duchamp, Cage, Cunningham, Rauschenberg and Johns. That these artists loosely came together, intellectually and psychologically, in terms of a shared aesthetic during and just after the McCarthy period has received scant attention by art historians and critics. It is time to see their art and artistic stances in the Cold-War context in order, first, to understand the art itself, and second, to explain, at least in part, the bizarre disjunction of art and politics that emerged in the 1960s. The radical political movements of the 1960s had virtually no expression in the art of that time, an art that was strangely appealing and acceptable to the very forces—governmental, corporate and middle-class powers—that these radical movements opposed. A major cause of this discrepancy between art and politics was no doubt the



Army counsel Joseph N. Welch (left) and Sen. Joseph McCarthy at the McCarthy-Army hearings, June 9, 1954 (photo: UPI).

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Franz Kline



Marcel Duchamp as Rrose Sélavy

enormous impact of the Aesthetic of Indifference on art of the 1960s.

The Aesthetic of Indifference appeared in the early works of Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, and in the Cage/Cunningham music and theatre experiments: all used neutrality as their springboard. These artists made and talked about an art characterized by tones of neutrality, passivity, irony and, often, negation. "Amusement" and "indifference" became positive values. Parallels and precedents for these ideas were found in Dada and Duchamp. Indeed, Marcel Duchamp was a pivotal figure in the aesthetic as well as being, of course, one of its main historical sources. The indifferent aesthetic emerged in the early 1950s, and had three fairly distinct phases: its cool and ironic beginnings in Cage, Rauschenberg and Cunningham (with Duchamp as a major role model); its more poignant expression in the muted anxiety of early Johns; and its weakened final phase in the bland indifference of Pop and Minimal art.

By the late 1940s, in the arena of Truman's presidency, one political and moral crisis had followed another: the Iron Curtain divided Europe, Mainland China was won by the Communists in 1949, and a few months later a nuclear device was detonated in the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1950 the Korean War started. These events, and others, caused America to devote more and more of her energy and power to countering this specter of a Communist world takeover. Abroad, the Truman Policy, the Marshall Plan and the Policy of Containment were attempts to prevent, or at least curtail, Communist power. At home, anti-Communism dominated politics. In 1947, Truman established a new loyalty program to weed out "traitors" and security-risk employees from the federal government. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) became the stage for endless investigations of loyalty cases, and in 1950 Senator McCarthy, embarking on the first of his charges concerning Communist infiltration of the American government, himself became a terrifying force in political life. Spillane's *One Lonely Night* is a fictitious document of the virulent hatreds of the time. Mike Hammer killed more Communists in a single night than he could count on the fingers of his hands.In life, this did not happen in the United States, but what did happen was that friendships and reputations were killed off, and people were irreparably damaged by the psychological anguish and economic realities of the blacklist.

The Aesthetic of Indifference emerged at a time when, as a fallout of anti-Communist rage, American modernism was being attacked from all sides. The staccato and relentless rhythm of these attacks is felt in *Modern Artists in America* (1951), edited by Robert Motherwell and Ad Reinhardt. In the section on "Art in the World of Events . . . 1946–1950," the editors chronicle a flood of indictments against American modernism, including the tirades of Congressman Dondero (in the 1949 *Congressional Record*) with such titles as "Communist Art in Government Hospitals," and "Communism in the Heart of American Art—What To Do About It?"[2] Some artists fought back against these assaults on modernism. For many, including most of the Abstract Expressionists (accustomed to WPA and political activity among artists in the 1930s), the current political paralysis was painful, and they tried to mitigate it by passionate investments in art "politics." Merely to defend the right to make modern art—given that modernism was under attack from so many quarters—became one of the main "political" causes for artists and critics during this period.[3]

Characteristically, however, the artists of the Aesthetic of Indifference were neither involved in real politics nor concerned about a vigorous defense of modernism. As McCarthyism erupted in the world around them, the "Indifferent" group viewed politics (meaning political bureaucracy and governmental strategies) with distance and irony. If Duchamp himself was later to describe politics as "a stupid activity which leads to nothing,"[4] Cage once envisioned a future in which "economics and politics as we knew

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Kirk Douglas as van Gogh in *Lust for Life*, 1957 (Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive)

them would disappear and people would be in a position, so to speak, to live anarchistically."[5] Because of this seemingly indifferent attitude to politics, such artists themselves—and most of their critics—have never acknowledged the influence of the historical context in which this aesthetic was formed, namely the Cold-War and McCarthy period. Such aloofness from political events of the time was part of these artists' general indifference, but now, today, a quarter of a century later, it is a part of their self-image which should be questioned. I do not see how one could paint the American flag in 1954 and claim, as Johns did, that it was merely inspired by a dream. Perhaps so, but dreams are ultimately connected with reality. Nineteen fifty-four was, in reality, a year of hysterical patriotism. Johns could not have been insensitive to this.

In its deliberately apolitical and generally neutral stance, the Aesthetic of Indifference represented a new breed of artist, an alternative to the politically concerned Abstract Expressionists.[6] George Segal, a young artist at this time, has described his memory of the typical Abstract Expressionist: heavy-set appearance with drooping moustache and corduroy jacket. As Segal reported, "If you had an education, you had to hide it and sound like a New York cab driver."[7] Segal recalled the contrast when he first encountered Duchamp and Cage, who struck him as models for a new "slender, cerebral, philosophical, iconoclastic type"; physically and intellectually very different from the Abstract-Expressionist one. For Segal and others, the new artist had a dandylike elegance of body build and a manner which delighted in cool and elegant plays of the mind: playfulness indeed was a key characteristic in most of this new breed of artist.

The changes in appearance and temperament were also expressed by differences in sexual mores. The *machismo* attitudes proudly displayed by the Abstract Expressionists were now countered by the homosexuality and bisexuality permissible and even common among the new aesthetic group. Soon after World War I, Duchamp had created a female alter ego, Rrose Sélavy, who frequently signed his work and for whose photograph he posed in drag. For the Abstract Expressionists, such a creation must have been one more confirmation of Duchamp's disturbing artistic tastes. But for the Aesthetic of Indifference, Rrose Sélavy might well have served as a symbol of new sexual and artistic freedoms and flexibilities.

John Cage and Marcel Duchamp provided the keystones for ideas for the new Aesthetic.[8] Meeting first in the early 1940s, the American inventor-composer and the European *fin-de-siècle* dandy formed a gradual friendship, close but characteristically casual and private in tone, unlike the stormy Cedar Bar friendships of the Abstract Expressionists. If Duchamp was the fulcrum of this new movement, Cage was the lever. The artists involved in the aesthetic gravitated toward one another during the 1950s, although they never existed as a group in the public sense of the Abstract Expressionist movement. The chronology is well known, but I will briefly recapitulate certain fundamental facts. Cage and Merce Cunningham had begun work together in the mid-'40s. Cunningham, together with a number of students in about 1949, formed his new dance company with Cage as the company's musical director. The company became clearly delineated in 1953 during a stay at Black Mountain College (the site of the Cage proto-"happening" in 1952 in which Cunningham and Rauschenberg had taken part), and in 1954 Rauschenberg was appointed the costume and set designer for the ensemble. Cage, already a close friend of Cunningham's, quickly formed friendships with Rauschenberg and Johns, who had met one another in 1955 when they had studios in the same building in New York, and were to see one another almost daily for several years. Duchamp, also in the city in the 1950s, was a familiar figure on the art scene, courted and admired. Not only was Duchamp accessible to American artists but his art was also, for the first time, publicly accessible in 1954 when the Philadelphia Museum of Art displayed its huge Arensberg Collection of his work.

The group began to define its own artistic history and precedents. The most supportive movement of the past was, of course, Dada, a movement which had been activated by feelings of moral anger, political impotency and nihilism engendered by the First World War. Originally Dada was a bitter art, but its abrupt and dramatic revival in the McCarthy 1950s saw it commercialized and tamed.[9] It was in Dada that the Aesthetic of Indifference found its precedents, and it was in Duchamp that its artists sensed their greatest resonance. Duchamp had always been "indifferent" and was thus a perfect older model for the new Aesthetic: the "cool" artist who had made the Readymades, those objects so frequently acclaimed as being "indifferent" to aesthetic values and to the artist's personal "touch" and taste.

How Duchamp publicly projected himself during this period comes through clearly in a description by Winthrop Sargeant. Collecting material for the 1952 *Life* magazine lead article, "Dada's Daddy," Sargeant visited Duchamp in his New York studio and met "a wiry, genial grey-eyed Frenchman . . . [who] can talk interestingly by the hour, allowing an amazing stream of aesthetic, philosophical and purely Dada ideas to filter through his detached, ironic mind." Although secretly at work on the *Etant donnés*, Duchamp presented himself as an elderly, brilliant, but detached artist who produced only occasional works.

Duchamp's detachment was reflected in both his personality and his art, and this detachment, which had irritated most of the Abstract Expressionists, now delighted the new Indifferent group. Duchamp's personal "cool" was noted with approval as the cool of a gracious but remote, affable but ironic, old European artist. All this made him a very different type from the anguished and romantic Abstract Expressionist. For the first time, with Duchamp and Cage as guides,

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American artists began to leave the romantic studio-attic. Many younger artists drew back from the Van Gogh stereotype of the romantic artist—a contemporary portrait of which was readily found in the 1957 film *Lust for Life,* where Van Gogh (played by Kirk Douglas) was seen furiously painting against a darkening crow-covered sky. However, in vanguard circles, the new model was Segal's "slender and cerebral" cool artist.

For Duchamp and the new aesthetic generally, intelligence was as highly esteemed as coolness. *Cool intelligence* was the ideal. Unlike most of the Abstract Expressionists, whom Segal has described as publicly denying their education and, by implication, their intelligence, most of the new group loved to air theirs. Coolness and intelligence were the hallmarks of the Aesthetic of Indifference and, as a concomitant, there was among the new group a widespread proclaimed disdain for traditional artistic manual skills and the artist's personal "touch." Again, Duchamp was a major model. The taste for readymade materials and images, and often impersonal techniques, brilliantly maneuvered by Duchamp, Cage, Rauschenberg and Johns, spread generally among artists involved in "assemblage" and "junk" sculpture and "happenings." The vestiges of this indifference toward the artist's "personal" touch can be seen in the automated techniques which produced much of Pop and Minimalism.

Finally, Duchamp played a central role in this period in terms of the huge shift in the relationship and attitude of American artists toward their European artistic heritage. The Aesthetic of Indifference was formed during the period of profound realignments of world power. The global strength of American political and economic power supported the rising power and prestige of American art in the world.[10] In the 1940s and 1950s, American artists and critics increasingly acclaimed the superiority of American art in the contemporary art world: they particularly congratulated themselves on surpassing the French as modernists.[11] Living proof of this was the "capture" of a famous French artist, Duchamp. Duchamp had been part of the early history of American modernism through his role in New York Dada and the fact that it was America and not Europe which had originally created his fame (the *Nude*'s success in the Armory Show of 1913) and had sustained it. Not only did America house Duchamp's art, but it now housed the artist himself, for since the outbreak of World War II, Duchamp had chosen New York rather than Europe as his home. Other Europeans left America immediately after the war. Not so Duchamp, and this must have had its appeal, consciously or not, in the 1950s. Still lingeringly caught up in the need for European approval, American artists also resented this need. With Duchamp, they could have their cake and eat it, too. Obdurately European in manner and taste, Duchamp was a perfect European cult-hero for this period: part of America's artistic past, he was also part confirmation of its present.

Duchamp was the European role model for many of the new notions about the artist: the cool, intelligent artist who disdained manual skills in favor of skillful plays of the mind. But Duchamp was old in 1950—over 60—and seemingly not producing much in the way of current art.[12] The actual artistic production of the Aesthetic of Indifference came rather from younger American artists.

In 1950, John Cage made a major leap of imagination by entering into his experiments with chance. It was a period of much excitement and exchange between Cage himself, David Tudor and Morton Feldman. But, although the Zen-like chance operations of Cage were exciting to invent, they also exhibited an extreme passivity: a decision not to assert but rather to let happen what may. One of the most famous of these early passive chance pieces by Cage was his *4′ 33″*. First performed in 1952, Cage's "empty" composition lasted 4 minutes and 33 seconds, its only sounds being incidental noises from a restless audience and the outside environment. A similar theme of emptiness and passivity resided in Rauschenberg's white paintings of a year or so earlier. The large all-white canvases contained no image except the fleeting shadows of passers-by. The paintings had perplexed the public who saw them for the first time in 1953, a year after Cage's *4′ 33″* had perplexed *its* first audience. In 1953, Cage wrote a description of these all-white paintings. His haikulike response constitutes a poetic manifesto of the Aesthetic of Indifference:

> To whom
> No subject
> No image
> No taste
> No object
> No beauty
> No message
> No talent
> No technique (no why)
> No idea
> No intention
> No art
> No feeling . . .[13]

The American public at large had been presented in that year of the silent, empty white paintings with the violent sounds and gestures of Joe McCarthy's performance in his new role as Chairman of the Government Operations Committee, following the victory of Eisenhower and the emergence of a Republican majority in the Senate. In the spring of 1953, McCarthy's henchmen Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine made a lightning censorship tour of the American overseas information program in Europe. Their search for "subversive" Communist literature led to a monstrous "cleaning up" of libraries and, literally, to bookburning. In the political ambience of hysterical anti-Communism and right-wing action, the Cage poem reads like an unconscious tragic acknowledgment of total paralysis. The Aesthetic of Indifference had literally gone "blank." There are no messages, no feelings and no ideas. Only emptiness.

Cage would object to such an interpretation. He would, I believe, argue that the denial of conventional meaning was in order to allow a different sort of meaning to emerge: that he was interested in the *4′ 33″* piece, for example, in getting the audience to make music/sound rather than merely listen passively. But the negativity and passivity of such works cannot be disassociated from the historical moment at which they were produced.

The chance experiments of Cage, the undramatic movements and narratives of the Cunningham company, the white paintings of Rauschenberg and the artistic stance of Duchamp had been neutral aesthetic moves in a singularly fervent period of American political history. In the work of Jasper Johns, however, the Aesthetic entered its second and more poignant phase.

Nineteen fifty-three was the year when Rauschenberg executed his symbolic negation of Abstract Expressionism, the *Erased de Kooning Drawing.* In the following year, Johns performed an act of far more radical erasure and denial (of American patriotism rather than an American art movement) when he executed the first of his flat and neutral reproductions of the American flag. This was the year when McCarthy, pushing his luck too far, had taken on the Army as a new domain of investigations, and, goaded into a showdown, the Army confronted McCarthy head-on. The American public was bombarded with uninterrupted media coverage of these Army-McCarthy hearings, including the famous television presentation in which the Army's attorney, Joseph Welch, was seen by millions of viewers scoring victory after victory over the beleaguered and finally defeated McCarthy. Even if we assume that Johns had had no television set, had read no newspapers and had had no politically concerned friends, he would still surely have sniffed the hysteria of prevailing patriotic sentiments. Johns took the American flag and reduced it from a potentially emotional symbol to a passive, flat, neutral object: an amazing act by an amazing artist. No longer merely all-white paintings or an "empty" musical score, but now the main symbol of American beliefs during this Cold War period was itself presented through the Aesthetic of Indifference.

Between 1954 and 1956, Johns established most of his basic iconography: flags and targets; concealed or painted-over objects; manipulations of language; and the numbers and alphabet series. Critics (and Johns himself in his rare public utterances) talk about the work in abstract terms of sustained ambiguities, concealment and waiting, disintegration, and of the artist's play with the viewer's expectations and perceptions. Johns is almost always presented as a wonderful, wily and convoluted imagination which operates outside the confines and influences of history. No so: Johns was brought up in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and his work reflects these years.

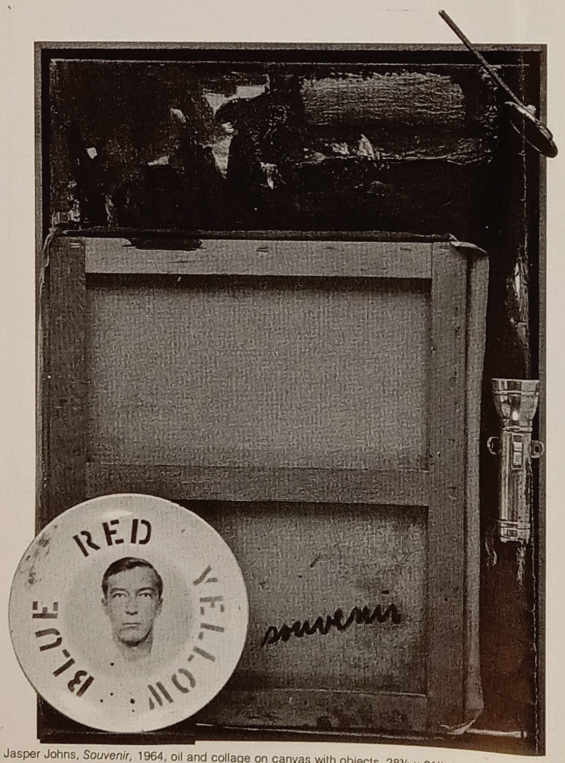
Jasper Johns was born in 1930. He grew up, intellectually and emotionally, in the atmosphere of the Cold War. He was 17 when the CIA was created, in 1947; 18 when Hiss was accused of perjury; 20 when McCarthy rose to power; 21 when the Rosenbergs were put on trial (Spillane's *One Lonely Night* was a best-seller that year); and 24 when McCarthy's power collapsed. Johns was a product of just this epoch of paranoia and anger. His upbringing was thus very different from that of older artists in the Aesthetic of Indifference—Cage, who came from a background of the Depression, and Duchamp, whose early work was created in the ambience of late Symbolism and the

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Jasper Johns, *Flag*, 1958, encaustic on canvas, 41¼ x 60¾".



Jasper Johns, *Souvenir*, 1964, oil and collage on canvas with objects, 28¾ x 21".

Cubist revolution of the 1900s.

More than any other artist, Johns incorporated in his early art the Cold War and the McCarthy era preoccupations and moods. This is not to imply that Johns did this consciously and single-mindedly, or that there is one simplistic reading for any particular image, but what emerges out of a collective examination of his work is a dense concentration of metaphors dealing with spying, conspiracy, secrecy and concealment, misleading information, coded messages and clues. These were the very subjects of newspaper headlines of the period, reiterated on the radio and shown on television; and these were the meat and meaning of the early work of Johns. His early work is a warehouse of Cold-War metaphors.

Certain images in the works were relentlessly examined, as if to force a disclosure of meaning: especially the way the newspaper collage surfaces and the numbers and alphabet series suggest secret ciphering. Indeed, Johns himself wrote in 1964, "The 'spy' is a different person. . . . The spy must be ready to 'move,' must be aware of his entrances and exits. . . . The spy designs himself to be overlooked."[14]

The year before Johns' earliest preserved work was the year of the execution of the Rosenbergs, a couple accused of transmitting information about the atomic bomb to the Russians. The mood of that 1953 summer has been described by Sylvia Plath in *The Bell Jar*. The novel begins abruptly: "It was a queer, sultry summer, the summer they electrocuted the Rosenbergs, and I didn't know what I was doing in New York. I'm stupid about executions. The idea of being electrocuted makes me sick, and that's all there was to read about in the papers . . . I kept hearing about the Rosenbergs over the radio and at the office till I couldn't get them out of my mind . . . I knew something was wrong with me that summer, because all I could think about was the Rosenbergs . . ."

The Rosenberg execution occurred the year Johns was 23, the year before he painted his first American flag. He and millions of other Americans in their early 20s had been brought up in the atmosphere of such espionage and loyalty trials: the "Hollywood Ten" trial in 1947, the trial of 11 top-ranking Communist Party officials of 1948, the Judith Coplan scandal in 1949 and the Alger Hiss versus Whittaker Chambers two-year trial of 1948-50. It was a period of endless Communist witchhunts.

In these trials, witnesses and evidence were relentlessly and monotonously questioned. There was always a sense of the trial proceedings being on the brink of revelation: the next examination of witness and/or object will break the code and expose the traitor. Certain objects became endowed with fascinating even magical meaning for the American public: the Jell-O box in the Rosenberg case and the Pumpkin Papers and Woodstock Typewriter in the Hiss trial. It is from this world of investigations of witness and object that Johns, almost certainly unconsciously, drew the substance of his early art. In the world of early Johns, his objects and ciphers invite investigation of their meaning. If the book (the painted-over *Book*,1957) were legible, we might know what is going on. If the drawn-down *Shade*, 1959, could be raised, we might see what is going on. But,

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like the Pumpkin Papers and the Woodstock Typewriter, Johns' objects tantalize but do not prove. These early works of Johns suggest a perpetual and obsessive interrogation of evidence. Unlike the verdicts of guilt in real-life Cold-War trials, however, we are never sure of the conclusion, or of whether Johns himself knows the verdict, or, indeed, whether the trial is really over.

In his interrogation of language, numbers and objects, Johns' manner is neutral and indifferent. Yet there are undercurrents of poignancy. Max Kozloff relates that Johns had made a special visit while in England to see Leonardo's "Deluge" drawings. When asked by Kozloff why he had sought out these late Leonardo drawings, drawings of a catastrophe-ridden and eroded world, Johns replied: "Because here was a man depicting the end of the world and his hand was not trembling." It is impossible to think of any other figure sharing in the Indifferent aesthetic giving exactly such an answer, or, indeed, seeking out such images.

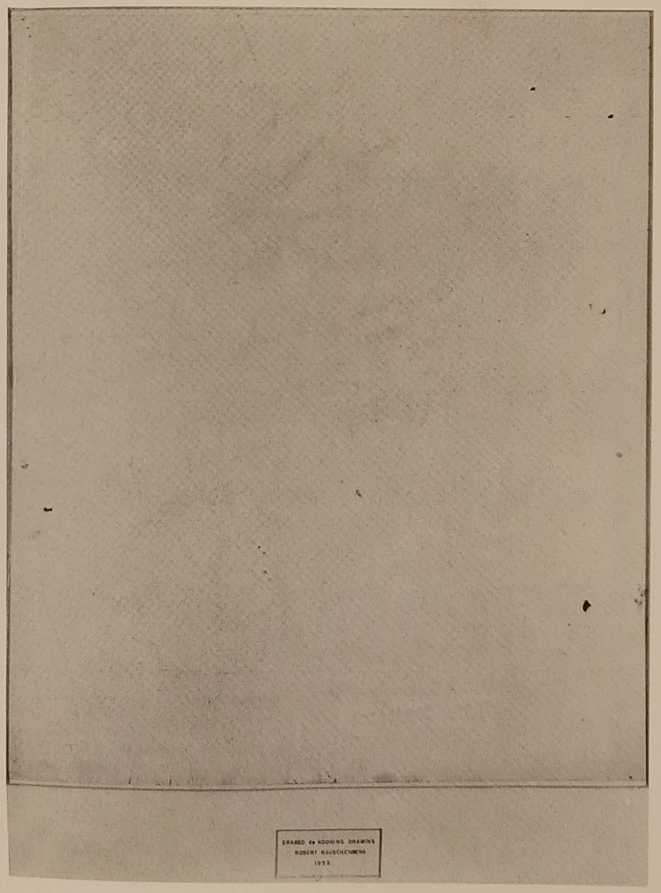
Again and again in the 1950s, Johns took emotion-laden material and ran it through a filter of indifference. Like Leonardo, his hand did not tremble as he depicted a world of distintegration and blankness. At the heart of these early works—and it is this that makes them singularly moving, for me, in spite of their neutral surface—is a pull between the search for meaning and a denial of meaning. Johns chose subjects to paint that revolved around the basic tools of meaning: tools of light, measurement and language by which the world is conventionally apprehended and described. We need light literally to see the world we live in, but the flashlights and lightbulbs (themselves artificial light sources) in Johns are often inoperative: they are embedded in metal or broken (*Lightbulb I* and *Lightbulb II,* 1958). Numbers are tools of measurement for establishing one's spatial position and the size of objects in the world, but Johns' numbers are useless. His monotonous repetition of numbers and alphabets (such as *Gray Alphabets,* 1956, or *Gray Numbers,* 1958) recalls the mutterings of a senile person who once learned in early childhood lessons of counting and memorizing the alphabet, and who vaguely remembers that further lessons made sense of such exercises, but cannot recall anything more.

Johns never develops language meaningfully. The print is usually illegible in his encaustic-covered newspaper collage surfaces. The alphabet is left intact. Words dangle as objects from the canvas. Language is used pedantically to describe what we already know: for example, the objects labeled as "broom," "stretcher" and "cup" in *Fool's House.* Image and word contradict one another: in *False Start,* 1959, the surface is ridden with colors and their names, but the word for one color is written in another color and placed above yet a third color. For all Johns' employment of language, we can never "read" his messages with accuracy and trust.

The energy and despairing hope that Johns had invested in his search for a means to decipher the world began to fail. Before finally giving up and moving to safer ground, Johns embarked upon a series of works in the early 1960s, where the sense of search was heightened. *Land's End,* 1963, is a sober account of color-words and a circle device is abruptly pierced by an upraised rigid arm: it is an anguished gesture. In *Study For Skin I,* 1962, a faint image of hands and face (Johns' own) are pressed against the paper as if peering out in order to prepare for an escape. In *Souvenir,* 1964, Johns himself again stares out with a Buster Keaton-like deadpan countenance. Light is reflected toward him obliquely from a flashlight shining onto an angled mirror. The work gives the disquieting impression of an interrogation of a person already brainwashed, from whom no further information will be drawn.

Johns shifted into safer, and ultimately less inventive areas in the 1960s, devoting much of his time to printmaking. Most of the other figures participating in the Indifferent aesthetic made similar moves, announcing yet another stage in the evolution of indifference in art. Rauschenberg produced elegant silk-screen paintings and prints and expensive limited editions of objects. Duchamp's publicly known works in the 1960s were trivial—for example, his etchings of the *Large Glass.* Cage continued interesting, but less fresh, experiments with elaborate chance scores. In the meantime, the Aesthetic of Indifference had become a major influence on the art movements of the 1960s. Reading-matter for a whole generation of artists was provided by Cage and Duchamp. In 1960, Duchamp's *Green Box* notes (to accompany the *Large Glass*) were translated into English for the first time, and the full range of Duchamp's ingenious and devious mind could be studied, while in 1959 the first monograph on Duchamp (by Robert Lebel) had been published. Cage's *Silence* was a beguiling and playful account of many of the Indifferent aesthetic's strategies; the book quickly became a poetic guide for younger artists when it first appeared in 1961.

The Aesthetic of Indifference was a dominant model for much of Pop, and less directly, it had a strong influence on Minimalism (with Johns as a major mediator). For Cage, Johns and Rauschenberg to have chosen, consciously or not, to advocate indifference and neutrality as a psychological and intellectual way out of the impasse of the McCarthy period was perhaps not a courageous stance but, in retrospect, was understandable in view of the paralyzing effect that the early 1950s had on so many



Robert Rauschenberg, *Erased de Kooning Drawing,* 1953, 19 x 14½".

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Merce Cunningham's *Summerspace*, 1958, with sets by Robert Rauschenberg.

intellectuals. But Pop and Minimal art developed in a time of far more radical hopes. The period in which these movements evolved was that of sit-ins and freedom rides, then marches, and anti-Vietnam demonstrations. Yet the artistic counterparts to such events were, for the most part, infrequent and bland: Roy Lichtenstein's comic-book war images and Andy Warhol's race-riot canvases. Usually Pop avoided such loaded material and dealt rather with a Middle American world of affluence and materialism, a world of physical comforts and pleasures whose values were formed by advertising and business. Understandably, these works were immediately a big success with Middle America and sold well and easily. What Minimalism did was similar: corporate-industry materials, clean-cut industrial design and scale were employed to produce large abstract sculpture and paintings which fitted in well with the decor and scale of corporate and public buildings. This art was being produced during the time of high hopes and angers: radicalism was a threat to Middle America, but "radical" avant-garde art was not, for there was virtually no politically radical art in the 1960s.

Yet many of the Pop and Minimal artists were actually sympathetic to radical causes, such as anti-war, or Black Panther support demonstrations and the like. Why did they forget this when they went back to their studios to make art? Why this denial of commitment and feeling in art? Much of this bizarre discrepancy between life and art acts can be ascribed to the legacy of the Aesthetic of Indifference, together with Formalist theories (which were stamped with their own brand of "indifference"). Clement Greenberg and his crew hated the Cage/Duchamp contingency but Formalism and the Aesthetic of Indifference together provided a powerfully persuasive counsel to artists of the 1960s: play it cool. Formalist critics advocated a "cool" making and reading of art: the focus on shape, color and relationship to space. As the Aesthetic of Indifference had been paralyzed by the politics of the McCarthy period, now the sensibilities of many artists of the 1960s were paralyzed by the neutral strategies prescribed by the Aesthetic of Indifference. Formalism, at least, only advocated coolness of form, but the Aesthetic of Indifference was a more potent and dangerous model for the 1960s; it advocated neutrality of feeling and denial of commitment in a period that otherwise might have produced an art of passion and commitment. ■

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I am deeply indebted to Joe and Wanda Corn, and to Nan Rosenthal for sustained intellectual friendship and for their close and highly constructive critical reading of this manuscript. The period I have written about is the period of my adult life: I came to the United States (from England) during the McCarthy period. I lived in Berkeley during the 1960s and wrote a dissertation there on Duchamp and America. I have had a long, intense and ambivalent history of attitudes toward Duchamp, Cage, Rauschenberg and Johns. Writing this essay has been a way of trying to write a partial intellectual autobiography, an accounting of my interest in these artists.

1. The whole issue of a positive cult of neutrality (and the often accompanying Dandyism and Camp) in the 1950s is complex. I have singled out Duchamp, Cage, Cunningham, Rauschenberg and Johns but they did not exist, obviously, in a vacuum either socially or intellectually. Contiguous, among others, was the poetic world of Frank O'Hara and John Ashbery and their friends. O'Hara and Ashbery had met in 1949 and were lifelong friends until O'Hara's death in 1966. Both were closely allied with artists and both espoused ideas and artistic stances that moved in parallel directions with those of the Aesthetic of Indifference. Indeed, in 1949 O'Hara had written a poem "Homage to Rrose Sélavy." Among O'Hara's many friends, who included Johns and Cunningham, was Larry Rivers, an enigmatic figure of this period whom one would certainly examine if one were to widen the study of neutrality experiments in the early 1950s. Rivers' *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1953) was a curious ironic homage to the founder of the American Republic done in the year in which McCarthy's attack on the democracy of the American Republic was at its most virulent. Other figures appropriate to a broader study of the evolution of a "cool" aesthetic during the 1950s would be Ad Reinhardt, Barnett Newman and Robert Motherwell. I would like to thank David Antin here for a helpful discussion concerning the O'Hara/Ashbery circle affinities with the Aesthetic, and also for referring me to an excellent study: *Frank O'Hara: Poet Among Painters* by Marjorie Perloff (1977). Another study germane to these issues is Susan Sontag's essay "Notes on 'Camp'."
2. Dondero's diatribes were ominously paralleled by ones from within the ranks of modern art. In a 1952 anthology entitled *America In Crisis* (edited by Daniel Aaron), Meyer Schapiro, the art historian and critic, contributed a warning essay about these serious assaults on modernism, pointing out that not only bigots such as Dondero, but supposedly sophisticated leaders of the art establishment, as, for example, the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Francis Henry Taylor, had condemned modern art as "meaningless" and "pornographic." A survey of the impact of these attacks is in "The Suppression of Art in the McCarthy period," by William Hauptman, *Artforum*, October 1973.
3. In 1952, Harold Rosenberg wrote his famous defense of Abstract Expressionism in the article "The American Action Painters." This article was astutely characterized by Barbara Rose as "the first clear indication of a displacement of political ideas into the arena of aesthetics, . . . writing about art, Rosenberg still resorts on occasion to the vocabulary and political tones that he used as a political writer in the thirties." ("Problems of Criticism IV: The Politics of Art, Part I," *Artforum*, February 1968)
4. Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 1971, page 103.
5. Richard Kostelanetz, "Conversation with John Cage," in Kostelanetz (ed.), *John Cage*, 1970, page 8.
6. By 1950, the Abstract Expressionists were well established, both in terms of maturity of their work and public recognition of them as a group. For the early 1950s, they were certainly the most publicly visible and recognized of American avant-garde visual artists and were the stereotype of what a contemporary artist was like.
7. These quotations from George Segal come from an unpublished taped interview I did with him on Feburary 26, 1973.
8. John Cage has discussed his impressions of Duchamp at length in "John Cage on Marcel Duchamp," in *Art in America*, November–December 1973 (an interview by myself and William Roth). Duchamp when asked by an interviewer why his name was often associated with Cage, replied "We're great buddies. He comes and plays chess every week. . . . If people choose to associate us it's because we have a spiritual empathy, and a similar way of looking at things." ("Passport No. G255300," an interview with Duchamp by Otto Hahn, *Art and Artists*, July 1966).
9. Spearheading the revival of Dada in the McCarthy period was Robert Motherwell's anthology, *Dada Painters and Poets* (1951), and the relevant Sidney Janis shows between 1950 and 1953: "Challenge and Defy," 1950; "1913," 1951; and "Dada 1916-1923," 1953, the largest show of Dada in America since 1937. Also the Rose Fried gallery put on two shows relating to Duchamp during this period.
10. A seminal article on the subject, and one that has greatly influenced me generally, is Max Kozloff's "American Painting During the Cold War," *Artforum*, May 1973.
11. In 1953, at the height of the Cold War and McCarthyism, Clement Greenberg participated in a symposium on "Is the French Avant-Garde Over-Rated?" and answered with a decided yes (the essay was reprinted in his *Art and Culture*, 1961). Even more emphatic was the Stuart Davis article in the 1959 *Arts Yearbook*. The whole issue was devoted significantly to the comparison of New York and Paris contemporary art and in it Davis wrote triumphantly of the superiority of New York art.
12. Duchamp's *Etant donnés* (1946-1966) was made in secrecy, and its creation only revealed in 1969 although there are veiled references to it in minor post-1946 works. What was publicly known of Duchamp's current production were such works as the small erotic sculpture pieces (*Female Fig Leaf*, 1950, *Objet-Dard* 1951 and *Wedge of Chastity*, 1954) and other occasional pieces.
13. Reprinted in Kostelanetz, *Cage*, p. 111, a statement originally distributed in 1953 by the Stable Gallery which had put on the first show of the Rauschenberg all-white paintings that year.
14. This passage from one of Johns' notebooks was first published in 1965, and reprinted in Richard S. Field's catalogue of Jasper Johns prints (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1970). Field analyzes this passage concerning a spy and a watchman, and reads it in terms of "rich allegories on the concept of the spectator (critic) and artist." True enough, it probably does refer to that, but I think what is also significant about the passage is that it shows Cold War imagery, unconsciously, still coloring the thinking of Johns in the 1960s. I would like to acknowledge here a marvellously fruitful discussion with Joe Corn concerning the Cold War implications of Johns' work. The recent study by Joan Carpenter ("The Infra-Iconography of Jasper Johns," *Art Journal*, Spring 1977) suggests interesting possibilities in extending the "reading" of Johns through the use of infrared photographs.

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ROBERT PINCUS-WITTEN SPRING 1977

#3

31 September, 1970. The late spring through the summer of 1970 was marked by radicalized agitation in the art world which, if it in no way affected the American credo, still provoked a sense of potency and euphoria among us. Utopian "artist-worker coalitions" and "Emergency Cultural Governments" were established, animated by such goals as the exposure of the cultural hollowness and ethical duplicity inherent in the American participation and support of national and international cultural events such as the Venice Biennale and C.I.A. and U.S.I.A. sponsored travelling exhibitions and lecture tours. Art schools were transformed into propaganda centers and liberal arts colleges programmed courses and sessions aimed at consciousness-raising, agitation, and canvassing. Private galleries as well as public museums were actually closed for short periods or pressured to close as a gesture of solidarity with the artists' broad range of social and political ideas.

These results often were at odds with the outraged feelings of thwarted ambition and personal advancement which many individual artists, particularly those who came from long-disenfranchised quarters, felt they were sacrificing in joining communal agitation. The solemnity of manner and tone associated with art mandarinism—although many art mandarins were in fact organizers and agitators—was temporarily put aside in favor of a directness and candor not divorced from ploys of anti-intellectualism and instinctuality, that is, gambits imitative of the strategies favored by up-front black militants throughout the 1960s whose successful tactics were adopted in varying degrees by women, Indians, Chicanos, the poor, the gay, the old, the ecologists, and so forth.

The Spring Offensive in the Arts in 1970 verged on the anarchic—although the arena remained small. For a few weeks the atmosphere was galvanizing but by the summer's end, the illusion of potency had faded. The heroes of the cultural insurgency were charged by their peers with revisionism; they came to be viewed as 'class traitors', poseurs, 'ego-trippers', and hollow rhetoricians. The art world shrank from its idealistic bout with politics abandoning its insurgency to the kamikaze radical of short-term views. The Revolution had turned upon itself while the real enemy remained untouched. Flame and agitation were replaced by dissatisfaction, jealousy and spleen. Without having changed the fabric of American life, a certain detached low profile private view emerged in the art world from this debâcle: to have little and desire less; to be scarcely visible, and ignored; to despise, ever more strongly, the rank consumerism and petty values of the rigid right and the doctrinaire left. For a while, it was felt that the production of any kind of art—conventional easel painting especially—was in itself an achievement. Ambitions, apart from mere activity, were the designs of rank adventurers.

By degrees the art world resumed familiar patterns—concerts, auctions, exhibitions were organized in the name of peace and in support of hitherto disenfranchised quarters; but no political terrain was won. The episode represented a coming of age, a 'reality testing' that confirmed nothing more than that which had been self-evident: artists, acting in concert to remedy the political

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It became, one might say, a kind of consolation to people that there were artists who thought as they did, that is, who were against certain social elements. They had what one might call a static reaction. They were *pleased* with works that showed cops clubbing workers.

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climate in American life, fail because the core premise of capitalist democracy runs counter current to the nature of the loneliness of art. American prerogatives will not be shifted because of artist agitation, since it is an agitation that proselytizes only to the converted. The laboring and middle classes in America, if even remotely aware of artists, view them as precious and inane beings. To imagine that a worker would ever join artists is simply impractical utopianism; and more, to imagine that the artist himself is a 'worker' is delusionary and self-congratulatory.

12 October 1970. Last Tuesday a highly sympathetic *Artforum* lunch. Except for Philip and me, all were newcomers, very bright and attractive. Kasha Linville, who assists Klaus Kertess at Bykert Gallery [an historical gallery, defunct in 1976], is fine-boned and cameo-like with a knot of long hair pulled to the side. Kenneth Baker, young and bearded, who earns his keep in Boston writing for the *Monitor*, out of things but absorbedly quiet, picking it all up. [This was naive of me. Baker had been informed by the Harvard School of critics headed by Fried, then seconded by Rosalind Krauss, who had been one of Baker's instructors, and through whose good offices Baker came to the magazine.] Joe Masheck, a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia—very competent, who has already written commendably for *Studio International*—expert in turn-of-the-century issues (say, Samuel Bing) and with a cooler take on the situation.

Unbuttoned by our drinks we sat around like ribbon clerk commissars plotting after the Five-&-Dime shut-down for the day. I brought up the general inertia and despair following the summer's exertions. Philip continues to see the radicalization as a positive force. He points to the artists' use of revolutionary acts—which Masheck and I disputed as revolutionary since they were accompanied by no transfer of power from one class to another. Philip refuses to admit that the artists who wish to amalgamate into groups or communities in the manner of separatist blacks are in fact opting away from American life. He sees such actions positively while I feel that such communities, were they even feasible, if ever proving any threat to mainstream Americanism, would be pressured or liquidated out of existence. Masheck agreed. Philip held that the primary aim of such a 'withdrawal' or secession, would be for artists to gain understanding of their work from fellow artists, the best possible thing an artist could hope for. Economics would be played down: an occasional sale to a fellow artist in order to survive; the reversion of work in cases of resale or death; no galleries, no dealers. Philip convinced that an artist concerned with money is doomed as he can no longer face up to the organic formal evolution of his work. His off-the-wall example: Frank Sinatra who had to hate Janis Joplin because his economics were threatened by hers. Joplin died a few days ago from an overdose of drugs.

A curious moral dilemma. A transcript of a long monologue by Ad Reinhardt was published in the October issue. In his transcript Reinhardt refers to Greenberg, characterizing him as a dealer and a promoter, critical achievements

onist, capitalism, and that violence could be eliminated if the capitalist source of violence were removed.

It became, one might say, a kind of consolation to people that there were artists who thought as they did, that is, who were against certain social elements. They had what one might call a static reaction. They were *pleased* with works that showed cops clubbing workers.

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Rosenberg on violence in art and other matters

by Harold Rosenberg

Last November we asked Harold Rosenberg, eminent commentator on cultural history and art critic to discuss the question of violence, artists' protests, and related matters. Excerpts from his cogent, provocative remarks appear here, drawn by the editor of arts/canada from a taped conversation with Jan van der Marck, Director of Chicago's Museum of Contemporary Art and artist Bernard Aptekar on the occasion of the opening of the Museum's "Violence in Recent American Art" show.

history of violence in American art

Violence in American art goes back a long way and appears mostly in popular art forms, particularly farce; in vaudeville acts, burlesque shows (with pratfalls and people socking each other with rubber bladders) and in various kinds of mechanical situations like Rube Goldberg cartoons. This is an old tradition in America. And it also goes back to the Mississippi boatman and American frontier humour which was a humour of violence. Until the Thirties violence was not a theme in American painting, although it was important in literature and the film.

art of the 30s

The art of the Thirties was largely ideological even where violence was shown. For example, there were many paintings done, not always by prominent painters, which showed police breaking up picket lines, for example, or extreme hunger and the dust bowl, things of that sort – but not isolated acts of violence. Art was related to social questions and examples of human misery. A Jack Levine painting of the Thirties showed a gangster's funeral attended by judges, capitalists, guys in high hats, so that the finger was pointed at capitalist society; but today violence is being treated in a kind of abstract manner.

absorption of horror

In the Thirties there were attempts to create anti-war sentiments by showing horrible photographs of the First World War – people hung on barbed wire, mutilated bodies in trenches. At that time Kenneth Burke made the point that when you repeatedly display images of human torture and destruction, you simply inure people to horror. They become accustomed to the idea that we are living in a violent society. During the Depression, there was the idea that a desirable society had a specific antagonist, capitalism, and that violence could be eliminated if the capitalist source of violence were removed.

It became, one might say, a kind of consolation to people that there were artists who thought as they did, that is, who were against certain social elements. They had what one might call a static reaction. They were *pleased* with works that showed cops clubbing workers.

illusions of power

An artist may start with the illusion that he is going to change things through his painting. But he will learn through bitter experience that art will not change anything. In the resulting disillusion he may cease his protest. This is exactly what the history of art since the Thirties has been. The artist should understand from the start that political art is not a practical undertaking. An artist does not protest because he thinks that his protest is going to work, but because as a human being it is essential for him to make a statement about things that are humanly intolerable. He can spend his whole life doing it. In other words, one does a thing because it's right and not because it is going to be effective.

the question of effectiveness

During World War II, the Office of War Information hired a great many artists, including people like Ben Shahn and other anti-Nazi artists, to make posters. They made beautiful posters on such themes as security of war information – "Button your lip," "Join the WACS" and similar projects. After the first year, however, the government decided that the artists' mode of production didn't fit the needs and tempo of the war. The Office of War Information brought in art directors and artists who introduced Madison Avenue techniques of advertising and public relations. Soon there was a flow of effective advertising art. The fine artists were eliminated; and some got sore. I was in the building where they had been working when they were suddenly told that their services were no longer required. They departed, leaving a Coca Cola type poster with the slogan "the war that refreshes." The only recourse of the artists was to make an ironical statement that from then on the public would hear about the war from Madison Avenue. Sad enough, yet I don't think anyone in his right mind would question that to communicate a message to a hundred and eighty million people, the techniques of Madison Avenue are more effective than the technique of an individual artist making a beautiful poster. The real problem of the artist in regard to politics is that when he satisfies himself he tends to think that somehow this will change the world. This mystique regarding the power of art may be justified in relation to the history of mankind and the general direction of culture. But as a guide in practical situations it can only lead to frustration.

forms of protest

There tend to be three categories of works in political protest exhibitions, such as the *Protest and Hope* show at the New School in New York last year, or the recent Feigen Gallery show in Chicago. The present show [at the Museum of Contemporary Art] is much purer in that it is exclusively involved with the theme of violence. One category consists of works by artists whose aesthetic conceptions have nothing to do with politics, but who as individuals want to express solidarity with the particular gesture of protest, so they participate by contributing paintings that they did ten years ago or two years ago or yesterday. The works themselves have nothing to do with the theme of the project. There were such works by Motherwell, Frank Stella and others at the Feigen exhibition, works that said nothing about the subject.

Another category consists of artists who try to adapt their usual mode of work to the theme; for example there was an anti-Daley artist at Feigen's who imprinted his penis on the canvas. I don't know how he works normally, but obviously he wished to suggest in this instance that someone was a prick. Rosenquist made a kind of statement through cutting up a portrait of Mayor Daley into ribbons. There were others who presented remote symbolic association, like Bill Copley, who had a woman's ass turned toward the spectator which could mean a lot of things.

Barnett Newman made a work for the occasion that represented the third category: an artist who tries to use his formal vocabulary to make a new statement about the specific situation. This is the most rare. Oldenburg managed it with the drawing of a detached head and with his red hydrants that were directly identified with Chicago. There were works in Oldenburg's style saying something about violence in Chicago. We are talking about the problem of style vis à vis the problem of statement – the political statement. This was the major problem of art in the Thirties. Can you make an advanced stylistic and personal work and at the same time make an objective statement, so that by your

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style you add something to what has already been said by others? In other words, how do you get art and politics together? Barnett Newman at the Feigen show found a way of using his style to say something that could only be said by him. Now isn't that the ideal way for an artist to make a protest? It is a legitimate work of art and it also makes a statement. Robert Indiana, with his kind of emblematic art, simply has to change the words. He can put anything he wants into it. But he does not augment his statement formally. So it becomes a slogan in a design. I notice that most of the art in this [Contemporary Museum] show is based on pop art. This was also true of the show at the New School. Pop is the one mode today that seems best fitted for political statements because it is so closely related to the mass media.

of fools and truth

An artist should be a person who has deep feelings about what's going on in the world. But he also should realise that his role is not to be a political force; that, on the contrary, like the poet, he is related to the medieval clown. He makes free statements, says things that nobody else perhaps would dare to say, and does it with the force that comes from control of his medium. But he should not expect anything to happen as a result. I mean when a clown in a Shakespearean play, for example, makes philosophical remarks that go to the heart of the matter, he does not expect the other characters to turn around and begin to function in a different way. He says what he sees because his role as a clown is to be a representative of the truth. Whoever represents the truth is a clown, intruding into the serious business of mankind. Maybe in the history of the angels it is different, but in the history of mankind the truth-teller is a clown. Now if the artist is sufficiently modest he will continue to make true statements in order to satisfy himself as an individual; and in this way he becomes an example of what an individual is. But the minute he begins to develop the illusion of power, that he is somehow able to affect events, he is doomed to disappointment, and consequently, will likely find himself ten years later supporting the status quo. Those artists who had notions that they were going to do something big (like some of the Dadaists, some of the Surrealists), that they were going to change the world, have not changed the world and have tended also not to change themselves. But by being sufficiently modest to say "I see something and I'm going to reveal it and keep on revealing it, because that's the kind of person I am – besides I don't amount to anything anyway" – from this point of view an artist can make great contributions to human consciousness. Of course, no one knows whether contributing to human consciousness is worth anything. In the nineteenth century it was widely believed that if humanity became sufficiently conscious, it would produce a marvellous society, a wonderful organization of human relations and so on. Today nobody gives a damn whether an idea is valid or not. People have become completely involved in what they consider to be their interests.

art and politics

Pro or con, the artist must be concerned with politics – I have been insisting on this for twenty years. If art does not engage itself in the struggles of the time, it becomes insignificant and shrinks the figure of the artist. But what these struggles are is by no means always the issues that are most popular.

necessary tensions

At the present time the position of the artist as a critic of society is the essential foundation for the continuation of art. There is a dramatic issue involved for modern modes of art have developed apart from the need to conceive historical events in visual terms. Yet it is absolutely essential that artists should be concerned with such events and with such questions as violence and the question of the future of society, that is with social problems. The more the artist is aware of the difficulty of making an effective statement within his essentially private medium, the better chance there is that something valid will emerge. The artist has to be a private person. There is no question about that in my mind, and to that extent his social effectiveness is, as noted before, dubious. If an artist today wants to be effective he must be a part of a larger institutional effort, whether it be an advertising agency or a propaganda agency. This is what the Communists want, this is what the Catholic Church wants, this is what the U.S. Government wants. That is, they want the artist to be the aggrandiser of a power which is.

the artist as rebel

The artist as a rebel is in the tradition of free art. This has been brought out over and over again in modern literature – in Thomas Mann, James Joyce, Tolstoy, Kafka or Sartre. The artist is the representative of man insofar as he is an individual. He therefore objects to violence. Or perhaps he celebrates violence. It does not make any difference in his status as artist. For if he celebrates violence, it is as a form of release, and this, too, is the function of the artist. He represents freedom to be a dog, to be a destructive element.

political role of the artist

He celebrates the fact that one is a human individual. Individuality is the basis of the meaning of art in our time. This principle has aesthetic connotations. An aesthetic can be derived from the fact that an artist who wishes to celebrate his inner independence will tend to favour a certain concept of line, colour, composition. For example, as Baudelaire said, straight lines represent an over-intellectualized approach and are antagonistic to individuality.

In sum, any aesthetic debate and any debate about art and politics must finally take up the question of the reality of the artist and his total idea as a unique human being. One human being, not *the* human being but *a* human being – in his autonomy and his absolute rights. I think that is the ultimate political message of the artist. Whether he is eager to be socially effective, or whether he favours art for art's sake, ultimately this insistence on self is his politics. "I will to say what I want to say." And that is a very strong political position. But of course when I say politics I mean culture.

the artist as failure

I think the best artists of the twentieth century are great failures. They can't do what they set out to do, like De Kooning – or to go back to the nineteenth century, like Melville, who said "I wrote this book, *Moby Dick*, to be a great failure." Siqueiros does not believe he is a failure. He imagines he is a hero. I think he is a failure.

the future of art

The implications of this [*Violence in Recent American Art*] exhibition are, I think, important for art. I believe that art is going to become more and more political. I feel that it is the only valid direction. There is no place else for it to go, for it has already begun to turn into decoration and entertainment, as we know. I'm not interested in the technological involvement of art. It makes the artist into one factor in a system far too powerful for him. For art, technology is a form of liquidation.

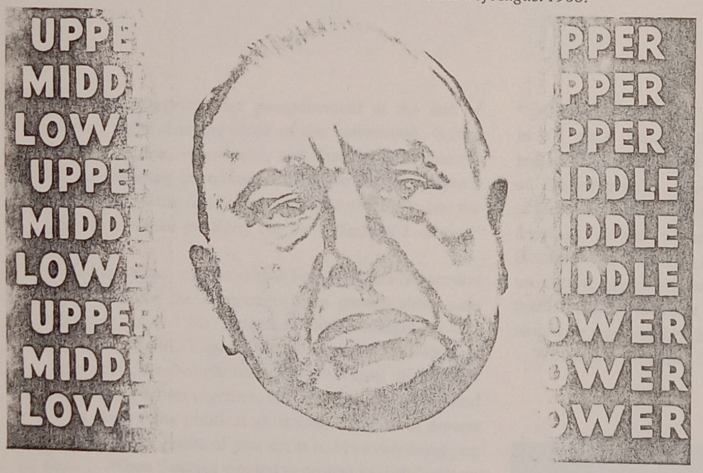
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"The pattern, so far, had been that artists' political actions followed other leftist anti-bomb, anti-war, anti-establishment protests across the country. Once again, in 1969, there were dramatic examples for the artists to follow." The second article in a continuing series on art and politics retraces the course of artists' activism from the 1968 Democratic Convention, through the formation of Museum and the Studio Museum in Harlem, and into the first battles of the Art Workers Coalition.

James Rosenquist's poster for "Richard J. Daley," the protest show organized by the Feigen Gallery, Chicago, after the Democratic Convention of August 1968.



The Politicalization of the Avant-Garde, II

THERESE SCHWARTZ

In August 1968, about two hundred thousand young people arrived in Chicago to demonstrate against the Democratic Party's Nominating Convention then in session. Determined to show their disillusion and anger at what they termed the "hypocrisy and deceit" of the convened politicians, they massed in the streets and parks of the city. Disobeying police orders to disperse, the young protestors were clubbed, kicked and tear-gassed in what an investigating commission later termed a "police riot." Since the city was filled with network TV cameras, the occasion was televised for the whole nation to see. The scenes on TV could not be denied or minimized, and the country was shocked. The mayor of Chicago, Richard J. Daley, was solidly behind the police, defending his position on TV. Delegates at the convention who were honestly outraged, drew his mockery and scorn.

Among the TV viewers were two artists who were prompted to action—Hedda Sterne, the New York artist and Jesse Reichek, the painter and art-history professor at Berkeley. Telephoning artists all over the country, they proposed an art boycott of Chicago to run until 1970, the year Daley's term as mayor would end. On September 5, the Sterne and Reichek boycott statement appeared in a story in the *New York Times:* "The recent actions by Chicago police, directed and supported by Mayor Daley and not repudiated by the people of Chicago, have marked that city as being unfit for membership in a civilized society. As painters and sculptors we know that art cannot exist where repression and brutality are tolerated. As citizens we have seen art lose its value when police power is allowed to go unchallenged. Silence condones: We have not forgotten Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. We express our disgust and revulsion by refusing to make available any of our work for exhibition in Chicago, at public or private galleries, for the next two years. It is our hope that by then the people of Chicago will have discarded their present political leadership and will have restored that city as a fitting environment for our work."

The boycott was soon supported by about forty artists, among them Adolph Gottlieb, Barnett Newman, Robert Motherwell, Philip Guston, Mark Rothko, James Rosenquist, Roy Lichtenstein, Saul Steinberg, Tony Smith, Balcomb Greene, Elsworth Kelly, Kenneth Noland and Larry Poons.

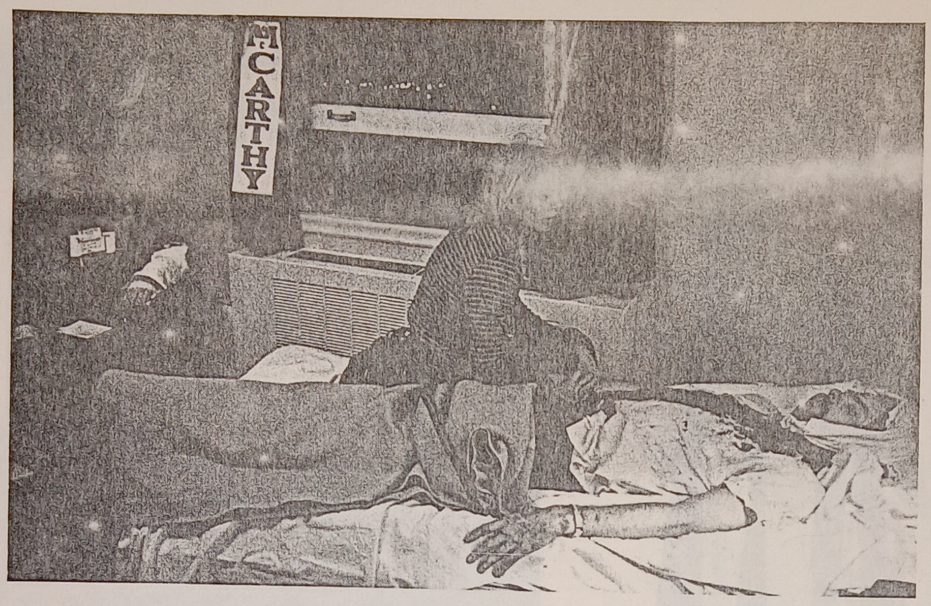
On September 5, the same day the boycott statement appeared in the *Times*, Claes Oldenburg, whose show was scheduled for October at Richard Feigen's Chicago Gallery, wrote to Feigen asking that his show be postponed, saying that ". . . in Chicago, I like so many others ran head-on into the model American police state. I was tossed to the ground by six swearing troopers who kicked and clubbed me and called me a Communist . . . A gentle one-man show about pleasure seems a bit obscene in the present context . . ."

The postponement left a blank in the exhibition program of the gallery, so Feigen proposed a group protest show instead. It would be called "Richard J. Daley" and would, as far as possible, contain new protest-propaganda art. However, the boycott had already been endorsed by many artists, as they told Feigen when he invited them to show. Although Oldenburg's decision to postpone his show was not mentioned in any newspaper accounts before September 5, Feigen says that

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MARCH/APRIL
1972

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Left. After the encounter between demonstrators and Chicago police at the Democratic Convention. Photo, Burton Berinsky. Below: Police enforcing the 11:00 P.M. curfew in Lincoln Park on August 25, 1968. UPI Telephoto.

Oldenburg suggested the postponement at the end of August, right after the close of the convention, before the boycott was announced, and that the September 5 letter suggesting postponement was written at Feigen's own request—the reason being that he wished to use the letter as advance publicity for the "Richard J. Daley" show.

Hedda Sterne, who says that Feigen called her several times to argue the advantages of a protest show over a boycott, says: "Mr. Feigen no doubt thought his idea was better; I didn't agree. When we acted by proposing the boycott, we thought for one time at least this boycott would bring artists together, and it lasted about a second . . . I don't think political art is ever effective as protest . . . if you are political you act it out in everything you do. . . . When Courbet wanted to protest he didn't put up pictures, he went out and tore them down. I did this boycott action for the health of my soul, and I am glad, for in most of my life I am not political, I do my work. But I have found that after a political act that you believe in, your work goes better."

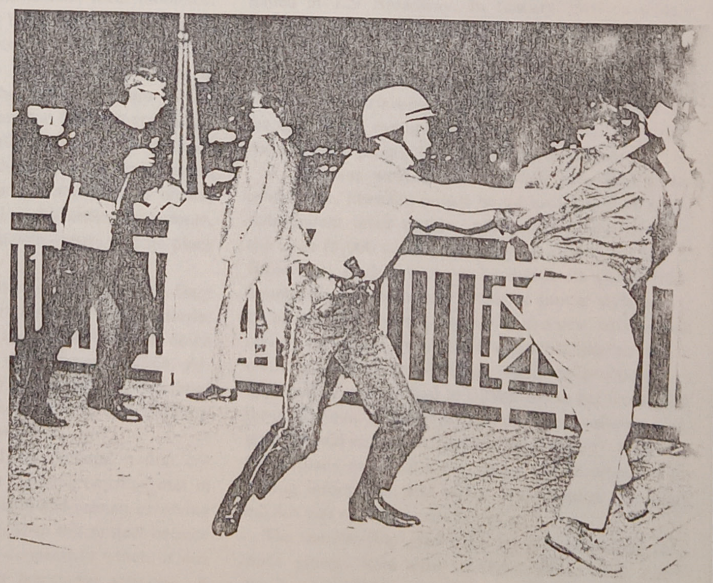
In Chicago, two museum directors also disagreed with the boycott; Charles Cunningham of the Art Institute telegrammed Reichek to say the boycott was "grossly unfair," and in a letter to the *Times* Jan van der Marck of the Museum of Contemporary Art wrote, "Rather than be silent, let's make art an ally in combatting inertia, hostility and moral confusion."

In mid-September, Feigen came to New York to talk to more artists, to collect work and to argue the greater importance of the protest show over the boycott. More than fifty artists, many of whom had signed the boycott statement, agreed to exhibit. Some, like Barnett Newman, began work on a specific protest piece for the show—the point being that a specifically designed protest work would have more effect than a work in the artist's usual style (a concept harking back to the "politically useful art" tried out in the thirties). Newman's piece was a barbed-wire grid, splattered with red paint; Rosenquist's portrait of the mayor was made of slashed plastic ribbon; Oldenburg showed drawings of Daley's head on a platter and also red-painted hydrocal fireplugs. Some of the artists—Helen Frankenthaler, Gottlieb and Richard Smith—sent examples of their usual style, as did Robert Motherwell, with the comment that his work could not be political, but that his protest would be registered by his presence in the show.

When the "Richard J. Daley" show opened on October

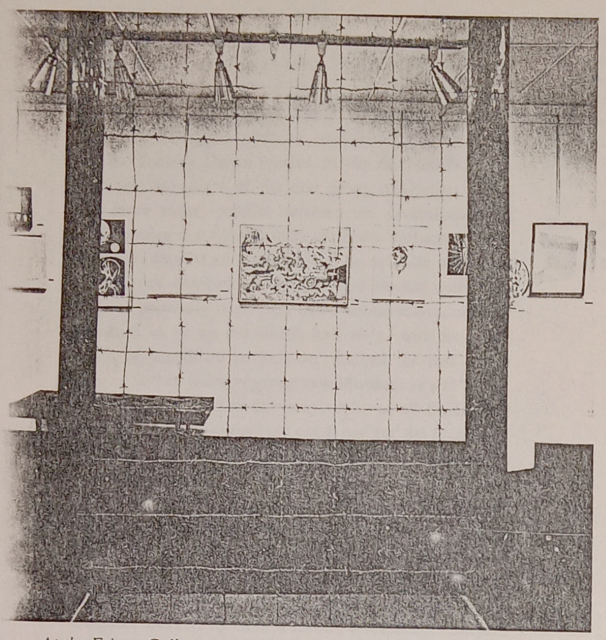
There is a certain kind [illegible] which I belong to. It can [illegible] more make a direct poli[illegible] comment than chamber [illegible] can. But by exhibiting [illegible] these artists who can, and [illegible] the theme of the exhibit, [illegible] showing our support.

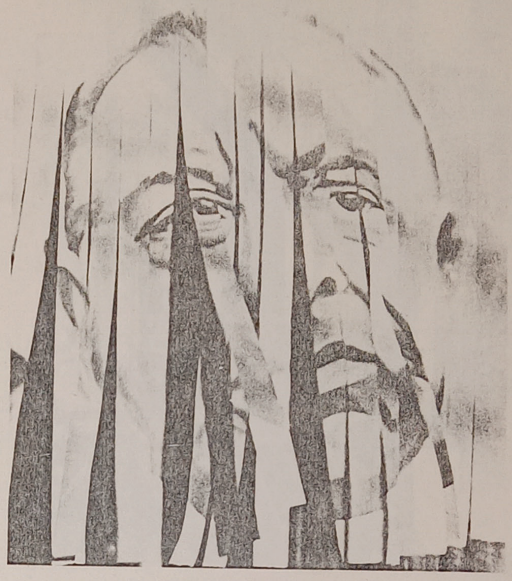
—Robert Motherwell
quoted in *News*[illegible]
November 4, 196[illegible]



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At the Feigen Gallery's "group protest" show, Barnett Newman's contribution, Lace Curtain for Mayor Daley, *was a sculpture crisscrossed with barbed wire and spattered with red paint. James Rosenquist's* Tattered Image *was a pink-and-white-plastic Daley slashed into ribbons and meant to be punched.*

Originally, when I heard about the boycott, I canceled my show scheduled at the Chicago Arts Club. But then Feigen organized his show, and the people who had drawn up the boycott statement in the first place began to cancel out and join the show. I felt that no exhibiting means no exhibiting, even a protest show. It doesn't matter what you call it.

Also, several of the painters who had originally signed the boycott statement had works in the Dada-Surrealism show that had been at the Modern and was coming to Chicago. When they realized that they would have to withdraw their works, most of them canceled out of the boycott. By this time the whole point of the boycott was lost, so I decided to have my show after all. I'm against visual protests anyway; I know they don't work.

—Jimmy Ernst, 1971

23, it was, after all, just a show. An installation photograph reveals nothing shocking, and for an incomprehensible reason the protest pieces were so crowded together that they almost canceled each other out. Soon other Chicago galleries followed with their protest exhibitions, and thus the unprecedented action of the boycott was lost. After the Daley show, art in Chicago went on as usual.

In the second half of 1968, artists began to focus increased attention on their immediate, local problems. The post-World War II baby boom had hit the art world by 1968 in the form of an enormously expanded population of students and artists. But the opportunities to exhibit, to participate in the gallery-museum world, had not expanded to accommodate this new crowd. As unknown artists they generally had not been involved even in the large protest shows, which were *invited* events. In the lull after Chicago, the younger artists, some of whom had been politically active as students, recognized their common problem—there was no place to show their work.

A group of eight young artists (Arthur Hughes, Gary Smith, Sharon Brant, Robert Resnick, Robert Harris, Steve Phillips, Bruce Brown and Claire Frank) sat down together to consider this in the summer of 1968. Although members of the group had varied and sometimes contradictory ideas and philosophies, "Museum, a Project of Living Artists" was the result.

Smith, also a founder of Millennium, a film cooperative, says that an even earlier group had met in August 1967 to discuss a version of Museum involving group exhibitions at first. But soon this project became a plan for a materials-buying cooperative which, it was hoped, would promote other communal activities. A meeting called in November 1967 brought 180 people who listened to these plans with some interest and a little suspicion. On the whole the idea was thought possible—but, some artists asked, if the cooperative made any money, who would rip off the profits? The materials-buying commune idea was put aside for a while.

After the 1968 meeting, the group of eight grew to about forty. The plans for Museum were developed and, with the gift of $5,000 from an anonymous donor, took concrete form at the end of 1968. A large loft was rented at 729 Broadway. In January 1969, a widely pre-publicized meeting brought three hundred people even though a heavy snowfall had tied up traffic. Many ideas were tossed around. Smith again suggested his cooperative materials-buying idea, but it was clear by the end of the evening that what almost all the artists wanted was a program for the display of their art.

A plan was worked out in detail; according to its projections, Museum would be an association of small independent artist groups, each exhibiting in turn in the large (5,000 square feet), high-ceilinged loft at 729 Broadway. Each group would choose its shows from among its own members. Artists of similar style would be encouraged to form a group, and a new artist would choose the group whose style was most like his or her own. A kind of peer-judging would be practiced; an applicant to a group had to submit his or her work, and the group could accept or reject. For one-man shows, each group would choose its best or "most ready" member. Other plans included a permanent file of artists, containing information and slides, to be kept at Museum, but this was never put into operation.

The membership grew, but no exhibition was held since groups were slow to form. So in May 1969 Smith with a few others set up a "found objects" show

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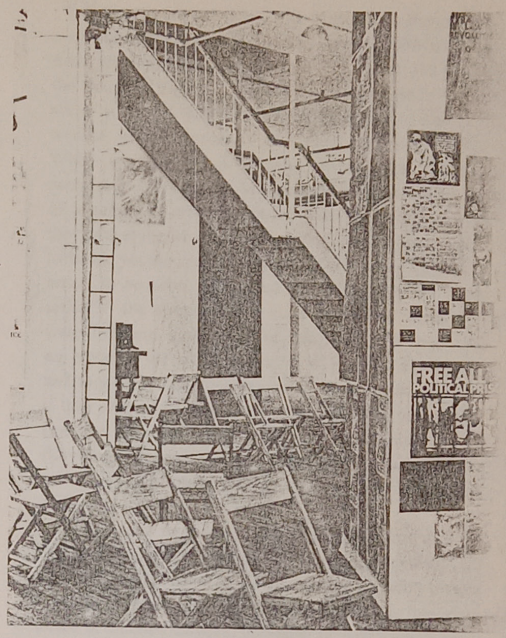
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and Museum had its first exhibition. Attendance was good, and with this encouragement the first organized group show opened in October. By this time Museum members were a mixed bunch. Many were older artists, some with a great deal of political experience. James E. Gahagan, a painter, and past president of the Artists Tenants Union (active in the mid-sixties), was the main organizer of the first group exhibition. After one more show, conflict between the several clashing philosophies among Museum members surfaced. Some members wanted an organized art association with a set schedule of exhibitions, forums and similar activities. Others, generally older and more conservative, wanted Museum to be an exhibition hall *only*, with its doors open for scheduled periods and locked the rest of the time. Another younger group saw Museum as an "artists space" to be used in any way, open at all times, and even serving as a temporary crash pad for the homeless. Signs of the eventual abandonment of the original idea were apparent.

To head off a split, and destruction of Museum, a Membership Convention was called in March 1970. The chairman, Gahagan, believed in scheduled shows and some security arrangements to prevent thefts of exhibited work, and with his wife, Patricia di Gogorza, a sculptor, worked to have a formal disciplined structure adopted to guide them for the future. This attempt failed. The more radical members broke up the meeting and, taking several others with them, walked out. However, before the split, a Steering Committee was elected, made up of Joseph Catuccio, painter, Paul Liebgott, painter, Alan Bermowitz, sculptor, Doris O'Kane, painter, Lynne Mayo, sculptor, Jim Juthstrom, painter, Arthur Hughes, painter, and Farman, an Iranian artist-poet. All these are still in office, except Farman, who resigned. Barry Schwartz, a writer who was added later, has also resigned.

After the convention, the Steering Committee cleaned house, discouraged the crashers, and applied to the New York State Council on the Arts for a grant, eventually receiving $17,000. Those who had wanted no organization at all were disgusted with what they considered reactionary activity and disappeared.

The Steering Committee governs Museum. The plan of an association of independent groups was abandoned, and Museum became an art-event center. It is used as a one-time exhibition space by artist groups, as a meeting hall (Art Workers Coalition, Women Artists in Revolution, Women in Art, convene there regularly);



A view of the New York loft where Museum, a Project of Living Artists, staged the "Aim of the Revolutionary Movement" show during November 1969—LNS Newsreel, RAT and I.KON Books being among the participants. Photo, Mehdi Khonsari.

I think a boycott is self-defeating . . . But I don't th... the "Richard J. Daley" sh... was effective either, I do... if any show of socialist-re... ist propaganda work ever... That kind of art is abou... worst kind of propaganda th... is. In the old days, art... agreed to be in protest sh... because they wanted a pl... to show, and since they ha... galleries, such shows were... place to exhibit, at le... Artists as artists have no pol... ical strength. It's nice tha... think they do, and that th... make such protests, but th... are always ineffective.

—Adolph Gottlieb, 19...

That same fall the Museum... Contemporary Art made its... tribution to the coverage... Chicago's bloody summer, ... though in a more oblique... Accompanied by a catalo... that looked like a scr... sheet, "Violence in ... American Art" dealt with s... jects that ranged from r... riots to the war in Viet... from assassination to civi... surgence. Mayor Daley and ... police force were featu... the Chicago participants in t... exhibition. The city's politi... establishment showed the sa... scorn for the Museum of Co... temporary Art as it did for ... Feigen Gallery, full wel... izing that both shows had ... prompted by what happe... at the Convention.

—Jan van der Marck, 19...

Chicago is known as the Second City. Many of us felt it could have been the First City. Somehow the climate has been right for creative activity.

Chicago revolutionized architecture, jazz, literature, political humor and art. But something drove the revolutionaries away. Chicago became an incredible incubator that could not sustain mature life.

The mature artist is a political creature. He cares about inhumanity, poverty, war, and wrong. When he sees wrong he wants to set it right.

He can engage in dialogue with those who disagree. But he cannot tolerate a vacuum in which there are no political alternatives nor a forum for dissent. He will not stay awake on Election Night when the results are pre-ordained, and he cannot sleep.

One of Chicago's famous exiles came back to make a happy exhibition and was mauled by the police. So now there is an angry exhibition instead.

We do not believe in futile protest. This "Richard J. Daley" exhibition has an objective. It is to stress that Chicago's Democratic Machine is now the world's problem, not just Chicago's.

The Machine has not only shocked the world by steam-rollering the Democratic Convention and mauling innocent dissenters, delegates, newsmen and bystanders. It has so stifled political dialogue that Cook County's voting power can be delivered as a personal gift from one man to whatever candidates he chooses.

It is not only the intellectuals who are disenfranchised, nor even the black 1st Congressional District, but the Gold Coast as well.

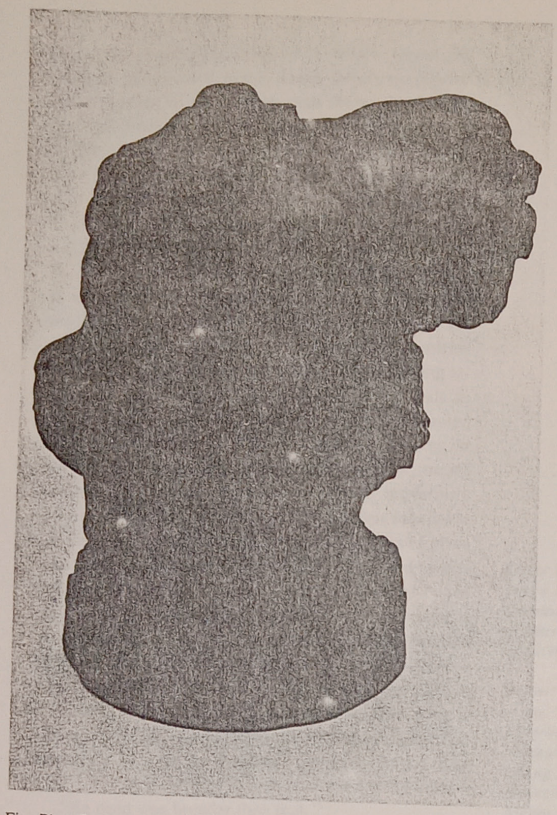
The week of August 25th exposed the new class struggle. It is no longer the poor class against the rich or Democrat against Republican. It is the educated against the uneducated, the courageous against the terrified, young against old—thinking against non-thinking.

The exhibition and statement by the undersigned artists is directed at widening the new chinks in Mayor Daley's armor. They call Chicago's thinking citizens to solidarity with the artists, the educated, the courageous and the young; to stimulate dialogue, a reform movement, the opening of political options; to break the compact made with the Machine by Democrats and Republicans alike; to temper enthusiasm for low taxes and good highways with concern, if not for the exiled artists, then for the neglected black ghetto, the cynical patronage—for the world's image of Chicago since August 25th.

—Statement issued by the Feigen Gallery, Chicago, to announce the "Richard J. Daley" exhibition, October 23–November 23, 1968. The "undersigned artists" refers to the fifty-three participants in the show, including Gottlieb, Lindner, Morris, Motherwell, Newman, Noland, Oldenburg, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist and Stella.

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Fire Plug Souvenir, Chicago, 1968, *was Claes Oldenburg's entry in the Feigen Gallery's protest show after the Democratic Convention.*

MUSEUM is a new force in the art world. It comes into existence in response to a widely felt need for a more alive connection between art and society, without the dissipation of force and quality occurring so frequently in the current art establishment. It is a museum governed by artists. . . .

A system of selection of artists by artists will allow artists to rise by virtue of quality, in contrast to the current, all too frequent means of elevation through social and political maneuvering. The openness of this systen will also bypass "trend-setting" by the commercial establishment—a policy which has left high and dry many quality artists not working in the current trends.

—From statement of objectives in Museum brochure, 1968

it houses sketch classes, a print workshop, and is available for screenings, dance recitals, theater, forums, etc. The Steering Committee books shows, allots space, organizes sketch classes, handles all finance and sees to the housekeeping and security. Requirements for exhibition are simple: all shows must be group shows; there must be at least four exhibitors in a group; they are accepted on a first-come, first-served basis; the cost per group is about $17 a week, the cost of the electricity used; no quality standards are invoked. "Actually," says Catuccio, "we have no criteria; we don't judge quality, we never even see the work in advance, we have only human criteria."

There is no permanent dues-paying membership now. According to Lynne Mayo, everyone who participates in an activity at Museum is considered a member; interpreted this way, the membership comes to about four hundred. The organization recently moved into new quarters at 133–35 Greene Street.

Museum is the only such art center in New York. It is busy—used and enjoyed by the whole art community. That the original plan was abandoned, and that it did not become an alternative to the private-gallery system, may be taken as another indication that most artists, while willing to try alternatives at some time in their careers, still consider the establishment pattern of galleries and museums the most useful system for exhibiting.

When the idea of the Studio Museum in Harlem was conceived in 1966, it was not concerned with artists or their problems. As Betty Blayton, an artist and one of the founders, says, "Artists were not heavy in the scene at first." Blayton, and Frank Donnelly, a social worker, saw the museum as a good thing for Harlem. When working on a Haryou project, they escorted some teen-agers to the Museum of Modern Art as part of a series of art-appreciation lectures. But the work they saw at the Modern was of little interest or relevance to black youth, and there was almost nothing by black artists to be seen. When asked "Where are the black artists?" the sponsors had no answer, and while they were thinking *that* over, they realized that there was no place to see art of any kind in Harlem. Harlemites had to go into neighborhoods that were essentially alien if they wanted to look at art, and when they did go they saw the work of white artists almost exclusively. So Blayton and Donnelly at first thought of providing a place which would house art appropriate for the Harlem audience.

In the next two years, the organizing structure for the Studio Museum was developed. The organizers included both blacks and figures from the white establishment. Along with Blayton and Donnelly, they consisted of Charles Cowles, publisher of *Artforum;* Kynaston McShine, associate curator at Museum of Modern Art; J. Frederic Byers III, of the Bykert Gallery; and Theodore Gunn, a Harlem artist. Carter Burden, New York City Councilman, was the first president; Eleanor Holmes Norton, then a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union, was vice-president. Thomas Hoving, Metropolitan Museum director, and Bates Lowry, then MOMA director, were on the advisory board.

When the project was halfway finished and space had been rented in a building at 2033 Fifth Avenue, at 125th Street, the organizers began to see that the plight of unrecognized and unexhibited black artists was the real issue. Even Blayton admits that "none of us knew how great was their need of exposure, none of us knew how many there were." And so the plan became more artist-oriented than had originally been conceived. Charles Inniss, a young Dun & Bradstreet executive, left his job to become the museum's first director. The gallery was opened to the public on September 26, 1968, with a show of geometric electric-light constructions by Tom Lloyd.

At the opening there was feeling that the exhibit had a "downtown art brought uptown" complexion and that it was not appropriate to the original concept of a Harlem museum. Some black artists were of the opinion that white styles and standards were being transplanted to the new Harlem museum, and that a statement made by Inniss before the opening reflected this: "We hope to provide a place for good black artists to exhibit, where black people can see their work. But more than that we want to be a ground where the black and white art worlds can really meet . . ."

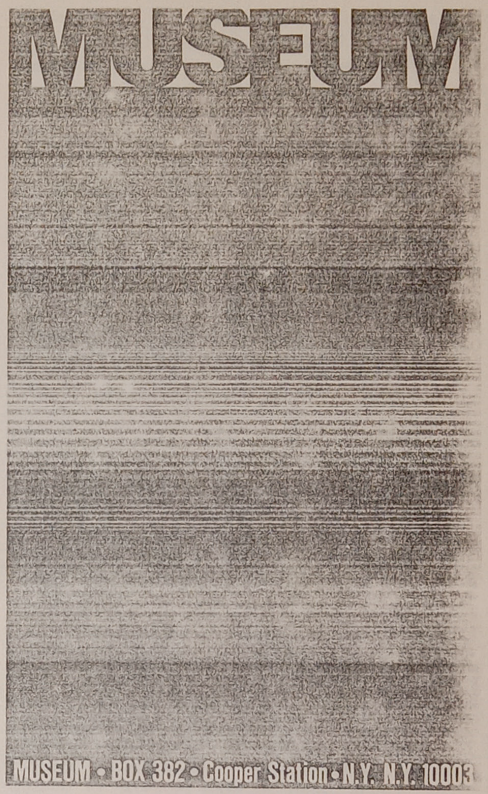
A month after the opening Inniss resigned in a disagreement over policy. Theodore Gunn, who was acting director in February 1969, said, at that time, that an art relevant to Studio Museum and its community should present black subject matter; black children coming to the museum should see themselves as subjects of art since their previous viewing experience had been

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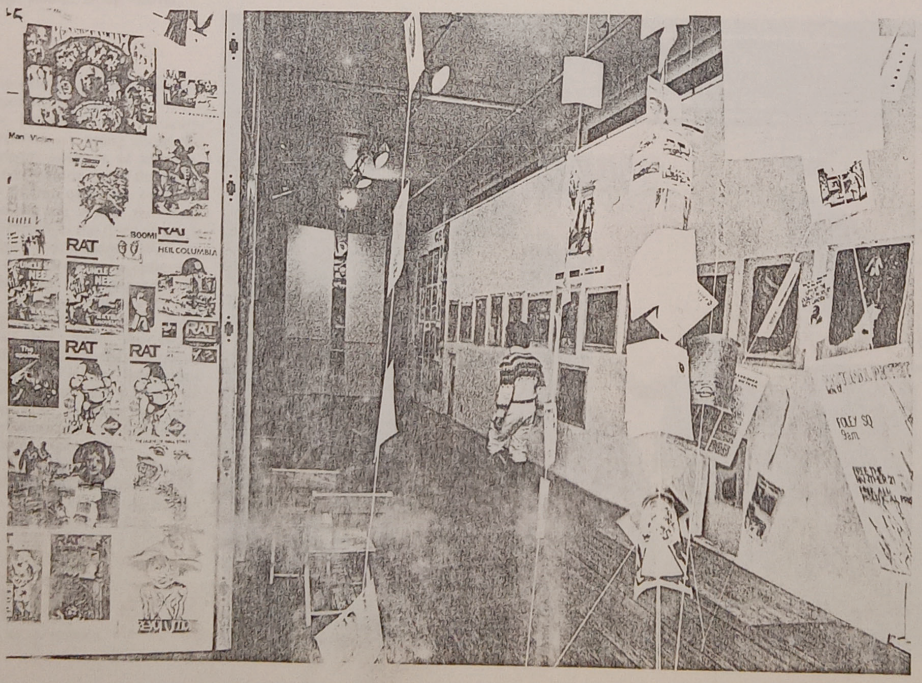
confined to white subjects by white artists. Given the limitations of time and space, it was never possible for Studio Museum to show more than the work of black artists. Commenting on the changes in thinking around this time, Blayton says, "We had hoped to show all kinds of art, there was just not the time or space . . . we would have liked to show some European art, but why should we show a German artist, for instance, when there are so many black artists still unshown?"

In July 1969, a California artist, Edward S. Spriggs, was appointed director, bringing to the job a thorough knowledge of the deprived status of black artists. He knew that no other institution was involved in contemporary black art, that there were black artists lacking attention in every section of the country, and that, in common with their white colleagues, they all wanted to show in New York. For most blacks, showing in New York, with the advent of Studio Museum, meant showing in Harlem, considered almost universally as the black spiritual capital. Spriggs' aim was to provide "a sympathetic environment for black artists" and a place where the best of them could exhibit. The word spread rapidly, and artists from all over the country began sending slides, photographs and biographical material with the hope of being selected for a show. Spriggs estimates that since his arrival there have been applications from some four hundred artists. But not content to leave it at that, he uses scouts outside New York to look at work, and to recommend and refer artists. The museum's scope has become national. As Spriggs puts it, "We couldn't have remained a Harlem Museum . . . the need was broader than that."



Cover of brochure sent out in late1968 to announce the formation of Museum, a Project of Living Artists.

Below: Installation shot of the "Revolutionary Movement" exhibition at Museum, a Project of Living Artists, New York, November 1969. Photo, Mehdi Khonsari.



Museum was an alternative t
an unworkable situation th
didn't work.

—Gary Smith, 197

Museum is the first importa
attempt in recent artists' mo
ments to set up a parallel
stitution to circumvent th
grip of those who rule the a
scene. It corresponds, on
higher level, to the co-op ga
lery movement of the fifties
and to some extent, to the fr
university movement amon
left radicals.

—Arthur Hu
New York Element, June 19

Before our grant, in our urgen
to find groups to schedule
that we could meet our expe
at Museum, we were abo
touching bottom and booki
"Sunday" and amateur pa
ers. Now we don't have
search frantically, and the am
teur groups don't turn
they don't seem to know ab
us. Somehow the groups
do apply are serious and
fall within the very loo
quirements.

—Lynne Mayo

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Opening night at the Studio Museum in Harlem (September 24, 1968); left to right: Eleanor Holmes Norton, Carter Burden, Charles Inniss, Campbell Wylly, Betty Blayton Taylor and Frank Donnelly. Photo, Jill Krementz.

Below: In this gallery tour of the Studio Museum's "Impact Africa" exhibition, museum director Edward S. Spriggs is speaking to the group. Photo, Doug Harris.

Africobra is a Chicago-based cooperative group that—from their perspective as African-americans—is going about the righteous business of identifying and making use of the styles and rhythm qualities, both the apparent and actual, that finds expression in the lives of black people everywhere. We see in Africobra's concepts and philosophy the emergence of an honestly real-world and people-oriented body of creations. For them the Black aesthetic is not only a possibility, but is in continuous evolution in the lives of peoples of African ancestry. It functions daily in their every mode of expression.

—Edward S. Spriggs, catalogue for "Africobra II" exhibition, Studio Museum in Harlem, 1971

Not only is the museum limited to black artists, but under Spriggs it also has a commitment to show art which represents a black esthetic, reflecting a different point of view because it *is* black. He is interested in work that is "based on the life styles current in the black community . . . on Africanisms, which might be termed by others, *Negro-American.*" He points out that color, for instance, is used differently by blacks in their everyday lives, in clothes, and so it will naturally be used differently by black artists. He knows that some black artists use the standards manufactured by Madison Avenue, but he finds that the ones who do not are more exciting "because they are creating a redefinition of things."

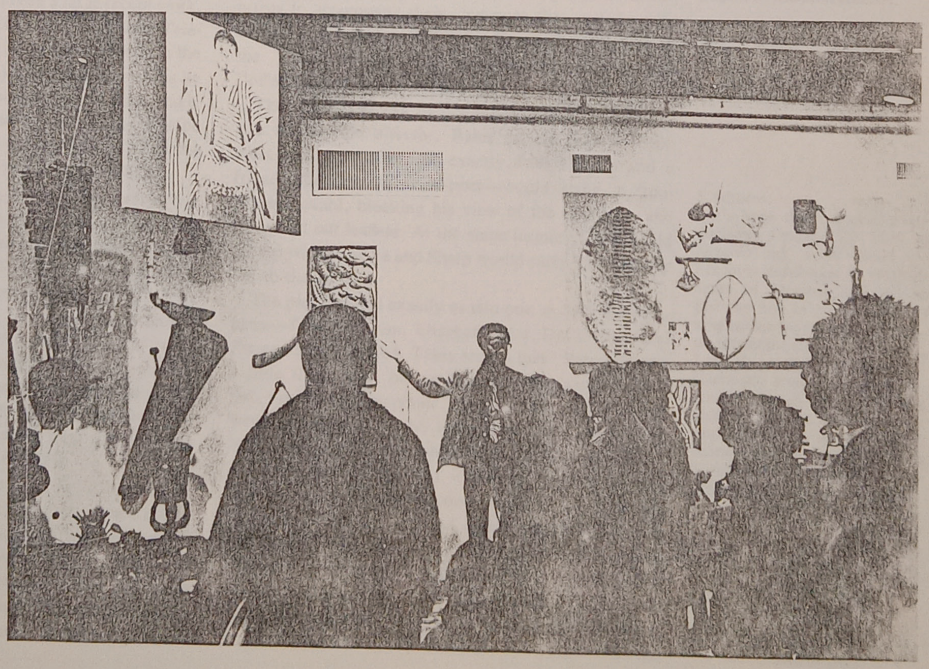
The artists Spriggs uses as "scouts" around the country think much the same way he does about the future of black art. Jeff Donaldson, head of the art department at Howard University in Washington, D.C., finds and recommends artists for Studio Museum, and he is also a member of Africobra (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists), a Chicago-based group which has exhibited twice at the museum. In an essay in the catalogue of their November 1971 show at Studio Museum, Donaldson wrote: "It's NATION TIME and we are searching. Our guidelines are our people—the whole family of African people, the African family tree. And in this spirit of familyhood, we have carefully examined our roots and searched our branches for those visual qualities that are most expressive of our people/art. We strive for images inspired by African people/experience and images which African people can relate to directly without formal art training and/or experience. Art for people and not for critics whose peopleness is questionable . . ."

Shows are chosen mainly by Spriggs, in association with different members of the Board of Trustees.* Charles Cowles, Campbell Wylly, Theodore Gunn and Betty Blayton have been among those on the selection committee. With few exceptions, New York black artists have not played a prominent part in Studio Museum, although Benny Andrews, who showed there in April 1971, and Al Hollingsworth are now associated. Earlier, Norman Lewis, Jacob Lawrence, Charles Alston, Felrath Hines and Vincent Smith were also involved, according to Blayton.

To fulfill its other function, that of a community facility, the museum has an artist-in-residence program. On the basis of need, it provides, for one year, free studios in the museum building to four black artists. In return, these studios are accessible to museum visitors who want to see how artists work. (The hours for the visits coincide with those of the museum, which is open six days a week, some days until nine o'clock.) One of the four artists is also a paid coordinator of community programs, arranging shows elsewhere (for instance, a union headquarters) or organizing and executing street murals. Printmaking is taught in a workshop conducted by the resident artists, and the presses are available, free of charge, to any artist.

Studio Museum has received some monies from the New York State Council on the Arts. It also gets contributions from private supporters, and there is now a New York Council for Studio Museum. Composed most-

*Board of Trustees: Russell Goings, stockbroker; Charles Cowles; Janet Carter, housewife; Eleanor Holmes Norton; James Henton, filmmaker; Frank Donnelly; Russ Morrison, publisher; Carter Burden; J. Frederic Byers III; Charles Hobson, TV producer; Raymond Hulen, businessman; Olatunji, musician; George Corrin; Wendell Wray; and Kynaston McShine.



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ly of young black professional women, it has pledged itself to keep the museum alive.

How many black artists will opt for a frankly separate scene of working, exhibiting and existing professionally is not yet known—but for those who will, the Studio Museum in Harlem is an alternative that is working.

It is said that revolution comes out of the middle class; in 1969 it was the establishment (middle-class) artist who made a small revolution in a New York museum. Alternatives could be tested by young and unknown artists, but the establishment artist, because he was so close to the museum's life, could act directly against it when he felt oppressed. The pattern, so far, had been that artists' political actions followed other leftist anti-bomb, anti-war, anti-establishment protests across the country. Once again, in 1969, there were dramatic examples for the artists to follow. The SDS was still strong, the Black Panthers were at the height of their unity, and disillusion with the establishment was widespread—among the young, the artists and the intellectuals. The artist-student protests at the Venice Biennale, the Milan Triennale, and the Kassel Documenta in Germany had occurred only six months before.

Vassilakis Takis, a Greek sculptor and one of the first art-and-technology artists, had lived in Paris during the student rebellions of May 1968 and had also taken part in the Venice and Kassel protests. Early in January 1969, after his appointment as a fellow at the MIT Center for Advanced Visual Studies, he was staying in New York at the Chelsea Hotel on 23rd Street. At this time "The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age," the featured exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, included a piece by Takis. As he and Farman, the Iranian artist-poet, who also lived at the Chelsea Hotel, were discussing the show, Takis expressed his anger at the way he was represented. As he told it, the guest organizer of the show, Dr. Pontus Hultén of the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, had first chosen a large recent work, and then in June 1968 decided to substitute *Tele-Sculpture*, a small 1960 piece which was already in the Modern's collection. Takis objected, and for months he and Hultén carried on a correspondence—with Takis protesting the substitution and Hultén saying that he was giving the matter every consideration. When the show opened, the 1960 piece was the one included.

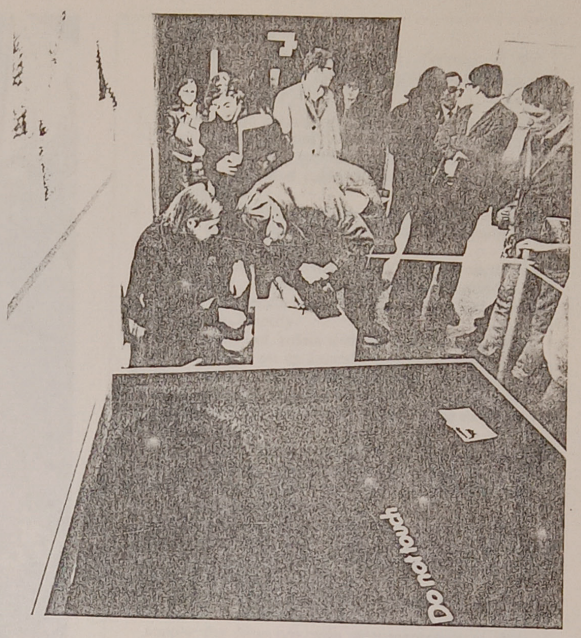
Farman, who says "I throw the I Ching every New Year," told Takis that he had just turned up "Revolution." Takis, who was then absorbed in the *Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung* (the Little Red Book), decided that there was a telling coincidence here and that they should plan an action guided by the Maoist principle of contradiction. They decided to remove Takis' work from the show; in doing so, since it belonged to the museum, they would also be tampering with museum property. They called Willoughby Sharp, the critic, and also took into their confidence Elizabeth Béar and a woman artist known as "Do," a friend of Takis.

Plans were made swiftly—the piece was to be removed from the exhibition on January 3, at exactly four o'clock. Farman and Takis made a preliminary study of the particular gallery and the position of the guards. After Takis bought a pair of insulated pliers, they went back to the Chelsea to write and run off a leaflet explaining their action and "to stir up some revolutionary spirit among artists." The text prepared for the leaflet listed four complaints: (1) the exhibition of living artists without their express consent; (2) the degree of control exercised by museums, galleries and private collectors over the works of living artists; (3) the lack of consultation between museum authorities and artists, particularly with regard to the maintenance and installation of work; (4) the unauthorized use of photographs and other material for publicity purposes.

Sharp and Farman tried to round up ten or fifteen artists to accompany them, but none they called would come. Takis also called John Perreault, art critic of the *Village Voice*, who promised to be there and "offered his encouragement."

The abduction was meticulously timed: at 3:55 Do was to call the director, Bates Lowry, and tell him what was happening. At exactly 4:00 Farman and a friend—Grenier, an artist-poet—would stand in front of each guard, blocking his view of the sculpture, and also hand out leaflets. At the same instant, Takis would cut the wires, and he and Sharp would carry the sculpture out to the garden.

The plan worked exactly as laid out: at 3:45 the company—Takis, Farman, Elizabeth Béar, Do, Grenier and Perreault—assembled. Takis recalls that "Perreault was a little ill at ease, but smiled encouragement at us." Do was in the telephone booth at 3:56, the guards were distracted with the leaflets, and at 4:00 Farman and Sharp shielded the sculpture from view while Takis cut the wires and carried it out to the garden. The action was done in thirty seconds, and was so unexpected that the guards stood fixed and speechless. No one called the police. The rest of the group joined Takis, Farman and Sharp in the garden, and soon representatives of the museum came out to talk to them. At first, they tried to frighten the artists by calling the action "theft," but the group declared the garden "neutral



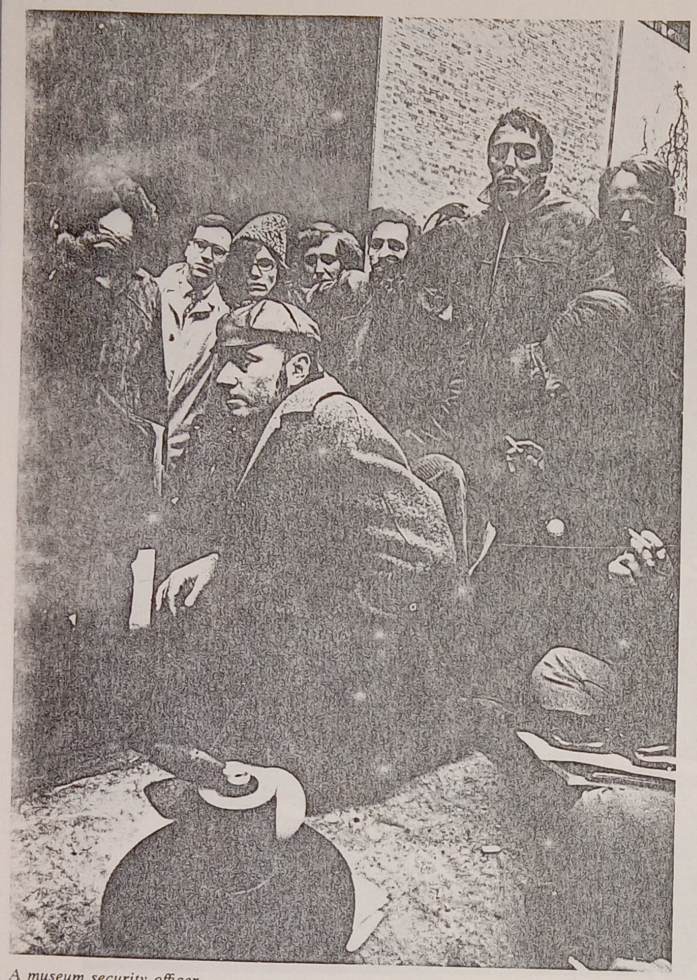
Takis removing his Tele-Sculpture *from its stand in the Museum of Modern Art, shielded from view by the co-conspirators whose precise timing made the abduction possible. At left, Willoughby Sharp and Elizabeth Béar; at front right, Grenier; and in the rear, back to camera, Farman. Time: 4:00 P.M., January 3, 1969. This and photos on next two pages, by Mehdi Khonsari.*

Sindrofoi:
Let's hope that our unanimous decision January 1st 1969 to remove my work from the Machine exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art will be just the first in a series of acts against the stagnant policies of art museums all over the world. Let us unite, artists with scientists, students with workers, to change these anachronistic situations into information centers for all artistic activities, and in this way create a time when art can be enjoyed freely by each individual.

—Takis
New York
January 3, 1969

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A museum security officer, left, is outnumbered by friends of Takis, who took his sculpture into the Modern's garden—declared "neutral territory" by the group. Farman and "Do" are to the right of Takis; Grenier stands nearby, directly behind them.

13 DEMANDS
submitted to Mr. Bates Lowry, Director of the Museum of Modern Art, by a group of artists and critics on January 28, 1969

1. The Museum should hold a public hearing during February on the topic "The Museum's Relationship to Artists and to Society," which should conform to the recognized rules of procedure for public hearings.
2. A section of the Museum, under the direction of black artists, should be devoted to showing the accomplishments of black artists.
3. The Museum's activities should be extended into the Black, Spanish and other communities. It should also encourage exhibits with which these groups can identify.
4. A committee of artists with curatorial responsibilities should be set up annually to arrange exhibits.
5. The Museum should be open on two evenings until midnight and admission should be free at all times.
6. Artists should be paid a rental fee for the exhibition of their works.
7. The Museum should recognize an artist's right to refuse showing a work owned by the Museum in any exhibition other than one of the Museum's permanent collection.
8. The Museum should declare its position on copyright legislation and the proposed arts proceeds act. It should also take active steps to inform artists of their legal rights.
9. A registry of artists should be instituted at the Museum. Artists who wish to be registered should supply the Museum with documentation of their work, in the form of photographs, news clippings, etc., and this material should be added to the existing artists' files.
10. The Museum should exhibit experimental works requiring unique environmental conditions at locations outside the Museum.
11. A section of the Museum should be permanently devoted to showing the works of artists without galleries.
12. The Museum should include among its staff persons qualified to handle the installation and maintenance of technological works.
13. The Museum should appoint a responsible person to handle any grievances arising from its dealings with artists.

—From *Documents I*, Art Workers Coalition, 1969

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—Alex Gross, 1971

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Takis and the group stated their demands: that the piece be removed from the show and never shown again without the artist's consent, and that an open meeting be held at the museum on the subject of the relationship between artist and museum.

Finally Takis met with Bates Lowry in his office, where he got a verbal agreement that his sculpture would not be returned to the show and a promise that Lowry would seriously consider the public hearing.

On January 5 the group—now augmented by Gregory Battcock, Hans Haacke and Tsai—met at Willoughby Sharp's apartment. The same day they issued their first formal statement, reiterating the four complaints which had appeared on the leaflet handed out by Farman at the removal of the sculpture.

Farman and others in the group began calling artists, and the next meeting, held at artist Bob Bornstein's loft on La Guardia Place, brought forty people, who were asked to join in another attack on the Modern if Bates Lowry did not grant the open hearing. Meetings were then held every few days, and the group added Les Levine, Van Saun, Bob Breer, Jean Dupuy, Lil Picard and Alex Gross. The artists indicated their willingness to stage a sit-in at the Modern, if necessary.

The first meeting with Lowry was scheduled to take place at the museum on January 24. On January 14 Elizabeth Béar wrote a letter to Lowry telling him who was planning to attend, but received no answer. On the morning of the meeting, Elizabeth Shaw, the museum's director of public relations, called to say that Lowry did not wish to meet with the critics in the group. By this time it was too late to get in touch with the critics separately, and all went to the museum as planned, where they were told by Elizabeth Shaw that Lowry would meet with the artists but not the critics. (In a memo to the staff of the museum over a month later, the director gave the reason for his refusal as: "On January 24 so many more than six artist-representatives arrived that I felt that a discussion was not possible.")

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At the start of the Art Workers Coalition, artists believed that it would be possible to demand structural changes from museums, in order to make these institutions viable and contemporary places; open forums where a full range of artistic and political dialogues would exist between artists, art historians and the public.

We wanted artists and museumgoers to have a voice in musuem policy-making.

We wanted to change museums from the hierarchic, oppressive and top-down institutions that they are, into community-controlled and democratically run centers, flexible and aware of the needs of all social classes, rather than catering to a handful of conservative trustees.

However, the existence of the AWC became an occasion for art workers to learn some harsh lessons about the art establishment.

First of all, we were to face delaying techniques by museum representatives, who hoped that the Art Workers Coalition would soon run out of steam. Vain hopes on their part. We kept meeting, mounting demonstrations and repeating our demands.

Secondly, we had to deal with the hypocrisy and prevarications of a succession of museum directors and curators who, under the disguise of being concerned for our welfare, and displaying the attitude that they ought to know better what was good for us, gave us talks! promises! decisions are pending! promises! talks! studies will be made of the situation! etc. No one believed all this smoke-screening.

Thirdly, the art establishment co-opts us with tokenism; one demand out of the thirteen demands of the AWC was partially and temporarily accepted. This amounted to the short-lived free Mondays at the Museum of Modern Art.

The worst is yet to come!

Having understood that the coalition presented a potential threat to its cultural hegemony, the art establishment (through the ubiquitous N.Y. State Council of the Arts) spent seventy-five thousand dollars in grants, buying off some key figures in the AWC.

It worked!

With those opportunists inside the coalition, the downfall was quick. Meetings were constantly sabotaged, splits were irrevocably deepened, contradictory motions were brought in to divide people—the AWC ceased to be an effective organization.

Thus, in two and a half years of activity, the Art Workers Coalition succeeded only in bringing to the surface the underlying antagonism that exists between artists and the corrupt art establishment. An establishment that sees artists as its social lackeys, maneuvers consistently to deny artists a voice in the institutions and policies that shape their lives, and confines them to the position of being amusing hustlers for the capitalist class.

Perhaps there is a conclusion to draw from the experiences of the AWC.

Since the art establishment is so completely resistant to meaningful basic changes, it will be necessary to reject it entirely, and build an independent system of relationships for the arts, starting from the grass roots; a people's art that will speak to and for all the social classes, eliminating with its growth every aspect of today's elitism and racism.

—Farman, 1971

I remember Elizabeth Shaw took Gregory and me aside and asked us why didn't we just watch the movie showing elsewhere in the museum. She didn't think it was right the critics were there. On the other hand, Takis and Tsai wanted them there. The museum handled it very badly, perhaps because they hadn't had anything like this happen before. They probably thought they could get the artists aside and make some sort of deal with them without having anything bad written about the museum.

—John Perreault, 1971

As I remember [the January 28 meeting], a few people made short speeches—Tom Lloyd, for instance, presented the case for having a separate wing devoted to black artists.

The question of the public hearing was brought up, but there was no concrete discussion of the demands, and the meeting did not develop into a proper working session.

—Elizabeth Béar, 1971

The group did not want to exclude the critics, but agreed to return on January 28 with only six representatives, to meet with six representatives from the Modern.

During the next few days the artists and critics compiled the "13 Demands," which expanded their disagreements with the museum and their demands for a better deal. (Of these thirteen only one was directly connected with the original four points that had appeared in their statement of January 5.) It was around these "13 Demands" that the soon-to-be-named Art Workers Coalition was formed.

On January 28, the group sent Takis, Tsai, Hans Haacke, John Perreault, Gregory Battcock, and Willoughby Sharp—three artists and three critics—to the Modern. Elizabeth Béar acted as recorder, and Tom Lloyd went along as a representative of black artists. An earlier attempt had been made to reach black artists, but they were busy with their own concerns that January. The Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, led by Benny Andrews, Henri Ghent and Edward Taylor, was organizing a demonstration against the "Harlem on My Mind" show which opened at the Metropolitan Museum on January 16.

The representatives for the museum were, besides Bates Lowry, Arthur Drexler, Wilder Green, William S. Lieberman, Elizabeth Shaw and John Szarkowski. The AWC presented their "13 Demands," the first of which called for an open hearing at the museum. The museum offered a counter-proposal: that it create a small committee for artist relations. The AWC refused the offer, termed "typical public relations stuff" by Takis, saying that a public hearing was necessary so that every interested artist could be heard.

Further discussions got nowhere and the meeting ended in complete disagreement.



Left: A close up of Farman, "Do" and Takis.



Below: One of two museum guards (center) takes notes as Takis and his companions huddle around the Tele-Sculpture *in the MOMA garden.*

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arl Andre: artworker

n an interview with Jeanne Siegel



1
Sit-in at the Metropolitan Museum of Art as part of the New York Art Strike, May 22, 1970. (Photo: Jan Van Raay). Left background, Carl Andre; centre background, Robert Morris; right foreground, Mel Bochner.

SIEGEL: It seems to be a moment in history when the artist, after twenty-five years of withdrawal, is once again thinking about himself in close relationship to society with the same demands and desires as other human beings.

ANDRE: I don't meet too many artists who have the kind of social pretensions of the good solid bourgeoisie or who lead neat Cadillac-driven lives, and most of the artists that I've met have had great social concerns. I remember talking to David Smith and he said that he considered himself redder than Mao for that matter. He had a very intense social and political concern. The art was considered hermetic in a sense, and withdrawn from society. It was placed aside from the concerns of society not so much by the artist but by the critics and the curators and the art establishment. They made a big thing out of the ordinary man in the street not being able to understand and probably disliking it because of having had no exposure to it and used this in a kind of élitist way.

SIEGEL: Certainly the artist is taking a more active public role today, for instance, your participation in the Art Workers Coalition.[1] Why do you feel the need for that?

ANDRE: I think the Art Workers Coalition has been the most significant art movement in New York in the last two years. It's the first time that artists have gotten together in my experience without any art problems. Art simply is not discussed at these meetings. The trouble is artists I've been involved with before have always had a more or less tacit assumption that we approved of each other's art, but the Art Workers Coalition has nothing to do with what your art is like, but it has a great deal to do with keeping the springs and origins of art, which I think are essentially the same for everybody, open and as fertile and as productive as possible. And this is done by artists being able to get together, talk about the common social, economic and political problems and having the right to get up and speak your mind because you consider yourself an artist. Actually an artworker, I should say, because, as you know, I like the term artworker, not because it's any kind of camp Marxism, but it includes everybody who has a contribution to make in the art world. A collector can consider himself an artworker, in fact, anybody connected with art would be considered an artworker if he makes a productive contribution to art. I make art works by doing art work but I think the work itself is never truly completed until somebody comes along and does artwork himself with that artwork. In other words, the perceptive viewer or museum-goer who's got some kind of stimulus from the work is also doing artwork, so that broadens the term out to a ridiculous extent; but I think it should be as broad as possible because I never liked the idea of an art political, economic, social organization which is limited to artists, because that's just returning to another kind of élitism.

SIEGEL: What issues or demands made by the Coalition have especially concerned you?

ANDRE: This immediate thing that concerns the museum has to do with what we've come to call the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which in a sense must end. The museums of the country are run by boards of trustees which are self-perpetuating, and they're there strictly because they're wealthy, and I mean that is a dictatorship by a very small minority of the country over the rest of the country, and this is anti-democratic (of course, it reflects exactly the kind of corporate structure of the country). The Museum of Modern Art states very firmly that they will never have an artist on the Board of Trustees unless an artist was immensely wealthy. Mr Hightower[2] has said, quite generously, that he considers everyone an artist, so that he has a board of directors of artists, essentially. That's a lot of hokum, of course, because not everyone is a banker just because they have money in their pockets.

It also has to be quite clear that I think the economic and political interests of artists are very much in contradiction to those of Nelson Rockefeller.[3] So it's very bad having his man Hightower, trying to represent artists, because we have different class interests. One of the reasons, I suppose, that I like to be in Art Workers Coalition is because I consciously do not identify with an owning bourgeois class. I much more identify with a producing, literally, working class. I remember when I worked on the railroad, it amused me because on the switching locomotives we used to work with there'd be a plate riveted onto the side of the engine saying 'This engine is the property of the Chase Manhattan Bank' or 'The Manufacturers Trust Co.' which was socially absolutely untrue. That locomotive belonged to the people who used it while they were working and when nobody was using it, nobody owned it, literally.

And what I've seen of the people who buy art is that I'd rather not spend a great deal of time with them. There was a woman who evidently had bought the meteor crater in Arizona and wanted me to do some grand scheme defacing it, and I refused to do it because I once wrote a 25 word novel and the 25 words went 'Manuel corrupted money and bought the Leaning Tower of Pisa and straightened it.' So somebody buys the meteor crater of Arizona and puts an amusement park in it. That's what we're in the grip of in the world today.

SIEGEL: But you have no objection to your sculpture being purchased by these same people?

ANDRE: I've never minded people buying work at all. My social position really, in the classic Marxist analysis, is I'm an artisan. That is, a worker who employs himself essentially as

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own tool to produce goods that he exchanges for other people's goods. This is different from a worker who is employed by somebody else. So technically, the artist's position in our society is that of an artisan and so to exchange my goods that I produce for other people for their goods is my economic function. So this business about the art object being corrupt or uncorrupt is just simply not an issue.

SIEGEL: And your personal relationships with museums and galleries have been good, haven't they?

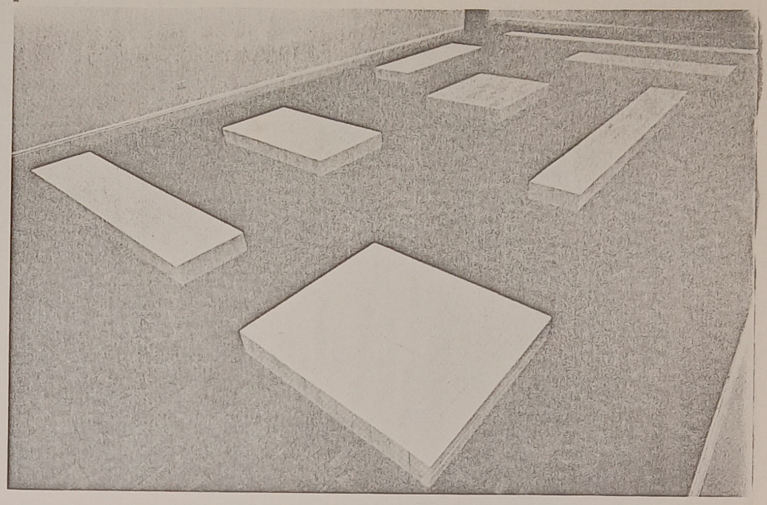
ANDRE: I am represented by a gallery and I've had a good relationship to galleries, the Tibor De Nagy gallery which I was with formerly and the Dwan Gallery which I am with now. I have never received any aesthetic, political, economic pressure at all. I have not had much to do with museums in America, but what I've had to do with as an artist has not been unsatisfactory. So I could not say that I would be opposed to museums or galleries as such, but I just think we need much greater resources to be used. An artist should not be required to go to a gallery to be able to sustain himself as an artist. There should be, for instance, a social welfare system to which they can turn. I would like to see a system for medical and dental and pension insurance for artists and also an artists' registry and perhaps even a royalties bureau to collect royalties on reproductions of art works, or uses of essential art motifs which now is an enormous area of potential income for artists. I think the motifs of artists are used or stolen outright by commercial artists, and without paying any royalties to us whatsoever, and I think royalties should be paid for work, where it can be shown to be a plain derivation from a 'fine artist's' work.

Museums should be far more open to artists than they are now. There is not in New York, for instance, a Kunsthalle, a kind of museum which is very common in Europe and every town in Germany has one, which is a museum with no permanent collection and where a show of art may be up for two weeks and another will replace it quickly, so that in the course of the year you can have hundreds of artists showing their work without the preconditioning thought that they all must have this, what I consider, fascist lie of quality. I've always found this is utterly distasteful to me because museums and galleries to my mind are not full of splendid art. Most of the art that I see in every period that's in the museums and galleries is of no interest to me whatsoever. I'm not trying to say that the art that I'm interested in has quality. I'm just saying that only a small number of art works move me deeply. But that's not quality, that's a statement about myself. It reflects my own experience in the world. So the idea that galleries and museums show art because of the quality of the art is not true. Once a work has been shown in a gallery or museum, it has a quality that was conveyed to the work by the splendour of the museum, or the prestige of the gallery. What the museum is really interested in is not quality but commodity—Ma Bell's princess telephone and Carl Andre's sculpture are now in the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art because they have reached the level of a commodity.

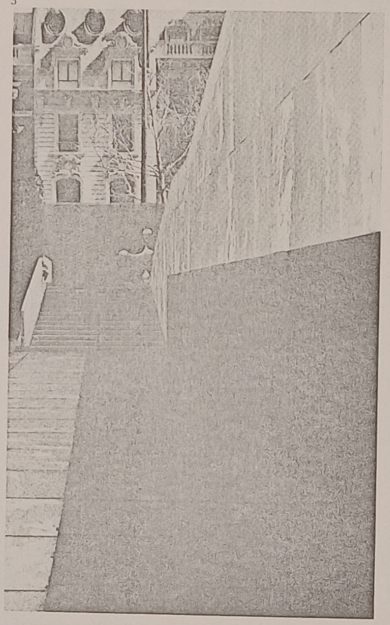
SIEGEL: Why did you and other members of the New York Art Strike[4] decide to sit-in and close the Metropolitan Museum? Wasn't that a self-defeating act?

ANDRE: Well, it is the pretense of the museum that they are an apolitical organization. And yet the people who run them, the people who are responsible for their operation and decide their policies, the boards of trustees, are

2



3



4



Carl Andre

2
Equivalents 1966 (one-man show, Tibor de Nagy 1966)
Each of the eight pieces consist of 120 bricks pil two deep so that the different configurations alt while number and volume remain the same

3
Fall 1968
Hot rolled steel 6 × 45 × 6 ft
Twenty-one sections each 6 ft × 2 ft 4 in. × ½ (Garden of Museum of Modern Art)

4
17 Steel Rod Run 1969
Steel reinforcing rods ⅜ × 150⅜ in.; separate un 7⅜, 10, 10, 11, 7/16, 10¼, 6¾, 6½, 8½, 10 1/16, 7¼, 8½ 11, 9¾, 10½, 6⅜, 6¾ in.
Coll: Mr and Mrs Herbert Vogel, New York.
Installed on floor of The Solomon R. Guggenhe Museum.
(Photo: Robert E. Mates and Paul Katz)

5
Diagram of Three-vector model

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ctly the same people who devised the erican foreign policy over the last twenty- years–man for man they are the same. tually I think the boards of trustees of these seums favour the war, they devised the r in the first place and wish to see the war ntinued, indefinitely. The war in Vietnam not a war for resources, it is a demonstration the people of the world that they had better t wish to change things radically because if ey do the United States will send an occupy- g punishing force. It is a war of punitive ppression. And they wish to run these quiet political institutions like museums and niversities suppressing politics among artists, mong students, among professors. They on't wish people to have broader and more eneral considerations. They'd rather have rtists who do nothing but art, musicians who o nothing but music and athletes who do othing but their sport.

What's coming now, I think, in the world in very respect you might say is the crisis of reedom. If freedom has to be at the expense f other people's lives, it isn't worth having at ll. In China the artist is not free to do as he ikes but the Chinese aren't the people who are killing people in Vietnam to maintain that ppression–we are killing people ostensibly to maintain the rationale of artistic freedom.

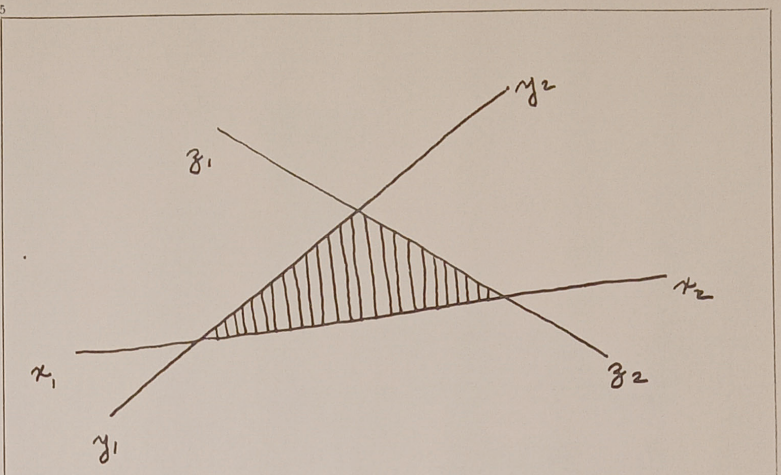
SIEGEL: Didn't Mr Hightower suggest to the artists that if the Museum of Modern Art was to politicize itself, the artists should politicize their art?

ANDRE: The artists made it clear to Mr Hightower that they were not politicizing the art but themselves. One suggestion was that artists serve as docents and give tours in the museum to talk about the works of the museum collection–what the artists were most deeply moved by and most influenced them and at the same time they could explain the connection between politics and their art and between the art of the artist and their view of the world and their objections to the war in Vietnam, sexism and racism. (The art world itself is one of the most thoroughly segregated communities in New York. Uncon- cious racism even exists within the Art Workers Coalition. For a long time there have been requests that we meet up in Harlem, for nstance, and people won't go. They would ather leave the Art Workers Coalition than go up on a Sunday afternoon.) I have felt for a long time that museums should use artists this way. I wouldn't put the artist in front of the works of art to explain them but to explain his position in the society. What I'm thinking of is not so much integrating the artwork itself into the sensibility of the people, but integrating artists in the sociology which is a much more important problem.

SIEGEL: What do you think is the relationship between the artist's position in society and the work of art?

ANDRE: I've proposed a model which des- cribes the making of any art work, not accurately but metaphorically and I call this the three-vector model, the vector merely being a geometrical representation of a line of force having length and slope. The first vector would be the subjective vector which rep- resents one's personal history, one's talents, one's skills, the accidents of one's life–genetic and environmental influences–the whole thing that composes the individual human being. The second vector I would call the objective vector, that is the properties and qualities of the materials of the world. The third is the economic vector which is a kind of intermediary or compromise between the subjective and the objective. It's the availa- bility of the materials of the world at one time to do a work. Now if these vectors have three points of intersection there's a contain triangle in the centre–there I would say when the work of art came about.

It's been my experience that the vector seems most vexing is the economic Between 1959 and 1964 I could never together the $250 necessary to make works which would have made a compl gallery show and I asked dealers and peo for the money and they couldn't put money together either. So at the time I d paired. But now I am in a position wher can command quite generous resources the point is that I've also come to the reali tion that commanding resources shouldn't what makes possible the work of art. Y must be able to make a work of art even if



THREE VECTOR MODEL

$x_1 \ldots x_2$ SUBJECTIVE VECTOR (PERSONAL HISTORY, QUALITIES, GIFTS, ETC.)

$y_1 \ldots y_2$ OBJECTIVE VECTOR (PROPERTIES OF SPACE, TIME, MATTER, ENERGY, ETC.)

$z_1 \ldots z_2$ ECONOMIC VECTOR (RESOURCES AVAILABLE)

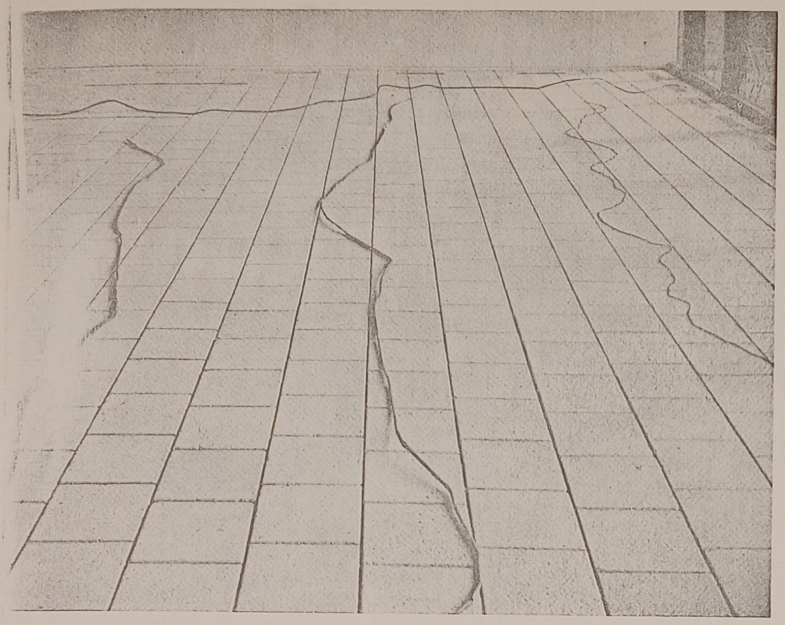
CLOSURE OF THREE VECTORS INDICATES POSSIBILITY OF AN ART WORK

Carl Andre

JUNE 14 1970

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Carl Andre

6
26 straight short pipe, 11 bent long pipe, 64 bent nails
Haags Gemeentemuseum August 23–October 5, 1969

7
37 Pieces of Work 1969
Aluminium, copper, steel, lead, magnesium and zinc
432 × 432 in.; 1296 units, 216 of each metal
Installation at The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, courtesy Dwan Gallery, New York
(Photo: Robert E. Mates and Paul Katz)

8
Copper Piece 1969
20.17 m × 8 cm × .3 mm
Aluminium Piece 1969
20.07 m × 8.4 cm × 1 mm
Wide White Space Gallery, Antwerp, October 1969

ave no money. But now I cannot say to a erson who has no money, you don't need oney to do work. That would be sinful. I ean that's like a rich man saying to a poor an, 'Don't you see, you don't need money to e happy'. The only thing I can do is to onfront the problem myself and say, Look, ake work with a zero-zero vector, that is, ake work as if you were poor. The recent mall wire pieces, nail, rusting steel pieces that ere picked up in the streets have to do with rying to make a zero-zero economic vector. nd I think it's good to have an aspect of one's rt that is not so super-precious–kind of phemeral works. I don't intend them to be phemeral but I think it's good to always ake works which are not so precious they an't just almost literally blow away.

IEGEL: Do you feel that your political attiudes are reflected in your sculpture?

NDRE: I have been subject to politics as long s I've been alive, 35 years, starting with the New Deal, going into the Second World War, he Cold War, Korea, the whole thing. So I've been affected by it and hence since I've made my art, my art must reflect my political experience. I could not possibly separate them, I mean, art for art's sake is ridiculous. Art is for the sake of one's needs and I don't think one has a distinct art need, rather art is an intersection of many human needs. My art will reflect not necessarily conscious politics but the unanalysed politics of my life. Matter as matter rather than matter as symbol is a conscious political position I think, essentially Marxist.

SIEGEL: Did your experience as a railroad worker for four years influence your sculpture in any concrete way?

ANDRE: Very, very much. Concretely the railroads have all to do with linear masses and a railroad train is a mass of particles and the job that I had in the railroad as a freight brakeman and later a freight conductor, had very largely to do with taking trains that had come in from the West into New Jersey and classifying them, that is, directing the cars to different tracks. So I was continually shifting cars around and making new strings of material. And of course there are the steel rails going on for miles, and ties, and just all the industrial material–coal, coke, iron ore, scrap metals, all the materials going through there are raw materials that I was tremendously interested in too.

SIEGEL: Are there other reasons for your consistent, intense interest in particles?

ANDRE: One of the reasons certainly I am interested in particles is that my grandfather was a bricklayer and of course the whole theory of masonry is in being able to make large structures by using small units. I've only done one work in my life where I could not manipulate the particles of the piece myself and that was *Fall* in the 'Art of the Real' show at the Museum of Modern Art because those pieces weighed 600 lb each. In other work, I've always been able to put the elements in place myself which is the theory of masonry.

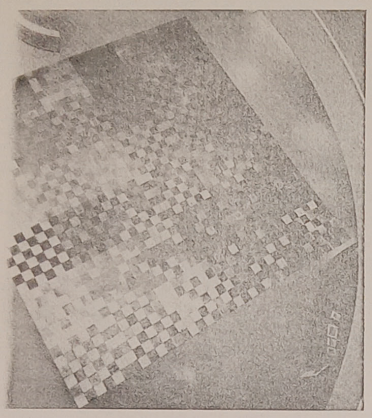
SIEGEL: In an attempt to relate contemporary American artists' choices of materials and forms to what she considered an inbred American taste for individualism and humbleness, Barbara Rose said '...one might go so far as to interpret the current widespread use of standard units "self sufficient", non-relational forms, and non-hierarchical arrangements of the form members, as a metaphor for relationships in an ideally levelled, non-stratified democratic society'.[5] Do you agree?

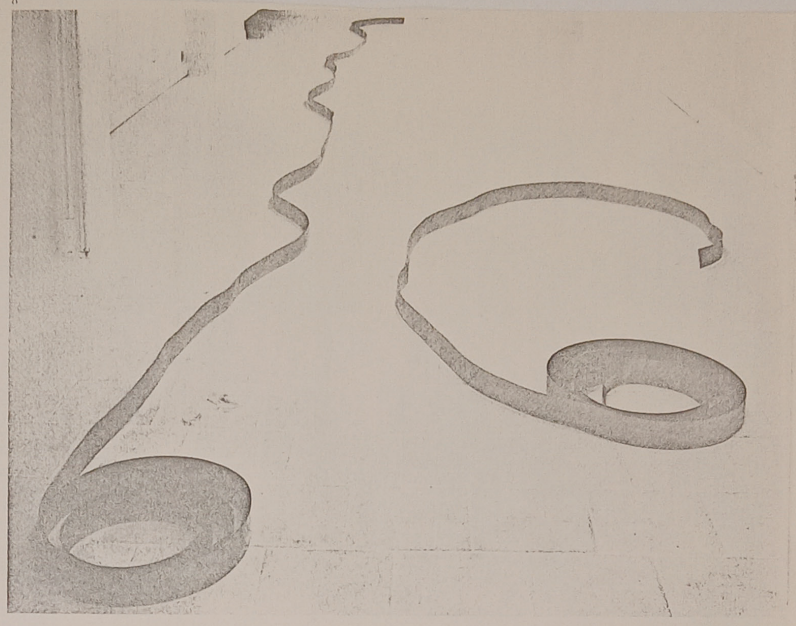
ANDRE: I think it had more to do with the mechanics than with democracy or that kind of levelling. That strikes me as the kind of idea that comes to a critic because a critic tries to impose upon an artwork linguistically intellectual propositions, but artworks at their best spring from physical, erotic propositions. So Barbara Rose was thinking of what artists think about when artists make works of art. But I don't think artists think that way at all, at least, I don't. I think in terms of a physical reality, a direct physical hefting of matter. The one art sense that I have of my own work is that I do not visualize works and I do not draw works and the only sense I have running through my mind of the work is almost a physical lifting of it. I can almost feel the weight of it and something running through my mind either has the right weight or it doesn't have the right weight. But I don't even visualize it–I number it sort of–something like sixty-four pieces of steel and I can have a sense of the mass of it but it's not a visual sense, it's a physical sense–almost a sense of pushing against the door and opening it.

My work has a certain nature and I want that to remain clear. I believe an artist has to be responsible not only for what he has done himself as the art work, he must also guard the methods of propaganda, the methods of merchandising, the methods of distribution of the work. Otherwise, it can fall into channels that totally misrepresent it. People have tried to pass off my work as assemblage, because assemblage has been a merchandised thing before. People have tried to pass off my work as being like Andy Warhol's soup cans, and more recently as ecological works, associati-

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which to me are completely false. Now artists must do the culture as well as the art. That is how we have become politicized.

SIEGEL: Does the element of participation in your sculptures contain any political or social comment?

ANDRE: I don't consider the fact that a lot of my pieces–you can walk in the middle of them – metal pieces particularly or some of the long wooden pieces you can walk along–as participation, but rather I think there's a demand made on the tactile tact of the viewer, forcing the viewer to be sensitive to the properties of the material. Also by walking on them they make different sounds, they have different textures, you can feel the difference. It's a way of entering the art, non-architecturally. There's one aspect of participation that I like and that is that my works lend themselves to installation, and I mean building and taking down very readily, so people can put them up when they want to and put them away when they want to.

SIEGEL: In a way you remind me of Ad Reinhardt–a certain dualism, perhaps. In his paintings there was the same pervasive interest in juxtaposing rectangular forms and he too was politically involved although he made a cause célèbre out of keeping it out of his art. Do you feel any affinity to him?

ANDRE: Well, I lived with a Reinhardt painting in 1960. Frank Stella bought or traded one of the black paintings from Ad and it was in my apartment when I was living on Grand Street. Reinhardt was quite an influence; I think it was through his painting that the idea of the spectators doing artwork in order to recover the nature of the painting came about, because with a Reinhardt even I today have to work to see it, which I've found is very rewarding. I did meet him at the time that the Dwan 10 show was being put together. I think his various doctrines about what art is not about, all those 'noes', were very helpful and essentially very true because art doesn't carry messages that way–mine doesn't, but I wouldn't make an issue out of it. To Reinhardt, it was a very important issue because art hadn't been stripped down. I mean he stripped down the cultural assumptions about art and I think that was a very important work. I will perhaps betray his memory to say that I didn't keep the rigidity that he did.

SIEGEL: Do you think the artist's affiliating himself in a public way politically is an outgrowth of a development that started with artists, like Don Judd, assuming the role of critics?

ANDRE: No, in my own case it was a matter of meeting and talking to students here and abroad. One is always asked political questions so I think in a sense the students have done a great deal to help the artists clarify their own political position. I think it was the students first, concretely, who used, as Goddard says in his movie, *PRAVDA*, 'concrete analysis for concrete situation'. Students saw that they were being exploited by people who were not responsible to them whatsoever and then they decided to do something about it.

SIEGEL: Can you conceive of the revolution as eventually affecting your art, to move toward some form of direct social comment?

ANDRE: I certainly don't think we are in a time of revolution now in America–perhaps the time of Civil War but not of revolution. We as artists are not authentically revolutionary because we have not emerged from revolutionary conditions. So it's not just a question of people making bourgeois decadent abstract art or making representational art or vice versa, because we're not even in a state where we can decide. At least, I'm not. As Che pointed out even in Cuba there is no ultimate single kind of art that can be justified because the only ultimate single kind of art would be revolutionary art, and since the revolutionary man has not yet appeared, we don't know what that art is.

[1] The Art Workers Coalition, an amorphous, fluctuating group with a steady membership of about 10 came into being when Takis made his gesture of removing his Telesculpture from the Machine Show at the Museum of Modern Art on January 3, 1969. Although it belonged to the Museum, he had forbidden the use it because he thought the work was no longer representative and to include it in the show would misrepresent his contribution to machine art. A dozen artists, critics and writers joined him.

[2] John Hightower, formerly Executive Director of the New York Council on the Arts, who on May 1 replaced Bates Lowry as Director of the Museum of Modern Art, has been conducting the negotiations between Art Workers Coalition and the New York Art Strike.

[3] Nelson Rockefeller is a Trustee of the Museum of Modern Art.

[4] The New York Art Strike constitutes a larger group made up of former Art Workers Coalition, museum and gallery people who don't want to be identified with AWC, more militant groups such as the Guerrilla Art Action and Art Workers United. It was originally formed as a result of a suggestion by the Faculty of the School of Visual Arts to strike on May 22, 1970 to protest War, Racism, and Repression. About 50 artists, students, teachers, dealers, critics, sat in on the steps of the Metropolitan Museum for 10 hours.

[5] Barbara Rose. 'Problems of Criticism V: The Politics of Art, Part II', *Artforum*, Jan., 1969, p. 45.

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(42) Politics
Re-Ins -